

**Selected Fateh Pamphlets. Translated by *The Palestinian Revolution*, 2016.<sup>1</sup>**

***Revolution Until Victory. Fateh, n/d, c.1970.***

1. *The Need for Palestinians to Lead their Own Struggle*

“It took many Palestinians not more than 10 years to learn that they cannot achieve justice through the dangerous game of Arab or international power politics and that they cannot trust the operators in a political casino like the United Nations. With this firm conviction, a group of Palestinians chose as far back as 1958 to recapture the initiative in order to liberate Palestine, vindicate the supreme sacrifices of their past generations and realise the hopes and visions of living Palestinians” (p.3)

2. *Armed Struggle as the Path to Decolonisation*

“Bringing the Palestinian Revolution to triumphant birth necessitated recourse to violence and armed struggle because national liberation, national renaissance, the restoration of nationhood to the people: whatever may be the headings used or the new formulas introduced, DECOLONISATION IS ALWAYS A VIOLENT PHENOMENON”. (p.3)

3. *Presenting the Armed Struggle and its Aims, 1965-1967*

“The Palestine Liberation Movement, Fateh, decided to launch the revolution after about six full years of preparations between 1958 and 1964, including the organisation of underground cadres, secret indoor military training, the raising of a meagre sum of about \$3000, acquisition of old rusty weapons and scores of reconnaissance missions into occupied territory. The first clash ever between an Israeli patrol and Fateh freedom fighters actually dates back to August 18, 1964. The Fateh commandos then were on such a reconnaissance mission and the clash occurred near Gesher, a kibbutz on the Jordan Valley almost midway between the Sea of Galilee and the town of Beisan”. (p.4)

“The intent of the Palestinian Revolution at this take-off stage between 1965 and 1967 was:

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- i. To personify the practical refusal of Zionist occupation; present the Palestinian cause to international public opinion as a cause of liberation rather than a problem of refugees or a problem concerning the diversion of the Jordan river waters; and mobilise the masses and instigate them to armed revolutionary action.
- ii. To incarnate the authentic revolutionary means for the liberation of Palestine through armed violence and prevent attempts by the Arab regimes to contain the Palestine struggle.
- iii. To create a revolutionary atmosphere on the (West) Bank and in the (Gaza) Strip aiming at ripening the objective conditions necessary for the emergence of armed revolution.
- iv. To give the upcoming generations the opportunity of getting used to take up arms and to acquaint them with the Palestinian soul through armed raids.
- v. To focus the true nature of the struggle in the Middle East to allow the Palestinian people to assume their leading role in the liberation of their homeland, thereby preventing the presentation of the problem of Palestine as a regional one over disputed borders. (pp. 6-7)

#### 4. *Armed Struggle Post-1967*

"Armed operations started to escalate and the revolution began to grow and to muster increased mass support. On the other hand, its cadres were exposed to imprisonment and torture on the hands of counter-revolutionaries on the Arab scene. These arrests only helped increase the Revolution's determination to continue the armed struggle. Nevertheless its continued pleas for arms for the Palestinians so as to create the revolutionary immunity on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip went unheeded until the advent of the war of June 1967. Such weaponry, about 6,000 instruments in all, was collected by Palestinian revolutionaries from territories evacuated by the retreating Arab armies". (p.7)

***Address by the Fateh Delegation to the Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples. Cairo, January 1969.***

**1. *Why Armed Revolution?***

“Our people have risen to arms because all other means have been exhausted. We refuse to accept misery and diaspora as our fate, and we refuse charity and compromise as solutions to our problem. We shall overcome: through a long term liberation revolution to destroy the bases of colonialist aggression that frustrate the exercise of our inalienable rights, and to bring an end to the racist militarist regime that oppresses our people. We will fight so that peace with justice is restored to our land”. (p.6).

**2. *Announcement of the Secular Democratic State Programme:***

“Our revolution started its first operations at the beginning of 1965, two and a half years before the June 5 war. With old rusty weapons and against heavy odds, our youth embarked on the revolution with all the determination and persistence of a long oppressed people. Now as we embark on our fifth year of struggle, the fruits of our sacrifices are beginning to show. The Palestine Liberation Movement has succeeded in awakening our people, in rekindling its hope for a better future with dignity and respect in our own land. We are forcing the enemies of peace to admit their failure to extinguish our revolution, we are winning battles, and we are starting to shape our destiny.

We are not swayed by emotional appeals, we are not seekers of revenge, we are not bloodthirsty terrorists. We are freedom fighters with clear and mature goals. We are fighting today to create the new Palestine in which Christian, Muslim, and Jew will worship, work, live peacefully and enjoy equal rights. This is no utopian dream or false promise, for we have always lived in peace, Moslems Christians and Jews in the Holy Land. The Palestinian Arabs gave a refuge, a warm shelter and a helping hand to Jews fleeing persecution in Christian Europe and to the Armenians fleeing persecution in Moslem Turkey, as well as to Greeks, Circassians and Maltese among others. Our Palestinian revolution still stretches its welcoming hand to all human beings who want to fight for, and live in, democratic, tolerant Palestine, irrespective of race, colour or religion” (p.7).

**3. *Refusal of 242 and Commitment to Liberation and Just Peace***

“We are here to assert to you, and to ask you to confirm to your people, that our people will not lay down their arms until Palestine is

liberated and our rights restored. We will not accept any settlement that denies us these rights, be it the Security Council's resolution, or any other proposal or political settlement ensuing from it. We will not accept any substitute to a war of national liberation and will tenaciously hold to it regardless of sacrifices or costs. Could anybody have asked you to accept anything less than total freedom from Nazism, fascism or colonialism? We are confident the people of the world will back our struggle and will support our revolution, for it is the struggle of man to achieve the loftiest of man's values: peace and justice". (p.7)

***Political and Armed Struggle. Fateh, n/d, c.1970.***

1. *Failure of Classical Army Methods in Liberating Palestine*

“Upon the establishment of the Zionist settler-state of Israel in May 1948, the Palestinian and other Arab masses pinned their hopes for liberation on the Arab political regimes and the regular Arab armies. Since the Arab states’ dedication to the Palestinian cause was always cyclical, these hopes used to center at different intervals around this or that country to lead the rest of the Arab states in the battle for liberation. But inasmuch as coup d’état staged in many of the Arab states after the creation of Israel in 1948 expressed the resentment of the Arab peoples against their governments, they also confirmed the adherence of the Arab masses to the classical solution of regime changes.

In turn, the Palestinian masses in the various Arab countries shared in effectuating these changes. The Palestinian struggle thus focused on the Arab countries to create therein the regimes susceptible to build regular armies and to import modern armaments liable to inflict defeat on the enemy’s armed forces”. (p.3)

“This trend in the struggle for the liberation of Palestine revealed two facts:

- i. That the battle against the Zionist invasion is a battle against great forces allied to Zionism and capable, under all conditions, to maintain Israel’s military supremacy. The Arab nation, and the Palestinian people included, cannot wage a successful regular battle against Israel and her allies because this nation comprises a great number of underdeveloped countries which require a long time before they could industrialise themselves and unite their forces in such a way as to confront the enemy in a regular battle. Moreover, imperialism and its allied Arab reactionaries have the potential to obstruct the desired change in Arab society for a time substantial enough as to enable Israel to bolster its existence and realise its ambitions...
- ii. That in his long struggle to achieve his ambitions in our homeland, the Zionist enemy was able to recruit material and human forces which exceed by far his ability to recruit regular armies. He was able to mobilise the Jewish masses of the world to wage a battle with diversified means. The role of his regular troops was never more than that of a spearhead which he directed to achieve his aims...

## 2. *Popular Liberation War as the Only Suitable Method*

"These two facts, in addition to less important ones, frustrated Arab aspirations for the liberation of Palestine. It became impendent on the Arab nation to benefit from the experience and to opt for the genuine alternative, which is compatible with reality and the conditions of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and which also expressed their determination to achieve complete liberation.

Fateh's avant-garde embarked on this revolutionary path, believing in the masses as the only force capable of achieving victory and advocating a revolutionary war in which these masses could participate to achieve their aims". (p.5)

## 3. *Objectives of the Popular Liberation War*

"The objectives of this war are to liberate the people of Palestine, to restore their homeland to them and to establish a legitimate political authority in the liberated country emanating from the will of the Palestinian masses and fulfilling their aspirations. The means is a popular liberation war with full participation of the masses". (p.5)

## 4. *Need for Joining Political with Armed Struggle*

"It must be clearly understood that the political struggle and the armed struggle are two concomitant and complementary means to achieve the objectives of this revolutionary war and that their separation or the renunciation of either one of them poses a threat to the success of this popular war". (p.6)

"If we were to take the military struggle alone and proceeded to recruit the people in armed units, believing that this alone is sufficient, our struggle is doomed to failure. All the military forces we can recruit will remain, under all conditions, unfitted to confront a regular military force. And as long as they remain isolated from the masses, armed forces cannot be evaluated except in numbers, equipment and technological ability. This kind of revolutionary forces cannot under any condition face the existing challenge".

"If we were to take political struggle alone, meaning the mobilisation, education, organisation and leadership of the masses, we would also realise that the enemy cannot be possibly forced to retreat except by the annihilation of his military forces. The organised but unarmed masses cannot possibly play this role. The enemy will maintain his position by armed power and will remain capable of striking against these defenceless masses. That is why political struggle without armed struggle will remain impotent and incapable of achieving the aims of the revolution". (p.6)

“It is evident therefore that political and armed struggle are concomitant and that the negligence of one or the other is tantamount to turning our revolutionary war into an adventure”. (p.7)

## 5. *Importance of Political Struggle*

“Revolutionary war is a negation of the bourgeois-understanding of war- namely the need to establish a power balance with the enemy’s military forces as a basic condition for victory. Our understanding of revolutionary war is to wage a struggle simultaneously involving the armed forces of the people and the wide masses having faith in the aims of the war. Participation of the masses in the struggle side by side with their armed forces renders many of the enemy weapons ineffective, makes the enemy lose its ability to use the modern means of warfare and forces him to confront all kinds of weapons- some of which are modern and some of which may be primitive. Such participation also prevents the enemy from setting up fixed front-lines where he could concentrate his military troops and organise them as suits him best”. (p.7)

“By developing and educating the masses, political struggle becomes a safeguard for the line of the revolution and prevents armed struggle from deviating from its aim. It also creates large forces capable of directing the armed struggle in such a way as to keep it in harmony with the tactics and strategy of the revolutionary war and to prevent it from getting involved in a regular war which the enemy will continue to seek”. (pp.7-8)

“The impact of political struggle on the people is such that it enables them to supply the armed forces with its needs in fighters who are aware of the aims of this struggle and are capable of enduring all the difficulties it might encounter...” (p.8)

“The revolutionary war we are waging falls on a vast territory, which our armed forces cannot protect. The enemy, on the other hand, can direct his strikes against far-fledged areas so that we cannot consider having front lines for confrontation. The enemy also occupies a vast territory and his troops subdue a large part of our people. Through its struggle, this part of our people can prevent the enemy from setting-up secure front-lines....” (p.8)

“ Our enemy has been waging a political battle for a long time now along with his military battles. He has political bases strongly entrenched all over the world, including the Arab World. He is capable of activating these political bases with harmony and effectiveness to support his military aggression. We cannot confront these political bases, set up by the enemy, militarily. We have to engage them in a



rough political struggle so as to isolate them, cripple them and prevent them from supporting aggression against us". (p.9)

## 6. *Aims of Political Struggle:*

"To mobilise the masses for their participation in the revolution. The mobilisation of the masses has to pass through different stages although at no one point will the masses have the same standard of readiness and preparedness to participate in the revolution. The mass mobilisation stages are as follows:

- a) Initiation of the masses to the aims of the revolution, to its basic line of thought and to its political and social outlook. Such initiation does not necessarily entail the adoption of a fixed dogma nor does it imply that it is not as exposed to development as we proceed along the path of liberation. The masses will be established by the revolution and to grasp as much as possible, the motives which led to the emergence of the revolution and the need for the masses to sacrifice without limitation.
- b) Political education of the masses through clarification of the Revolution's precepts and identification of the role of all internal and external forces in the world which, by nature, are allied to the enemy... The masses should know their allies as well as those of their enemy. Palestinian and Arab societies are torn by various allegiances and comprise different classes. But in each, there are revolutionary forces capable of taking up arms and of sacrificing. There are forces that are less prepared to do so as well as neutral ones which do not feel the need to make any sacrifices. Simultaneously, there are counter-revolutionary forces which either display their hostility outright or try to conceal it for as long a period as possible. All this should be known to the masses so that they can act accordingly in the interest of the revolution...
- c) Organisation of the masses to become able, through their various organisations, to move at the right time in the right direction. Organised masses are alone capable of sacrificing and adhering fully to the line of the revolution...
- d) The organised masses cannot be led except through some kind of pyramidal organisation which requires enlightened cadres on all levels. These cadres, in turn, need training and experience to establish strong bonds between the masses and the leadership of the revolution.



2) To set-up a unified command which would assume leadership of the masses along with leadership of the armed struggle to ensure full coordination among all forces in the interest of the revolution.

- i. To stage recurrent mass uprisings with the intention of: a) Enlightening the masses and increasing their adherence to the revolution; b) Protecting the armed forces from crackdowns and plots attempted by some Arab regimes. The experiences undergone by the revolution in Jordan and Lebanon provide evident proof of the ability of the masses to protect the revolution with their bodies and voices rather than their arms- particularly that we are on Arab land and that the armies entrusted with the task of nipping the revolution are Arab armies. Armed clashes with these armies will raise intricate obstacles for the revolution...c) Protecting the legitimate rights granted by the enemy to our Palestinian masses in occupied territory or by the Arab regimes in the respective host countries. These rights need alert masses to protect them; d) Securing new mass gains which, regardless how meagre, boost the adherence and support of the masses to the revolution. The revolution cannot achieve all its aims at once...
- ii. To exploit contradictions in the enemy ranks. The enemy army comprises men of the Jewish faith who do not belong to one race and who do not have the same motivations. By coming into contact with the enemy forces, the masses mobilised through political struggle can discover their contradictions, capitalise on them and even win over elements to work on our side. The enemy army also comprises non-Jewish forces, some of which are Arab... As for the Arab armies, they include nationalistic elements and it is the task of the mobilised masses to establish relations with them so as to transform them into a shield for the protection of the revolution and the masses against the schemes and plots of the regimes.
- iii. To select the qualified and efficient elements for the formation of the popular militia whose task would be to protect the masses against reprisals. In the political struggle, the masses are exposed to counter-attacks by the enemies of the revolution. The steadfastness of the masses is greatly affected by their ability to protect themselves. The militia is a defensive organisation intended to protect the masses. It is not part of the masses engaged in the political struggle.

- iv. To foil and counter the psychological warfare launched by the enemy.
- v. To foil espionage attempts and to unveil agents and saboteurs. The masses engaged in the political struggle can simultaneously protect supply lines and the armed bases and report to the armed forces and the revolutionary command a lot of information...
- vi. To secure the ability of the revolution to keep up the struggle. Our revolution cannot for instance continue to depend on contributions from the Arab masses, particularly that most of the Arab governments which now allow us to raise such contributions have political stand which do not conform with those of the revolution and its long-term objectives. Contributions which are raised publically today are exposed to being cut-off with the slightest change in political conditions... The ability of the masses to secure these resources through their productivity is a safeguard for the revolution against pressure from the Arab governments...
- vii. To muster the support and participation of the liberation forces in the world, particularly in the Arab countries, the Socialist camp, and the Third World...
- viii. To create the feeling among the masses that they must rely on themselves. All the forces of the world can play a role in supporting the revolution but the Palestinian masses alone have endured the aggression and should be able to remain always in the avant-garde of the struggle against the enemy. Support from abroad cannot be relied upon fully because it is always liable to be cut off by a change in political conditions... The launching of our revolution in 1965 expressed, to a great extent, our indomitable faith in this principle of self-reliance.
- ix. To boost the attachment of the masses to their homeland through revivification of national culture and heritage, local customs and the history of the struggle... etc.
- x. To increase the ability and aptitude of the masses to use all possible means to defend the homeland".

***Nidal al-Tabaqa al-Amila Wa Dawruha Fi Al-Mujtama'a al-Filasteeni* [The Struggle of the Working Class and its Role in Palestinian Society], Internal Pamphlet no. 105. Fateh (Maktab al-Ta'bia'a wal Tantheem), n/d.**

1. *Conditions of the Palestinian Working Class*

"In order to identify the role of the working class and its struggle in the Palestinian society, we must rely on an objective analysis of our reality, that takes into account the nature of the battle we are waging against the Zionist enemy, and the forces that are embroiled in this battle..." (p.3)

"The historic conditions of our Palestinian society developed in a different way to that experienced in all other Arab contexts, giving it unique forms and characteristics that greatly influenced the growth of the Palestinian working class and the substance of its role in the struggle during its various stages". (p.4).

"The Palestinian society is part of the Arab society, and shares with it its characteristics of economic, social and intellectual backwardness and fragmentation..."

"With the growth of revolutionary consciousness in the Arab world and the development of the Arab liberation movement the Arab world began to rid itself in some countries of dependency and backwardness, although it is still struggling for the establishment of a society that enjoys self-sufficiency in production and justice in distribution".

"Palestinian society, as an Arab one, took the same path, but the Zionist occupation has forced this society to be embroiled in an existential struggle against a settler-colonialism that seeks to exchange the Arab with another human being after confiscating the former's land, dispersing him, or extinguishing him altogether. Accordingly, the struggle of the working class was, from the beginning, a struggle for existence, concerned with anchoring the Arab human being in his geographic location and the expulsion of the Zionist enemy". (p.4)

"The year of the Nakba marked the beginning of the dispersal of the Palestinian people and the loss of its social, political, and territorial unity. Several regimes were established on the people's land, created by the Nakba, and the Palestinian people lived under the shadow of various Arab regimes that differed in their composition and social perspective. In the meantime, part of our people remained, living under the rule of racism, slavery, and oppression inside our occupied

territories. This led the working class there- due to its oppressive objective circumstances- to struggle for the improvement of its living conditions and to unify its ranks so that its Arabness would not be lost , dissolving in the Zionist society. It therefore adopted a variety of forms of struggle that suit such aims". (pp.4-5).

"As for Arab Societies, the Palestinian working class struggled within them to secure its living, maintain its unity, and to participate with the Arab working class its struggle for liberation, finding in that struggle the path of return to our stolen homeland" (p.5)

## 2. *The Palestinian Bourgeoisie and its Relationship to the Working Class*

" As for the Palestinian bourgeoisie that grew following the Nakba, it did not have political power that could influence the local affairs of Arab societies... It was a bourgeoisie that was superficial in its influence, dependant in its role because it was trying to preserve its privileges and influence in local affairs through the dominant class in the Arab world. Accordingly, the relationship between the Palestinian bourgeoisie and the working class is a national one, and it is not a relationship governed by their social belonging to Palestinian society. The objective conditions for the development of any form of class struggle between them do not exist. On the contrary, the two classes used to cooperate on many instances in order to preserve the Palestinian presence. As such, we observe that enmity has not developed between this working class and bourgeoisie, with the exception of one particular Arab case, which is Jordan, in which there did exist, and there still exists, a limited struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie". (pp.5-6)

"The Palestinian society after the Naksa was also characterised by the presence of unemployed refugees that does not own any of the means or tools of production... for the basic needs are provided by UNRWA and this class therefore lost their ability to pursue productive work, forming human relations based on suffering, dispersal, and hope for return". (p.6)

"Through this analysis, we realise that the composition of the Palestinian struggling class is different than the composition of any other working class. For this oppressed class developed through its struggle with the Zionist enemy, rather than through its struggle with

the national bourgeoisie and the industrial and agricultural development of the economy". (p.6)

"Despite this fact, we should not hand over the leadership of our liberation struggle to the Palestinian bourgeoisie, which possesses capital and tries through it to lead the national liberation movement as it did initially when it took the lead over the PLO. However, the initiation of the armed struggle, and the rallying of the masses around their revolutionary vanguard, ruined the plans of the Palestinian bourgeoisie and the revolutionary vanguard was able to block the road in the face of the bourgeoisie, taking over the leadership of the Palestinian people, installing the Palestinian working class in its leading position at the helm of the national liberation movement". (p.6)

"The national bourgeoisie tried to create a bureaucratic army that could help it preserve its political privileges so that it can continue to control the people and its fate from its position of leadership. However, the working class, through its armed struggle, was able to lead the fight for liberation, encouraging members of the army to have genuine belonging to the struggling masses. Accordingly, the army began to transform from the bureaucratic form to a popular revolutionary army that belongs to the great mass of society i.e. to the class of dispersed refugees. As a result, there emerged from its ranks the Popular Liberation Forces, a genuine expression of this revolutionary path, pursuing *fida'i* work on the footsteps of the struggling vanguard: the men of Fateh (al-Asifa forces). (p.7)

"The Palestinian reality, as we can see, is that of a society that is divided and lacking in its territorial and political unity. Therefore, it is imperative to fight for creating its unity through the armed struggle and the return of the Palestinian to his natural location on the battlefield. Our struggle to unite our social and political body through retrieving Palestinian territorial unity requires us to create a single revolutionary structure to work within...the aim is to unite the tool of the revolution and presenting the cause to world opinion in its liberatory context..." (p.7)

### 3. *Tasks of the Palestinian Working Class*

"The Palestinian working class, through its direct and live connection with the Arab working class, has a role in pushing the Arab liberation

movement to contribute and participate in the Palestinian revolution". (p.9)

"The Palestinian working class is also entrusted with the mission of achieving national unity, by virtue of being one of the broad bases of the Palestinian revolution and would be unable to pursue its role properly if it was affected by the reality of diversity amongst Palestinian *fida'i* organisations. In that case, it would be divided amongst itself and that reality would affect the working class, without it being able to influence it. This would lead the Palestinian revolution to take a step backwards. Therefore, the Palestinian working class must preserve its unity through practicing revolutionary democracy in all its institutions, along with that creating popular productive organisations that would enable it to preserve its unity through tying the worker with the revolution on the levels of daily life and struggle". (p.9)

"This leads us to say that we are passing through the phase of a popular revolutionary economy, that provides the fighter the lowest possible standard of living and productivity so that they could achieve a high level of social connectedness with the people and the revolution". (p.9)

"Through creating popular productive institutions, the efficacy of the working class increases, and it becomes firmer and better able to preserve for the revolution the factors of continuity, spread, and unification". (p.10)

"Political struggle is not the only role of the labour movement. For this role to be active and to influence matters and help shape the fate of the people, it must be built on a productive bases operating in one frame rather than several dispersed ones as is currently the case with the Palestinian working class. The production of the working class and the institutions that it currently works in are not connected to the Palestinian revolution and this isolates it from events and developments as a working class that leads the revolutionary struggle" (p.10)

#### 4. *Challenges Affecting the Palestinian Working Class*

"Its dispersal in different countries and the harsh conditions of life has limited its activity in many cases. Furthermore, its sudden forced migration has led it to lose the minimal livelihood that allows it to

continue to pursue union work or to live near our occupied land... Constant and quick movement from country to country has led it to lose organisation and interconnectedness, leading its members to depend on their personal skills rather than union organisation or labour solidarity". (p.12)

"Its presence in spread out countries led its needs and interests to differ from country to country depending on the productive or political conditions surrounding it..." (p.12)

"It lives in the shadow of diverse political conditions that affect its ability to practice its legitimate right to establish union organisations or to demand better wages... This weakened its union activity or led to establish its unions on an inadequate basis that satisfies the requirements of the particular regime it lives under..." (p.13)

"Its belief that its presence in its place of work is temporary, which leads her to be less serious about building its union organisations and strengthening its social and interest-based connections". (p.13)

"Its recent origins and small numbers and lack of union consciousness amongst its ranks...have lessened the efficacy of its struggle and led it to be threatened with destruction. This has been aided by the availability of work in petroleum regions, to which it headed, on an individual basis, and in large numbers". (p.13)

"The availability of high salaried work opportunities for it in petroleum regions or foreign countries allowed it to have a tendency towards bourgeoisification, losing its revolutionary solidity. This has weakened its unity and adversely affected its union movement. (p.13)

"The presence of many impoverished unemployed people- who are anesthetised by what UNRWA gives in terms of aid that does not go beyond sustaining existence- weakened the fighting spirit amongst the working class and work to organise itself". (p.13)

"Some workers thought that their misery and dispersal was a result of the prevalence of certain Arab conditions that prevent them from achieving their aim to return, and that changing these Arab political conditions would allow them to return to the stolen homeland. This led the working class to depend in many cases on other sectors and powers, weakening its spirit of self-dependence, losing itself in various Arab contradictions and embroiling itself in local struggles, supporting one country over the other, or denouncing or supporting a party or a sector. As such, it lost the unity of work, leadership, and allegiance,



forgetting its daily struggle for its own unity and its national union work..." (p.14)

"All of these realities greatly affected the role of the working class, and rendered it inactive or unable to influence events. However, the rise of the armed struggle gave the labour movement a new content of struggle, through which it began to determine its goals and the content of its union work. Armed struggle has lit up new avenues for the working class, so it began to be conscious, with full clarity, of its class reality and the reasons behind its dispersal, working towards removing oppression from itself". (p.14)

##### *5. Immediate Goals of the Working Class at this Stage*

###### On the Palestinian level:

"Spreading political and union consciousness amongst the working class and charging it with the principles of the Palestinian revolution and its liberationist goals". (p.15)

"Founding union organisations wherever there are Palestinians, in secret or in public". (p.15)

"Solidifying links with other popular organisations through armed work and popular production". (p.15)

"Creating popular production organisations and cooperatives... with the goal of building a solid economy for the Palestinian revolution, giving it and the masses the means of living and sustenance". (p.16)

"Constantly supporting the popular struggle inside the occupied territories and developing organic connections with the labour movement in the inside" (p.16)

"Cooperating and being in solidarity with the Jordanian Federation of Workers and uniting labour ranks, considering that it is one class that does not differ except by name. Avoiding the sustenance of erroneous understandings that show this labour movement as being divided amongst itself in the form of two separate unions" (p.16)

"Seriously attempting to extend the fraternal ties with the workers inside the territories occupied in 1948..."

###### On the International Level:

“Creating friendly links with friendly workers unions so that it could support or armed revolution and gain further political, moral, and material support” (p.17)

“Besieging the Zionist activity in international labour venues and exposing the racist composition of the Zionist occupation state and pointing out class discrimination and the fallacy of the myth of the presence of progressive currents in the Zionist society” (p.18)

“Calling for the creation of a Palestinian Arab Democratic State on Palestinian land in which Muslim, Jewish, and Christian citizens enjoy the same rights and responsibilities” (p.18)

“Supporting and backing the struggle of oppressed peoples in their fight for freedom and self-determination, and deepening the links of friendship and common struggle with liberation movements across the world with all revolutionary means and methods”. (p.18).

#### 6. *The Strategy of Labour Struggle*

Strategy must rely on the PLO charter that was amended in the Fourth PNC Session.

#### 7. *The Revolutionary Meaning of Liberating Palestine*

“Liberating Palestine, removing the Zionist racist entity, and liquidating “Israel” and the Zionist movement is a victory for the struggle of peoples against neo-colonialism and a practical rejection that reveals the impossibility of the persistence of settler-colonialism in Asia, Africa, Latin America, as is the case of Rhodesia and South Africa and elsewhere”. (p.21)

“Liberating Palestine liberates the Jewish human being from Zionist ideas and frees him of aggressive tendencies, and gives him security and peace in Palestine and other Arab countries, and contributes to the solution of the Jewish Question that the Zionist movement tries to reignite once again so as to mobilise international Jewry to support Israel... It creates for Jews a constant state of nervousness and anxiety about their fate wherever they live, engendering a feeling of oppression, and motivating aggressive tendencies against the Arabs- the native inhabitants of the land- and encourages them to disloyal to the countries they live in...” (p.21).

The Palestinian working class has a role in exposing this reality etc... It should uphold the charter that was adopted in the Fourth PNC session.

**Wihdat al-Thawra al-Filasteenya. Dirasat wa Tajarub Thawrya Series (No.9). Fateh, c. 1968.**

*Memorandum from the General Command of Al-Asifa Forces to the Chairman and members of the PNC in Cairo (28-5-1965).*

1. *Assessing the First Year of the PLO*

“Know, oh brothers, that membership in this council is a responsibility and a duty before being an honour and a status. And we are required to present and accurate assessment of a year that has passed, so that we could be honest with ourselves and with the people that has come to look upon us with hope. Nevertheless, some have understood membership to be an honour and a status by which to impose their presence upon the masses, and this is one of the main factors that distanced the masses from the PLO and those responsible for it. We have imagined ourselves, after the sister Arab countries gave us the legitimacy of limited work in the open, to have assumed guardianship over our dispersed people and to be above mistakes, taking from this people but not giving. Based on this view, we have begun to prepare and organise in isolation from live interaction with the masses. Committees and bureaus were formed, and political pronouncements were issued, and historical pamphlets were published on the pretext of educating and moving the masses. And some of the bureau chiefs began to issue irresponsible statements, attacking and denouncing without balance or consciousness, while others were busy dealing with personal squabbles that were distant from the cause of liberation”. (p.6)

2. *Need for PLO Action as Well as Talk*

“Brothers, the path of return is long and arduous, and it is only tried by revolutionaries in thought and action. For, thoughtful planning and actual practice go hand in hand, without separation. And all those who adopt thought in isolation of experience get lost in the alleyways of obscurantism, overseeing the land of revolution and ploughing it from the windows of broad imagination, unable accordingly to provide the smallest of achievements. As for that who ignore intellectual planning in their revolutionary experience, then they are liable to be thrown around by the currents of immediacy, their energy and effort lost”. (p.6)

"If we were to adopt 'revolutionism' as an original characteristic for our liberation struggle then we must practice this 'revolutionism' in the actual realm. Otherwise, our active will shall be affected with paralysis, losing the power of influencing the reality in which we live in. Then, we would adopt the word as a profession, to the exclusion of work, and this would be an invitation for opportunism to enter the ranks of the revolution and its leadership" (p.7)

"If we were honest about making the PLO represent the national unity of our returning people, then we must operate inspired by this honesty, moving away from all practices or pronouncements that harm national unity, and strongly pushing the wheel of history forward, so that it can accelerate in its motion and arrive to the desired goal, leaving behind those who have adopted sell out stances". (p.7)

### 3. *The Importance of Fida'i Groups Outside the PLO and the Need for the PLO to Stop Denouncing Fida'i Work*

"The cause of liberation is not solely owned by one individual or one sector to the exclusion of another, for there are outside the PLO revolutionary sectors that have weight in the battle, and represented by large numbers in this national conference. The legitimacy that was given by the Arab countries for the PLO was not given to this conscious revolutionary sector that has begun to embody armed work in our occupied land. On the contrary, this revolutionary vanguard was combated, and its heroic men were thrown into the darkness of prisons. They were tortured and their weapons were confiscated. These are the men of Al Asifa, who represent the Kamikaze vanguards in our armed revolutionary Palestinian movement". (p.7)

"One of the main issues that you must study and discuss is the issue of *fida'i* work that the men of Al Asifa have begun to embody in the beginning of this year... We know that this work does not appeal to a few of you, either as a result of a lack of consciousness, or due to hidden motivations. And if their opposition was based on a constructive foundation, we would not have to confront them... however, we have felt that this critique is a sabotage operation, spreading doubt about armed struggle. If that was not the case, then why would one of the bureau chiefs issue a statement condemning these heroic acts and attaching to them the charge of collaboration, and then giving the PLO the right to do such acts?" (p.8)

“Honourable brothers, we care about national unity and it is unimaginable for us to turn critique into enmity, or frankness into a process of tearing apart national unity... We believe that it is our responsibility to you as members of a national conference, to submit ample clarification about our identity and the reasons behind our intilqa, so that you could discuss this in your conference, not as judges but as partners in a common fate and joint responsibility, because the liberation of Palestine is our fate as a whole, and without exception”. (p.8)

#### 4. *Fateh and its Theory of Vanguardist Revolutionary Work*

“The Armed Revolutionary Palestinian Movement is responsible for this revolutionary intifada, and we have undertaken this Intilqa after a thorough study of the Palestinian, Arab, International, and Zionist context”. (p.9)

“Undoubtedly, you believe with us that one of the main objective pre-requisites for the launch of armed revolution is to find a revolutionary current in Palestinian circles, which would be the main source for the creation of revolutionary vanguards that can lead the people in its fateful battle. This pre-requisite has become available, and the leading revolutionary vanguards that are able to wage the battle have been formed under the name Al-Asifa, as a revolutionary step that is part of the armed revolution’s general strategy” (p.9)

“We have adopted in this armed work on a revolutionary strategy, whose broad outlines we had previously explained in personal meetings with some of the dedicated members in your national conference and with members of the executive committee of the PLO, and it is not proper to discuss in a general announcement like this one...” (p.9)

“There has not been a people in history that was able to start an armed revolution without the existence of a revolutionary movement that leads it in battle, or some individuals that represent its leading vanguards. The pre-requisite for the existence of a revolutionary movement is necessarily the conscious and wilful meeting of its members. Also affecting this meeting, is the factor of time, experience, and testing, along with secrecy. And so long as the revolutionary movement raises popular slogans, then it is required to completely depend on the masses so as to protect and support it. It also must

carefully ensure the existence of the highest level possible of national unity, so that it could prevent the splitting of the national base, or the leadership of revolutionary work. Our movement has been conscious of these needs, and its revolutionary cadres included many members from most political currents, and who have consciously left these currents". (p.10)

"It is not easy for the movement to adjust to itself and the reality it lives in, with the presence of such a mix of political directions. However, practical experience and revolutionary practice were the major element for dissolving these currents in the armed revolution, after learning the lessons of these political tendencies and their experiences, mistakes, and gains" (p.10)

## 5. *Connection to Pan-Arabism*

"We were, and still are, conscious of our fateful connection to the greater Arab revolution, and with the need for catering for the requisites of Arab security. So we have therefore raised from the beginning the banner of the Arab Front in Support of the Armed Palestinian Revolution, and have worked openly and secretly, and with all the honourable revolutionary means available, to create this front. We were also conscious that removing the Arab Palestinian people from the verbal battlefield between Arab countries is an important factor in putting an end to the intellectual dialogue between these countries. This is a pre-requisite for clearing the vision of the Arab nation, so that it can view the cause of Palestine through the return of the sons of Palestine to their natural location on the [Arab] national battlefield, and their congregation in an armed revolutionary entity". (p.10)

"We also tried to gather all live revolutionary elements that are available for the Palestinian cause, after we felt that the cause has been split to side issues that are being discussed in isolation of the mother cause, the cause of liberating Palestine. There were the issues of housing; tawteen; the return of the refugees and compensation for their property; partition in accordance with the UN resolution; and the issue of Arab minorities in the occupied territories and the issue of changing the course of the tributaries [of the Jordan river]". (p.11)

"These attempts of our have led many impetuous elements to accuse us of narrow regionalism. These have interpreted our conscious country-based struggle to be a narrow regional one, until the decisions



of the Arab summit came to confirm the correctness of our work and its seriousness, and the PLO was created as a country-based organisation, and the Unified Arab Command was formed as a supporting Arab front". (p.11)

"So as to hasten the return of the Arab Palestinian person to their natural location in the national [pan-Arab] battle, we encouraged the Palestinian national front work, and we helped set up numerous honourable Palestinian fronts, guaranteeing the return of many of our revolutionary youth to the Palestinian arena..." (p.11)

## 6. *Relationship with the PLO and the Arab Countries*

"The rise of this Palestinian armed frontist current, and its fast growth, rang the alarm bells in the Arab region. Accordingly, there was the call for holding the Arab summit from which the Unified Arab Command and PLO sprang. We considered them to be a revolutionary gain for the Palestinian cause, except for the fact that there were circumstances and questionable events that accompanied the conferences of the Arab Summit and the institutions that resulted from it..." (p.12)

"These organisations began to form and we began to feel the danger of their existence in their current form as institutions that are limited in action and paralysed in administration. We feared that the PLO in the form that has been intended for it would become with time a cause for freezing the revolutionary potential of the Arabs of Palestine, under the pretext of preparation and organisation, if all the Palestinian revolutionary forces joined it. Everyday, experiences and events confirmed our fears. Our armed operations came to unveil this plan. For, some of the PLO bureau chiefs began to charge us with the worse accusations, and the security services in the Arab, Colonialist, and Zionist countries were all mobilised alike, investigating the men of Al-Asifa and its leadership. The Arab media were ordered to surround our armed operations with a wall of silence, and we tried by all means available to explain our stance to every dedicated Arab. We contacted many Arab leaderships, and we found them to understand our intilqa after we loyally explained our position". (pp.12-13).

"The creation of leaderships or organisations that bring together the Arab or Palestinian revolutionary forces is not enough for making these leaderships or organisations able to carry the responsibility of liberation. For, the Unified Arab Command is not the highest reference

for all works. Indeed, there military and political decisions that it cannot discuss. Moreover, the PLO was given legitimacy of work within certain boundaries. We fear that these institutions could at the end turn to become structures of monitoring, limiting, and leashing revolutionary Palestinian and Arab forces, under the pretext of unified Arab or Palestinian work. This would prevent any revolutionary Palestinian sector to undertake armed work as the beginning of armed revolution, and could even force all Arab revolutionary forces not to support and supply these revolutionary Palestinian forces. If what we are saying and fearing is true, then that would mean the existence of a [Arab] national disaster that we cannot be silent about... We remind you of the radio statement that was read by Mr Ahmad al-Shuqairi and which he hasn't been able to finish broadcasting, and in which he questioned the use of a PLO that is connected to the Arab official sector, and this definitely confirms what we fear. And to be honest, this has been one of the supporting elements that hastened our intilqa so that we would embody the correct revolutionary conduct..." (pp.13-14)

"If the role of the Palestinian people was a vanguardist role in the Arab battle of fate, then our people must carry out the responsibility of liberation in an act of free will that is not subject to the logic of regional circumstances. This logic is the one that some traditional Arab states try to impose so as to preserve its structures and its regional conditions under the pretext that this was one of the pre-requisites for its security and its regional safety" (p.14)

"The defeatist currents we witness today inside the Arab homeland are in all honesty symptoms of illnesses that result from the regionalist logic that puts forth regional interests over the national interest. The regional logic in addressing [Arab] national issues has gone beyond being a mistaken logic and has become a deviationist current that betrays the [Arab] national cause. This deviationist current must be destroyed as soon as possible so that it doesn't grow stronger and spread its danger in the Arab world. We, the Arab people of Palestine must be more careful and alert, and more dedicated and insistent on undertaking our historic vanguard role in an act of free will that consciously transcends the regional conditions, and imposes itself upon them as an [Arab] national given from which there is no escape". (p.14)

"It is time, oh brothers, to raise our voices loudly to the sister Arab countries so that they could postpone or freeze their issues at this stage

as much as possible, and so that they could become focused on solving the Palestinian cause, by supporting us and carrying out in Palestine with us the battle of Arab fate. The slogan of Arab unity is a revolutionary one that has a revolutionary content and that cannot be achieved except through a fateful battle like the battle of Palestine that necessarily requires wielding together all Arab revolutionary forces in this battle so as to achieve victory. This Arab revolutionary wielding will impose itself on the Arab reality, destroying localism and division". (p.20)

"We have studied the conditions of our returning people, and we have arrived at the conclusion that our people have begun to feel a false sense of stability in some Arab countries, which makes it more difficult to move and mobilise. And so that the masses could rid themselves of this false stability, it must therefore be conscious of this fact, and consciousness cannot come about except through embodying the Zionist nature in a material form, after having felt this danger for many years. This cannot come about except through armed struggle" (pp. 14-15)

## 7. *Timing of the Armed Struggle*

"You believe, along with us, that armed struggle is the only inevitable path for reclaiming the lost homeland. However, some of you differ from us in relation to the question of timing. Timing, brothers, is not a mathematical calculation, as some people portray it to be. It cannot be determined except on the basis of vision and factors that affect the cause. On the basis of this thorough study, time could then be determined. Even then, the possibility of being right or wrong in this regard is openly there". (p.15)

"Many of those who disagree with us in relation to the timing of the armed revolution arrive at this decision on the basis of their own circumstances, be they local, regional, organisational, or intellectual. They forget, or pretend to forget, the reality of the enemy at this stage, after having completed the transference of water to the Naqab, beginning to implement a major housing plan there. Two years only are enough to create a new Zionist deformity". (p.15)

"Some Arab countries see first the need to solve their own individual problems before carrying out the [Arab] national battle of fate. And some political organisations await first the growth of its cadres so that it could be in a position to contribute to armed struggle. And there are

dispersed intellectual currents that call for solving the Palestinian cause [Arab] nationally, but they do not suggest a clear coordinated manner for carrying out this solution. Rather, they limit themselves to posing this Arab national slogan, taking its lessons from the Nakba. To be honest, the [Arab] national and the local [country-based] problems cannot end because each stage of the national struggle has its complications and problems". (p.16)

"Any timing that is based on a partial foundation and that it does not take account of all prevailing conditions is wrong. For, it drops from its calculations other factors that are immensely important. We are conscious of, and take into account, the various local and national conditions and do not belittle their importance. However, we are also conscious at the same time of the existence or persistence of numerous local and national issues, which are in reality a direct reflection of the Zionist presence and its persistence on our land. Furthermore, the resolution of many of these problems depends, to a great extent, on removing the Zionist entity". (p.16)

"After assessing the various conditions and problems that pertain to our cause, we came to the conclusion that there encouraging and discouraging factors for the launch. Upon conscious analysis and comparison of these positive and negative elements, and taking into account time as a common denominator between them, we became certain that the timing of our revolution at the beginning of this year was correct. And one of the goals of our military launch was to create a practical embodiment of our challenge to the Zionist colonialist aggression, and as a practical rejection of its existence on our stolen land. You would have undoubtedly felt, up-close or from afar, the results of our armed operations, which have internally confused the enemy, and stalled the project of water diversion and building in Al-Naqab, and led to the evacuation of many inhabitants of settlements that are close to the armistice lines. These hits have also achieved extremely important strategic goals for Palestinian and Arab affairs, and it is not in our interest to speak of these in a general conference like this one" (p.17)

"There are Zionist attempts to secure nuclear weapons as part of the enemy's military strategy. Its aim through this is to freeze the battle and achieve a state by which the population size factor is taken out of the equation in the battle. This was one of the major reasons that have

hastened our armed launch, and that encourage us all to carry out the battle of liberation immediately and until victory” (p.39)

“Revolution, in accordance with its correct logic, is to place life at the same level as death, with all the meanings that this saying carries, including the willingness of the human being to concede and sacrifice their living conditions for the cause of serving the revolution and its ends. He who is able to arrive, even if only mentally, to this reality, would find the path of armed revolution to march on it. And he who is unable, shall become lost and disappear, or they shall take the word as their profession and thus become an opportunist”. (p.17)

## 8. *Connection to the Global Revolution*

“The connection between Zionism and colonialism is an existential one. For, destroying the Zionist occupation is a major revolutionary step towards destroying colonialism and imperialism in the Arab region, and accordingly in Asia and Africa. This is the correct path towards supporting peace in the Arab region and reducing the extent of tension in the world. As such, we see that our cause has broader human dimensions. It has an existential connection to the causes of people across the world, especially enslaved ones in Africa and Asia. Our struggle is a common one with these peoples, and we must meet together”. (p.19)

“The battle for freedom is one and it cannot be divided. The defeat of colonialism and global imperialism in any part of Asia or Africa or Latin America is considered to be a victory for the battle for freedom in Arab Palestine. Accordingly, our people stands besides all peoples in their struggle for freedom, independence, and achieving close cooperation with all forces of liberation in the world” (p.48)

## 9. *Rejecting “Realistic” Solutions (i.e. Bourguiba Call for Negotiated Solution) and Implicitly Questioning the Arab Order*

“Recently, there has emerged a suspicious call for a new political realism. Those issuing this call asked for resolving the Palestine cause on the basis of the status quo. This is an opportunistic call, as it stands on the basis of benefiting from the powers that support our enemy by liquidating the Palestinian cause. This defeatist call is an attack on the will of the Arab nation, which is intent on liberating Palestine, and it is an attempt to abort its role in the battle for return. The owner of this

deviationist call is the agent Bourguiba, that is now trying to abort the Palestinian cause, and to empty it of its human liberationist content, presenting it as a regional struggle that challenges peace in the Arab region. The traitor Bourguiba admits to aggression, and accepts it as a basis in international relations. We accuse Bourguiba and those who are with him of the ultimate treason and with conspiring against our just cause. This conspiratorial call opens up many questions. How can we allow for the conspirator to sit with the revolutionary, so as to plan for the battle of return?? How do we entrust the deviationist sitting next to the revolutionary with the fate of our cause? What is the point of, and efficacy and secrecy of the Arab decisions in the Summit conferences?" (p.21)

"Learn, oh brothers, that there are many events taking place in our Arab context that are set up, created by colonialism and Zionism. By way of example, we mention the statements that Bourguiba has made in relation to the Palestinian cause. Don't you think that this event is a set-up, planned by colonialism and Zionism so that they could create once again an illusory battle between the Arab countries, and to redirect the Palestinian and Arab interest and energy to this event so that it would be steered away from the main task, which is to prepare for the battle of liberation? (pp.24-25)

"It is not strange, brothers, for the agent Bourguiba to make statements that serve Zionism. For Bourguiba has previously tried to stab the Algerian revolution. However, the consciousness of the leadership of the Algerian Liberation Army shielded this stab, and prevented the immersion of the masses in a side issue like the arrest of the five Algerian heroes, so that the energy of the masses does not become paralysed, and so that they don't lose sight of victory... Bourguiba has destroyed the buds that were opening up to the pan-Arabist direction in Tunisia by assassinating the martyr Salid Bou Youssef. For Bourguiba is a chronic collaborator and a veteran traitor and he will face his punishment on the hands of the conscious masses in Tunisia" (p.25)

#### 10. *The West Bank as the Base from Which to Launch Armed Struggle*

"There are some Arab officials who say that the West Bank is the revolutionary base for the Arab launch for liberating Palestine. Alas, up till now, this call has been empty of seriousness. Indeed, the base is



not ready, nor supplied, and it cannot be a launching point. For, where is the preparation within the West Bank for making it a launching point? We, the Arabs of Palestine must make it our launching point, forming in each village and city a revolutionary committee so that it could oversee popular resistance and civil defence work. We must recruit armed youth parties in the frontline villages, establishing training camps for training youth in the villages and the cities, and the various areas of the West Bank". (p.22)

"As for the regular army and the fighting groups, these require high military efficacy and they must be trained in the various Arab countries. Starting this work immediately will allow the masses to become aware of the seriousness of this work, and they will rush to participate in it, creating a popular base, preserving national unity, and allowing it the West Bank to become a strong base for the Arab launch" (p.23)

#### 11. *The PLO and Armed Struggle*

"Never has a cause been solved, except on the hands of its sons and their revolutionary forces. Matters of liberation have a popular substance, and those who carry the illusion that total liberation could take place on the hands of the armies in isolation of the masses are mistaken. For, armies cannot automatically carry out an existential revolution in the history of the people. They come at the end of the struggle to conclude it, after the revolutionary masses had paved the way for them to do so". (p.23)

"The role of armies comes at the last stage of national struggle after the masses, under the leadership of their revolutionary movement, had taken the battle to the stage it which the interference of the army is required. At that stage, the army intervenes to end the struggle in the favour of the revolting masses, and that happens through retrieving the stolen land". (p.23)

"We, the Palestinian people, require a revolution in our lives, especially since the Nakba has afflicted us with the ugliest of diseases, such as dependency, division, and defeatism. This existential revolution will only come about through the practice of the armed struggle and through carrying its responsibility and leading it. This will allow us to lift our consciousness to the level required for the battle". (p.24).



“It is a mistake for any liberation movement to create a military cadre on the level of classical armies. The growth and development of the armed cadres of the liberation movement depends on armed experience and practice. Deluding the masses by creating a Palestine Liberation Army at this stage is a major sin. Through this, we inject the minds of the masses with anaesthetics, for the masses will become isolated from armed work, since the liberation army will undertake the task. Our war is a popular war on the broadest level. It is in fact a war of annihilation with the enemy. Therefore, the masses must find the means of protection and defence, and then actual participation in the battle to support the fighting revolutionary groups, and then at the last stage the army of return...” (p.26).

“The PLO adopts an exhibitionist form in its practices, forgetting the revolution and its needs. This goes back to the feeling for the need to politely abide by the decisions of the Arab summit conferences, under the pretext of awaiting the establishment of a Palestinian army. Frankly, the form, rather than the substance of these decisions is taken. We believe that the spirit of the Summit conference and its decisions reside in the Arab consensus on the right of the Arab Palestinian people to fight for the Arab right in Palestine, with the help and support of the Arab nation. Have we been able to benefit from this Arab consensus in favour of liberationist work, so that we could find for it the appropriate revolutionary content?” (p.27)

## 12. *On Democracy*

“If you, brothers, have adopted the principle of democracy as one of the forms of work in the PLO then you are mistaken. In the context of liberationist revolutions, democracy that is based on nomination and elections is false, because they give rise to opportunist elements and failed traditional leaderships. Material, career, family, and party factors determine the results of elections and even nominations. Some may say: ‘but aren’t we organising the masses in revolutionary organisations such as the labour and other unions?’ In reality though, you are not organising the masses, but establishing frames and organisational institutions that have no popular content, headed by leaders who are elected on a false basis. By doing so, we freeze the huge popular tide, and we anesthetise it by giving the masses the right to nominate and elect. And after this process of elections these non-revolutionary leaderships emerge to impose themselves in the name of

democracy upon the masses. So if they decide to educate the masses they call for a spontaneous popular crowd so that it could lecture this crowd on the history of the Palestinian cause, or on the philosophy of abstract struggle. These elected leaderships do not give the masses anything but fossilised, mummified knowledge. For these leaderships, in addition to all what has been mentioned above, are very far from the actual practice of revolution, which would enable them to acquire live and pulsing knowledge, and henceforth convey it to the masses". (p.27)

### 13. Bureaucratisation of PLO

"It seems, o brothers, that the PLO has been trying to work within the boundaries of the possible. But you have not known that revolution is perseverance in the dimensions of arduousness and impossibility, otherwise it would not be a revolution and there would be no need for its existence. Revolution is constant giving before it takes the form of taking, but the PLO practices taking without giving. From taxes to deductions from employees salaries, to raising donations, and demands of congregation and solidarity, and huge expenses paid on delegations, offices, and salaries. Wait a second, o brothers, for you have jumped all at once to the stage of building before achieving victory. This form of work is an inverted revolution. What is given for the people and the masses other than the word, the statement, conferences, and enthusiasm and emotive overreaction? These works abort the revolution, injecting the masses with emotive declarations so that their enthusiasm could be stirred, their feelings perverted, and their allegiance gained. Have you not known that you are freezing the masses' practical energies, by charging them with constant emotive stir-ups that end up paralysing their will?" (p.28)

"We often hear empty words that have no substance: 'we want to mobilise the masses and to move them to carry out the fateful battle.' But have these people thought and planned for mobilising and moving the masses. Doing so requires us to include the masses in revolutionary work... Shelters and fortifications must be built in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, so that the masses could feel that they live the phase of preparatory revolution... In short, we must insert the revolution into every house, village, and city so that the masses can be aware of the preparatory phase, and can be ready for participating in the battle. If this work becomes impossible due to the opposition of some Arab countries, then we have the right to wonder with Mr Ahmad Shukeiri:

“Then what is the point of the presence of the PLO as a public revolutionary organisation, that has been given the right of work by the Arab countries. This is a question whose answer we leave to those who are responsible for the PLO...” (pp. 28-29)

#### 14. *Armed Struggle as the Only Path*

“It is not easy for us to overcome the Zionist propaganda in the [western] countries using propagandist and classical methods. The Zionist propaganda in the west has solid economic bases, and the Arab countries cannot find such bases in a short amount of time. Therefore, those who think that political propaganda in the west will enable us to regain one inch of our usurped land are mistaken. This does not mean that we should ignore political propaganda as a supporting element in our fateful battle. However, we should not exaggerate the returns that will come from this effort, especially in the colonial countries. One revolutionary act has a much greater yield than years of political media campaigns costing huge sums that we need. Political propaganda cannot give a good yield unless we carry out a decisive revolutionary act such as was done during the battle of Suez when petroleum was cut off from the European countries”. (p.31)

“Threats and emotional overreactions do not serve our cause. They rather encourage the enemy to continue planning for aggression, so long as threat and emotional overreaction does not go beyond the word and towards decisive revolutionary work. **It is better for us to carry a tiny candle than to curse the darkness a thousand times** (sic). The sole candle has been lit by the vanguards of Al-Asifa, and it lit for us the path of return. Let every group of the Palestinian people then light a tiny candle that increases the light in the darkness that surrounds our lives, so that we could see the path, the path of return that is lit by the candles of armed revolution” (p.41)

#### 15. Strengths and Weaknesses of Zionist Colonialism

Strengths: connection to western colonialism and imperialism (p.30-32)

Weaknesses: Occupied Palestine is weak in terms of military geography, and it is vulnerable to attack considering that its width is no more than 13 km in some locations (p.33).

Industrial concentration renders Zionist industries easy to target by *fida'iyeen*.

The existence of class struggle between Ashkenazi and Sephardim

The lack of an integrated economy makes Zionist dependent on foreign capital.

“The presence of the West Bank and Gaza in their current form is a point of weakness for the defensive or offensive strategy that is available for the Zionist occupation authorities. The natural strength that the West Bank enjoys renders it a sword that is placed over the Zionist occupation’s head. The West Bank, in relation to the occupied territories, comprises a strong fort for Arab fighting guerrillas, and a castle for the war of positions. This reality completely belies the claim that the West Bank is fallen militarily. This false claim is used to create the illusion amongst the people that the enemy will occupy the West Bank very easily, and this false claim has led some people to believe that the West Bank is a point of weakness in the Arab defensive strategy, and it led the masses to fear that the enemy will occupy them.... the point of weakness in the West Bank resides in the lack of Arab readiness for fortifying the West Bank, and this could be overcome quite easily. For the Arab countries have enough weaponry to protect the West Bank if it is subjected to a direct assault by the enemy”. (p.34)

*16. Concluding slogans by the General Command of Al Asifa Forces*

“Long Live Palestinian National Unity, Long Live Palestine Free and Arab, and Long Live the Arab Struggle for its Liberation”. (p.41)

*17. Programme of Work Submitted to the 2<sup>nd</sup> PNC*

**“Taking into account that our people fully believes that armed struggle on our occupied land is the only path for liberating our land and crushing the Zionist presence, then that requires the executive committee and its bureaus to connect themselves with the concept of armed struggle, in planning and implementation; in discourse and action (sic)”. (p.43)**

“On the Military Level:

- 1) The command of the Palestinian army must practice its responsibilities freely, through the independent personality and will of the Palestinian Arab people and in cooperation with the Unified Arab Command.

- 2) Reducing the period of military service to the shortest duration possible so as to increase our people's military energy.
- 3) Ensuring that preparing the formal army does not override the preparation of *fida'i* strike units who carry the responsibility for expanding the battle as fast as possible.
- 4) Hastening the creation of armed youth units and popular resistance.
- 5) Fortifying the frontline villages and supplying them with civil defence and resistance units as required.
- 6) Specifying the strategy of Palestinian armed work temporally and locally so that it could be in harmony with the immediate *fida'i* work inside our occupied land". (p.44)

"On the level of the PNC and the Palestinian Popular Organisations:

... The next PNC must include the leaderships of the Palestinian Popular Organisation who have a military fighting orientation, and these must have at least two thirds of the seats at least. This is taking into account that the next PNC should not have more than fifty members".(p.46)

"On the financial level:

Reducing managerial and bureaucratic expenditure, and redirecting monies to a commission-based system based on mobilising for the military effort. Those who are commissioned should be rewarded on the basis of basic needs rather than lavish careerist standards". (p.46)

"On the Arab Level:

The creation of the PLO must be connected to ending the stage of Arab trusteeship over Palestinian work, and ending the role of Arab officials in singly issuing solutions for the Palestinian cause. The PLO must act in accordance with this...

Specifying the role of Arab organisations, movements, and parties on the basis that its duty is to support the Palestinian armed work from abroad, and to protect it from the dangers and local conditions that could attempt to derail and waste the Palestinian effort. It would thus loyally contribute to enabling the Palestinian people to focus and direct its efforts towards the main battle inside the occupied territories..." (p.47)