REVOLUTION UNTIL LIBERATION

THE POLITICAL MANIFESTO

OF THE ARAB LIBERATION FRONT

1969
The Arab Liberation Front, in its thought, organisation and wide frontal formula, holds itself open to every national group and to every struggler opting for armed popular struggle as the nation's only way for confronting the historic challenge forced upon it, repelling the invaders and liberating both land and man.
ideas, puts to the test not only our nation's sense of self-sacrifice but also its comprehension of the power of science and its indispensability to any revolutionary struggle. It also places the nation face to face with the challenge of using science for serving the revolution and for upgrading its thought, its organisational power, its planning and its instruments with the object of bringing them to the required scientific, technical, technological resourceful and ever-growing standards. The ambition to get to these standards is a basic illustration of the truthfulness of any revolutionary organisation and its sincerity to itself and to its mission.

A new force with the name of Arab Liberation Front now enters the field of struggle and hews for the revolution a new path to be treated under the banner of the revolutionary Arab creed based on a nationalist organisation incorporating Arab fighters from all parts of the Arab homeland — fighters who have vowed to their immortal nation to regain for it its Palestine and soak the soil of the Holyland in revolutionary Arab blood.

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June 5 brought into being an atmosphere of objectivity and self-criticism and took off from Arab life the pressures of ancient formulas such as factional fanatacism, party dogmatism, arbitrariness in views tending to assume exclusive rights to truth, self-seeking trends and mutual incongruity between revolutionary systems. It also set the stage for soul-searching and for rethinking both concepts and institutions. Such an atmosphere is most accommodating to the needs of commando action, to its spirit and its nature, as it negates selfishness, narrow mindedness and discord.

In the face of world imperialism, zionism and reaction, the Arab nation stands threatened. Its only way of salvation is the way of cohes-
ion between the revolutionary forces and the mobilization of the full potentialities of the nation so as to commit them all to the battle.

Two years from the June defeat have underlined the need of commando action for a new leap complementing the glorious march started by the heroes of this nation when they opted for armed struggle, and for making of the commando work a stronger and more impervious bulwark in the face of the danger of encirclement to which the Arab revolution in Palestine is exposed. This danger is especially represented by the attempt made to isolate the revolution within its limited territorial scope and cut the lifeline that connects it with the sources of power, energy and support that are to be found among the masses of the Arab revolution — all in anticipation of the day when it might be possible to strike at the revolution inside Palestine itself.

The conspiring enemy forces have put to advantage the need felt by the commando organisations, especially at the outset, to stress the Palestinian identity of the movement so as and the imperialistic facts about Israel, will free the Jews themselves from the dominance of the Zionist movement and will open their eyes to the justice and equity of the Arab cause.

The democracy of this struggle will further enhance its links with the mind and the spirit of the people. It will also protect it from the disorders of tutelage, arrogance and individualistic streaks as well as from the perils of deviationism, renouncement of revolutionary principles and values, bureaucratic petrification and organisational inflation. At the same time, democracy will inspire a spirit of soundness and frankness in relations between leaderships and bases and will assign to every individual a place in the battle where he can discharge his duties and release his energies in full.

The revolutionary pulse with which the spirit of our nation has been throbbing since June 5 and which is holding the nation tightly to its major trauma in Palestine making of armed confrontation with the enemy the real touchstone of the Arab man's association to his homeland and his loyalty to values and
to free the popular will from the custodianship of various institutions and bring up a clear picture of the despoiled rights and the displaced people of Palestine. The hostile conspiratorial forces pretended to sympathise with this Palestinian identity, recognise it and provide practical aid to it to assert itself. The ultimate purpose of the hostile forces has been to give the identity in question a character independent from and, where possible, conflicting with the pan-Arab identity. The same forces have been trying to make fair-seeming to the commando organisations the possibility of evolving into yet another addition to the existing Arab institutions — one in which the Palestinian identity would allegedly find full expression.

Deliberately, the above-mentioned forces have been magnifying the ability of the Palestinian identity — as being independent from the pan-Arab personality — to fight on, and achieve full liberation. The purpose of course is to get to the ultimate end of finally inviting the Palestinians to give up fighting for full liberation on the grounds that they cannot do the job all
by themselves. In this way, the forces in question will have caused the people of Palestine a transition from false hope to unjustifiable despair.

The hostile forces have also put to use the fact that revolutionary Arab movements have been lagging behind in meeting the need of starting up popular armed struggle in Palestine. This they have been using as a means of illustrating the Arab revolution as one forsaking the Palestine issue and for saying that the former phase was one which compromised on Palestine because it was the phase of Arab revolution. The truth was however that the former phase was not at all the phase of Arab revolution, as can be seen from the fact that it had not attained to its proper picture concerning the taking to arms by the Arab masses. If the question of taking to arms had occurred partly or temporarily as far as this revolution is concerned, the revolution would not have been looked upon as a permanent law or as one of its intimate characteristics.

Ever since commando activities came into
qualified to represent fully the presence of the Arab nation in Palestine — a presence which will have to prove itself a match for the tremendous forces which imperialism, Zionism and reaction are committing to the battle — is the popular armed struggle that is endowed with the qualities of nationalism, socialism and democracy.

The nationalist character of the popular armed struggle has the effect of spreading throughout the nation consciousness of the danger posed to its existence by the Zionist-imperialistic invasion and emphasizing the necessity of having to repel this danger. The Arabs should address themselves as one to the Palestine issue; it is this act which makes unity and liberates Palestine. In much the same way as unity regains for Palestine its freedom, Palestine regains for the Arabs their unity. Palestine is the road of unity and unity is the road of Palestine. Any attempt to separate the two slogans or to pit the one of them against the other is an act of weakening the battle of liberation and the cause of unity as well.

being, they have been the common target to quite a number of quarters which are united by their endeavour to prevent the revolution of Palestine from being publicly and ideologically associated with Arab unity.

The enemies can clearly see the danger posed to their interests by the principle of association between the liberation of Palestine and Arab unity. They are undoubtedly aware of the vitality of this principle and its responsiveness to Arab realities and to the state of preparedness of Arab masses everywhere. Accordingly, the enemies are prepared to offer concessions, sometimes even help, all for the sake of resisting this association. They have done so with every Arab revolution anywhere in the Arab homeland and are today trying the same on the Palestine revolution.

The quarters opposed to the association between the liberation of Palestine and Arab unity are to be found not only in the imperialistic powers which naturally are all too happy to see Arab issues treated independently
the one from the other and which particularly insist on not recognising any relationship of the Palestine issue with the Arab nation, its unity and its resurgence. These quarters also include most of the traditional leftist (non-communist) movements in the West and Arab reactionary institutions. Not even some leftist factions in the Arab homeland were spared these trends.

It is to be recalled that the traditional leftist movements in the West were vying in their support of the Algerian revolution on the condition that the revolution should remain of purely Algerian character. Some of these movements are prescribing the same condition for supporting commando activities in Palestine. This attitude can be interpreted only in terms of the continued Zionist influence inside these movements — an influence which never permits any support to any Arab action undertaken on pan-nationalistic level. Besides, the movements in question are not completely disengaged from the imperialistic vested interests. To be sure, they can assume attitudes of as such, abound in bravery, high spirits and deep faith. This all should stem from the premise that the battle needs the participation in it by every Arab.

The Arab war of liberation, constituting, as it does, the tide of holy struggle against the imperialist-Zionist enemy and his interests across the Arab homeland, represents one of the main world fronts in the strife against the U.S.-led imperialism and lays down the unshakeable foundations for a human society permeated with freedom and peace and void of all forms of exploitation.

The Arab revolutionary movement has not been up to expectations in building up the revolution. That was because it failed to give that revolution the outlook of popular armed struggle. Unless it comes to establish links with the principles of the Arab revolutionary ideology, popular armed struggle will continue to fall short of attaining to the level of national liberation war.

The commando action that is properly
opposition to certain forms of imperialism but they cannot go all the way in opposing all forms of imperialistic exploitation and influence which Arab unity is destined to shatter.

This has always been the logic of the Arab League and of the reactionary Arab institutions whether in respect to the Palestine issue or to any Arab revolution. This logic continues to take the form of adherence to the principle of local sovereignty rights for each territory and to refuse to recognise the relationship between the Zionist invasion and the creation of the state of Israel on the one hand and, on the other, internal conditions in the Arab countries and the ties that exist between Arab reactionary institutions and imperialism. For instance, these reactionary institutions have been refusing to use petroleum as a weapon to bring pressure to bear upon the imperialistic powers or abrogate treaties or abolish the foreign bases that are to be found in some countries, as a component of the Arab confrontation with Israel.

In this way, the contribution of the Arab
states to the cause of liberation of Palestine will remain confined to grants, largesses and donations — which is a debasement of the size of the problem, an act of ignoring its profundity and a denial of its glaring, conspicuous, realities that it is all a Zionist-imperialistic invasion.

As they have always done, the Arab institutions do not want the Arab revolution of Palestine to reach them and infiltrate their social and economic conditions. Accordingly they seek to confine the issue to the Palestinians as a bribe by which they hope to repel from themselves the interactions of this revolution.

Some progressive Arab institutions and some leftist movements in the Arab homeland are different from the reasoning of reactionary institutions concerning the Palestine issue only in quantity and not in quality. They base their false, sometime even extremist, leftism on their suspect silence which carries the seeds of conspiring on the organic association between the Palestine issue and Arab unity. By their silence and by engaging in merely local activities they do concede the realities of fragmentation. In return for the manifestations of satisfaction and appreciation and for publicity carried out in Arab and international circles, the quarters in question require commando organisations to ignore the organic association between the liberation of Palestine and the movement of the Arab revolution and settle down to confining the issue to the limits of voluntary aid and brotherly help.

What the Arabs are now required to try has been tried over and over again during the past 50 years or so. From the day of Balfour declaration and the subsequent successive revolutions in Palestine followed by the 1948 war and the series of events that led to the creation of the state of Israel, the impotence of revolutions that remained encircled and localized, has been irrefutably confirmed. The only Arab reply to the Zionist-imperialist invasion — the reply which is marked by imperviousness in the face of the conspiracies mounted by the hostile forces to bring about rupture between the commando operations and the Arab revolution — is to be found in heightening all levels
of the Arab revolution so as to achieve concentration on escalating the popular armed struggle and moving it towards the attainment of the dimensions of the popular liberation war. The Arab resistance cannot qualify to the name of national liberation war unless it has assumed its full and formidable popular size, putting the Arabs’ numerical superiority against the imperialistic and Zionist technological superiority, and taking its real form as a sweeping Arab tidal flood that comes in collision with an artificially contrived racial entity recruited from all corners of the world, as well as with military, political, economic and cultural imperialistic bases arbitrarily planted in the Arab lands, all along employing in this confrontation all gigantic possibilities, energies and means at the disposal of the Arab nation in its entirety.

It is the duty of this war of national liberation to mobilize the voluntarily offered resources of the Arab nation and commit every Arab to the battle to fight side by side with the Arab armies which, by their composition, are made up of popular and toiling elements who,
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From this day on, unity will be incomprehensible to the Arab people unless it was directed right from the beginning towards liberation. Nor will unity be built except by the masses heading towards Palestine. The people are not going to credit the claim of any endeavour to have the power to liberate Palestine unless such an endeavour incorporated the power of the Arab nation in its entirety, i.e. the power of the nationalist cohesion finding expression in a nationalist instrument and in organised set-up that incorporates fighters from all over the Arab homeland.

It is the socialist character of this struggle which alone is capable of awakening the toiling masses of the Arab people, mobilizing them in a revolutionary manner and uplifting their standards, degree of organisation and resourcefulness. In the process, this socialist character will isolate all classes, institutions and regimes that have been historically associated with the interests of imperialism and its political and economic presence, that stand to be harmed by the revolutionary climates gene-
rated by armed struggle in Palestine and that are prone to fall off at the merest change dictated by the need to uplift the degree of support for this struggle.

These classes are moving against the revolution either by direct confrontation or by engaging themselves with it and with its establishments as means of sapping its originality, preventing its expansion and disrupting its drawn-out march.

Socialism is the surety of keeping the reins of leadership in the hands of the toiling masses which are possessed of the greatest staying power and of the highest stake in bringing this struggle up to the level of the popular liberation war. Beside, the socialist and progressive characteristics of this struggle have the effect of weakening the effectiveness of the Zionist and imperialistic propaganda in deceiving the people and in painting Israel as a haven for an oppressed yet refined and advanced people. The same characteristics will expose to every free conscience in the world the racialist to free the popular will from the custodianship of various institutions and bring up a clear picture of the despoiled rights and the displaced people of Palestine. The hostile conspiratorial forces pretended to sympathise with this Palestinian identity, recognise it and provide practical aid to it to assert itself. The ultimate purpose of the hostile forces has been to give the identity in question a character independent from and, where possible, conflicting with the pan-Arab identity. The same forces have been trying to make fair-seeming to the commando organisation the possibility of evolving into yet another addition to the existing Arab institutions — one in which the Palestinian identity would allegedly find full expression.

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