



Palestinian People's Party

The Political Program

August 2000



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Chapter One

The Party

The Palestinian People's Party is the party of Palestinians, male and female, who aspire towards achieving liberation, national independence, democracy, progress, social justice and socialism. Our party comprises of Palestinians who struggle to achieve these goals, mainly laborers, peasants and the intelligentsia in both Palestine and all locations in the Diaspora, without discrimination of any kind, whether based on race, sex, social class or religious beliefs.

Our party, which constitutes an extension to the Communist movement in Palestine, has a scientific dialectical approach, guided by the principles of socialism and the achievements of scientific thought and Arab and other progressive heritage, in addition to the values of freedom, equality, progress and social justice. Our party's theory and practices are inspired by the national customs of the Palestinian people and their experiences of struggle since the 1920s, as well

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as the influences of the national struggle experiences of all Arab peoples.

Our party bases its organization upon democratic principles in the context of the party's unity, in a way that ensures a balance between freedom of expression and a commitment to the party's unity in actions and resolutions. The party encourages its members to exercise free and creative thinking and whilst working collectively to achieve its goals. It also opens up horizons for members to express constructive and frank criticism, establishing its commissions through direct democratic elections, taking into consideration the principles of innovation, interaction and the spread of democratic relations amongst all members in a manner that matches the struggle circumstances. The party sets the human being, the citizen, at the core of its focus.

The party struggles diligently, along with other Palestinian national and progressive forces, to reinforce national unity and to secure the right of return for the Palestinian refugees, self determination, and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with sovereignty over all Palestinian lands occupied since the 5th of June 1967, with Arab Jerusalem as its capital.

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Moreover, the party strives for a free democratic option to choose the path of future development in accordance with its interests in comprehensive economic, social and cultural progress. This includes the consolidation of social justice and democratic freedoms, and the protection of human rights and the interests of various sectors in the society, in addition to securing the highest forms of equality in terms of duties and rights.

Our party also strives for a wide national and democratic alliance in the Palestinian arena, consisting of all democratic forces and representatives of various social sectors whose interests it represents and defends, in order to achieve total freedom from Israeli occupation, and to work towards building a Palestinian democratic society in which the values of freedom and equality are deeply rooted. The party believes that the accomplishment of such tasks in Palestinian official and popular institutions should take place now as they are intertwined with the tasks of struggle in the social and political arenas.

The party is focused on upgrading its relations with Arab progressive and national forces and parties, based on the belief that the struggle of the Arab Palestinian people is intertwined with

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the struggle of other Arab peoples to achieve freedom, democracy, social progress and unity. The party also works towards promoting cooperation and coordination with Israeli forces that support peace in the region. It also cooperates with progressive and democratic forces and parties that support the rights of our people throughout the world, in order to create a broad based solidarity front for the Palestinian people's just cause.

Our party struggles alongside other forces that seek to achieve liberation, peace, democracy and socialism in order to preserve world peace, and to protect human rights and the environment. It also struggles to eliminate underdevelopment and subordination throughout the world, and to grant every people the right to chose their own path towards independent development. As such, our party believes in reinforcing the role of international institutions and commissions, in particular the United Nations, which can exercise influence in solving international problems on the basis of international legitimacy resolutions.

The party has emerged from the Palestinian people with a full awareness of the revolutionary experience accumulated by our people throughout the various stages of their struggle. The party is

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distinguished in both its national role and grassroots characteristics as a defendant of the rights of the Palestinian people to establish their own independent national state; it has also courageously confronted all trends of compromise and surrender throughout the long course of the Palestinian national movement, which has adopted the party's program in furthering the Palestinian cause.

Our party has been known throughout its history as a true defender of values, focusing on democracy, the enlightenment of ideas and humanitarian ideals; it has worked on organizing oppressed social forces to defend their rights and to assume their national and social role, and has been a pioneer in mobilizing the potential of the Palestinian society and raising the flag of national unity to all forces with an interest in achieving national independence. It has fought discrimination in all its forms, including Zionism, and called for maintaining the historic traditions of our people, which are in favor of religious tolerance, and opposed to fanaticism.

Chapter Two

The Central Task of Liberation from Occupation

The current phase in the life of the Palestinian people is one of national liberation and the achievement of national goals; in particular the liberation of the homeland from Israeli settlement and occupation, and the securing of their right to self determination and total national independence. This is in addition to the right of return for refugees and the building of the Palestinian independent democratic and sovereign state.

The establishment of the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) in the Palestinian territories has not changed the nature of the central task facing the Palestinian people. For example, the Palestinian National Council must improve its effectiveness to cope with the new conditions in terms of re-electing the representatives of the councils in a democratic way, reviewing the tasks of those commissions, and deciding on the nature

of their relations with the PNA commissions. This also requires reconsidering the principles, tasks and priorities of the PNA, and its relations with the Palestinians in the Diaspora, and with the PNC and other Palestinian commissions.

The Israeli occupation dominates the largest areas of the Palestinian lands; land confiscation and settlement building continue; the Judaization of Jerusalem and attempts to eliminate the Palestinian refugee cause have not ceased. The way that Israel dealt with the Oslo Accords demonstrates a determination not to withdraw from the majority of the Palestinian lands, plus the adoption of a policy to isolate the Palestinian territories from each other and to prevent geographical extension among them, in addition to the continued control of border crossings, water resources, energy, and the economy.

Our party believes that the Israeli attempts to sustain its occupation of the Palestinian lands, and to contain the aspirations of the Palestinian people to the context of a limited autonomy thereby attempting to destroy the basic components for building the independent Palestinian state, confirms the importance of reinforcing the Palestinian people's struggle to

achieve their central task of final liberation from occupation.

The PNA's assumption of responsibilities on the national level, and the efforts to establish a democratic approach in its dealings, have added an important dimension to the struggle towards reinforcing the internal front in order to accomplish total national independence. This requires the mobilization of forces and a broadening of the social platform for national unity, creating a tangible integration in the tasks and struggle both on the national and popular levels. If this does not occur, the PNA will be limited to its current status as a self-rule administrative authority.

In the past few years since the establishment of the Palestinian Authority, there has been a definite social process within the various sectors and forces in Palestinian society. The general indicators of this process show a major decline in the levels of income and living standards of a broad sector of the Palestinian people. They also show an increase in the rate of unemployment, poverty, and an imbalance between income levels and costs of living, thus escalating the seriousness of social and economic problems. This requires greater intervention in order to preserve an acceptable

level of services and social securities for the wider sector of our people who are laborers, peasants and residents of refugee camps.

There have also been direct effects on the status of the middle class, particularly occupations such as university professors, doctors, engineers, PNA and private institutions' employees, and tradesmen and skilled laborers, who have been adversely affected by this process. A bureaucratic and monopolizing sector developed at a fast rate to the expense of national industry owners and Palestinian investors - this sector is bureaucratic in terms of its position in the PNA apparatuses, and parasitical in connection with the Israeli economy. This sector sets its interests above the national interests, and in the absence of democratic practices constitutes a serious threat to the future of the national cause. This sector also constitutes a platform for an approach of surrender and a weakening of national unity, thus obstructing the interests of Palestinian social forces and sectors committed to achieving independence.

The position of the Palestinian People's Party regarding the Palestinian National Authority is based on the following premises:

1- The Palestinian National Authority, regardless of its limited jurisdictions due to the signed agreements, is the first national authority in the life of the Palestinian people to be established on the land of Palestine. This authority constitutes the nucleus of the aspired structure of the independent Palestinian state. Thus, the building and organization of its institutions is an unprecedented historical opportunity for the Palestinian people. However, the Palestinian National Authority is still an interim authority that seeks to transform to national independence. There is a difference between the authority as a national apparatus with institutions that belong to the Palestinian people, and the government, which is directing this authority. Further, there must be a distinction between the functional apparatus of the authority and the political positions within it that must be governed by the government, which should be based on the democratic election of the president and the legislative council.

2- The position of the party regarding the National Authority and the current government running this authority is determined by the extent of its struggle and adherence to the national goals of the Palestinian people. This includes the extent

of its success in directing the negotiations to achieve the historical and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and its ability to mobilize potentials to realize these goals. The party's position also depends on the extent of the authority's steadfastness against Israeli pressure aiming create a conflict of interests with its own people.

3- The party's conviction of the need to successfully combine the national and social tasks means that its position towards the authority is also determined by the efforts to address the interests of the masses, especially the poor, deprived and marginalized classes. This can be demonstrated in terms of standards of living, education, health, social welfare, and equality of opportunity and support. This is particularly applicable to the regions that are threatened with settlement expansion, and those that have suffered from historical discrimination such as the rural areas and the refugee camps. The position of the party is also dependent on the authority's respect for and implementation of basic democratic principles.

Alliances

The party is building its program on the basis of establishing the broadest national alliance possible, due to the general characteristics of the national liberation phase, plus the features specific to the Palestinian level. The party's forces include those who have an interest in achieving full national independence and democratic, social, and economic progress, which are the goals that have consensus among the majority of the Palestinian people.

These common goals have the capacity to be realized in a broad national alliance with a progressive and democratic context, which will constitute a third path on the political and social levels, in place of the path of submission and those who represent it in the Authority. It can also constitute an alternative path to total opposition to any political settlement, or that which attempts to impose a totalitarian regime on the Palestinian people.

The party seeks to take a leading role in building such a broad democratic alliance that will provide an alternative to yielding of national rights, mismanagement, corruption, and the violation of

citizens' rights. This alliance could also assume the role of defending the rights of popular, political, economic and social sectors. It can struggle towards the building of a national democratic society that ensures pluralism, the rule of law, and the implementation of social justice. Most of the tasks in our program consist of common goals and a political platform to form such an alliance.

Unity of the Palestinian People

Our party considers the unity of the Palestinian people, in their different locations, and the preservation of their national identity to be central factors in reactivating their potential, and in reinforcing their struggle to achieve their goals of self-determination, liberation and the right of return. The PLO reflects the identity and the resurgence of the people, and can be viewed as the moral identity of the people, and the body that expresses their aspirations and hopes.

The party sees the reconstruction of the PLO and the reactivation of its role, plus the drafting of its charter based on the Palestinian peace initiative and national liberation and independence, as the basis for reinforcing the unity of the Palestinian people in the homeland and in the

Diaspora. This applies to resisting attempts to fragment their regional unity, as well as attempts to besiege the Palestinian people inside the homeland and to keep the Palestinians in the Diaspora through transforming their basic and common national issues, such as the land, sovereignty, Jerusalem, refugees and the displaced, and settlements, into fragmented and delayed negotiation issues. Our party warns of the continuation of the negotiation process in its current form, which is far from its terms of reference, especially the UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. The party warns that the goals of the current negotiation process aim to fragment the national cause. Our party will continue its struggle for reinforcing the unity of the people, and for leading a negotiations approach based on expelling the occupiers from lands occupied since 1967, maintaining the unity of the land, and implementing the UN resolutions pertaining to the refugee cause.

The Palestinian People's Party stresses that there will be no peace with settlements. The negotiation process must be linked to a complete halt of all Israeli settlement activities within the occupied territories, and an ending to all measures

that aim to Judaize Jerusalem, thus endangering the possibility of establishing an independent Palestinian state. The Party also calls for resisting the Zionist settlement expansion through imposing Palestinian facts on the ground, confronting the status quo with another status quo, continuing the national struggle, and rejection of any settlement that does not secure the right of the Palestinian people to establish an independent Palestinian state with full sovereignty of all the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including East Jerusalem occupied in 1967 that constitutes the only capital of our national democratic state.

Therefore, the Palestinian People's Party has specified the basic pillars of its national programs according to the principles that serve those objectives.

Chapter Three

The Basic Pillars of our National Program

In the process of implementing the central task of release from the Israeli occupation, and confronting all conspiracies and pressures that threaten the unity of the people and land, our party will work on the basis of the following:

1- To reinforce the struggle against occupation in its entire military, economic, civil and settlement forms, and to organize and mobilize the potential of the masses in order to build the components of national independence. This requires rectifying the current negotiation approach and reaching a solution that ensures the implementation of UN Security Council resolution 242. This resolution stipulates a full Israeli withdrawal from Arab territories occupied since June 1967, mainly East Jerusalem; the establishment of an independent democratic Palestinian sovereign state; the achievement of a just solution to the question of refugees and the displaced, and the

implementation of UN resolution no. (194) plus the other relevant international resolutions.

2- To struggle against the policy of isolation, military and settlement sieges, and the closure of Jerusalem to our people. This includes opposing measures attempting to Judaize the city, and to concentrate efforts on protecting its Arab features, and to work against the policy of closing the Gaza Strip and isolating it from the West Bank. Also, to work against the occupation policy which aims to disconnect the areas of the West Bank from each other through military checkpoints, bypass roads and settlements.

3- To re-activate the role of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, in order to upgrade the level of its national struggle, and to strengthen vital inter-relations between the two branches of the Palestinian people inside the homeland and in the Diaspora. Our party believes that the resumption of the PLO's role depends on the restructuring and re-specification of its tasks on a basis which takes into consideration the special features of the current stage and the final-status negotiations, and in retaining independence of the negotiations so that they are not absorbed into the PA apparatuses. Our party will work towards

promoting the role of the PLO and restructuring its apparatuses on a democratic basis; the party will work against all attempts to marginalize or freeze the role of the PLO.

4- To frustrate the Israeli scheme to divide Hebron city and the Israeli military and settlement reinforcements in the section still occupied by Israel. Our party will struggle, in cooperation with all other national forces and Palestinian masses, to evacuate the occupiers and settlers from the city, and to maintain the full rights of our people in Al-Ibrahimi Mosque, including rejecting any arrangements to share it with Israelis as is the situation at the present time.

5- To defend democratic rights in all their forms, including political pluralism, separation of authorities, rights of political and professional organization, non-governmental organizations, freedom of expression, granting of personal freedoms, protection against arbitrary and selective arrests, in addition to setting rules and legislation that ensure the Palestinian legitimate national rights and grant the rule of the law, leading to a state of law and institutions.

6- To reinforce Palestinian national unity and a democratic bases for all forms of national and

grassroots action, including cooperation among various political and social forces and institutions, to ensure the widest possible mobilization of the potential of the Palestinian people in their struggle to achieve their national goals.

7- To build a broad democratic alliance that can constitute an alternative to the path of yielding national rights, and the path of mismanagement, corruption, and violation of citizens' rights. As mentioned previously, this alliance can also assume the role of defending the rights of popular, political, economic and social sectors. It can struggle towards the building of a national democratic society that can ensure pluralism, the rule of law and the implementation of social justice. This alliance must be broad enough to take in all forces and aspects of Palestinian democratic society.

8- To draft a national plan to return the peace negotiations to their original terms of reference and goals, and to adhere to the unity of the Palestinian lands, in addition to holding a comprehensive review of the current negotiations approach and the performance of the Palestinian National Authority during the previous period. This is required in order to put an end to the state of regression, with all its ramifications and dangers,

that affect the national rights of our people. In addition, to expose the Israeli intentions behind the negotiation process, represented in their attempt to camouflage the continuing settlement construction and expansion policies.

9- To form a higher national reference for the negotiations, deriving from the PLO, and setting a negotiation strategy that secures the interests of the Palestinian people in liberation and national independence; working on comprehensive preparation for the final-status negotiations on the basis of adhering to the UN Security Council resolutions 242 and 338 and other international legitimacy resolutions, and the full withdrawal from all lands occupied since 1967 and the establishment of an independent sovereign Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital.

10- To broaden and reinforce cooperation and coordination between our people and the Arab, Islamic and international world, that supports the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the cause of permanent and lasting peace; to stop the normalization process in Palestinian and Arab levels until a fair and comprehensive solution is reached with all Arab parties that guarantee the Palestinian national demands and rights, and to

expose claims that peace has been achieved and that the Palestinian cause has been solved.

11- To cooperate and coordinate with Israeli forces who support the establishment of a just peace and the Palestinian national rights; to conduct a campaign aimed at convincing these forces that a lasting and just peace cannot be achieved without recognizing the national rights of the Palestinian people, as stipulated in the international legitimacy resolutions, and without ending the expansion and settlement policies exercised by the Israeli government.

Chapter Four

Our tasks on the general national level

Regarding the Palestinian general national level, our party poses issues and tasks in the following areas:

Jerusalem:

Our party puts the struggle for the liberation of East Jerusalem and the declaration of the independent Palestinian State at the top of its priorities, and until this is achieved, the party will work on:

1- Prioritizing the Jerusalem issue in the Palestinian national struggle, and the resumption of work to draft a national charter on Jerusalem stressing that it is the capital of the Palestinian state and rejecting any alternative options on this issue. This charter should be adopted by all Palestinian national forces and sectors, both on official and popular levels; and approach the Arab, Islamic and world countries and various

organizations calling upon them to take a unified position on Jerusalem, standing against Israeli extortion and the U.S position supporting Israel.

2- Confronting the conspiracy of Judaizing Jerusalem, and providing forms of financial and moral support to its citizens, including supporting Palestinian national and developmental institutions in Jerusalem.

3- To struggle against the Israeli siege and policy of isolation imposed on the Arab city, separating it from its Arab surroundings, in addition to struggling against the policy of evacuating Arab citizens from the city, including measures such as confiscating I.D's and exerting pressure to force them to leave.

4- Defending the lands of the city from the campaigns of confiscation and Zionist settlements, and opposing the establishment of settlement concentrations inside its Arab quarters, including frustrating attempts by settlers supported by official authorities to seize houses and properties through Israeli banks and mortgage firms.

5- Forming committees to defend the Arab characteristic of Jerusalem, in addition to holy sites, and protecting them from racist Zionist attacks, and to confront settlement, siege, and

the policy of Judaization.

6- Struggling for the Palestinians living inside and around Jerusalem to maintain their rights in the city; launching the freedom of construction in Arab Jerusalem; renovating houses in the Old City; halting the demolition of unlicensed homes, and compensating Palestinians for their demolished houses.

7- Seeking various means to alleviate the heavy taxation burdens imposed on residents of the Old City, and providing housing and economic projects; halting the wave of migration and bringing back those who left.

8- To maintain, protect and renovate the religious sites and cultural civilization landmarks in the city.

9- To struggle for the freedom of practicing religious rituals plus free access to places of worship for all religions.

10- To work on returning all Arab houses that were seized by settlers in the city to their legitimate owners.

Resisting Settlements:

Our party struggles to confront the campaigns of settlement and land confiscation and the opening of bypass roads. The party works on organizing the broadest form of popular struggle to confront

the continued aggressions against Palestinian lands, and participates in land defense committees, supporting their attempt to frustrate these schemes. Our party calls for setting a national plan to resist settlements and confiscation; a plan that combines the popular struggle tasks in defending lands, and the other duties of planting crops and trees on the lands.

Refugees and the Displaced:

The Palestinian People's Party struggles for securing a just solution to the Palestinian refugee issue, which demonstrates the tragedy of expulsion and dispersion suffered by our people.

Our party believes that the ultimate solution to the refugee cause can best be approached through resolving the national cause and establishing an independent Palestinian state, thereby securing the right of those displaced and exiled to return to their home. Also to secure the right of refugees to return to their homeland according to resolution 194, in addition to the implementation of relevant international legitimacy resolutions.

The party struggles to re-activate the role of the PLO in the Diaspora, especially in the Palestinian refugee camps and other concentrated areas, so

that the PLO can assume its role in representing their interests and defending them in the host countries.

Working on these tasks, the party will also seek to:

- 1- Frustrate the schemes of resettling refugees and dissolving their national identity. In order to secure their right of return, the National Authority is required to deal with the refugees in the Palestinian territories as living in a host country.
- 2- To resist the reduction of services provided by UNRWA and the attempts to dissolve UNRWA without reaching a solution of the refugee issue.
- 3- To improve the basic level of services in the refugee camps, including education, food, housing and health.
- 4- To develop youth centers in camps and develop a democratic form of activities amongst Palestinian refugees in order to enhance their contributions to political and national struggle activities.
- 5- To develop and increase centers of vocational rehabilitation and to increase the number of schools and classrooms.
- 6- To grant the right of camp residents to elect local councils and popular committees to run their internal affairs and defend their interests.

7- To maintain the temporary status of refugee camps and struggle to stop all forms of discrimination against Palestinian refugees in the Arab countries; to recognize Palestinian refugees as Palestinian citizens and subjects of the Palestinian state, including granting them rights in residency, work, free movement, education and social and health security, in addition to securing their right to free participation in the struggle with their people without constraints.

Prisoners inside occupation prisons:

Our party will struggle for:

- 1- The immediate and unconditional release of all male and female prisoners inside occupation prisons, and reject all exceptions made by Israel for any reason.
- 2- Providing work and health care for the liberated prisoners.
- 3- Allocate budgets required to absorb former detainees, and adopt non-partisan standards in the support offered to them.
- 4- To improve the level of caring and support for the families of prisoners, martyrs and the wounded.

Water Resources:

The party reaffirms its rejection of the control by

Israel over water resources in the Palestinian territories, considering this situation as having a negative impact on development and infrastructure projects, and detracting from national sovereignty. Our party will struggle in order to:

- 1- Regain all Palestinian water rights in all aquifers and wells, in addition to the water from Jordan and Yarmouk Rivers and the Lake of Tiberias.
- 2- Confront the Israeli schemes of depleting 80% of West Bank water, and challenge its decisions banning the digging of new aquifers.
- 3- Resist the policy of water annexation based on connecting the settlements with the Israeli water network.

Chapter Five

Basic Pillars of our Societal Project

The Palestinian People's Party believes in the struggle for national liberation to achieve independence as a priority. However, the party also views that the overlap between the national struggle and the tasks of building the internal front requires enhancing the democratic approach in the work of the National Authority. It also requires the establishment of a democratic society that acquires components of modernization in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, since it will be the lever for continuous confrontation with the occupation.

Our party believes that this requires the National Authority to make essential amendments on its policies, approach and foreign relations, and the way in which it deals with the Palestinian masses and their daily interests. The National Authority must set laws with constitutional characteristics that grant the Palestinian national legitimate rights

and guarantee the rule of law, leading to the establishment of a state of law and institutions. It also requires the strengthening of common grounds amongst Palestinian families, and the placing of the citizen at the center of its concerns and interests. It seeks to confront signs of narrow tribal and factional loyalty, and anything that jeopardizes the social network with disintegration, laying the basis for development on solid grounds built on the principles of justice, participation and equal opportunities.

The establishment of an authority that respects the law and accepts accountability and monitoring will ensure the elimination of corruption and manipulation of public money, in addition to improving the administrative and economic performance, which will enhance the confidence of the masses in their future and strengthen their sense of freedom and dignity. Such a policy will lay the basis for the wide social platform for unity and steadfastness, thus contributing in reactivating the Palestinian potential in confronting occupation. It will also have positive ramifications on the Palestinians in the Diaspora, constituting an attraction to them, thereby unifying their energies and enlisting their support.

Based on these premises, the party poses the following tasks:

A- Our Tasks on the Internal Front

- 1- To stand firm against any acts of aggression against public freedoms, and to struggle for securing democratic rights in all their frameworks: political pluralism, separation of authorities, the right for political and professional organization, the freedom of work for NGOs, freedom of expression, granting of personal freedoms, protection against arbitrary and selective arrests, and legislating the appropriate laws to ensure the implementation of these rights.
- 2- To respect religious freedom and beliefs; to maintain and defend the holy sites of all religions; to separate religion from the state and legislate laws that guarantee the individual's freedom of belief on the basis that religious faith is a personal matter that should not be refuted, and the homeland is for everybody.
- 3- To stand firm against any form of human rights violations and to confront corruption within the Authority's apparatuses.
- 4- To struggle to maintain an independent and

effective role for the elected Legislative Council, with guarantees that it will work to separate authorities and become the legislative authority responsible for monitoring the executive authority, as well as monitoring and ratifying the general budget. The legislative authority must have the right to legislate various laws and legislation, to be followed by the ratification and the later implementation of such laws by the executive authority.

5- The council must set a basic law to establish the Authority's institutions, and to specify the jurisdictions of the president, ministers and commissions, including their references and mutual relations; such a step will prevent individual decision making. Granting immunity for the monitoring services that should exercise, with total freedom, their jurisdictions in monitoring government performance and public spending.

6- To hold democratic elections for the Legislative Council on a regular basis, independently from the negotiation process with Israel, and to amend the current election law and ratify a new law based on relative representation.

7- To hold regular elections for municipal and local councils, to be independent from the redeployment

operations, and considered one of the duties of Palestinian sovereignty.

8- To cancel military laws and orders that restrict the freedom of citizens and NGOs; to set laws that guarantee the equality of citizens before the law and ensure equal opportunity. The laws must affirm the separation of authorities, accountability and transparency, including the principle of democracy in Authority dealings in order to grant the public freedoms and human rights. This is in addition to personal freedoms, the prohibition of selective arrests, inappropriate treatment and interference in personal affairs.

9- To confront all measures and trends that move towards reviving tribal loyalties, which are considered a means of fragmenting and weakening the society.

10- To specify the judicial and political reference of the security services, and to specify their jurisdictions and responsibilities to secure their neutrality and ensure that they do not interfere in citizens' daily affairs. The security services should be subject to judicial monitoring, together with granting citizens the right to file suits against any violations by the security services, and to ban all forms of torture.

11- To cancel all jurisdictions granted to security services and departments, which allow them the right to arrest any individual or detain citizens without a judicial order.

12- To obligate the Authority to abide by human rights charters and to issue a Palestinian charter that grants those rights and allows monitoring activities by international human rights organizations.

13- To guarantee the neutrality of the official mass media, and prohibit the exploitation of them by the ruling party for their own interest.

14- To ensure the freedom of publication and distribution, in addition to freedom of expression and the right to organize and demonstrate; to ensure the freedom of forming parties, unions, political, professional and non-governmental institutions, in addition to the ratification of modern and democratic laws to grant the freedom of their work.

In the judicial area: Our party struggles for:

1- Establishing an independent judicial authority and ensuring an efficient judicial apparatus.

2- Centralizing the judicial authority as the sole reference for implementing the law.

3- Implementing the judicial orders that are issued

by courts and banning any interference by the executive and security services in judicial affairs.

4- Struggling, in cooperation with Palestinian human rights organizations, to abolish state security courts.

B- Tasks of Economic Development

The party seeks to build a national economy that has the components of internal growth, granting the severance of subordination to Israel, and achieving high growth rates that can gradually alleviate the dependence on foreign aid and assistance, moving towards an economy of an independent state.

In order to achieve this, our party is committed to strive for the following:

One: On the Public Sector Level:

1- To control current public spending and reinforce the use of money in infrastructure and public services projects for citizens, directing foreign assistance to achieve those purposes.

2- To re-distribute income through the official budget to needy sectors, including investments in housing projects for those sectors, and to direct the major part of the budget towards development, fighting unemployment and raising the standards

of living.

3- To improve the environment for investment in the private sector, particularly in the fields of production and export; to stop the use of PA apparatuses to interfere in the equal competition opportunities in the private sector activities; to legislate laws that provide a stable and democratic environment for the investment process.

4- To re-construct the apparatuses, institutions and ministries connected with development; to end administrative overlapping and confusion through establishing a unified center with a broad range of jurisdictions including planning and operations.

5- To adopt an economic administration policy that aims to attract Palestinian local and foreign expertise, overriding political favoritism and factional affiliations.

6- To establish a public budget and financial system that guarantees transparency, accountability and effectiveness.

7- To reduce the inflated administrative apparatus and transfer excessive public servants to developmental projects, operating adequate basic services with minimal expenses that are subject to popular monitoring; to set laws for accountability against corruption, bribery and abuse of power.

8- To set up systems that can activate the administrative apparatus and ensure fair treatment.

9- To establish mechanisms that guarantee citizens equal opportunities in official posts, including open selection policies that prohibit favoritism.

10- To grant broader jurisdictions to the municipalities and village councils apparatuses in local governance in deciding their affairs, expanding their borders, and utilizing their budgets, in addition to abolishing measures and constraints that hinder such steps.

Second: On the level of the private sector

It is necessary to activate and develop the private sector and to put an end to random policies that lead to increases in import and trade deals at the expense of supporting national products. Focus on national industry based on individual initiatives should form one point of economic development within a social context that takes into consideration the interest of both parts of production: workers and business. One party should not carry the burden of development in absence of the other. It should be dealt with through adopting the following steps:

1- Developing and encouraging investment banks

in industry, agriculture, tourism and other sectors.

2- Achieving appropriate conditions for trade exchange for national industry in a manner that prohibits the local market being overwhelmed by competitive products, and which guarantees the accessibility of Palestinian products to foreign markets.

3- Easing administrative measures and creating a window for investment (one center) to solve all needs of investors.

4- Creating an appropriate mechanism to benefit from foreign assistance allocated for the private sector, particularly in the field of financing.

5- Reinforcing the participation of investors and businessmen in formulating the Palestinian economic policy and monitoring its implementation.

6- Encouraging private investments and passing laws which guarantee security and stability. Putting an end to economic monopolies, particularly those overlapping with some of the PA apparatuses which are a burden on the national economy and hinder possibilities of construction on an independent basis; releasing the economy from subordination in a manner which will prevent the emigration of Palestinian capital and industry.

7- Working to attract investors and businesspeople

in exile who are enthusiastic to participate in the process of reconstructing the homeland through the provision of appropriate administrative and investing conditions and the necessary political and democratic environment; to reinforce their national affiliations and to create suitable mechanisms which will enable them to share in formulating the Palestinian economic policy.

8- Amending the taxation system to encourage investments in a way which is suitable to the current economy level in Palestine.

9- Working towards signing a Palestinian-Arab agreement that would participate in the development of export-oriented local industry in preparation for breaking ties with the Israeli economy.

Third: The Infrastructure and the Energy sector

The Party will fight for:

1- Fair distribution of infrastructure projects to include all areas, cities and villages, particularly for roads, communication networks, sewage systems, rain water drainage and water and electricity networks.

2- Independence of the Palestinian energy sector through establishing electric energy generating stations, constructing the Palestinian electricity

system, controlling all the networks and high voltage lines including those servicing settlements and Israeli military camps, whilst protecting the concessions of the Jerusalem Electricity Company.

3- Modernizing the administration of the electricity sector and improving its performance through extensive training, and improving the salaries and conditions of employees.

4- Developing electricity system networks and expanding electricity supply lines to meet the increasing internal needs; establishing regional conveyor lines in accordance with their power, such as in neighboring Arab states, for future cooperation with them and in order to break subordination to the Israel Regional Electric Company.

5- Independence of the fuel sector, building a national petroleum refinery, and importing oil from the Arab states.

6- Developing transportation sectors; improving the situation of roads, installing traffic lights and solving the traffic crisis in city centers.

Fourth: Trade

Our Party will work to:

1- Tangibly decrease the added value tax which was imposed by Israel on the Palestinians. There

are differentials in the economic situations which mean that these taxes constitute a burden on limited Palestinian incomes in comparison to Israeli incomes.

2- Guaranteeing the free transaction of goods and movement of people between the Gaza Strip, Jerusalem and the West Bank.

3- Setting a pricing policy appropriate to our economic conditions which does not abide by the level of prices in Israel. This may be achieved by importing the basic necessities which are not provided by local production and the Arab states.

4- Working to liberate the national economy from being dependent on the Israeli economy; working to cancel the oppressive economic agreements which increase the subordination of our economy to the Israeli economy such as the Paris Protocol between Palestine and Israel.

5- Refraining from retroactive tax collection for the years of the Intifada, and exempting persons from payment.

6- Guaranteeing the freedom of exporting local agricultural and industrial products and enabling them to be competitive; to work on adjusting trade agreements with neighboring countries to guarantee this.

Fifth: External economic relations

Our Party will strive for: -

- 1- Steering the Palestinian financial and trade relations towards further integration with the economies of Arab states.
- 2- Working to activate common economic and financial institutions either belonging to the Arab League or otherwise.
- 3- Reinforcing joint Arab development funds, which is a basic condition before entering into the wide-ranging regional economic programs.
- 4- Linking the proposed regional projects with the extent of development in the political process and with the extent of progress in solving final status issues.
- 5- Subjecting the pace of economic normalization in the region with the extent of readiness by Israel for a positive solution for the issues of Jerusalem, settlements, and refugees, and its response to the principle of establishing an independent Palestinian state by the end of the current peace process.

C. Tasks of social development

With the coming of the PNA and its activation in parts of the homeland, social factors are once

more important after disappearing during the years of occupation for the benefit of nationalism. Israel is trying to take advantage of social needs in order to extort concessions at the expense of the national factor. Although frustrating Israeli attempts represents an important pillar in our central mission, turning our backs on social needs has become an unacceptable issue. The PNA, the national movement and our people must push the social factor towards serving the national factor, through working towards fulfilling social needs. Therefore, our party will struggle for:-

First: Education

- 1- To set up a developed Palestinian curriculum which accounts for the characteristics of Palestinian society.
- 2- To unite the educational curriculum at the homeland level; to develop the teaching and educational process in the fields of training, rehabilitation, and curriculum; providing school books and improving and developing the general secondary exams, and developing the administrative system in schools.
- 3- To strengthen and broaden the national democratic content in the curriculum and to expand the knowledge horizons within it.

4- To equip schools with modern educational equipment, laboratories and libraries. Also, to formulate educational programs that nurture the abilities of the students, reinforce scientific thinking and attract students to education in general.

5- To support schools and expand them; to eliminate overcrowding in classes and cancel the system of school shifts.

6- To care for the conditions of teachers through improving their standard of living, increasing their salaries and upgrading their efficiency through organizing seminars and providing the necessary circumstances and opportunities for them to develop their efficiency and capabilities.

7- To legislate laws which permit the freedom of union organization for teachers particularly in the government sector, and halt arbitrary interference by PA apparatuses in their affairs, such as exerting pressure on them to concede their union rights and imposing a union which does not reflect their interests.

8- To formulate a philosophy and policy for higher education in order to care for the applied aspects of various sciences in the universities in an appropriate manner for our country's needs,

enabling scientific academic development for students.

9- To respect the sanctity of universities and refrain from interfering in formulating regulations and laws that guarantee academic freedom on the university campus.

10- To establish colleges for specialized university education that graduate in the career of teaching and education, and to develop the field of technical and vocational education for both sexes.

11- To link between university and social education and preserve universities as independent national associations; to protect them from attempts to interfere and impose custody or domination.

12- To guarantee free education for sons of martyrs and prisoners.

Second: Health

1- Provide treatment for people with the least expenses through approving a system of comprehensive national health insurance for all citizens.

2- Supplying hospitals with all requirements, improving staff and the diversity of specializations, increasing the number of beds, decreasing costs and improving services while guaranteeing the proper treatment of patients.

3- Lowering the cost of medicine and medical treatment.

4- Caring for the elderly and establishing appropriate homes to guarantee health and care for them.

5- Working with the concerned parties for the purpose of allocating budgets to develop the primary health sector and preventive activities, especially in the rural areas, refugee camps and popular residential areas in the cities.

6- Caring for women's health, providing the appropriate services for pregnant women, services for childbirth and comprehensive programs for women's health.

7. Developing programs for rehabilitation and care for the handicapped, including those wounded in the Intifada and the resistance struggle. Absorbing them in schools and work places, providing appropriate housing facilities for them and ratifying laws that encourage the various institutions to commit them to absorb this small percentage of the population.

8. Halting the environmental deterioration and formulating laws which guarantee the safety of the environment and protecting it from agricultural and industrial pollution; providing budgets which

encourage sound planning for the current expansion in cities and the countryside.

9. Directing care in order to provide fundamental health services for all Palestinian children including their right to receive appropriate nutrition, behavioral, psychological and physical care.

10. Implementing immediate programs for the guarantee of pure drinking water for the entire population, establishing a sewage network and providing electricity for all populated areas.

11. Developing programs directed towards raising the health awareness of citizens and to help them organize themselves in order to assert their health rights.

Third: Culture and Media

1. Defending the Palestinian national culture in the face of sabotage attempts aimed at reinforcing the consumer culture, which glorifies violence and gain and weakens the affiliation to the homeland.

2. Developing unions and clubs for writers, journalists and artists on a sound democratic basis to serve the standard of living interests of this group so that they will be able to live a dignified life and contribute more in their field of specialization.

3. Defending the rights of writers, journalists, artists and intellectuals in expressing their ideas and beliefs; reinforcing the freedom of opinion and the opinions of others and strengthening the atmosphere of democracy and freedom of expression, and the right to obtain information.

4. Prohibiting monopolization in the official Palestinian media apparatuses where it becomes an expression of one political faction, in order to give the opportunity for these apparatuses to become an expression of the various political forces in the society.

5. Generalizing the products of Palestinian national culture through books, magazines, plays, movies, paintings and other appropriate means in order to vitalize the cultural and artistic movement to enrich the spiritual lives of citizens.

6. Establishing national public libraries in accordance with the cultural and spiritual needs of the people.

Fourth: Women

Palestinian women have played an important and distinctive role in the Palestinian national struggle. They carried the same burdens and responsibilities of this struggle as the men. However, this distinctiveness on the level of the

struggle is still lacking in just and equal social bases, which guarantee women their political and social rights, and eliminate the current discrimination against them. For this reason, our party shall fight in order to support the struggle of Palestinian women against different forms of oppression and discrimination, at home, in the work place and in social rights and laws of personal statute, and work towards equality with men in rights and duties, including the following:

1. Guaranteeing equality in salaries and canceling any discrimination in wages because of gender.

2. Insuring paid maternity leave in the case of childbirth, of not less than three months in addition to a leave without pay for one year.

3. Establishing a network of kindergartens and nurseries and obligating large institutions and factories to establish nurseries in order to help working women.

4. Granting full rights to women in health insurance, social security and pensions, in addition to insurance in cases of unemployment and guaranteeing full rights in divorce cases.

5. Amending the concept of work to include those jobs which are not paid or do not receive anything in exchange or have a limited income, such as

housework and agricultural work within or outside of the family, with the goal of entering them into the national economy census.

6. Allotting a certain percentage in the Palestinian Legislative Council for women.
7. Legislating laws to fight violence against women and considering violence against women a violation of human rights; forming a monitoring committee within the legislative council to follow up on violations in this regard and legally pursuing the perpetrators.
8. Writing up the law of personal statute in congruence with the social and developmental progress of our society; it should also be in line with international charters and accords in this regard.
9. Supporting the establishment of a network of women's clubs and institutions in places where it is difficult for women to integrate.
10. Supporting awareness campaigns, especially for girls against dropping out of school, early marriage, and against various types of discrimination that they are subjected to.
11. Training and qualifying young women leaders in the fields of women's rights and managing centers and formulating programs specially

designed for women's activities.

Fifth: Childhood

Offering care to provide the basic health services for all Palestinian children, including their right to proper nutrition and behavioral, psychological and physical care in the framework of a safe family. This is through:

1. Establishing a network of institutions for childcare and providing free health care for children.
2. Providing a network of children's libraries and insuring the necessary needs to develop their individual skills.
3. Working to support programs for caring for gifted children.
4. Supporting summer camps and clubs for children.

Sixth: Youth

Our party is committed to struggle for:

- 1- Establishing a wide national and democratic youth movement to care for youth affairs and to express their ambitions, as they are the backbone and the future of the society.
2. Defending their right to compulsory and free education — males and females alike — until the

end of the secondary stage and lowering university fees; establishing vocational training centers for developing their skills and preparing them to integrate in social life, and to give them the opportunity to assume places of leadership in society.

3. Establishing support funds for students.
4. Fighting the phenomenon of violence between youth, especially in schools and public places; fighting social diseases such as drug use by opening youth centers and clubs and developing their programs; encouraging voluntary activities, organizing sports, art and cultural festivals for youth and encouraging programs for youth trips.
5. Establishing a wide network of libraries in cities, the countryside and refugee camps.
6. Supporting magazines and newspapers for youth affairs, encouraging young writers through publication of their works and supporting and encouraging programs to preserve heritage.
7. Establishing work camps for youth; expanding the phenomenon of summer camps and introducing youth to other youth activities abroad.
8. Raising the cultural, scientific and social qualifications and skills of youth; training and qualifying a youth cadre to lead youth institutions

and formulate programs directed towards young people.

9. Working towards the formulation of legislation and laws that guarantee the rights of youth.

Seventh: the union movement
and the problem of unemployment

The party will struggle for the following:

1. Lifting the Israeli siege on our workers and allowing them to freely move and reach their places of work.
2. Defending the rights of workers and day laborers in the face of the oppression which they are subjected; also to expand the number of union workers and reconstructing unity on a democratic bases, which would guarantee the independence of workers' unions and its independence from the Authority's apparatuses; the freedom for union organization and the conducting of democratic elections for all unions in the federation.
3. Ratifying an economic policy that depends on providing the necessary resources to develop the national economy, and absorbing the large number of citizens who do not have work.
4. Enabling the unions to carry out their role as a political party in formulating social and economic

policies.

5. Using a part of funds to treat the issue of unemployment and creating new job opportunities for the unemployed.

6. Determining a policy for wages that guarantees the improvement of the status of the worker and the work conditions; developing the national economy and encouraging individual initiatives in investment.

7. Improving work production by determining the following:

- a. A minimum wage in accordance with the high cost of living and the increasing rise in prices.
- b. Equal wages for equal work for men and women.
- c. Halting the employment of juveniles.
- d. Legislating laws necessary for compensating unemployment.
- e. Ratifying and implementing the labor, civil service and social security laws.

8. Ratifying the Palestinian Labor Law after amending it according to the requirements and standards necessary for defending workers' rights; organizing their relationship with their employers; forming labor courts which take into consideration the interests of both sides of the production process.

9. Establishing a social security fund and all other funds to guarantee the rights of the various work forces and employees during their service and after it is over.

10. Struggle to reinforce the unity of the union movement on democratic bases to serve the interest of the working population and to defend their interests and rights at work.

11. Confronting the attempts by the Zionist Histadrut to annihilate the Arab unions in Jerusalem.

12. Struggling for the reimbursement of all deductions which are still being taken from the salaries of our workers inside Israel to the benefit of the Israeli treasury since 1967, and returning them to their rightful owners through the social security fund.

Eight: Trade Unions

Our party will struggle for:

1. The independence of Palestinian trade unions, while preserving their rights to membership in Jordanian trade unions which would guarantee the rights of Palestinian professionals in retirement, social security and other rights.

2. The preservation of Jerusalem as the center for all Palestinian trade unions.

3. Uniting trade unions in the West Bank and Gaza on a professional and democratic basis, which will contribute to the reinforcement of the unity of the two sections of the Palestinian homeland.

4. The preservation of the continuity of the democratic trend and development in these unions.

Ninth: The peasants and the land

The party commits to struggle for:

1. Defending lands and resisting their confiscation, and regaining those lands already confiscated.

2. Expanding the structural plans for villages which was unfairly enforced by the Israeli occupation authorities.

3. Improving the living standards of peasants by generalizing public services for them such as water, electricity, and the means of transportation and education and medical treatment.

4. Protecting the prices of peasant produce; compensating them for losses caused by natural disasters and external competition.

5. Introducing scientific methods into agriculture in order to increase production and income.

6. Canceling the unjust articles in the Paris Economic Protocol that prevent governmental subsidies to the agricultural sector.

7. Working for the formation of international neutral

tribunals to reopen the files of confiscated lands that were illegally leaked out in order to prove the illegitimacy of their appropriation, and returning them to their rightful owners.

8. Canceling all orders and laws including the Israeli military order 291 that transfers, without registration, Arab lands to the land registration department, especially since this order is still in effect in zones B and C.

9. Creating an infrastructure appropriate for agricultural marketing; struggling against the policy of Israeli closures which obstructs the horizons of this market and controls the movement of Palestinian products.

10. Protecting animal resources and lowering the price of feed; providing support for sheep and cow herders and opening pastures in the Jordan Valley which were closed for military claims or as natural resources.

11. Canceling the military orders and measures that prevent the planting of certain agricultural products and prohibit their marketing so that they will be restricted to the Israeli settlements.

12. Expanding the formation of agricultural cooperatives aimed at lowering production expenses, raising production, increasing

marketing and raising the level of cooperation between farmers.

13. Following up on closed-off and confiscated lands that have not been used for a certain amount of time so as to return them to their rightful owners.

14. Freedom to import agricultural products and feed; protecting farms from Israeli domination.

15. Establishing funds for agricultural loans and a bank for insurance of long-term loans.

16. Establishing agricultural and industrial establishments for canning additional agricultural products and exporting them abroad.

Tenth: Non-Governmental Organizations

Our party commits to struggle for:

1. Preserving the freedom of NGOs and their right to independent work; formulating a democratic law which organizes their relationship with the PA while maintaining their independence.

2. Promoting the establishment of NGOs and community societies that care for the affairs of the society and reflect its interests and build relationships of cooperation with similar Arab and international organizations and societies.

3. The right of NGOs to establish and develop community programs and projects and to collect donations, and to close the development gap which

the state apparatuses cannot cover.

4. Enhancing the community participation approach in the phasing of its planning, programs and performance.

5. Preserving NGOs and reinforcing their democratic nature, and principles of accountability in all aspects of their work, including public transparency.

Eleventh: Tourism and Archeology

The party will struggle for:

1. Developing the infrastructure of the tourism sector by implementing the various projects in the areas of hotel building and other tourist institutions.

2. Preserving archeological and historical sites, renovating and repairing them.

3. Asserting the right of Palestinians to supervise religious and archeological sites; to have the right to excavate and search for archeological findings without restrictions on Palestinian committees.

4. Halting the Israeli excavations in the area of al-Aqsa mosque as they violate the international law and UN resolutions and recommendations concerning Jerusalem.

5. Promoting awareness campaigns for the masses in order to preserve archeological sites and

findings, and to prevent trade or theft.

6. Working towards establishing a network of parks, gardens and tourist facilities.

7. Encouraging internal tourism; raising awareness in the younger generations of the importance of archeological treasures and tourism in Palestine.

Twelfth: Housing

Our party commits to struggle for:

1. Solving the rising problem of housing by establishing reasonably priced housing projects so that the populace may benefit from these projects.

2. Giving loans to those in need in order to build their own private homes either in the city or the countryside.

3. Expanding the surface area of cities and villages in accordance to their developmental and economic needs and the architectural expansion of its citizens.

4. Promoting and supporting housing projects in areas and lands threatened with confiscation, especially in the countryside, in order to confront the settlement encroachment on Arab lands.

Chapter Six

The linkage between the struggle of the Palestinian people and the struggle of Arab peoples

During the second Gulf war, Arab conditions deteriorated to their lowest levels since World War II. The Arab world split into two sectors, one sector opposing and the other supporting that war launched by the USA and its allies against Iraq. The outcome and impact of that war on the Arab world was the following:

- 1- The collapse of the Arab system.
- 2- The destruction of Iraq's military force that constituted an important element in the balance of power in the region.
- 3- The wasting of more than \$200 billion of Arab wealth.
- 4- The imposition of stringent penalties and sanctions against Iraq, thus impeding any chances of that Arab country, which have substantial human and physical resources, from becoming a regional force, in addition to the starvation suffered in Iraq due to the sanctions.

5- The subsequent depletion of huge amounts of savings of Gulf countries in useless arms deals.

6- Allowing the U.S and British fleets into the Gulf region with troop deployment, and securing military facilities in some Gulf countries, thus taking the region in some ways to the pre-independence era.

7- The success of the Israeli-U.S alliance within this atmosphere and during the Madrid Conference in 1991 to impose separate-channel negotiations with the Arab parties concerned with the conflict with Israel, similar to the Rhodos Talks following the Nakba in 1948. This gave Israel a headway status in its negotiations with each party separately. Under these circumstances, the Arab sovereignty in various locations suffered additional violations and aggressions, as in the case in north Iraq where the Turkish troops invaded more than once. U.S planes continuously violate the Iraqi sovereignty while the Iraqi authorities are banned from reaching certain regions in the north and south parts of Iraq. A similar case happened when Eritrea seized one of the Yemenite strategic islands in the Red Sea. Then, there are Israel's repeated attacks against the Palestinian people and their lands and against the Lebanese territories. Upon encouragement and support from Washington,

an official announcement was made in Israel and Turkey regarding the intention to hold an aggressive military alliance between the two countries. Attempts were made to make other countries join that alliance, thus bringing back to memory the series of military alliances during the fifties. At the same time, the efforts to hold an Arab summit failed. The Arab summit was supposed to achieve Arab reconciliation and bring about an agreement over a common Arab action plan in face of the increasing challenges.

During the last decade, several mass uprisings erupted in a number of the Arab countries against the attempts to terminate the state bread subsidy according to instructions and pressure from the World Bank. Noticeable improvements occurred at the level of Syrian-Iraqi relations and Iraqi-Iranian relations. The destructive civil war ended in Lebanon, followed by a process of reconstruction and renovation; Lebanon also witnessed parliamentary and municipal council elections that contributed to revitalizing civil life. The activities of Lebanese resistance continue with success against the Israeli occupation in South Lebanon. It was also possible to frustrate in the autumn of 1997 the economic

conference in the Qatar Capital, Doha. Washington exerted various pressures to make the conference succeed with the participation of Israel. However, most of the Arab countries were not present in that conference in protest against Netanyahu's government denying signed agreements and sabotaging the peace process with Palestinians, Syrians and Lebanese.

Regarding Egypt which was the first country to sign a peace treaty with Israel, it realized the hidden objectives of Israel, which was trying to subject the whole region to its influence, and considering itself as the sole regional power and attempting to isolate Egypt and detach it from its historical role in the Arab world and in Africa. This factor, among other factors, played an important role in Egypt changing its policy into positions confronting the Israeli agenda, and supporting the rights of the Palestinian people with enthusiasm and effectiveness, especially at this critical phase in the Palestinian cause, when the Israeli-U.S alliance is increasing pressure to impose schemes aimed at eliminating the Palestinian cause.

The Palestinian People's Party is aware of the organic linkage between the struggle of the Palestinian people and the struggle of the Arab

peoples, and of the importance of Arab struggle solidarity with the Palestinians' national cause. Therefore the party works with determination and energy to strengthen its struggle relations with all national progressive Arab forces, and to stand in solidarity with their struggle for freedom, democracy, social progress and unity. Its stances are inspired by the different Arab movements and regimes judged by the extent of their support for the cause of national independence for the Palestinian people, and their loyalty in supporting our struggle. In this respect, Israeli policy holds grave dangers for the strategic and regional interests of the Arab countries. This constitutes an objective basis for developing its solidarity with the Palestinian people and supporting its struggle in order to achieve its national independence.

The Palestinian People's Party considers the great challenges facing the Arab peoples and all Arab regimes, especially in light of the increasing phenomenon of dependency and the spread of poverty, hunger and debts, and Israel's occupation of parts of the Arab land and its ambitions to dominate the Arab states. The increasing Israeli threat to Arab national security urges mobilization of all Arab forces on both the popular and official

levels, and a halt to normalization with Israel until there is a total evacuation of the Israeli occupation from all the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese occupied lands. It also demands the establishing of the independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza, which is in the Arab collective interest. Moreover, these challenges have begun to demand extensive solidarity and coordination between the various Arab states, regardless of political and social systems, plus the reinforcement of the role of the Arab League. The party calls for working to develop all forms of Arab cooperation and economic integration to reach the establishment of an Arab common market, and to meet the level of economic and social globalization challenges encountered by our people who are facing the dangers of subordination and organized impoverishment practiced by the international monopolies. Our party supports the struggle of Arab peoples in liberating national wealth, particularly of oil from foreign domination, and of eliminating the foreign military presence in Arab countries.

The Party views political democracy as an assistance to solving the many problems facing the Arab people and states, since it ensures

pluralism and guarantees the rights of the individual, organizations and institutions, and facilitates the participation of the popular masses in managing policies and the economy. This in turn forms an effective weapon in the struggle for freedom and progress and a guarantee for all projects of integration and unity.

The emergence of a series of critical challenges facing the Arab world requires the mobilization of its forces to confront them, namely:

- 1- To confront Israel's various aggressive intentions and schemes that aim to deprive the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese people of their rights.
- 2- To expel the U.S and British military fleets from the region as they threaten the sovereignty of the region's countries, and to eliminate all forms of foreign military presence and facilities on Arab lands.
- 3- To start early confrontation against the conspiracy of forming new aggressive military alliances in the region that are mainly targeted against the Arab masses.
- 4- To defend the sovereignty of Arab lands in the various locations.
- 5- To maintain and protect the Arab wealth from

being wasted, beginning with water resources and reaching to the resources of oil, which have witnessed a price deterioration to a level less than real value prior to the sudden change in oil prices in 1974, which resulted in financial crises and serious deficits in the budgets of Arab oil countries.

6- To work seriously to form an Arab common market to face the challenges of world economic blocs and the globalization of the world economy. Creating such a market will constitute the modern and gradual basis for building a productive and effective Arab unity through democratic mechanisms.

7- To protect and maintain the Arab culture and heritage from the U.S consumer-oriented culture that is the cultural camouflage of the globalization process.

Chapter Seven

The current international situation and its impact on the struggle of our people

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, and the ramifications of this major event in terms of qualitative changes on international conditions, the U.S has tried and is still trying to impose a one-sided polemic New World Order. In doing so, the United States has resorted to the following mechanisms:

1- Direct military aggression, similar to the events during the second Gulf war which was merely a show of force and a basic warning to the third world countries, in addition to the massing of fleets and armies, such as in the case of the Arab Gulf area.

2- Tightening the grip on the UN Security Council and decisions issued from that council to secure U.S acts of aggression, and to impose various degrees of sanctions, such as in the case of Iraq, Libya and Sudan.

On the economic front, the U.S is leading a process of globalization under the banner of new liberalism, accompanied by an attempt to spread the U.S consumer-oriented culture. This process has expanded horizontally in recent years in the eastern bloc after the collapse of systems in those countries at the beginning of this decade. Vertically, it has utilized the overwhelming technological and communications revolutions, alongside the increasing merger processes amongst large multinational companies, which in some cases effect dozens of billions of US dollars. The U.S uses mechanisms such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization for this purpose.

Outcomes of this globalization process in terms of world development reaffirm the increasing gap between rich and poor countries. According to a recent estimate, world production approximated 25 trillion US dollars, with the share of the seven big countries in that amount reaching 18 trillion US dollars. The globalization process of the supranational companies, under support from political leadership, undermines the independence of countries in order to secure the best conditions for the movement of world capital. At the same

time this process restricts the movement of labor, resulting in an inverse proportion between the development of the two sides of the process. Globalization has changed the concept of political, economic and even cultural independence. The current globalization process is leading towards dividing the world into the first world and the third world- the latter consisting of the underdeveloped countries and the laborers in the developed capitalist countries, whose benefits are diminishing.

However, the aspirations of the U.S in terms of world domination are facing escalating obstacles arising from considerations such as:

- 1- Increasing conflicts of interest amongst the big capitalist countries. An example is the decision taken by the French Total company which challenges the U.S ban on investing large sums of money in Iranian oil and gas wells. The large economic blocs, such as the European Market and Nafta Organization (which includes the U.S, Canadian and Mexican markets), also affect the size and nature of those contradictions.
- 2- Challenging Washington directives on decisions at the Security Council, which often adopt double standards. In this context the African Unity

Conference, held last June, made a decision to challenge the embargo imposed on Libya with several African presidents involved in the challenge; similarly, the challenge to the U.S siege imposed on Cuba.

3- The international labor force is unable to effectively confront the increasing power and influence of the multinational companies, but there are indicators of the emergence of an organized international labor front, even if somewhat disjointed. Signs of this include international solidarity with strikers in France and the strike by the British coal miners, both last year. There is also the role of traditional struggle by international labor solidarity as marked by the First of May.

4- Three streams are ultimately converging to form an international front against the negative and destructive impact of the globalization process, which focuses on the highest profit ratios: a- the laborers in the big capitalist countries; b- the peoples of the third world countries; c- the peace and environment protection movements.

5- The outcomes of internal laws of the globalization process will contribute in preparing the atmosphere for building the capital front and achieving its goals. These results have a

destructive nature in some cases but with unprecedented international dimensions. The recent crisis that started in Japan and extended to southeast Asia is a good example of this. As the world markets become more intertwined and connected, the crises will become more generalized with deeper impact on the various world markets. Moreover, the destructive force of those crises will escalate because of the growing trend in contention amid the world financial activities. As components of it are superficial in nature it amplifies the risks of major financial collapses.

In conclusion, the current globalization process is contributing to the foundations for a social revolution of international dimensions.

This international situation has negatively impacted on the Middle East region and led to the absence of an international balance of power, the monopolization of the role of mediator in the peace process by the United States, and a freezing in the process. The U.S bias towards Israel has enabled it to shirk its responsibilities and to not implement its obligations as stipulated by international legitimacy resolutions.

Taking these developments into account, our party stresses the need to continue the peace

process in the Middle East within the framework of international legitimacy and the Security Council resolutions. It also stresses that the success of this process is conditioned by serving the interests of the various parties of the conflict, beginning with our Palestinian people. This necessitates our people to increase their self-reliance and for our party, in coordination with other national Palestinian forces, to activate international and Arab solidarity. It will act to develop relations of cooperation and struggle solidarity with all forces of peace, freedom and democracy on the international level, regardless of political affiliations and ideology. This includes Israeli peace forces, which support the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and national independence.

Our party will work to lead an active and clear policy on the international level, which ensures support and advocates Israel's implementation of international resolutions related to the Palestinian cause.

The impact from the conditions
inside Israel

Israeli society has witnessed since the beginning of this decade its first deep political split due to the Intifada in the occupied Palestinian lands, and the Palestinian peace program. The Intifada and the peace program exposed the situation for the first time to a large sector of the Israeli society, who were previously subject to propaganda stating that it is impossible to reconcile with the Palestinian people who aim to wipe out the state of Israel. In the light of this qualitative change, the Zionist ruling institution increased its dependence on the fundamentalist religious institutions in Israel in order to secure the ideological cover that can justify the denial of the rights of the Palestinian people in their homeland, thus making it impossible to reconcile with them. Later, the process of Zionising the fundamentalists was escalated when they started establishing parties and organizations to provide and offer a wide range of religious services, but were not part of the Zionist political institution. On the other hand, the Israeli right wing moved

further towards religious institutions since they depended only on the Old Testament as a justification for denying the rights of the Palestinian people.

In the elections of 1996, the alliance between the right wing and religious parties won in Israel. This was an indicator showing the movement of the Israeli society towards the right wing.

In the face of this ruling alliance the basic body of the opposition, the Labor Party, under the leadership of Barak, commits retreats to the Netanyahu's government program towards the Palestinian cause, thus diminishing the differences between the two parties in relation to the final settlement with the Palestinians. However, this new situation paves the way for having an Israeli national alliance government. All these conditions negatively impact on the peace movement in Israel, which is also affected by the decrease in Palestinian mass activities in the occupied Palestinian lands since the arrival of the PNA. The Palestinian Arab national minority inside Israel have been further pressurized since the national right wing assumed power in Israel.

On the other hand, a series of contradictions have started emerging inside Israeli society since

the right wing took over power. On the economic level, the Netanyahu government policy, which adopted a privatization economy to meet the World Bank demands and allocated huge amounts of funds to settlements and expansion schemes, and to the military machinery and occupation requirements, led in general to an escalation in unemployment and a tightening of income of laborers and workers. The general strike in 1998 reflected a rejection of those policies; the strike also indicated the escalation of social conflict inside Israel. Meanwhile, the contradiction between the religious and secular Israelis is increasing. The religious exert additional efforts to impose their rituals and fundamentalist criteria on public life in Israel while the secular Israelis resist such efforts. In the context of this process, there are contradictions and conflicts inside the religious camp, especially between the Orthodox, reformist and conservatives.

In order to exploit these contradictions for the benefit of a just settlement of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the following steps should be taken:

- 1- Making appropriate choices in our struggle against occupation and moving away from actions that harm the reputation of our cause and its just

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goals, and which give the occupation authorities an excuse to commit additional crimes against our people.

2- To continue developing various forms of joint action with Israeli peace forces, as this constitutes pressure on the Israeli authorities and at the same time presents an example to Israeli society that there is a chance to have reconciliation between the two peoples.

3- On the strategic level, to modernize and upgrade Palestinian civil society so that it can become an attractive force and impact on wider sectors of the Israeli society, especially those from Arab and oriental origins, who are suffering attempts of oppression against their culture for the sake of a hybrid European culture.