

DPFLP PROPOSALS:

PROPOSALS TO THE 9th PALESTINIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The Present Conditions in Jordan and the Tasks of the Resistance.

First, taking into consideration that:

The intensification and the effectiveness of the armed struggle against the Zionist enemy is directly dependent on the actual transformation of Jordan into a secure base for the revolution and a primary route toward liberation.

The unity of the people, their common destiny and the national struggle in the Jordanian-Palestinian arena dictates that the success of liberating Palestine depends upon the achievement of national democratic liberation in Jordan, where the Jordanian regime is now implementing a policy of repression, disarming of the masses, and national oppression aimed against the Palestinian masses. Additionally, it is strengthening the influence of imperialism and moving toward a separate peace agreement with the Zionist enemy. So we see that the Jordanian regime clearly represents an obstacle to the total liberation of Palestine.

The Jordanian regime, by continuously breaking the Cairo and Amman agreements and by its insistence on considering the resistance an internal affair, has moved toward the liquidation of the resistance movement, thus attempting to end it as the national liberation movement, representative and speaking for, the oppressed Palestinian people. Because of these actions it has, in practice, freed the resistance from its obligation of "non-interference in the internal affairs" of Jordan.

Therefore, in order to foil the reactionary plans, a united front is required in Jordan in order to strengthen the national unity of the Jordanian-Palestinian movement in its struggle against the reactionary regime.

Therefore, the Congress decides that:

The resistance movement and all organizations in the Palestinian national movement, represented in this Congress, are required to initiate and participate in the formation of the United National Jordanian Front. This to be done side by side with other organizations, parties, unions, and nationalist leaders in the East Bank.

Furthermore, the Palestinian resistance movement puts all its forces and organization at the disposal of this Jordanian united front, as its part in participating in the struggle for the establishment of a national democratic regime. A regime whose minimum duty shall be the achievement of the following:

1. The end of terror and repression, institution of democratic freedoms, prohibition of all forms of torture and the release of all political prisoners.
2. The overthrow of the government of terrorists and organizers of massacres. Exile and trial of all who committed crimes against the rights of the people.
3. The complete freedom of the resistance and the recognition of its rights of free movement in the fields of political, military, financial and propaganda work. Additionally, the recognition of the right of the masses to carry arms.
4. The termination of all forms of national oppression against the Palestinians and the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. This in addition to the abolition of all national privilege in the administration system.
5. The development of the army, arming it with weapons from the friendly socialist countries. The termination of the use of the army as a tool of oppression and the purging of its ranks of reactionary and treacherous elements.
6. The following of an anti-imperialist, progressive Arab policy and the liberation of Jordan from imperialist influence; politically, economically and militarily.
7. The end of the archaic economic policy and the establishment of a solid wartime economy in order to fulfill the immediate needs of the working masses.
8. The end of the submissive and defeatist policy of making a separate peace with the enemy. Exposure of all the efforts of the agent regime aiming toward an agreement with the enemy; this in addition to the firm rejection of all defeatist and submissive solutions.

The Congress considers the creation of the Jordanian national front as its major task, without which the revolution cannot be safeguarded nor the country be saved from the disastrous policies of the reactionary regime. The national front is the principal weapon in the hands of our people at the present stage of the struggle for their rights, freedom and future national liberation.

Furthermore, the Congress decries all attempts to use the national front as a tool for pressure against the regime in an effort to achieve the possibility of a short-term coexistence with the regime in Jordan or with any other Arab regime.

Secondly, The Palestinian National Congress observes that:

The policy of reactionary repression, national oppression and collective annihilation which the existing regime in Jordan is implementing against the Palestinian people has its negative effects on the national unity in the Jordanian-Palestinian arena. This policy has led toward disunity and weakness and toward the development of a dangerous separatist reaction among the ranks of the masses.

This reactionary policy, under the slogan of the unity of the East and West Bank, insists that the Palestinian people have to abandon their present national rights in order to achieve, in the future, their complete national rights, after the destruction of the Zionist structure, and the complete liberation of Palestine. In practice, this policy leads to the weakening and disintegration of the unity of the two Banks, to the denying of the present and future rights of the Palestinian masses and to the stifling of their ability to carry the task of liberation. It is also a confiscation of the right to represent the Palestinian people in order to sign a separate defeatist peace, in their name, to regain the West Bank and subjugate it to reactionary terror.

The Congress emphasizes that:

The obtaining of the complete national rights of the Palestinian people and their right of self-determination on their national land necessarily requires the abolition of the Zionist colonial-settler state and the complete liberation of Palestinian soil. But the assertion of this principle does not mean a desertion of the present national rights of the Palestinian people in Jordan for these present national rights constitute a guarantee that will enable our people to achieve their strategic long-term goal of return and liberation. Further, this does not imply continuous submission to the reactionary terror and the collective massacres.

The slogan of "a Palestinian state on part of the land of Palestine" introduces a false solution to the question of the present rights of the Palestinian people and constitutes an escapist solution as regards the present task of struggling against the reactionary regime. But at the same time, the rejection of this slogan does not mean the resubmission of the West Bank to the reactionary regime in Jordan after the Israeli withdrawal.

The unity of the East and West banks is a national unity and we are required to protect it, for it is the correct framework in which to proceed in order to develop and intensify the struggle for the liberation of the rest of Palestine. But a unity in isolation of the basic national democratic principles and in isolation of the struggle against the reactionary regime, would be a submission to the political blackmail in which the regime is engaged and a tacit agreement to the regime's policies of regaining control over the West bank after the Israeli withdrawal.

Therefore, the Congress decided that:

The protection and strengthening of the unity of the two banks is dependent on the development of the struggle against the regime, on overthrowing it and establishing a national democratic regime which recognizes the national rights of our people now in Jordan. These rights would be represented in the following ways:

1. The recognition of the Palestinian people's rights in participating on an equal level in determining the destiny of Jordan culturally, militarily, economically and politically. The recognition of the Palestinian revolution as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, having the right of determining their destiny as the Cairo agreement and the Amman protocol have stated.
2. The abolition of all forms of national oppression, persecution and segregation. The enforcement of total equality in all duties and rights among the people of the East and West banks.
3. The termination of terror and oppression, and the achievement of democratic freedoms for our people.
4. The recognition, in practice, of the rights of our people in participating in the political governing, through a national democratic system.
5. The recognition of the right of our people to carry arms and to freely carry out their armed struggle until the complete liberation of their national soil. Freedom for the resistance in the fields of political, military, propaganda and financial mobilization of the masses; as stated in the Cairo agreement.

The continuation on the part of the reactionary regime of its present policies of terror, repression, segregation and confiscation of the national rights of our people, in addition to the regime's power-hungry and selfish interests at the expense of the interests of the masses, will make it bear the sole responsibility for the weakening of the unity of the two banks. Thus the Congress insures that the sacrifices of our people, against Zionist enemy in the armed struggle which is aiming toward liberating our occupied land, will not allow the West bank to return to the control of the agent regime and its repressive terror. Our people will struggle to transform the West bank into a secure revolutionary base for the overthrow of the reactionary regime, in order to reunite the two banks under a national democratic authority for all of Jordan. This is a first step in the struggle for the complete liberation of the soil of Palestine and is a strategic condition for victory over, and abolition of, the Zionist entity.

Decisions Proposed to the Palestinian National Congress in Ninth Session

The pressing tasks for the development of national unity and the building of a united people's liberation army.

The Palestinian National Congress takes into consideration that:

Palestinian national unity is of pressing importance, required by the nature of the revolution in the national liberation stage and necessitated by the present requirements of the struggle which is now facing intensification of reactionary repression. This repression is aiming at liquidating the resistance in Jordan and is running parallel with continuous Israeli military intensification aiming at suppressing the armed struggle in the occupied territories.

The struggle for national unity must take into consideration that the existence of many groups in the Palestinian national liberation movement is based on a series of objective factors which cannot be abolished by subjective decision. The outstanding factor being the class division of the Palestinian people and their geographic dispersion, this resulting from the nature of the Zionist colonial-settler state. In addition, there is the influence of the Arab situation and its interference in the Palestinian struggle, which constitutes interference in the internal affairs of the resistance by the existing Arab regimes.

Any attempt to achieve national unity through coercive means will increase the disintegration of the resistance movement and its efforts, resulting in a sharp internal armed conflict which will divert the movement's forces away from confronting its many enemies.

All the previous manifestations of national unity fell short of achieving the maximum level of possible effectiveness which was required. The decisions of the 8th National Congress concerning this matter did not find their way into implementation as a result of a number of subjective reasons, primarily the absence of any democratic foundation in national relations. The explosion of secondary and subjective conflicts around secondary problems and the absence of a serious attitude or commitment toward the practical implementation of its decisions were further problems. Additionally, there was an absence

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of a collective leadership and democratic dialogue at the high level committees of joint national work

So it is all of these subjective and objective factors which make a total unity in all fields, based on the abolition of each group's independent political and ideological organization, an illusion and an impossibility. Additionally, that move would lead to reactionary, counter-revolutionary results, especially at the present stage.

Despite all these factors, it is possible to move in the direction of total integration and unity in some fields and, in particular, in the military field. This in such a manner so it would not contradict the principle of organizational, ideological and political independence for each individual group.

That is, any steps in this direction should be based on an objective and realistic evaluation of the previous experiences which have ended in failure because of the absence of any clear basis which governed the relations within the unified committees. This absence led to the development of bureaucratic and subjective conflicts within these committees.

Therefore, the Congress decides that:

National unity at the present stage should exist on the basis of a united front within the framework of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its different executive branches, in such a form that would guarantee:

1. The independence of political and ideological organization for all groups. The right of comradely criticism within the framework of the joint national work.
2. A commitment to a minimum political and defined common struggle program, principally based on the decisions of the previous National Congress' (in particular the 7th Congress, the special August 1970 Congress, and the 8th Congress), in addition to the aforementioned resolutions to this present Congress.

The possibilities which are available at this stage, and the necessities and needs of the present and future struggle bring the question of military unity of all the fighting forces (regular and guerilla) to the forefront of the program for national unity.

These conditions make necessary the immediate construction of a united people's liberation army, integrating all fighting forces around the principle of complete unity from top to bottom on the condition that this be dependent on the principles, the effectiveness and the continuation of these efforts for as long as the united forces are in continuity with their role as a revolutionary people's army. The principles for this people's liberation army are as follows:

1. The right of independent political work and free organizational association for all fighters in these united forces. Freedom for all organizations belonging to the united national front to practice political and organizational work.
2. Democratic internal relations among the ranks of the united forces (cancellation of the salute, cancellation of physically abusive punishments, the right of criticism and self-criticism). Establishment of soldiers' councils for observing, evaluating and directing any leadership and giving them the right to give a vote of no confidence in that leadership. Thereby insuring an effective military discipline based on political and organizational consciousness.
3. The abolition of all class differences in relation to all material and non-material privileges. A ratio not to exceed 3:1 in the differences of material privileges.
4. A total subjection of the army to the political leadership committees of joint national work (with regard to each one's special duties), considering that the leadership committees are collective.