

# THE PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION

## THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE INDEPENDENT STATE



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PALESTINIAN REVOLUTION**

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SELF - DETERMINATION  
AND THE  
INDEPENDENT STATE**



**D.F.L.P.**

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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## FOREWORD

As the forces and organizations of the Revolution prepared for the convening of the thirteenth Palestinian National Council, the Martyr Kamal Junblatt session, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine marked the eighth anniversary of its foundation February 22, 1969, the birth of the independent Palestinian left. With this anniversary the DFLP celebrates the passage of eight glorious years in the life of our Palestinian people and Revolution, years rich in the experiences of the struggle to end the Occupation and affirm the national independent Palestinian identity, on the road to national independence and the foundation of the national independent Palestinian state.

In observance of these two occasions, the thirteenth National Council and the eighth anniversary of our Front, the Department of International Relations of the Central Committee of the DFLP publishes this report. It includes several examples of the activities of the eighth anniversary celebration, in particular the interview of the General Secretary of the DFLP on that occasion. This interview may be considered an important document in the hands of all combatants of the Palestinian Revolution, in our homeland and in all places where the Palestinian people is located, and

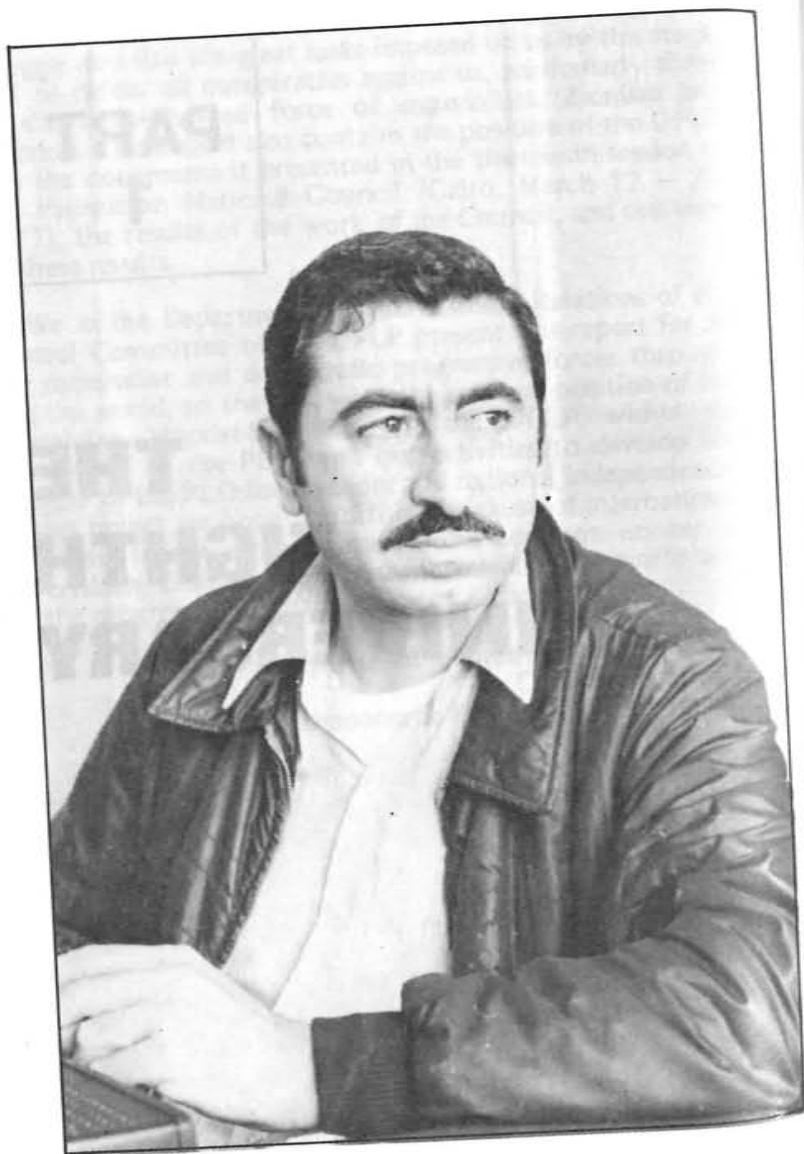
in the hands of all Arab nationalists and progressives, in our struggle to fulfil the great tasks imposed on us by this stage, and to defeat all conspiracies against us, particularly those of the three-pronged force of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This report also contains the position of the DFLP and the documents it presented in the thirteenth session of the Palestinian National Council (Cairo, March 12 – 20, 1977), the results of the work of the Council, and our view of these results.

We in the Department of International Relations of the Central Committee of the DFLP present this report for all the nationalist and democratic progressive forces throughout the world, so they may see the role and position of the Palestinian Marxist-Leninist left, the DFLP, within the framework of the PLO, and our activities to develop the struggle of the PLO for freedom and national independence. In this report we hope to further the cause of international solidarity in the struggle against the common enemy of imperialism, Zionism and Nazism throughout the world, and for the progress, liberty and peace of all peoples.

Department of International Relations  
Central Committee  
Democratic Front for the Liberation  
of Palestine  
May, 1977

**PART  
1**

**THE  
EIGHTH  
ANNIVERSARY**



*Comrade Nayef Hawatmeh, Secretary General of the DFLP*

### **THE REVOLUTION THE RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND AN INDEPENDENT STATE**

The Central Information Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine conducted the following interview with General Secretary Comrade Nayef Hawatmeh, on the eighth anniversary of the formation of the DFLP (February 22, 1977). It deals with the Arab and Palestinian situation at that time as well as international moves in this respect. It also covers the DFLP's views on the formation and tasks of the Palestinian National Council, the situation in the occupied territories, the future of Jordanian-Syrian-Palestinian relations, and the relationship with the socialist and Israeli democratic and leftist forces.

Efforts to publish this interview in al-Hurriyah, the central organ, were blocked by censorship. It subsequently appeared in pamphlet form.

### **THE UNIFIED PALESTINIAN POSITION**

Question 1. The DFLP has consistently struggled for a united Palestinian stand based on common denominators among all parties. Thus the Front has continued to adhere to the line of national cohesion with the Fatah organization

and to the consolidation of the role of the PLO, by calling for a Palestinian summit to be held. The Front has also held meetings with the « Rejection Front », in addition to its talks with the parties belonging to the PLO. What have been the conclusions and results of this unifying activity ?

Answer. The struggle of the DFLP is based on the constant principle of democratic unity, so as to mobilize all the effective and vital classes and forces of our people in the struggle against the enemy — imperialism, Zionism, and local reactionaryism. By these forces we mean, precisely, all the revolutionary organizations, mass organizations and patriotic classes of our people.

We are a small people divided among the Zionist Israeli occupation and the international and Arab refugee zones, while the enemy front is wide. This necessitates the cooperation of all forces of struggle in a broad uniform national stand.

The principal task in the struggle for this unity falls especially to the left of the Revolution, because its interests, and the entire radical and national interests, depend on the mobilization of all these forces in a wide national front. In the life of the real revolutionary left of all national liberation and national democratic revolutions, there is always a firm unified common stand to mobilize all forces prepared to carry out the tasks of national liberation and to continue the national democratic revolution. Acting on this principle, the DFLP has practiced a unifying vanguard policy throughout its history, and the common projects and policies which the DFLP proposes to the revolutionary organizations, national public opinion, and the successive sessions of the National Council, are well-known to our people and to all the revolutionary and nationalist forces in the Arab countries.

For this reason it is natural that the DFLP continue its struggle for unified action in the Palestinian ranks to perform the tasks which are the order of the day for the Revolution and the people. After twenty months of the bloody, aggressive war led by Zionist Israeli-American circles and Arab reactionaryism, we badly need harmony among all our forces so as to dress the Revolution's wounds and regroup its potentials. Then we can charge the new enemy line, which aims to encircle the Revolution and the PLO in order to subject them to the military and political tutelage of reactionary and bourgeois Arab regimes that are in accord with the Zionist-American plans concerning the Arab-Israeli conflict, and particularly the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

So as to confront these conditions which once again stretch out to chain the Palestinian people's cause with the policies of containment, on one hand, and expansion, on the other — the state of siege in Lebanon, pressures to control the PLO, the statements of Sadat and Hussein during the American Secretary of State's tour — we must intensify our efforts to unify the Palestinian position on the basis of common factors existing among all the organizations of the Revolution, to solve the internal questions of the PLO and the Revolution; that is, representation and the structure of the coming Palestinian National Council, the national political decisions it will make, and the new PLO direction. A greater degree of common discipline is required on the part of all organizations of the Revolution to perform these tasks swiftly and directly. The current discussions are essential, because the national fulfilment of these tasks will make it possible to consolidate all our people's forces and potentials to confront the forces directed at weakening the Revolution and the PLO by putting them under tutelage and, consequently, imposing the Zionist-American solution on our sacred national cause. Thus we have undertaken talks with Fatah, within the

framework of the PLO, and at the same time have continued our discussions with our brothers of the Rejection Front. Our sentiments are similar to those of the industrious man in Islam: « If he is right, he is doubly rewarded; if he errs, he is rewarded once ». We consider that all the Revolution's forces form one broad front meeting at certain common points, no matter how their social, ideological and political positions may otherwise differ, and we always condemn any policy which causes fragmentation among the organizations of the Revolution and in the PLO. In the same vein we always urge the Rejection Front to return to the broad national coalition within the framework of the PLO. The fact of turning one's back on this national coalition is a negative and escapist policy, as opposed to facing the tasks which arise in decisive situations.

These talks have produced an agreement on the structure of the National Council, on the basis on certain common factors — and the result is not necessarily wholly satisfactory to every party; in fact, we have serious objections to the Council's formation, the distribution of representatives and the means of representation. But we have put these objections aside until we may secure the internal unity of our ranks, thus opening the door for further discussions to arrive at a common political program representing precise political decisions, to realize the rights of our people in this stage, and continue to confront the direct external dangers which challenge our people and Revolution.

As we all know, the process of bringing the revolutionary organizations to a certain unity based on adherence to a common line, is complicated, not only because of the internal factors of our people's demographic distribution and social structure, and the variety of political and ideological positions, but especially because of the extent of Arab reactionary and rightist infringements and interference, and the organizational extensions of certain Arab

regimes within the revolutionary organizations, which are great obstacles to the arrival at a broad national consensus.

In this situation we struggle to develop the greatest degree of cohesiveness. We will draw up proposals for the political decisions which the National Council must make, and for a more solid and effective PLO leadership; and we hope that all organizations will participate in this leadership, and not hold back before the great dangers to which our Revolution and our national rights are exposed. For to thus hold back would be a form of nihilism and passivism symptomatic of a « flight forward » from the national responsibility for solidarity among all our people's forces.

When we have completed these internal tasks, the way will be clear to a more advanced form of unity and continuity in struggle, which will ensure more developed results at all levels of the organizational structures of our people's forces: the revolutionary organizations, syndicates, unions, and so on.

### ON A SETTLEMENT, AND PALESTINIAN TASKS

Question 2. There is no real « settlement » for the Arab-Israeli conflict under the present circumstances. What is being suggested is a settlement on American-Israeli conditions, that is, acceptance and surrender. What are the limits of the conspiracy against the Palestinian front, and what tasks confront the Palestinian left so as to defeat this conspiracy ?

Answer. Since the October War, the deterioration of the Arab situation, especially on the confrontation front, has rendered impossible a reasonable « peaceful » settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict; that is, a settlement which responds to the Arab peoples' just rights, and ours, which



enjoy wide international legitimacy; a settlement which responds to the national goal at this stage: Israeli retreat from all Arab territory occupied in the aggression of June, 1967, and the securing of the Palestinian people's rights recognized on the Palestinian, Arab and international planes. That is :

1. The Palestinian people's rights to self-determination within the framework of our independent Palestinian state on liberated Palestinian land — not a Palestinian-Jordanian state to absorb the refugees, as America and Israel intend, or as Sadat stated after Vance's visit to Cairo, which would be a new concession to the Zionist-American enemy's plans.
2. The return of all Palestinian refugees who were uprooted and evicted in the 1948 catastrophe to their original homes.
3. The execution of the U.N. General Assembly decrees of the last session, of November, 1976, relating to the Palestinian cause.
4. Enabling the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of our people, to defend our people's rights, and assume the complete national responsibility in this respect in all fields and in all international and Arab conferences, independent of and on equal footing with the other participants.

The possibility of a « peaceful » settlement, responding to current Arab and Palestinian goals, became remote due to the deterioration of the Arab situation since the October War.

We have to say plainly that American imperialism succeeded in splitting the Arab front, by pushing it to

side-battles and focusing the aggression against the Palestinian Revolution, in order to intimidate, exhaust, and if possible liquidate it, men and materials; or at least subject it to the military and political tutelage of reactionary and rightist Arab forces.

All these reversals enabled imperialism and « Israel » to exert pressures against the Arab countries for further concessions and retreats, towards the acceptance of Israeli and American solutions to the Arab-Israeli and Palestinian-Israeli problems; in other words, acceptance of and surrender to American-Israeli plans and programs step by step. Precisely, these plans aim to:

1. Reach an American-Israeli settlement based on Israeli refusal to retreat to the borders of June 4, 1967 ;
2. Resolve the Palestinian cause by liquidation and the denial of the independent national rights of our people, on the basis of further Israeli expansion and the annexation of what remains of Arab Palestinian land to the neighboring Arab countries, so as to submerge the map of Palestine once more as in 1948 ;
3. Resettle, assimilate and dissolve the concentrations of our people among Israel and the neighboring Arab countries, within the context of the « United Kingdom » projects and confederal union, rather than recognize the national identity and the independent statehood of our people ;
4. Link the economy of the Arab region to the international capitalist market, and place oil, from source to use, under the control of imperialism.

These are the Israeli and American conditions for settlement. Current American political moves continue the policy of imposing submission and pushing the area towards

surrender to these conditions, either through the past formula of the Geneva Conference of 1973, or outside the Geneva Conference, through American initiatives and plans, bilaterally between each Arab country and Israel.

The latest expression of this policy was the American Secretary of State's visit to the area, during which he announced, in Tel Aviv, its salient points, summed up in the agreement between the American and Israeli positions on our people's cause. Relatively, this is what Sadat expressed after his talks with Vance, when he stated in the common press conference that « the PLO must study with the Jordanian regime the manner of the Palestinian people's representation; and the PLO must determine with Jordan the relationship between the independent state and Jordan, before the Geneva Conference ». In other words, this means a return to the split representation of our people between the Palestinian Revolution and Jordan, and a return to liquidation and absorption in a confederal project, a United Arab Kingdom, suggested in yet other statements. This is what Israel and America want, and what has been refused by our people and the PLO, and surpassed, since the Rabat Resolutions of 1974.

The value of Sadat's and Vance's statements lies in the extent to which they reveal the plans and programs of America, Israel and Arab reactionaries and rightists, against the Palestinian people's rights, through containment and the expropriation of land.

In confronting all these developments and probabilities, the task falls to all the revolutionary forces, and the Left in particular, to consolidate the internal situation of the Revolution and the PLO on the basis of the current program adopted by the National Council session of June, 1974 ; and to consolidate the total political gains and victories which our people's cause has attained on the Palestinian, Arab and

international levels, by emphasizing our people's right to an independent Palestinian state on all liberated land, and the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to the homes from which they were driven in 1948 and 1967, as all international decrees, of which the latest are the U.N. decrees of November, 1976, state; and the PLO's right, as the sole legitimate representative of our people, to represent our people as an indivisible entity in all Arab and international conferences concerning the current struggle against imperialism and Zionist Israel, and the reactionary conspiracies which aim to liquidate our cause and the Palestinian national identity.

Thus the need that the Palestinian National Council, in its next session, arrive at a tangible, precise and unified position on the problems of our people at this stage, is our responsibility. Thus our revolution may continue to develop our people's armed struggle against the Zionist Israeli occupation of our country, on the road to regrouping the Palestinian and Arab forces to confront these plans for surrender and liquidation, and to halting the deterioration of the Arab situation, especially along the confrontation front, rather than allowing the current breakdowns and retreats before American and Israeli pressures to continue.

## THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Question 3. What importance does the DFLP attach to the thirteenth Palestinian National Council ? What is the Front's view of the preparations for the Council and its formation ?

Answer. From the previous answers, the importance we give the thirteenth session of the Palestinian National Council is evident.

First, so as to unite the internal Palestinian front, we call on all the organizations of the Revolution to take effective

part in the activities of the Council and of the new Executive Committee of the PLO.

Second, we must clarify our people's concrete rights by making, in the National Council, plain and precise decisions based on our people's rights to self-determination and the foundation of its independent state, the right of Palestinian refugees to return to the homes from which they were evicted, and the application of the United Nations General Assembly resolutions of 1974, and 1976, relative to our people's cause.

Third, we stress the status of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of our people, on equal terms with all other parties concerned with the problems of the Arab-Palestinian-Israeli conflict, in opposition to all attempts to revive dual representation and all projects for containment and absorption (the declarations of Vance, Rabin and Sadat).

These are our goals for this next National Council.

As for our point of view regarding the formation of the National Council, we have clearly expressed it during all the consultations and discussions among the organizations of the Resistance and the Preparatory Committee drawn from the prior National Council. Our opinion, precisely, is that the structure of the National Council should be one which will consolidate the ground upon which our revolution and the PLO stand. This will require the following formula.

1) 50 % of the seats for the organizations of the Palestinian Revolution, for those who bear arms, who have restored the independent Palestinian national identity, and

who are responsible for all the gains of our people.

2) 30 % of the seats for the mass organizations, unions and syndicates, which form the organizational structure of the wide base of our people.

3) 20 % of the seats for independents, on the condition that they really are so, and not simply partisans of one organization or another, trying to pass themselves off as independents.

4) This organizational plan will apply to the representation of our people wherever they are: in the occupied homeland, in the Arab countries, and in foreign countries.

This proposal for the formation of the National Council was opposed by other proposals calling for maintaining the format of the previous Council with the addition of a few independent members, and yet others for a wide-scale expansion of the Council, but following no precise organizational principle — infinite expansion, which would have flooded the Council with bourgeois and reactionary elements. The advocates of this proposal in the Preparatory Committee had arrived at a figure of 307 or even 350 members for the Council.

Here too, in spite of the variety of proposals, it was possible on the basis of certain common factors to derive guiding principles which the committee charged with forming the new Council could follow. The new Council is composed of 290 members who represent all the various concentrations of our people. In addition, the Preparatory Committee partially reviewed the relative weight of the forces of the Revolution and the representation of the mass organizations, and increased the number of seats for elements not belonging to any organization (that is, independent of the organizations of the Revolution, but

having a political affiliation)

The National Council encompasses the various effective political currents of our people and of the Arab region – moderate, progressive, rightist and even reactionary.

Before the Council begins its work, we hope to prepare for it politically and organizationally through discussions and dialogue among the organizations of the Resistance, so that the Council will produce concrete political decisions and a more cohesive new direction of the PLO. This will give the Revolution a more solid, concrete political and organizational base from which to continue the struggle, realize the rights of our people and defeat the conspiracies to which our revolution and the PLO are currently exposed.

#### THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES THE TASKS OF THE INTERNAL FRONT

Question 4. The situation in the territories occupied in 1967 has become increasingly revolutionary in the course of the crisis in Lebanon, coalescing around the Revolution and the PLO as sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Thus the Israeli and Jordanian plans to produce a substitute leadership were put to failure. What means do you see for reinforcing the role of the Palestinian National Front in these areas ?

Answer. After the October War of 1973, the revolutionary situation in the occupied Palestinian territories developed into a tremendous uprising. Following the resolutions of the Rabat Summit and the PLO's admission with observer status in the United Nations in November of 1974, this mass uprising took a concrete organizational and political stand under the slogans, « No to the Occupation, no

to King Hussein and the United Kingdom Project – Yes to self-determination and independence in an independent Palestinian state », « No to reactionary bourgeois leadership within and outside the occupied Palestinian territories– Yes to the Revolution and the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of our people ». Under the standard of these slogans the uprising continued to play a principal role in challenging the Occupation, shoulder to shoulder with the PLO and the forces of the Revolution outside the occupied territories, and particularly in Lebanon, in defense of the Revolution, our people's right to independence and self-determination, and the Palestinian refugees' right to return to the homes from which they were uprooted in 1948.

Thus our people within and outside the occupied territories was able to defeat the Jordanian-Israeli and Arab reactionary projects for a substitute leadership to take the place of the Revolution and the PLO.

Our people knows well, from the experiences of its recent history, the catastrophic destiny to which it was led by rightist and reactionary leadership from 1917 until the beginning of the armed revolution on January 1, 1965.

It knows, as well, the miserable fate of its national cause under the direction of rightist and reactionary Arab countries in 1948, when it was uprooted from its homeland and scattered; the same fate which awaited it in 1967, with the occupation of the remainder of the Palestinian land. This was the practical result of the policies of containment, our people's deprivation of arms, the elimination of its national identity, and the total monopolization of its national cause by the Arab countries.

This makes it clear why our people, inside and outside the occupied homeland, has rallied to the PLO and the Revolution, a leadership which springs from the depth of its ranks, holding the gun as the principal axis for all its lines of struggle, on the way to return, liberation and independence.

Our people's ever-growing struggle is carried out through its organizational structures, which mobilize its potential and all its patriotic classes. In the interior, this organizational structure consists of the Palestinian National Front, of which the basic forces are the DFLP, Fatah and the Palestinian Communist organization of the West Bank, with the support of the social and professional unions and

syndicates, particularly the Union of Women in the Interior. These have played an outstanding role in organizing, directing and mobilizing our wide popular base in the occupied territories.

Outside the occupied territories, the PLO and the armed Revolution, with their transitional political program, form the organizational framework of our people. They have protected our people and the Revolution from the aggression in Lebanon and the plans of the Israeli, American and reactionary front. Thus our people's cause has won great stature in the Arab world and internationally, and has paved its just way across the world.

The transitional political program, which was first proposed by the DFLP on the eve of the October War in 1973, and which we continued to defend ideologically, politically, popularly and militarily, succeeded in becoming the general program of our people and the PLO in the Palestinian National Council of June of 1974. With its broad recognition of our people's rights to an independent state and the return of refugees to their homeland, this program has constituted the solid political arm of our people in all our strategic political triumphs against the Occupation and containment, on both the national and international levels.

We are now observing new links in the chain of attempts by the conspiracy to liquidate these rights and victories, since its last attempts in Lebanon to liquidate the Revolution, men and materials, and expropriate its arms, have been defeated. Our people realizes the urgent necessity of

reinforcing organized action in its ranks, under the leadership of the Palestinian National Front in the interior, and the Revolution and the PLO in all other areas where our people are located.

As was made obvious by the « tour » of American Secretary of State Vance in the area, we are witnessing today an attempt to deprive our people of its unity of representation embodied in the Revolution and the PLO, with the further aim of confiscating our people's independent national rights, already recognized in the Arab world and internationally, the latest occasion being the decrees of the United Nations General Assembly in November, 1976. Rightist and reactionary Arab circles have gone back to giving way before American and Israeli conditions regarding the area, by once again proposing a dual representation of the Palestinian people — by the Revolution and the PLO on one hand, and by King Hussein on the other — with their liquidationist proposals for a « confederal union » involving the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Jordan.

This is what Sadat announced after his discussions with Vance February 17, 1977, and it represents the reactionary retreat before American and Israeli stipulations on the Palestinian national problem.

At this stage the major forces of the Palestinian National Front in the interior must make an intense effort to expand, strengthen and develop the role of the unions and syndicates, which will sustain the struggle under the slogans of our people's rights and unity of representation. Thus we will be able to block the plans against our people's cause, which have gathered force since Vance's visit, in the receptiveness of some Arab rulers to the American-Israeli position — a response which delighted Vance, and which Zionist Israeli leaders welcomed enthusiastically.

We have confidence in our people's struggle in the occupied territories, organized under the slogan, « Yes to

independence — No to occupation and dissolution »; we have confidence in the emphasis which the Revolution and the PLO place on our people's rights and on unity of representation, as opposed to the recent concessions. These will allow us to foil the plans for liquidation, halt the general deterioration of the Arab position, and re-deploy the Arab potentialities for struggle against the American and Israeli « solution » of the Arab-Israeli conflict, and the alienation of the rights of the Palestinian people.

### THE JORDAN-PALESTINIAN FRONT THE PATRIOTIC AND NATIONAL TASKS OF JORDAN

Question 5. What are the obstacles before the formation of a united Jordanian-Palestinian front? What is the relationship between the DFLP and the various branches of the Jordanian National Movement?

Answer. What precisely is required is the construction of a Jordanian national front to take the responsibility of leading both the Palestinian and the Jordanian peoples east

of the Jordan to the formation of a democratic national Jordan liberated from the domination of American imperialism, and to mobilize both peoples in defence of Jordan and the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and independence, against the imperialistic Zionist offensive. This Jordanian national front should be armed with a program for liberating Jordan from imperialist domination and bringing it to participate in the struggle against Israeli-American plans. This program would recognize and defend the right of the Palestinian people to found its independent state. All this is in the interests of both peoples, Jordanian and Palestinian, east of the Jordan. All branches of the Jordanian National Movement, including the DFLP's Jordan organization, are responsible for the formation of such a front armed with such a program, rejecting all the policies of the present regime for the containment and assimilation of the Palestinian people,

and emphasizing the Palestinian people's right to independence.

The delay in forming this national front is caused by the conditions in which the Jordanian National Movement now finds itself, the successive blows to which it has been subjected, and the general deterioration of the Arab situation — the inclination to bow to American and Israeli plans for containment — all of which put great obstacles before the groups of the National Movement.

As for the DFLP's Jordan organization, it enjoys solid relations in struggle with all the vital and effective forces of the Jordanian National Movement. Their common political struggle finds further expression in professional and syndical struggle. In this respect, there is great cooperation between the DFLP and the Jordanian Communist Party, and with nationalist political and syndical figures, because of the organized presence of these groups in Jordan. This is in addition to the cooperation among all the organisms of the Palestinian Revolution in Jordan.

### THE CAIRO ACCORD AND THE SITUATION IN LEBANON OPERATIONS BY ISRAEL AND THE RIGHT IN SOUTH LEBANON

Question 6. The isolationists have recently taken steps to replace the Cairo Accord as the regulator of the relationship between the Resistance and the Lebanese authorities. Is there an attitude on the part of the Lebanese authorities in favor of drafting a new agreement, on what basis, and what is the effect of this on the forces of the Palestinian Revolution in South Lebanon?

Answer. The rightist isolationist groups act in daily coordination with Israel, supported by imperialist circles, not only to destroy and replace the Cairo Accord, but also to continue the conspiracy of encircling and striking the Revolution. They attempt to confiscate the arms of the

camps, to render the camps incapable of defending the national rights of our people to return, self-determination and independence; and helpless to defend even themselves against rightist isolationist attacks and Israeli raids.

This is nothing new; it conforms with these forces' general offensive against our people and the rights of the Arab nation. As for the Lebanese authorities, there has been no change in favor of drafting a new regulatory agreement between them and the PLO, but there are tendencies in favor of putting tighter restrictions on the Revolution and the PLO, under the title, « Lebanese Authorities' Interpretation of the Cairo Accord ». This was made obvious in the interpretation draft drawn up by the Lebanese authorities' consultant, which went beyond the Cairo Accord and signalled plain intentions to confiscate the arms of the camps and limit the Revolution's existence to police forces within the framework of the « Palestinian Armed Struggle », at a percentage not exceeding three per thousand of the population of each camp.

As for South Lebanon, the rightist forces, in direct and daily coordination with Israel, are still launching their aggressive attacks against the Revolution and its allies, and trying to dominate the South and annul all the terms of the Cairo Accord.

This has prompted the PLO to dispatch a corresponding explanatory memorandum which is now being discussed by the Arab Quadro-partite Committee, in hopes of arriving at a practical, just, sincere and precise interpretation of the Cairo Accord which can be executed in letter and spirit.

Hundreds of times the Revolution and the PLO have stated their readiness to implement the Cairo Accord, without any of these attempts at political blackmail and falsification. We hope to arrive at a concrete collective interpretation in the course of these discussions between the Lebanese authorities and the PLO, witnessed by the Quadro-partite Committee.

## THE INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE THE HISTORIC COURSE OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE RELATIONS WITH DEMOCRATIC AND LEFTIST ISRAELI FORCES

Question 7. The limits of the future democratic Palestinian state will be determined by the relationship between the stage in which the rights to an independent state and the return of refugees are realized, and the evolution and reactions during the later stages of struggle. How do you expect this process to unfold? What is the role of the democratic and leftist anti-Zionist forces in Israel in this process? What are our relations with them, and what are the limits of the development of such a relationship?

Answer. So as not to « put the cart before the horse », or, as it is said, not to « fish in the desert », we must first, with the solidarity of all democratic and progressive forces which work for the welfare and security of the world, carry out the transitional program of the Revolution and the PLO. This program has its legal basis, on the Arab level, in the Rabat Resolutions of 1974 and the Cairo Summit of 1976, and on the international level, in the United Nations General Assembly decrees of 1974, 1975 and 1976, and in international public opinion. This means, in effect, securing the Palestinian refugees' rights to restoration to their homeland from which they were driven in 1948 and 1967, self-determination in the foundation of the independent state in the West Bank, Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip, and the right of the Revolution and the PLO to defend the rights of our people in all political activities, conferences and meetings, locally, in the Arab world, and internationally.

The performance of these steps clears the way for a series of evolutions and reactions in the later stages of the struggle towards a global, radical democratic solution of the Palestinian national cause and the Israeli problem, within the framework of a unified democratic state in Palestine.

Of course, the realization of the Palestinian people's right to protect their independent national identity will largely clear the way before the effective development of the democratic and leftist anti-Zionist forces in Israeli society. Then they may start filling their role in the long process of evolution away from imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionaryism, towards the desired complete radical solution that will ensure real peace and security for the population of Palestine, regardless of color, sex, religion or race.

The DFLP and the Revolution consider the realization of the immediate rights of our people the greatest democratic revolutionary action in this historical process. Furthermore, the DFLP enjoys relations which are daily reinforced with all the democratic and leftist anti-Zionist forces in Israel. We share with them a common struggle for the rights of the Arab Palestinian people at this stage, against Israeli Zionist policy, which is based on aggression, expansion and colonization, and against all plans for containment in neighboring Arab countries, which aim at absorbing and dissolving the Palestinian people in areas far from its homeland.

In this respect, too, we have criticized and objected to the policy of some Palestinian elements in corresponding with marginal Zionist circles, instead of communicating with the democratic and leftist anti-Zionist forces, so as to form an effective force, inside Israel, exerting pressure on the Zionist forces and pushing them towards acceptance and recognition of the rights of the Arab Palestinian people.

In this regard it is essential that we develop firm relations with the Israeli Communist Party, Rakah, and the « Israeli Council for a Just Peace », which is composed of democratic Israeli forces and personalities, and with other groups which follow the same line, such as the Israeli Revolutionary Communist Union and the like.

## RELATIONS WITH THE SOCIALIST CAMP UNITY OF THE WORLD FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ZIONISM

Question 8. What are the DFLP's relations on the international level with the Socialist camp, working class parties in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America? What is the DFLP's role in strengthening Socialist-Palestinian relations?

Answer. The Revolution enjoys, in the Arab world and internationally, firm, developing relationships with the Socialist camp, the working class parties in capitalist countries, and the national liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America. These relationships are based on the justice of our cause, and the struggle we share with these forces against the common enemy of international imperialism, in general, and American-Zionist imperialism and the local reaction, in particular.

These relationships have been strengthened by the increasing awareness on the part of progressive forces seeking the peace and welfare of the world, of the Zionist movement's imperialist, colonial, racist and expansionist nature. This awareness was crowned by the United Nations General Assembly decree of November, 1975, which considers the Zionist movement « racist and a form of racism ». All world forces of struggle against racism should participate actively in the struggle against Zionist ideology, its imperialist political movement, and its constant ally, American imperialism, which work against Socialist countries and the progressive and liberation forces of the world.

In addition, the position of the Revolution and the PLO has evolved in the definition of their front with friends and allies and the reinforcement of the solidarity of this front. Naturally, the revolutionary and realistic transitional program of this present stage has helped create a better understanding of our problems on the international level.



On the basis of their common struggle, relations have developed and grown between all these forces and the Revolution. In this respect, the DFLP has developed the best forms of relationship in struggle and in principles, on the basis of its ideological position and the necessity of common struggle. For the battle against imperialism, Zionism and international reaction cannot be divided; its division works in favor of the forces opposing the freedom of peoples and their right to self-determination and an advanced, decent way of life.

The anti-revolutionary forces quite realize this, and organize themselves accordingly in a solid, united international front to repress peoples and their democratic liberation movements, and to prolong the duration of imperialist dominance. This enables the Zionist movement to play its expansionist colonialist role at the expense of the people of Palestine and of the other Arab peoples. Thus the Zionist movement participates actively in the repression of the movements of the struggling peoples in the Middle East, in addition to its international role, in alliance with imperialism, against the movements of all peoples struggling for liberation and progress, and in addition to its terrorist role in socialist countries.

The active role the DFLP plays in this common struggle, in increasing solidarity with our people's cause, and in strengthening Palestinian relations with the socialist countries and world national liberation progressive forces, is well known. This is one of our constant daily tasks in the service of our people and its Revolution, and in the creation of conditions which will allow its victory at all levels, Arab and international. The latest of these activities of our Front were the visits early in 1977 to Cuba and the USSR, after visits the same delegation paid to Algeria and Libya.

In our contemporary world, there is no liberation movement which can protect the rights of its people and achieve its aims alone, isolated from the international forces of struggle against the same enemy front. As the Zionist imperialist front is unified in its strategic and general

tactical position against the will of the peoples revolting for liberation and progress, it is essential that these peoples join ranks and coordinate so as to pursue their struggle and achieve victory relying on an international strategic reserve.

The state of the Israeli enemy relies on common planning with the forces of international imperialism and reaction, thus acquiring the tactical and strategic depth to support the mobilization of its potential, on the local and international levels, against our people's movement. The only path for the Palestinian Revolution is to acquire a corresponding international reserve to triumph over the Zionist movement in the long-term historical process.

What applies to the Palestinian Revolution applies to all Arab countries, but, sadly enough, while the enemy state solidifies its international alliances with imperialism, the Arab neo-bourgeois reactionary forces that control the capabilities of our nation's people adopt a policy of fragmenting and disrupting our international alliances with the forces active in the revolutionary process in the Middle East and throughout the world. This policy does a great service to the Zionists and imperialists, weakening the Arab armies confronting aggression and occupation, and gradually undermining the Arab-Palestinian front, pushing it towards submission and cession of the rights of the Arab peoples in general and of the Palestinian people in particular.

#### RELATIONS WITH THE NATIONALIST ARAB REGIMES; NATIONAL TASKS

Question 9. On the Arab official level, the relations of the Front could be characterized as being outside the general Arab conformation which can be characterized as « America's Arabs ». The Front has instead established relations with the nationalist Arab regimes. What are the tasks required of these regimes in the current stage of the Revolution ?

Answer. The tasks of these nationalist regimes are as follows.

First : Arrive at a solid common Arab national position against American-Israeli plans, so as to defeat the Zionist-American offensive and realize the transitional national aims of liberating the Arab territories occupied in 1967, enabling the Palestinian people to construct their independent national state, and restoring the refugees to their homeland.

Second: Defend the right of the peoples of the Arab nation to liberation, independence, progress, self-respect, and a democratic way of live.

Third : Unify their potentials with those of the Palestinian Revolution, so as to halt the current deterioration of the Arab stand and consolidate the common front to counteract the plans of the Israeli-American alliance and « America's Arabs » in the area.

Fourth : Call all revolutionary and nationalist forces of struggle among the ranks of our Arab nation to unite, according to these common denominators of struggle, in a wide popular Arab national front, with its own organizational institutions, to pursue the unification of these forces and develop their struggle.

Otherwise, the deterioration of the Arab position will continue to an eventual surrender to American-Israeli plans by the neo-bourgeoisie and the governing reactionaries. Then it will be futile for the nationalist regimes to regret and say, « We were sacrificed with the Palestinian bull », for imperialism, Zionism and « America's Arabs » will carry the conflict across the borders of each of these nations and destroy their nationalist regimes and the gains of their peoples, to transform the Arab nation into an American lake in which Israel will swim at leisure. Then orders would be directly dispatched to Arab capitals from Tel Aviv, without going through the medium of America, as is presently the case with some Arab countries.

## SYRIAN-PALESTINIAN RELATIONS

Question 10. What is the DFLP's position on resuming Palestinian-Syrian relations as they were before February of 1976 ?

Answer. The DFLP has struggled and is struggling for this, with the Syrian brothers and in the Revolution and the PLO. Until February of 1976 the solidarity which existed between Syria and the Revolution was a benefit for the Revolution, Syria and both our peoples. When the crisis in this relationship arose, the fascists in Lebanon, local reactionaries and Israeli-American circles began to aggravate the factors of the crisis, pushing it towards a total armed confrontation.

During this period, from February of last year until now, the DFLP and the Fatah organization have exerted all possible efforts in the Revolution and the PLO to prevent such a confrontation — hence the discussions of March 15, 1976 with the Syrian leadership, and the agreement of April 16, 1976. (The Palestinian delegations at these discussions were from Fatah and the DFLP, under the leadership of brother Abu Ammar.) Even after the incident in June, the mediation of Libya, represented by Prime Minister brother Abdel-Salam Jallud, was welcomed, and led to the « cease-fire » agreement of June 20, 1976, and then to the agreement of July 29, 1976. But up till now none of these efforts has led to a return of relations between Syria and the Revolution to their state prior to February of 1976.

Certainly, the enemy has succeeded in retaining various means of aggravating Syrian-Palestinian relations. This serves the plans of the enemy front of imperialists, Zionists, rightists and Arab reactionaries.

Now we are at a critical point, as the American, Israeli and reactionary forces pursue their conspiracy against the Palestinian Revolution and the people of our nation, and keep trying to create greater tension in Syrian-Palestinian

relations, to further their plans and impose the American-Israeli solution on the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Palestinian cause. They disrupt the solidarity among the Arab confrontation forces, pushing them to offend each other instead of unifying against Israel's and America's plans.

With this awareness of the dangers which threaten us, we struggle within the PLO and the Revolution in the hopes that all will realize the existence of these dangers and participate seriously in the efforts to re-establish Syrian-Palestinian relations, in such a way as to practically serve the common struggle for the liberation of occupied Arab territory, the realization of the rights of the Palestinian people to return, self-determination and independence, and the unity of all patriotic Arab forces against the enemy of American imperialism, Zionism and their allies in the Arab nation.

During the last meeting to date between the Palestinian delegation, led by brother Abu Ammar, and the Syrian leadership, in February of this year in Damascus, it was agreed to hold a series of meetings to rectify our relations on a clear, concrete, patriotic basis, after organizing the internal Palestinian situation — the formation of the National Council and the determination of the political and organizational tasks it must cover. But once again the situation deteriorated. In spite of this, the Palestinians will continue their responsible efforts to re-establish Syrian-Palestinian relations on the basis of our common opposition to reactionary Israeli and American plans.

For their part, American, Israeli and Arab rightist and reactionary circles will continue their vile efforts to push Palestinian-Syrian relations towards further tension and deterioration, in accordance with their plans for our liquidation and capitulation.

### RELATIONS WITH JORDAN THE RABAT RESOLUTIONS IN LIMBO

Question 11. What are the limits of relations with

Jordan, in light of the Rabat Resolutions and the decision by the PLO Central Council to enter on a dialogue with the Jordanian authorities ?

Answer. The Rabat Resolutions reopened the question of relations with the Jordanian regime, and their resumption has been expected since then. King Hussein requested a delay to reform Jordanian institutions in light of the resolutions, to ensure their application. However, the reality of practice has demonstrated that the Jordanian regime is content to pay lip service in announcing its adoption of the Rabat Resolutions, but refuses to give them practical application, and in its actions even contradicts them daily.

What the Rabat Resolutions state is the following.

- 1) « The PLO is the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people ». This implies the PLO's right to a political and organizational presence among the Palestinian people east of the Jordan, as the only legal representative of that people wherever they may be.
- 2) « Assurance of all conditions which will facilitate the PLO's fulfilment of its duties towards its people, with all this implies in national and international support for the PLO by every Arab country. » This means guaranteeing the PLO's right to carry out its struggle against the Zionist enemy from Jordanian territory, to communicate from Jordan with its people in the occupied territories, and to meet all the needs of our people's national struggle against the Occupation, until the defeat of the Occupation.
- 3) « Recognition of the right of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories to self-determination and the foundation of its independent national state. » This resolution translates into practice as an end to all Jordanian attempts to pressure the municipal councils and the syndicates and unions, and a halt to the diversion of funds which were issued by the Rabat Summit for the support of the Resistance, in an attempt to bend it

toward Jordan at the expense of our people's unity of representation in the PLO.

Up till now all the efforts to induce the Jordanian regime to implement the Rabat Resolutions have ended in an impasse.

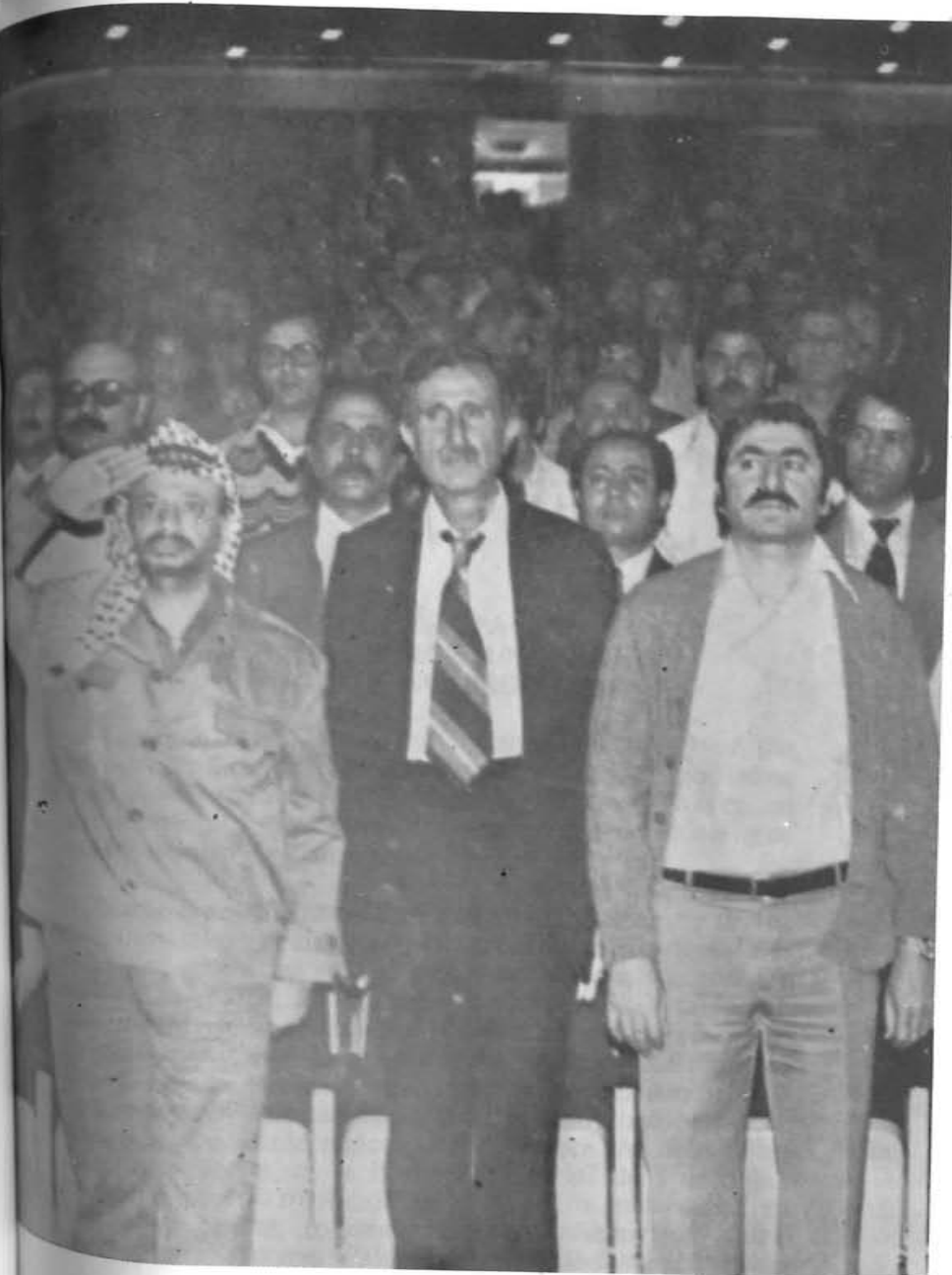
The PLO Central Council resolution for dialogue with the Jordanian regime is based on the Rabat Resolutions. A Palestinian work-paper has been prepared on the basis of our people's rights guaranteed at the international level: unity of representation, the rejection of any return to dual representation, our people's right to self-determination in an independent state, and the refugees' right to return to their homeland.

The biggest question still remains whether the Central Council resolution will reach another impasse. This depends on the Jordanian regime alone. It appears that the negotiations are leading to the same dead end, especially after the statements by Vance, Sadat and the enemy prime minister

on the return to a dual Palestinian representation split between King Hussein and the PLO, and on the containment plan in its old form of a confederal union between the Palestinian state and Jordan, to be agreed upon before the reopening of the Geneva Conference.

Obviously this represents a new submission to American and Israeli plans concerning the Palestinian cause, and a retreat from the established Rabat Resolutions.

This could be the green light to once again break off any serious discussion of the implementation of the Rabat Resolutions, and put the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue back in a dead-lock.



### **THE UNITY OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL FORCES UNDER THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM**

Comrade Nayef Hawatmeh, General Secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, published the following article in the magazine, *Filistin al-Thawra*, on the occasion of the twelfth anniversary of the beginning of the Palestinian Revolution.

Many times the fate of peoples is determined by daring decisions taken at decisive junctures of their history. The decision taken by the Palestinian National Liberation Movement, Fatah, at the beginning of 1965, in taking up armed struggle as the method for the consolidation of the Palestinian national identity and for regaining the rights of the Palestinian people, was a major historical step on the long march of this people and in the determination of the future of the whole region. It is therefore the right of all Palestinian forces, as it is the right of all the Palestinian masses, regardless of the different classes or social strata to which they belong, to celebrate the anniversary of this starting point as a great Palestinian national festival.

Inasmuch as this beginning marked a turning point in the modern history of the Palestinian people, nevertheless this history has had to undergo radical changes during the period which followed. This was due to the rapid sequence of the ensuing events, mainly in the transformation of the Palestinian people as a people into the active mover of these events. In fact the last twelve years have seen more subjective and objective changes than the several dozens of years preceding. The Palestinian national movement grew and put down roots as the political consciousness of the masses and their readiness for struggle increased. The Palestinian people regained their political unity, which they had lost, by regrouping in support of a sole national program and a sole national leadership, especially during the past three years.

In our recapitulation of all these important achievements realized by the revolution of the Palestinian people, we do not forget, at the beginning of this thirteenth year, that the tremendous sacrifices of our heroic people, especially during the past two years facing the conspiracy of the United States, Israel, and local and Arab reactionaries in Lebanon, will not be the last of such sacrifices. The road to victory is still sown with mines and thorns. The forces opposed to the revolution and the people are still struggling to demolish the achievements and gains of our people. They are determined to tear apart the unity of our people and wipe out its national rights incorporated during this period in the establishment of the independent national state on its own territory and the return of the refugees to their land and country.

All modern national revolutions, through having to face expanding plots aimed at destroying their natural forces, have grown, on the contrary, stronger, have set down roots and attained still greater victories. Today our revolution itself faces a similar furious attack. Although it was successful in foiling the major bloody thrust during the past two years, nevertheless the offensive still continues under new and different aspects. A recurrence of this attack in its past, fierce, bloody form remains an eminent possibility.

While the main forces of the Palestinian Resistance are concerned with extinguishing the fuse of the Lebanese war, the isolationist, fascist forces continue on the other hand their racist attack of hatred against the Palestinian people and its resistance movement, and through their cunning policies, aim at gaining time and destroying the agreements which exist between the resistance movement and the Lebanese authorities. They continue, in cooperation with the Israeli enemy, especially in the South, their provocations against the comrades of the Palestinian Revolution and against the patriotic Lebanese masses, in an effort to sabotage the peaceful process and prevent the fulfillment of the Cairo Accords, which guarantee to the resistance movement freedom of mobility, armament and struggle against the occupation forces of the enemy.

The reactionary, fascist forces of Lebanon are continuing their attack on the political level as well, trying to put pressure on the inter-Arab restraining forces so as to drag them into the conflict as an instrument for subjugating and disarming the resistance movement, thus fulfilling the plan of «besiege and destroy» which aims at extending the isolationist hegemony to cover the whole of Lebanese soil. Until the success of its manoeuvres, Lebanese fascism will continue to threaten partition as an alternative to its complete hegemony, in case of its failure.

The correct revolutionary position in the present sensitive circumstances implies above all, cautiousness, so as not to be caught in the nets of these isolationist manoeuvres and it implies countering the armed provocations which aim at the creation of pretexts for the entrance of the inter-Arab forces into the Palestinian camps and the disarmament of the resistance movement. This calls for the highest degree of prudence against the possible developments in Lebanon; hence the steadfast retention of our guns, which have always been, as they are now and will ever remain, the primary guarantee of the continuation of the Palestinian liberation struggle and the independence of the Palestinian Revolution and its political decisions. All of the Revol-

ution's forces are urged to check the manoeuvres directed at placing Palestinian arms at a level with those of their Lebanese counterparts, especially with those of the isolationists. The revolutionary forces must not sink into the mire of continual, step-by-step concessions on this matter. They must insist on the necessity of a general solution defining the relationship between the resistance movement and its masses in Lebanon and the Lebanese authorities and its institutions.

The battle triggered off by the counter-revolutionary forces in Lebanon was aimed primarily at destroying the Palestinian revolution by destroying its armed fighting forces, thus dislodging it from its position as a main and central element in the struggle taking place in the region. In this respect, the battle is still taking place in different forms. Besides the intention to disarm the resistance movement and check its struggle against the Israeli enemy, there are strong attempts at sabotage aimed at diverting the PLO from its national line and militant program: striking at the broad national alliance which it represents, and draining the revolutionary character of this framework of coalition through the expulsion of the armed forces of the Revolution and the lessening of their influence, and by flooding the Palestinian representative institutions with elements far removed from the struggle or connected with the reactionary, right-wing Arab regimes.

The reactionary and right-wing Arab regimes are making one concession after the other in their breathless run after imperialism, laying them as sacrifices on the American altar. They insist on tying a tamed resistance movement to their carriage and are even ready to sacrifice the Palestinian national cause. But this run and the enormous concessions they have already made to the imperialist-Zionist alliance, directly or indirectly, have diminished the assets which the October War of 1973 had gained for them, and weakened, moreover, even from their own point of view, their capacity to bargain and achieve any kind of solution to the regional problem. The Lebanese war further aggravated the Arab

situation and gave the Zionist enemy more time to rebuild its military strength and even double it. The right-wing Arab policy of co-existence and tribalistic agreements will not be able to cope with this deterioration, because active Arab solidarity can only take shape on a clear, national basis, opposed to imperialism and Zionism, and adhering to the transitional objectives of the Arab liberation struggle — the expulsion of the Israeli occupation from all occupied Arab territory and the establishment of the independent Palestinian national state. Continued efforts to besiege the Palestinian resistance and drain its revolutionary spirit so as to obtain free concessions on the essence of the national Arab cause, and the sabotage of Arab relations with its friends, especially the socialist countries and the Soviet Union, will only lead to more deterioration in the Arab position and further disruption of the balance of power to the advantage of the Israeli enemy. The Arab right will get no benefit from its present policy of proclaiming « the approaching » agreement, when it is with its own hands sowing disorder in the conditions for its realization, manoeuvring itself into the dead end of a very problematical situation.

We therefore recognize the historical responsibility which lies on the shoulders of the Arab national movement, particularly on those of the Palestinian national movement, in this sensitive period of our modern history. This responsibility consists of active and unflagging opposition to this right-wing program, and the escalation of the struggle for the realization of conditions which will ensure the fulfillment of the transitional national objectives. We have before us the shining example of our heroic masses in the occupied homeland, who for over two years have been carrying on a continuous uprising against the Occupation and its instruments of exploitation, and who have not slackened, even in the darkest hours of the Lebanese war, their full support of the PLO and its transitional national program. Our young men and women, and all our masses, emphasize through their daring opposition to the tanks and soldiers of the Occupation, that this struggle of theirs will not end until the departure of the last Israeli soldier and the

realization of Palestinian independence. Through this emphasis they check at the same time the moves of the reactionary Hashemite regime and its defeated symbols (with Ja'bari at their head) which try, in coordination with the Zionist occupiers, to ruin the Palestinian struggle, prevent the realization of national sovereignty, and once again divide the Palestinian soil with Israel.

At the beginning of its thirteenth year the Palestinian Revolution, in spite of the continuous attempts to destroy her and in spite of her losses in Lebanon, remains the possessor of an enormous strength, and a power which cannot be easily ignored. In addition to its great popular support in the homeland and the countries of exile, the Palestinian resistance still maintains its weight on both the Arab and the international levels, a weight demonstrated by the resolutions it has attained in the United Nations, particularly the resolution concerning the establishment of a national Palestinian state and guaranteeing the repatriation of the Palestinian exiles.

This enormous asset must not be wasted. Such a waste would be the consequence of deviation from the national line, either in the capitulationist direction in which the Arab right is moving — and this is the more dangerous — or in the nihilist and adventurist direction which skips over the realities and provides the Revolution with nothing less than its own suicide. On the contrary; such an asset requires more consolidation and reinforcement through perseverance in the policy of national mobilization and in efforts to consolidate national unity; it requires the elevation of the national alliance represented by the PLO in its present form to a higher level than that of a mere meeting-point of a national front nature. The consolidation of the existing alliance between Fatah and the DFLP is undoubtedly, and in a special way, one of the main foundations for such a development on the way to the national unity necessary for the independence of the Palestinian resistance and its role as the official and sole representative of the whole of the Palestinian people, wherever they may be.

This next period requires, moreover, our support of the broad anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-capitulationist Arab front, as well as the consolidation of the alliance baptized with the blood of ten thousands of martyrs of the Palestinian Revolution, the Lebanese national movement, and the heroic masses of Lebanon, who gave their full open-hearted support. We must in addition consolidate the alliances on the international level especially with the forces of progress and socialism.

Another new year of the Revolution imposes on us complete alertness and readiness. No matter how great the difficulties and how numerous the conspiracies, our heroic Palestinian people, which has given ten thousands of martyrs and hundreds of thousands of wounded, crippled, orphans and widows, this Palestinian people will ever endure, along with our national revolution and our armed, mass, political struggle, which will continue until the final victory.



*The Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine acknowledges with sincere appreciation the congratulations extended by the following parties and organizations on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of our foundation.*

The Egyptian Communist Party.  
The Jordanian Revolutionary Progressive Movement  
The National Liberation Front of Bahrein  
The Representatives of Polisario in Spain  
The Embassy of the Soviet Union in Beirut  
The Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Africa and Asia of the Soviet Union  
The Ambassadors of the socialist countries to Lebanon, who met with comrade Abu Adnan, member of the political bureau of the DFLP, to offer congratulations on the anniversary of the armed foundation of the DFLP.  
The Communist Party of the United States of America  
The Committee of Solidarity with the Palestinian People of the United States  
The General Secretary of the Spanish Labor Party  
The Union of Spanish Communist Youth.  
The Catalan Committee of Solidarity with the Palestinian People.  
The Unified Popular Labor Movement of Chile in Spain  
The Friends of the United Nations in Spain  
The International League for the Self-determination of Peoples in Spain  
The organizations and supporters of the DFLP abroad.



### **THE DFLP ENTERS ITS NINTH YEAR: CELEBRATIONS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES**

In several countries, festivals and other activities marked the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the independence of the Palestinian left.

In Iraq, the section of the DFLP organized a popular festival in which representatives from the socialist embassies and from a number of national liberation movements took part. Speeches were given by the comrades Arabi Awwad member of the Palestinian National Front (cf), Majed Abdel-Rida, member of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party (cf), and Abu Adnan, member of the political bureau of the DFLP.

The section of the DFLP in Algeria gave a series of popular festivals with the participation of the National Union of Algerian Youth, the head of international relations of Polisario, the director of the Palestinian Revolution radio station in Algeria, the General National Union of Yemeni Students, the supporters of the Lebanese National Movement, and the representatives in Algeria of the PLO, the Palestine National Liberation Movement « Fatah », and the DFLP. The section in Algeria also published, in Arabic and French, a special newspaper entitled Tell al-Zaatar and an anthology of poems from the occupied territories, and organized a photographic display on the struggle of the Palestinian people.

In the Democratic Republic of Yemen, an entire week was set aside for a series of television and radio interviews and for the celebration of festivals throughout the country. Leading figures from the Unified Political Organization of the National Front, representatives from the embassies of the socialist countries, and representatives of Arab and other national liberation movements participated. Speeches were presented by the Unified Political Organization of the Yemeni National Front, the Yemeni government, the National Movement of North Yemen, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, the local representative of the PLO, the General Union of Palestinian Teachers, and the representative of the DFLP in Yemen.

In Libya, a festival was held in Tripoli, in which participated representatives of the Libyan government, the Arab and socialist embassies, the PLO, the organizations of the Palestinian resistance, and the Palestinian popular organizations and syndicates. Speeches were given by the representatives of the PLO and the DFLP in Libya.

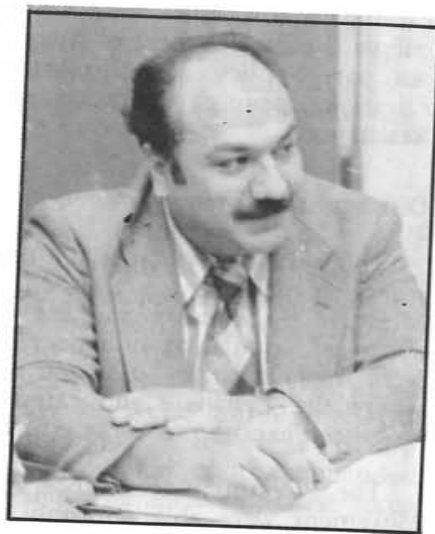
In France, supporters of the DFLP organized festivals in several cities and towns, with the participation of the



sections in France of the General Union of Palestinian Students, the Lebanese Communist Party, the Iraqi Communist Party, the Jordanian Communist Party, the Egyptian Communist Party, the Tunisian Communist Party, the General National Union of Yemeni Students, the Baath Arab Socialist Party, the 23rd of March, the Progressive Socialist Party of Morocco, the Association of North African Moslem Students, and the Union of Iranian Students, as well as the Union of Communist Labor and « Témoignages chrétiens ».

In West Germany, popular festivals, including performances by Palestinian and Greek folkloric music groups, were held in many cities. The West German Communist Party, the Mideast Committees of Frankfurt, Aachen and Koln, the Union of Arab Students in Germany, the Committee of Palestinian Workers in Koln, a delegation from Eritrea, and the sections in Germany of the Communist Parties of Italy, Spain, Greece, and Afghanistan, took part.

In the United States, festivals, films and folkloric exhibitions were organized in several major cities and towns, with the participation of the Communist Party of the United States, committees of solidarity with the Palestinian people, the Baath Arab Socialist Party, the Palestine National Liberation Movement « Fatah » and several independent progressive Palestinian figures.



**COMRADE MAJED ABDEL-RIDA,  
MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE  
IRAQI COMMUNIST PARTY, SALUTES THE  
DFLP ON THE OCCASION OF ITS EIGHTH  
ANNIVERSARY**

Comrades,

On the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, I would like to offer, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Iraqi Communist Party, our warmest fraternal greetings to the DFLP leadership and bases, and to her bureau in Iraq, wishing her success in the honorable struggle for the rights of the Palestinian Arab people and the goals of the Arab National Liberation Movement.

On this occasion I refer with pride to the developing struggle relations between our party and the DFLP, one of the pioneering revolutionary branches of the courageous

Palestinian Resistance, and I stress our determination to pursue the development of this relationship on the basis of our party policy of consolidating our alliance with the Palestinian people's liberation movement, embodied in the Resistance.

Distinguished listeners,

This anniversary comes at a time in which the Palestinian resistance movement is exposed to a fierce, many-faceted offensive by Zionism and the rightist reactionary forces, aimed at liquidating or enfeebling her. These evil designs were made clear by past and present events in Lebanon, where the Lebanese and Palestinian national movements have been exposed to fierce efforts at their liquidation.

The Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese National Movement were able not only to withstand fascism and reactionaryism, but even to win a number of victories, until the intrusion of Syria, who threw her military forces into Lebanon in great numbers, to strike at the Palestinian Resistance and the Lebanese national forces.

As the report of our Central Committee's plenary session on February 18, 1977, states, the Syrian interference in Lebanon caused a great disequilibrium in the balance of forces in favor of the reactionaries and the Lebanese right, and against the Lebanese nationalist forces and the Palestinian Resistance, upon whom it inflicted a sharp blow. Further, the Syrian interference damaged the Arab National Liberation Movement, deepening the split among its branches, and widening the potentials of the reactionary Zionist imperialist plans to distract the attention of the Arab peoples from the principal axis of struggle in the area, the struggle against imperialism and for the liquidation of the Zionist offensive.

In its Central Committee resolutions, press and positions, our party has condemned the Syrian interference in Lebanon, and has demanded, and still demands, an end to

it. We perpetually state our solidarity with the Lebanese and Palestinian brother-peoples in their just struggle for a unified democratic Lebanon and the Palestinian Resistance's right to its presence in Lebanon according to the Cairo Accords.

Comrades,

The situation in the Arab region is distinguished by a vast movement of rightist and reactionary forces, and the principal and most dangerous feature of this movement is its intent to impose surrenderist solutions on the Palestinian cause and consecrate the Israeli aggression. The rightist and reactionary Arab forces have begun to unveil their true attitudes by opposing the Arab Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the foundation of its independent national state in its homeland. The leaders of these forces have begun to deliver statements and take steps directed against the independent national identity of the Palestinian Arab people.

In general, the reactionary and rightist Arab forces act in conformity with Zionist imperialist plans, which have as their basis the total rejection of the essential nature of the Palestinian cause as a people's struggle for its right to self-determination and independent national statehood on its land. These plans propose incomplete solutions for the Israeli occupation of Arab territory, and refuse the withdrawal of the occupation forces.

The Arab National Liberation Movement in general, and the Palestinian national popular movement and its just cause in particular, confront in these conditions great dangers. This demands that all Palestinian national forces unite in their struggle, through the PLO and through struggle in common with the Arab progressive forces and all socialist and progressive forces in the world: adopting and tightening the various forms of struggle, to defeat the reactionary

Zionist imperialist plan and enable the Arab Palestinian people to secure its legitimate rights.

Comrades,

As a part of their conspiratorial activity, reactionarism, Zionism and imperialism conspire against our revolutionary Iraq, one of the pioneer revolutionary institutions in the area and in the Third World, and try to destroy our revolutionary line and progressive activity.

Recognition of Iraq's position and goals places on progressive shoulders the task of confronting all terrorist and conspiratorial attempts, no matter how disguised or veiled, and developing the progressive national front to firmly entrench the revolutionary process in our country.

Our party, as the Central Committee has stated, stands firmly beside the national authority in Iraq and the Baath Arab Socialist Party, against all conspiratorial activities which offend our struggling people, its toiling masses and its progressive advances.

It is the task of the Arab regimes and forces to arrive at a common formula for struggle according to the demands of the current stage and the ability of the Arab National Liberation Movement to unify its line and potential, build its progressive front, confront the enemy forces and defeat their plans. This task is especially urgent in the current situation.

One again we salute our comrades of the DFLP on their anniversary celebration, and wish them complete success in the struggle of their people and nation. We salute as well all groups of the Palestinian Arab people, inside and outside the occupied territories.



#### FIRM ADHERENCE TO PALESTINIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

*Excerpts from the address given in Baghdad by comrade Arabi Awwad a leading figure in the Palestinian National Front, on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the foundation of the DFLP.*

Our celebration this year of the eighth anniversary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the twelfth anniversary of the Palestinian Revolution, has a special significance. The vast participation of our masses, within and outside the occupied homeland, in these celebrations, emphasized their determination to continue the armed struggle until final victory. For the first time the celebrations in the occupied territory produced a large-scale mass mobilization. Demonstrations and marches in Jerusalem, Nablus, and throughout the West Bank and the Gaza

Strip, confirmed that our people will continue its revolution without retreat regardless of all attacks and conspiracies...

Our masses still struggle against the Occupation, which is armed with the weapons of American imperialism. We shall never retreat, nor be intimidated by the many forms of terrorism directed against us: the martyrdom and imprisonment of thousands, the destruction of hundreds of houses, none of these has ever deterred the struggle of our people against the Occupation... This past year has also seen for the first time a great development of the Palestinian masses in Galilee and the Triangle. These masses rose up in the face of the Zionist oppression and intimidation of twenty-eight years, and proclaimed their independent Palestinian will and their rejection of discrimination and the expropriation of land...

It is clear that the intention of the conspiracy in Lebanon and the interference of the Arab League forces was to put great difficulties before the Palestinian Revolution. This has created a suitable climate for removing the Palestinian hindrance to imperialist plans. This was made obvious by the visits to the region during the past two weeks of the representatives of imperialism, like a rich man's survivors competing for the inheritance. These representatives state that there is one obstacle to the American-Israeli solution, and that is the Palestinian obstacle; and that this obstacle must be removed. The plots and difficulties which the Palestinian Revolution now confronts are but part of a broader American imperialist scheme to regain its dominance of the Middle East and to strike at the Arab national movement as a whole...

...In fact they intend to impose a settlement, and to force concessions. They insist that a relationship between the Palestinian state and Jordan be established before the convening of the Geneva Conference or any other conference, and that the Palestinians should be represented by a joint delegation from Jordan and the PLO. This has been presented in the guise of an Arab suggestion proposed by

President Sadat, but in fact this suggestion is not new. The Israeli stand has always been against the foundation of an independent Palestinian state.

Israel always refuses to meet with the PLO because it is a « terrorist » organization. She accepts negotiation only with Jordan; any Palestinian existence must be expressed within the framework of a Jordanian delegation. Thus in the end there is little to distinguish the Israeli, Egyptian and Jordanian positions...

Now, as the Palestinian National Council approaches, the imperialists, Zionists and Arab reactionaries are anticipating concessions from that Council. We must take a solid stand

against these efforts by adopting a clear program mobilizing the entire Arab national movement to halt the conspiracy against the Palestinian people and its national independence. Our answer must be a firm adherence to Palestinian national independence in the form of a Palestinian national state...

On this occasion of the eighth anniversary of the formation of the DFLP, allow me to proclaim: Long live the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine! Long live the Palestinian Revolution under the direction of the PLO! Long live the Arab liberation movement, with all its nationalist and progressive forces! Victory to our people, to its revolution and to the Arab liberation movement.



*Palestinian and Lebanese Scouts sing at a festival.*



*Scene from a play written and produced by members of the Democratic Organization of Palestinian Youth.*

*Participants at a rally in a Palestinian camp.*



In Lebanon, in spite of the difficult circumstances, festivals were held in Beirut and several other cities and in the Palestinian camps. The various Palestinian and progressive Lebanese Forces took part, and speeches were given by comrades of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the DFLP. In addition, a series of song fests were organized by the Democratic Organization of Palestinian Youth.

**THE JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED ON  
FEBRUARY 25, 1977  
BETWEEN AKEL AND THE DFLP**

Following an invitation by the Political Bureau of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine to the Political Bureau of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL), a delegation from AKEL, consisting of comrade Christos Petas of the Political Bureau, visited the DFLP in Lebanon from February 21 to 25, during the celebration of the anniversary of the armed emergence of the DFLP.

The delegation was received by comrade Nayef Hawatmeh, the secretary general of the DFLP, comrade Mamduh, the commander-in-chief of the revolutionary armed forces, and comrade Zaid Alawi, the secretary of the Central Committee and head of international relations of the DFLP. At the end of the visit to the various Palestinian refugee camps, social and medical institutions of the DFLP, as well as militia and armed units in the south of Lebanon, the delegation held important negotiations on matters of common interest, particularly the further development of the existing fraternal relations between the two parties



*AKEL delegate visiting the DFLP opens Palestinian art and folklore exhibit*

within the framework of anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist and anti-reactionary struggle in the Middle East.

The DFLP expressed full support for the establishment of an independent, territorially integral, unified Cyprus for all citizens, Greeks and Turks, in the island, and for the return of all the refugees to their homes. The DFLP fully recognizes the vanguard role played by AKEL in the struggle for achieving these aims.

AKEL expressed full support for the struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. AKEL fully supports the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland, and the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent Palestinian national state on the territory liberated from Israeli occupation, according to the United Nations resolutions of 1974, 1975, and 1976.



AKEL condemns all the attempts to liquidate the Palestinian revolution and to change the present patriotic and revolutionary leadership of the PLO, to replace it with reactionary and right-wing elements.

AKEL values greatly the vanguard and decisive role played by the DFLP within the PLO in developing the struggle of the Palestinian people for national independence.

The DFLP and AKEL base the development of their fraternal relations on the joint cooperation and joint struggle against imperialism and Zionism on the principle of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

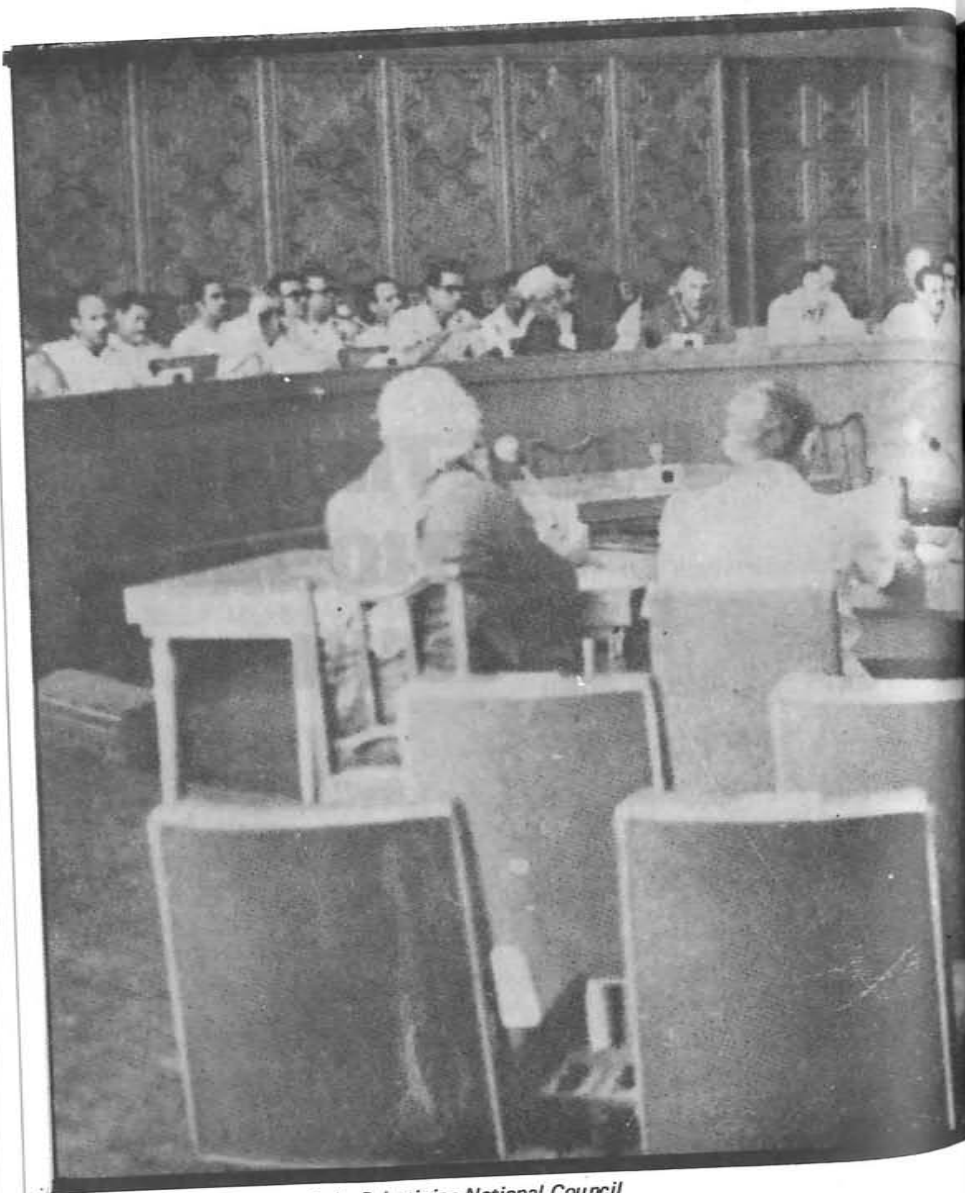
The talks took place in a cordial and fraternal atmosphere characterizing the relations existing between the DFLP and AKEL.

AKEL invited a delegation from the leadership of the DFLP to visit Cyprus. The invitation has been accepted and the time of the visit will be specified soon.

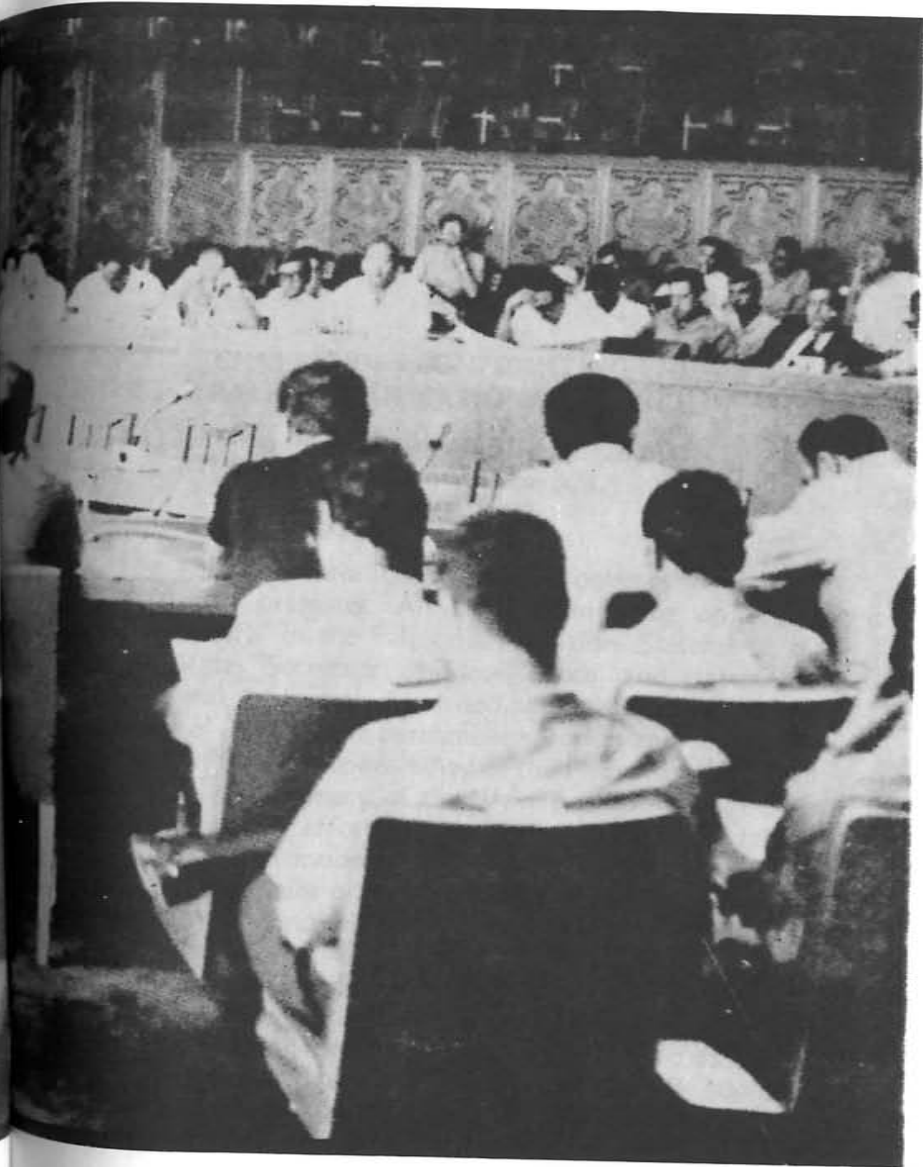
Beirut, 25th February 1977.

## PART 2

# THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL



*A session of the Palestinian National Council*



## CHALLENGES CONFRONTING THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL

published in the official organ,  
al-Hurriyah, volume 808,  
March 7, 1977

The Palestinian National Council convenes next week under heavy pressures. All are concentrating on urging « moderation » in the Palestinian position. Statements by United States Secretary of State Vance, and statements from several Arab states he visited, would seem to make the problem of achieving a permanent solution and settlement of the conflict the responsibility of the Palestinians !... Even the increasing obstinacy of the Israeli position is lost beside the concentrated efforts to make the Palestinians take a « reasonable and moderate » position, and so on !... The most dangerous aim of these pressures is that of extracting two important concessions from the PLO.

The first concession involves lumping together the question of independent Palestinian representation and the issue of Jordanian-Palestinian relations, so as to cause the resolutions of Arab summits and the United Nations General Assembly which recognize the PLO as the sole legal representation of the Palestinians, to be countermanded.

This is all to the purpose of denying the PLO its right to continue its independent representation of the Palestinian people in diverse international assemblies, and of subjugating this representation to tutelage from various sources. The PLO would thus lose command of its cause, and have to give in to the many forms of pressure directed at transforming this issue of representation into a mere formality. It is evident that this is a preliminary step to selling out the core of Palestinian rights.

The second concession would be the setting of the prior condition of establishing a formula of Jordanian-Palestinian unity between the Jordanian regime and the territories to be ceded by the Occupation. Thus putting the cart before the horse would divert attention from the primary issue; the end of the Occupation must come first, and with it the realization of the Palestinian people's independence within the framework of a completely sovereign state; then this people will be able to decide freely and equally the nature of their relationships with the neighboring Arab countries.

Therefore it appears that the current pressures on the PLO merely aim at extracting concessions with regard to its independent representation and its demand for an independent national Palestinian state. Israel is not making any corresponding offers, with her increasing insistence on the annexation of the greater part of the land and on the continued denial of the independent existence and the rights of the Palestinians. The Americans claim their only role is one of alleged neutrality, and that they will neither propose nor impose a settlement on the conflicting parties of the area, but rather « aid them with dialogue to achieve this settlement », as iterated by Vance !

What is meant by this is simply that America will not use its weight to counter Zionist obstinacy, but will allow the local balance of power to determine the shape of the

settlement. Meanwhile America is at work strengthening Israel's military capabilities, so as to ultimately shift the balance of power in Israel's favor.

These are the concessions demanded from the Arabs and the PLO by the United States and Israel as conditions for the convening of the Geneva Conference — merely convening it. They are contemplating further and greater concessions in the subsequent stage. It is self-evident that the surrender of the PLO's basic weapons, namely independent representation and the demand for a independent state, would drain it of all its powers and effectiveness. If and when it participated in the Geneva Conference, or in any other conference, the PLO would find itself deprived of Arab and international support, and, more importantly, stripped of the acceptance and espousal of the masses, and the unity of the various patriotic forces around its transitional demands.

The Americans, by clouding the issues of Palestinian rights and representation, are demanding from the Arab states new basic retractions from the positions they have taken in Arab summits with respect to Palestinian rights, as principal prerequisites to continuing American efforts to reach a settlement.

Under these conditions, but following many victories on several fronts, especially on the Arab and international political fronts, in the three years since the last Council met in June of 1974, the present Council will convene. Political observers will note that the challenges confronting the present session of the Palestinian National Council will have a decisive historical impact on the future of the Palestinian question, in addition to deciding the role of the Palestinian people and the PLO in the ensuing stages. Will the PLO continue to represent its people's cause, and subsequently to play the decisive role in the area's conflict ? Will these

current pressures lead to the gradual isolation and exclusion of the PLO from its vanguard position defending the rights of the Palestinian people and the future of its homeland ?

The search for the answers to these questions leads us to the preceding period, especially these past months during which the format of the Palestinian National Council was established. This period saw efforts and heavy pressures to make basic changes in the format of the Council, efforts and pressures corresponding to the current of retreat and surrender which calls upon the PLO to abandon its position, its line and the national cohesion among its leadership. In this respect we note the following points:

1) In spite of all the attempts to pack the National Council with elements inclined to bow to political blackmail and to the pressures of opposing forces, the major Palestinian forces succeeded decisively in maintaining the character of the Council, protecting its broad national cohesiveness, and keeping its leadership among the nationalist forces and currents; they also prevented defeatist elements with suspect relationships from achieving a significant influence in the Council. The increase in the membership of the Council did not fulfill the aims of those few voices who had called for this increase in the hopes of disrupting the nature of the Council, its general direction, and its representation of the wide range of the Palestinian national base.

2) On the political level, we presently notice certain political colorations which vary from the frank call for retreat from the transitional program adopted in 1974 to the more reserved call for this same retreat, but in the guise of keeping our national goals vague because, it is claimed, their clarity would bring about concession and compro-

mise !! These elements cannot withstand the overwhelming popular unanimity which exists on national goals and the PLO's program. The convening of the Council will see the presentation of documents and petitions from all gatherings of the Palestinian people, and especially from the occupied territories and Jordan, stressing the necessity of adopting the following goals:

– The right of the Palestinian people to establish its independent national state on its liberated land;

– The right of the refugees to return to their homeland and possessions, as emphasized by the latest United Nations resolutions;

– The right of the PLO to independent and unique representation of its people in all international assemblies, as indicated by the United Nations resolutions which superseded resolutions 242 and 338 and other resolutions ignoring the rights of the Palestinian people, with no diminishing of or tampering with this representation.

The occupied territories are also preparing for an enormous wave of demonstrations in emphatic support of the PLO and its leadership. Information also indicates that within the Council the nationalist, radical elements are taking steps to adopt these goals and to block the manoeuvres of recidivist elements and their attempts to extract direct or indirect concessions by preventing the Council from specifying its people's goals, and to delude the people by holding to a vague broad and empty general framework.

3) As regards the choice of the new Palestinian leadership, the Council must choose to ensure broad national cohesiveness, successful action to realize the decisions of the

Council, the guidance of the struggle on the path to further victories, the protection of the Revolution, and the repulsion of any transgression upon it. The only choice is to retain the unity of the direction of the PLO and the representation of all organizations in it, and to exclude those independents who have no significant political weight and do not play an evident militant role in achieving the goals of the Palestinian people. The independent representatives should be selected according to the measure of their daily links with and their role within the active mass struggle, and without falling into the trap of compromise, which would flood the direction with elements and currents with no connection to the goals, struggle and sacrifices of the people.

The National Council is faced with the great task of proving the Palestinian people and its national movement equal to the present challenge, and capable of protecting its popular Revolution and its political line. Successful passage through the present stage is possible only on the basis of the role of the PLO and the potential of the Palestinian people, and on the basis of a political line which neither accepts retreat nor yields to the current pressures, but follows the road, however arduous, to decisive victory.

### **THE TASK FACING THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL: AN EXPLICIT, UNITED POLITICAL STAND**

- Development and consolidation of the transitional program in light of the gains of the previous years;
- Clarification of provisional aims through struggle to establish an independent national state

published in the official organ,  
al-Hurriyah, volume 809 March 14, 1977

When the Palestinian National Council meets this week, now that agreement has been reached on its format and expansion, it will be confronted with major tasks which cannot be neglected, and which demand a precise political stand. This stand will provide the PLO and the Palestinian Revolution with a political weapon to face the dangers, the attacks on their victories and on the recognition of the PLO, and the attempts to bury the Palestinian people's cause — illustrated by the Rabin-Carter talks, during which they claimed that the Palestinian question is not the core of the Arab-Israeli conflict!...

This new session of the National Council convenes thirty-three months after the previous session adopted the first transitional program presented by the Palestinian

Revolution. It was the first transitional program in the history of the Palestinian national struggle. This Ten-point Program represented a great political and ideological victory, and a defeat for the nihilist ideology and position which refused to clarify any provisional goals for which the Palestinian masses could struggle. In presenting the transitional program, and under its banner, the Palestinian masses in and outside the occupied territories have waged their political and military struggle, achieving political victories on the Arab and international scales, from the Rabat resolutions to the resolutions of the Non-aligned Nations, the African nations, and the UN.

Thus the Ten-point Program gained Arab and international legitimacy, and the vast majority of the countries of the world recognized the PLO and the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent national state on its lands.

And now, after thirty-three months of developments, events and situations through which the Palestinian Revolution has passed, it becomes clear that this transitional program must be developed, clarified, and consolidated in such a way as to assimilate all the victories won on the Arab and international levels. By such development we can close the road to the American and Israeli plans, and to the various pressures which seek to impose hegemony and tutelage on the Palestinian people.

The countering of these attempts calls for greater clarity of political positions and provisional goals.

Political vagueness, the denial of the need for development and clarity, serves the trends of defeatism and submission to hegemony, and would serve the current attempts and pressures. The results of political vagueness are obvious: defeatism, despair, and evasion of the issues in

backwardness and forwardness, instead of facing the enemy front with a lucid political weapon serving to establish and absorb the gains of the Palestinian people and deploy them against the enemy front. This political weapon will enable the Palestinian struggle to stand firm and face these pressures and obstacles. Political clarity means the continuation of the struggle, while political vagueness means defeatism, despair and surrender.

It comes as no surprise that those opponents of political definition and clarity who stood against the Ten-point Program during the last session of the Council, and branded the program a conspiracy, are the same people who are presently opposing the development and definition of this Ten-point Program as a « new conspiracy ». With this transitional program we have won victories on the Arab and international levels. In the past few years, the world has been divided into two camps with respect to the Palestinian question; a wide international front supporting the PLO and the Palestinian people's right to establish its independent national state has come into being. Now we find among us those who advocate political vagueness, while in the meantime, the enemy front (the United States and Israel) attempts to suppress these victories and refuses to recognize the rights of the Palestinian people.

Clarity of the political position is a tool for organizing and unifying the Palestinian people's mass struggle. It also serves to consolidate the Arab and international legitimacy of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian National Council, in this session, must clearly and emphatically challenge all trends of defeatism and attempts to impose hegemony. It must also present a specific package of absolutely clear political resolutions as a program of struggle, so as to strengthen,

enrich, consolidate and develop the previous program.

The Council must crystallize the tangible rights of our people by clear and precise political resolutions based upon our people's rights to self-determination and an independent state.

Five resolutions are called for:

1) The unacceptability of United Nations resolutions 242 and 338, which deal with our situation as a question of refugees instead of as a question of nationhood and self-determination.

2) Our right to self-determination within the framework of an independent Palestinian state, and the right of our people to return to the homeland from which they were evicted in 1948, on the basis of the United Nations resolutions of 1974, 1975 and 1976.

This means, in the place of the division of land and people, of annexation and resettlement, in place of the disbaring of self-determination within the framework of an independent national state on liberated land, starting with the West Bank and Gaza, the countering of all Israeli expansionist efforts (Carter's latest declaration about secure Israeli borders after his discussions with Rabin); it also means countering the annexationist solution that Israel awaits. It means countering a « substitute homeland » or the resettlement and division of the Palestinian people among the Arab states or other states.

3) Insistence on the role of the PLO as the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people, on equal footing to all participants, in questions regarding the Arab-Palestinian-Israeli conflict, and its presence as an independent delegation in every conference dealing with the subject, including

the Geneva Conference.

The independence of the Palestinian delegation emphasizes the right of the Palestinian people to establish its independent national state. The relationship between this state and other states will be defined after the establishment of this state. As for the delegation's being included in a single unified Arab delegation, this would lead to the denial of the recognition of the Palestinian people's rights and self-determination. This issue is not a matter of formality, but a question of an importance demonstrated by the latest Carter-Rabin declarations, in their refusal to recognize the Palestinian question as the core of the conflict, and their continued denial of an independent role for the PLO.

4) A clear political position denouncing the American schemes for the area and for the resolution of the Palestinian question.

5) The consolidation of our relations with our friends: the Socialist states, the non-aligned nations, and African

states. This wide front represents the strategic international depth of the Palestinian Revolution, just as America represents the strategic international depth of Israel.

Strong continued alliance between the Palestinian Revolution and those who struggle for progress, freedom and peace, ensures the victory of the Palestinian Revolution.

These political resolutions should be paralleled by organizational resolutions to consolidate national unity by means of actual democratic reforms of the various branches of the PLO, on the basis of past experience. These reforms should lead to increased participation on the part of the combatant national forces, and should put an end to the



policies of monopolization of the various organisms of the PLO.

Such is the path to actual national unity. Talk about unity will remain meaningless unless it is reflected in actual and democratic participation in the various functions of the PLO by all groups of the Resistance and by every national force.



*Comrade Salih Raafat, member of the Politburo of the DFLP.*

**THE SPEECH GIVEN BY THE REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE DFLP BEFORE THE PALESTINIAN  
NATIONAL COUNCIL DURING ITS 13th SESSION**

*Comrade Salih Raafat, member of the Politburo and the Central Committee of the DFLP, gave the following address before the thirteenth session of the Palestinian National Council.*

Brother Chairman of the National Council,  
Brothers in arms,

Under the banner of the transitional program, the Ten-point Program which was adopted by the twelfth Palestinian National Council, our people has achieved a series of gains and victories. The Executive Committee, in addition to its political report, will enumerate these

victories on the Arab and international levels. We should not overlook the greatest victory of all: the great mass uprising in the occupied territories, which has not ceased for two years. This uprising would not have mobilized such numbers and possessed such courage without the present program, which satisfies the needs of our people, and which guarantees as well its national independence and an end to the wretched occupation and reactionary annexation.

American imperialism, racist Zionism and local Arab reaction have mobilized all their resources against this program and attacked it since its inception. The Palestinian Revolution has had to struggle, on many fronts, for three years in defence of this program. The most significant of these fronts were the defence of the masses and the Revolution in Lebanon, the struggle against the local administration project and attempts to impose alternate leadership in the occupied territories, and the struggle against attempts by the Jordanian regime to regain its political role at the expense of the PLO and the Palestinian people.

In Lebanon, our people waged a courageous armed struggle against attempts to liquidate it and its gains as a step towards denying our people's rights of return, self-determination and the establishment of its independent state. Our people struggles against attempts to disarm it, and against encroachment on the independence of the Revolution and the Palestinian military and political stand. Struggling with the support of our Lebanese brethren and the Lebanese nationalist and progressive movement, our people gave thousands of martyrs, wounded and maimed. After the United States succeeded in splitting Arab unity by completing the Sinai Agreement, it wanted to achieve further goals through the developments of the civil war in Lebanon. These goals were not limited to weakening the Palestinian Revolution, containing it, and imposing tutelage

upon it. The United States wanted, further, to thrust Syria into Lebanon, and attract her to the American solution. The DFLP has warned, since the inception of the differences

between Syria and the Palestinian Revolution on means of settling the Lebanese-Palestinian crisis, that American imperialism and rightist and reactionary Arab forces are planning to create a political and military confrontation between the Palestinian Revolution and Syria which would weaken them and oblige them to accept the leadership of the rightist and reactionary Arab camp; and which would lead, as well, to the pursuit of American and suspect solutions. The developments which followed the war in Lebanon have proven out our warnings. The ceasefire in Lebanon, and the political discussions towards resolving the crisis in the relationship between Syria and the Palestinian Revolution, have placed the Lebanese-Palestinian crisis on a new plane, but have not resolved it. The explosive situation in southern Lebanon, the continued attempts to disarm the Revolution and neutralize its gains, are proofs of the continued crisis and the continued conspiracy against the Palestinian presence in Lebanon and against any Palestinian existence. Therefore the DFLP asks the Palestinian National Council to pass resolutions which will ensure the following:

- 1) Strict adherence to the right of the Palestinian Revolution to military presence in southern Lebanon and unhindered freedom of movement toward the occupied territories.
- 2) Firm solidarity with the progressive and nationalist Lebanese forces, and consideration of such solidarity as a major means of protecting the rights and gains of our people in Lebanon.
- 3) Adherence to the Cairo Agreement of 1969 as the basis of relations between the Palestinian Revolution and the

Lebanese government, and rejection of all attempts to re-interpret this agreement at the expense of our people and its Revolution, as is presently being attempted in Lebanon.

Our people in the occupied territories, including all its classes and nationalist forces, revolted against the proposals for local administration and leadership alternate to the Revolution and the PLO. (The Occupation had gambled on the acceptance of these proposals.) Under the leadership of the Palestinian National Front, tremendous continual waves of mass mobilization burst the illusions of the Occupation and its henchmen. The town council elections of May, 1976 were transformed from a tool of the proposal into a graveyard for its proponents. The stream of telegrams and petitions from the occupied territories during these past two years, as well as the petition signed and sent by the town councils, proves the extent of national espousal of the Revolution, the PLO and the transitional program, the Ten-point Program, which will lead us to self-determination and independent statehood. The difficult situation which confronted the Palestinian Revolution in Lebanon provided an opportunity for the transgressors on the will of our people in the occupied territories, to continue and renew their activities against the PLO and its transitional program. But those few lackeys of the Occupation and proponents of annexation were totally isolated. All the attempts to diminish the independence of our national mass movement could not affect the determination of our masses in the

occupied areas and their complete espousal of the Revolution's banner for the establishment of the independent national state. We salute the great uprising of our people in the occupied territories. We salute the steadfastness of our people in Galilee, the Triangle, and the Negev. We hail their strikes inside the Zionist enemy's prisons. We ask that the

Palestinian National Council adopt resolutions which will support the steadfastness of our people in the territories occupied in 1967 and in 1948, and which concentrate on the following tasks.

- 1) Support of the Palestinian National Front in the occupied territories, considering it as a fighting arm of the PLO and a structure uniting the various forces and organizations of our people in these areas. We must work to develop and strengthen its political position, and to support the mass organization upon which it depends.
- 2) Support of the struggle of our people in the areas occupied in 1948 against the discrimination, looting and expropriation of the Zionists. Thus our people can retain their independent national identity, which is part of the unified national identity, wherever they may be. Support of the progressive and democratic forces which lead this struggle, such as the Israeli Communist Party, Rakah.
- 3) Development of societies and organizations responsible for the support and aid of the steadfast resistance in the occupied territories, and the provision for their financial needs to carry out their great and important responsibilities.

In the struggle for the implementation of the resolutions of the Arab Summit at Rabat, our people in the occupied territories are leaders in the heroic mass political struggle against the efforts of the Jordanian regime against the PLO and the Palestinian National Front. Our people has exerted the greatest efforts in facing these manoeuvres against the nationalist town councils, through continued struggle based on the principle of national independence and the rejection of all attempts to diminish its right to self-determination on its own lands.

The efforts of the Revolution and the PLO to guarantee their ability to carry out their political, organizational and military responsibilities in Jordan have not ceased. These efforts continue to be blocked by Jordan's refusal to transform the Rabat resolutions into actual commitment. Jordan continues its efforts to create conditions in which it can disregard these resolutions and refuse to implement them. The delegation of the DFLP requests the National Council to take steps in this regard, rather than put confidence in the intentions of the Jordanian regime. These resolutions should contain the regime's attempts to create political confusion among our people in Jordan and the occupied territories, in their dialogue with them. This will require a formal declaration by the National Council and the PLO clarifying with all explicitness the conditions for this dialogue, without being satisfied with broad, vague outlines.

These conditions should stress the following points.

- 1) The PLO is the sole legal representative of the Palestinian people, wherever they may be.
- 2) There will be no compromise on the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own independent national state. The forms of political relations between this state and the confrontation states, including Jordan, shall not be discussed prior to the establishment of such a state.
- 3) The PLO has the right to carry out its responsibilities for political, organizational and military struggle in Jordan in support of the struggle in the occupied territories. Such is the path to ending the political confusion among our people, and the Jordanian regime's attempts to use the dialogue to regain its political role at the expense of the PLO and the sovereign rights of our people. This is the path to a dialogue which will aid our

Palestinian people, and aid in the struggle against Zionist occupation and American solutions.

Brother Chairman,  
Brothers in arms,

The various fronts on which our people has so courageously struggled during this period between the twelfth and the present sessions of the Palestinian National Council, teach an important lesson, upon which we should draw in adopting our programs for the next stage. The common denominators among the various imperialist, Zionist, reactionary attacks are the denial of our people's right to self-determination and its right to establish its independent national state, and the denial of the refugees' right to return instead of settling in the other Arab states. Although our people and Revolution accomplished significant victories on these fronts during the past three years, the attacks have not ceased, but rather, during this period, are getting more ferocious. The growing trend on the part of several Arab states towards assimilation of American plans and policies, towards neglecting to strengthen Arab military capacities, and neglecting to strengthen the close ties with the Socialist states, especially the Soviet Union, is a measure of the seriousness of these attacks. With this growing trend in Arab politics, the rightist and reactionary Arab pressures on the PLO, so as to tame it and bind it to official Arab policies, are increasing. This would eliminate the Palestinian obstacle to the American solution by circumventing our people's transitional program and its rights to self-determination and national independence. The calls for moderation of the PLO and for a unified delegation to the Geneva Conference, and the call for federation with Jordan, are indicators of the seriousness of this attack and these pressures. The delegation of the DFLP, in view of our understanding of

these pressures on the PLO, the necessity of countering the deterioration of the Arab position and the pursuit of deceptive imperialist American promises, the urgent national duty to tangibly strengthen and develop the transitional program to end all manoeuvres and concessions, requests the Palestinian National Council to present for the upcoming period a program and political resolutions based on the following points.

1) Strengthening the transitional program in such a way as to ensure the assimilation of the victories and gains of the Palestinian Revolution and the PLO, and the consecration of our people's unity and our friends' support on a firm, unequivocal basis; so as to prevent opposing forces from gaining by the obscurity of our goals at the present stage by increasing their attacks and destructive efforts. This explicitly means the following:

A) Upholding the right of those made refugees in 1948 and 1967 to return to their original homeland, and the right to self-determination of our people on its land and its right to establish its independent national state on the land from which the Occupation withdraws.

b) Strict adherence to the right of the PLO to represent our people and to participate in all international conferences discussing the future of our people and its national land, including the Geneva Conference; on the basis of sovereignty and equality with the other participating members, from the first session on; and struggle against all attempts, whatever shape or form they take, to transgress this right.

C) Adherence to the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly in its last three sessions (1974, 1975, and 1976) as the basis upon which the PLO accepts participation in such conferences, and emphasis on the inefficacy of resolution 242 as a basis for discussion of the Palestinian question.

2) Exposure of the designs of American policies against our people, and the other Arab peoples, and warning of the dangers of pursuing false promises. Consolidation of the forces of the Arab liberation movements against American imperialism, and Zionist occupation and against their plans for our surrender and liquidation — plans continually evoked by the leaders of the Zionist enemy, and made clear by the American president Carter in his latest releases concerning secure borders for Israel and the refusal to recognize the PLO and the rights of the Palestinian people to establish its own independent national state. We call for the consolidation of Arab alliances in building Arab military capabilities and deploying the economic potential in the battle, in the realization of alliances with the Socialist countries, and in unwavering support for the PLO on the basis of refusal to fall for partial, unilateral settlements and American promises.

3) Strict adherence to strengthening the solidarity between the PLO and the socialist camp, especially the Soviet Union. The search to strengthen international solidarity with parties and forces supporting our people's struggle. Emphasis on this firm solidarity as a principal point in our people's struggle to achieve its national rights, and rejection of attempts or pressures to diminish this solidarity.

Brother Chairman

Brothers in arms,

To grasp the responsibilities of this present stage, we must deepen the national unity among the various nationalist Palestinian forces and elements, consolidate our ranks within the framework of the PLO, and prevent the enemy forces' exploiting or gambling on splits in our people's ranks. This also demands the escalation of the armed struggle in the occupied territories. The delegation of the DFLP accepts the significance of increasing the military role of the Palestinian Revolution's forces, and invites all forces to make resolutions leading to the unification of the forces

of the various organizations within the Revolution into a unified people's army, under the legitimate leadership of the PLO. By the unity of our revolutionaries' guns we can defend our victories and ensure progress. And while the consolidation of Palestinian national unity, and the unification of the guns and fighters of the Revolution are two important tasks in our upcoming struggle, the development of organizations within the PLO and the improvement of their mode of operation are urgent, essential tasks for the coming stage. The delegation of the DFLP requests the Palestinian National Council to adopt resolutions in this regard to ensure:

- 1) A basis for collective leadership in the Executive Committee and the other committees of the PLO, and an end to the policy of partisanism and domineering within them.
- 2) Reorganization of the Central Council of the PLO, so as to transform this council into a body capable of monitoring the activities of the Executive Committee between sessions of the National Council, and having the right to participate in important political decisions.
- 3) Foundation of permanent committees from among the members of the Palestinian National Council for the tasks of supervising and monitoring the activities of various departments of the PLO.

Brothers,

Our people everywhere are waiting for our Council to pass resolutions facing up to the important challenges of the present stage. Let us live up to the task with which our people have entrusted us. Let us move forward. Victory for our people.

Honor to our martyrs.

Victory to our people,

Defeat to the imperialists, Zionists and their agents.

### THE POLITICAL DECISIONS OF THE THIRTEENTH SESSION OF THE PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL: AN OVERWHELMING VICTORY FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST LINE

The resolutions and recommendations of the Thirteenth Palestinian National Council were in complete accord with the democratic revolutionary direction within the resistance movement, and met the needs of the Palestinian people and the Revolution. On the one hand, the political decisions responded to the tasks of the Revolution and the PLO for the immediate future, and on the other, they represented a real enrichment and development of the resolutions of the twelfth Palestinian National Council (the Ten-point Program). Thus they will enable the Revolution to oppose all conspiracies against the Palestinian national identity and for the containment of its armed revolution and self-determination.

These decisions were a great victory in the hands of democratic, revolutionary Palestinian forces, and a defeat for the vocal nihilists who substitute empty slogans for the principal direction in each stage of the Revolution. They were a defeat as well for the rightist defeatist elements, who, failing to assess the balance of power within the masses and the Revolution, fall prey to the calculations of the reactionaries.

During the preparatory work for the new National Council, the Palestinian masses, in the homeland and in the diaspora, responded to the issues raised by the Palestinian left (the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine), by creating the greatest possible mass political demonstration, and by a stream of petitions and telegrams opposing any bargaining with the Palestinian people's right to establish its independent national state. Equally they opposed any tampering with the unity and legal representation of the PLO and its rights to carry out its duties in the Arab host countries and in international gatherings and meetings as an equal, fully participating member.

The Palestinian masses in Lebanon, on the basis of their firm alliance with the Lebanese nationalist movement, reaffirmed their support for the Cairo Agreement of 1969, which guaranteed the military presence of the Resistance in

southern Lebanon and the freedom of movement which ensure the continuation of the Palestinian armed struggle. These masses in the various refugee camps and Lebanese towns once again declared their support for the proponents of the correct political line. They asked the National Council to adopt a clear resolution affirming the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of its independent national state, and the right of the Palestinians dispossessed in 1948 to return on the basis of United Nations resolution 3236 of 1974.

The DFLP, working through PLO channels and through the Palestinian masses, played a significant role during the preparatory work of the Council, putting forward these five political demands endorsed in the opening editorials of *al-Hurriyah*, issues 808 and 809:

- 1) Rejection of United Nations resolutions 242 and 338,

which deal with our people as refugees rather than as a people with a national destiny.

- 2) The right of self-determination within the framework of an independent national Palestinian state, and the right of Palestinians to return to their homes from which they were evicted in 1948, as stated by the United Nations resolutions of 1974, 1975 and 1976.

- 3) Emphasis on the legitimacy of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, to represent the Palestinian people in any conference dealing with issues concerning it.

- 4) Denunciation of the American scheme for the area and the Palestinian question, and rejection of any proposal which denies the independent national identity of the Palestinian people.

- 5) Strengthening of the strategic struggle relations with the Socialist countries, Arab national liberation movements, working class parties in the capitalist countries, and the nationalist Arab regimes, considering them the source of Arab and international strategic depth for the Palestinian people. The address by the DFLP delegation to the Palestinian National Council (March 16) stressed the unity of all elements of the Resistance and their representation in the leadership of the PLO, which allow the Palestinian people and its national movement to carry on the struggle to protect their revolutionary potential, dynamic forces and political line.

Our Revolution succeeded in its refusal to surrender to the pressures and attempts at political blackmail and containment. It also avoided the nihilist path. Our Revolution chose the difficult path, the path of continued struggle and confrontation of difficulties and conspiracies. This path

will lead to immediate strategic victory for the Palestinian people's rights.

The political decisions of the Martyr Kamal Junblatt session are a potent document in the hands of progressive and nationalist Palestinians for continued struggle to carry

out the transitional program, and avoid all efforts to impose containment or tutelage. They will guarantee the Palestinian people the establishment of its independent national state, from which to continue its just and legitimate struggle to establish a democratic state in Palestine.

We here present this declaration, which contains the fifteen resolutions adopted by the thirteenth Palestinian National Council, the Martyr Kamal Junblatt session, as a new document, in the hands of Palestinian fighters, enabling them to continue the struggle and defeat the enemy and its liquidationist schemes.

Central Information  
Democratic Front for the Liberation  
of Palestine  
March 22, 1977

**TEXT OF THE POLITICAL DECISIONS OF THE  
THIRTEENTH PALESTINIAN NATIONAL COUNCIL  
(THE MARTYR KAMAL JUNBLATT SESSION)**

March, 1977

The Palestinian National Council, in its thirteenth session, the Martyr Kamal Junblatt session, taking as its starting point the Palestinian National Covenant and the resolutions adopted by the previous Palestinian National Council, and desiring to protect the political victories achieved by the PLO on the Arab and international levels

during the period following the twelfth session of the Council; and having analyzed and discussed the latest developments of the Palestine issue, the various activities of the Palestinian Revolution under the leadership of the PLO, and the Arab and international situations; with emphasis on support for the Palestinian national struggle and the realization of its goals in every Arab and international, gathering, affirms the following points.

1) The Palestinian National Council affirms that the Palestine issue is the focal point of the Arab-Zionist conflict, and that United Nations resolution 242 neglects the Palestinian people and its permanent rights in its homeland. Therefore the Palestinian National Council affirms its rejection of this resolution, and its refusal to deal with it on the Arab and international levels.

2) The Palestinian National Council affirms the determination of the PLO to continue the armed struggle and all forms of political and popular struggle to achieve the national rights of the Palestinian people.

3) The Palestinian National Council affirms that the struggle in the occupied areas in all its forms — military, political and mass — constitutes the central point of its revolutionary program. Therefore the PLO struggles to escalate the armed struggle in the occupied territories and to escalate, together with the armed struggle, all other forms of struggle in the area; and to provide our masses in the occupied territories with all material and moral support for this escalation and for their steadfast resistance, to defeat and end the Occupation.

4) The Palestinian National Council affirms the stand of the PLO in rejecting all forms of American settlement which would lead to surrender and liquidation. It endorses the PLO's opposition to any settlement which would violate our



people's inalienable historic national rights. It calls upon the Arab nation to fulfill its national responsibilities and to mobilize all its potentials to counteract these imperialist schemes.

5) The Palestinian National Council affirms the significance of national unity, military and political, among all sectors of the Palestinian Revolution and within the framework of the PLO, as an important condition for victory. Therefore national unity must be strengthened at all levels on the basis of adherence to these resolutions and the elaboration of programs to ensure this unity.

6) The Palestinian National Council affirms the Palestinian Revolution's right to its presence in its brother-country, Lebanon, within the framework of the Cairo Agreement and the additions to it agreed upon between the Lebanese authorities and the PLO. It also affirms its adherence to the spirit and text of this agreement, which provides for the Revolution's retention of its arms and the security of the camps. While bearing in mind the sovereignty and security of Lebanon, the Council rejects any other, unilateral interpretation of this agreement and its adjuncts.

7) The Palestinian National Council salutes the fraternal, heroic people of Lebanon, and endorses the PLO's support for the unity of its land and people, its security and independence, and its Arab sovereignty. The Council takes pride in the support this heroic and fraternal people gives the PLO in its struggle to recover the national rights of our people in its homeland and its right to return. It strongly emphasizes the necessity of strengthening and deepening the alliance between all nationalist Lebanese forces and the Palestinian Revolution.

8) The Palestinian National Council emphasizes the necessity of strengthening the Arab Front of Participation

in the Palestinian Revolution, and of strengthening alliances among all participating nationalist forces in the Arab countries, and the necessity of escalating the combined Arab struggle and augmenting the forms of support for the Palestinian Revolution, so as to defeat the Zionist-imperialist plans.

9) The Palestinian National Council proclaims the growing struggle and Arab unity against imperialism and Zionism, for the liberation of all occupied Arab land, and in support of the Revolution, to regain the historic, inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, without the implication of reconciliation or recognition.

10) The Palestinian National Council affirms the right of the PLO to carry out its duties of struggle on the Arab and international levels, and from any Arab land, for the purpose of liberating the occupied territories.

11) The Palestinian National Council proclaims the continuation of the struggle to regain the national rights: the right to return, self-determination and the establishment of the independent national state on national territory.

12) The Palestinian National Council affirms the significance of strengthening ties with the Socialist countries, the non-aligned countries, the Islamic countries, the African countries, and with all national liberation movements throughout the world.

13) The Palestinian National Council salutes the stands and struggle of all countries and democratic forces which stand with us against Zionism as a form of racism and against its practice of aggression.

14) The Palestinian National Council affirms the importance of relations and cooperation with Jewish democratic

and progressive forces, within and outside of the occupied homeland, which struggle against Zionism as an ideology and as practice. It also requests all countries and organizations which love peace, liberty and justice to discontinue all forms of aid to and cooperation with the racist Zionist regime, and to refuse all contacts with it and its instruments.

15) Taking into account achievements in the international arena since the twelfth Palestinian National Council, and having discussed the political report of the Executive Committee, the Palestinian National Council:

A) Emphasizes the right of the PLO to participate as a sovereign and equal member in all international conferences and efforts affecting the Palestinian issue and the Arab-Zionist conflict, so as to achieve our national rights, which are not negotiable, and which have been confirmed by the United Nations since 1974, particularly in resolution 3236.

B) Declares that any settlement affecting our people's rights reached without the presence of the PLO is null and void.

Long live the Palestinian Revolution  
Long live National Unity among the  
Organizations of the Revolution  
Honor to our Martyrs  
Revolution until Victory

Palestinian National Council  
Thirteenth Session  
Martyr Kamal Junblatt Session



**D.F.L.P.**

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

*PRICE 3 L.L.*