

contain it. However, the slogan loses validity if taken to mean limiting the battle of liberation to the Palestinian people, because this would mean depriving the Palestinian national struggle of the objective Arab conditions required for the battle to liberate Palestine. The Palestinian revolution needs supportive operational bases bordering Palestine, to provide the geographic and demographic depth for a protracted people's war. There is an organic relationship between the Palestinian national struggle and the Arab national liberation movement. The Palestinian revolution and cause plays a vanguard role in the realization of the national goals of the Arab nation.

7. Jordan is the main and special arena and supportive operational base for the Palestinian revolution

Because of the nature and size of the Palestinian population there, Jordan has distinguishing features. Sixty-five percent of the population is Palestinians who have become Jordanian citizens, not merely refugees as is the case in the other Arab countries. This is a result of the merger and annexation process achieved in the Jericho conference of 1948.* The Palestinian revolution is responsible for mobilizing and recruiting the Palestinian masses in the different areas, including Jordan. While the role of the Palestinian revolution in the process of revolutionary change in the other Arab countries is a supportive one, in Jordan it is a major partner. The Jordanian arena is considered a supportive operational base for a number of reasons: It has the longest border with Palestine; it offers the Palestinian revolution the opportunity of extensive contact with the Palestinian masses in the occupied territories; it plays a special vanguard role in the liberation of Palestinian land.

8. The Palestinian revolution is part of the international revolution against imperialism, Zionism and reaction

The PFLP considers that the suffering of the Palestinian people from oppression, injustice, slavery and banishment, is nothing other than the direct results of the practices of international capitalism and its development into the stage of imperialism. The Zionist entity is a colonial state established by imperialism and provided with the support needed to remain strong and to thrive, so that imperialism can rely on this entity to insure continued domination of the region, the plunder and exploitation of its resources, as well as the benefits of its strategic location. As a result the Palestinian people stand in the same trench as all other oppressed peoples and classes which are harmed by colonialist and capitalist regimes. Thus the struggle of the Palestinian people is part of the world-wide battle against imperialism and the reactionary forces connected with it.

9. Protracted people's war is the only way to liberation

The liberation of Palestine can only be achieved by the use of force. All other forms of struggle must complement armed struggle. However, the technological-military superiority of the imperialist-Zionist enemy means that quick, classical warfare is to its advantage. Therefore, the successful method for confronting the superior enemy, as concluded from the experience of the peoples, is guerrilla warfare. In the first stages of struggle, this begins by wearing down the enemy gradually, thereafter continuously mobilizing the masses of the Palestinian and Arab people in a protracted war which will ultimately

be able to achieve victory.

10. The importance of the organizational issue

The political organization is vastly important. Without it, political aims, despite being correct and just, will remain dreams and hopes. The third national congress of the PFLP (1972) gave priority to the task of building the revolutionary party. The second priority was the united national front. The revolutionary party is one which adopts the ideology of the working class as its theoretical guideline. In class terms, such a party is composed of the vanguards of the working class. It adopts the principle of democratic centralism in its internal relations.

The united national front, on the other hand, is the organizational framework which includes the various classes of the revolution and their parties and organizations. The PLO is the broad national front through which the PFLP struggles on the basis of the following principles: (1) collective leadership; (2) democratic relations between the factions of the revolution; (3) the right of each faction to ideological, political and organizational independence; and (4) representation of all factions in the PLO's institutions, proportional to the growth of their role in the revolutionary process.

11. The aim of the Palestinian revolution is to liberate Palestine and found a popular democratic state on all of the Palestinian land

The aim of the Palestinian struggle is the liberation of Palestine from the expansionist, colonial, imperialist, Zionist presence. The conflict with the Zionist enemy is not based on national or religious chauvinism. Thus, the revolution aims at establishing a popular democratic state wherein both Arabs and Jews enjoy equal rights and duties. The process of liberating Palestine also entails liberating the Jewish masses who were recruited by Zionism and imperialism, as cannon fodder in the war against the people of the region. Thus it is natural that the Palestinian revolution should find an ally in Jewish opposition to Zionism and imperialism. The democratic Palestinian state will unite with the other Arab countries in a progressive Arab society. After liberation, the Jews will be citizens of a democratic socialist society.

Major Political Stands

1. On the Jordanian regime

The PFLP considers that Jordan, by virtue of its geographical location, exercises great political and military influence on the Arab-Zionist conflict. From the very start, the PFLP regarded coexistence between the Palestinian resistance and the Jordan regime as impossible. This explains the many clashes between the two. The PFLP also considers that the resistance's hesitation to confront the regime meant the loss of an invaluable opportunity, and enabled the regime to strike the resistance in September 1970 and drive it out of Jordan in July 1971. With this, the Palestinian resistance lost its most important base - most important because of Jordan's special features and because it is the primary and most natural base for the revolution.

2. Confrontation of the settlement trend after the 1973 war and the foundation of the Palestinian Front to Reject Capitulationist Settlements