

Haykal al-Bina' al-Thawri [The Structure of Revolutionary Construction]. The Palestinian National Liberation Movement (Fateh), c. 1958. Translated by The Palestinian Revolution, 2016.¹

My fraternal companion in struggle,

Your movement has been launched for our dear Palestine, for the revolution to liberate our usurped land, and for the dawn of dignity to rise after being lost in the long night of the Nakba. It is beginning to realise its path, consciously laying the scientific foundations for revolutionary action; driven by a positive, effective, and creative spirit as well as a unified revolutionary strategy.

The movement- steering away from naïve emotion, fleeting words, broad divisions, negativity, improvisation, floundering, and chaos- puts between your hands The Structure of Revolutionary Construction. Having taken your place amidst those enlisted for the battle of retribution and liberation, be certain of a truth that you must never lose sight of: the strength of the movement and its spread depends on your personal efficacy and full comprehension of the historic responsibility that is carried by the revolutionary vanguard arising out of the ranks of your people.

My fraternal companion in struggle,

This movement and its work are a national trust in your care and a historic obligation. So carry what you have been entrusted with and appreciate your crucial responsibility. Prepare all that is around you and everyone that surrounds you, and ignite the spirit of organised revolutionary action inside every Arab soul that is faithful to Palestine and believes in its liberation. Let us all tame our inner selves, cultivating the values of patience, persistence in the face of adversity, endurance under hardship, generous giving, and sacrifice. Let us give our blood and souls, effort and time. Such are the weapons of revolutionaries, so do not stop my brother!

Move quickly, animated by the serenity of hard workers, the silence of the devoted, the resolve of believers, and the perseverance of strugglers. Do so without delay, for our tragedy has lasted for all these long years and our people cannot afford to lose a single moment. Know that our enemy is strong, and that the battle is fierce and far from short. Will, persistence, secrecy,

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confidentiality, and adherence to the goals of the revolution and its principles; these qualities protect our steps from slips and hobbling gaits, shortening the path to victory.

Forward... To Revolution!
And long live Palestine Arab and Free

“Fateh”

Section 1: A Necessary Preface

Since the Nakba, our people have lived through years overflowing with pain and tragedy. Days came and went, and months passed by, all filled with destitution, humiliation, and loss. Our people became ever more enveloped by the gloom that was tyrannically dominating all that surrounds us. Darkness consumed our souls, hopes, and confidence; devouring our path, the entirety of our lives, and the reality of our people. All of a sudden, we could no longer see, and we lost our way. Our trail was stretching further and further and we were wallowing along, tumbling over the problems and obstacles that had filled the path. Every passing day of our bitter Nakba brought along new hurdles and dilemmas.

The Conditions of Our Forcibly Dispersed People

From the day the colonialists and Zionists wrote the last chapter of the tragedy of our homeland, they worked with their lackeys amongst the Arab rulers to deprive the Arab people in Palestine from all support that could be used for confrontation on the battlefield. When the horrendous conspiracy took place, carrying with it defeat for the entire Arab nation, our people faced a stark fate. Some were thrown behind barbed wires in detention camps, surrounded by heavily armed guards, and treated more harshly than captured enemy soldiers. Others were housed in caves, potholes, collapsing military barracks, and the camps of misery. As for those that remained under barbaric terror and tyranny in our occupied homeland, their lives were coloured by the shades of constant anxiety, scary horror, and an unknown destiny. The remains of our people were dispersed in every land. Our collectivity was torn apart, and our strength was scattered. Here we were, drifting in the wastelands of disorientation and the deserts of deprivation. Wherever we went, our backs bled under the burning whip lashes of lost dignity and bitter degradation. Our lives were stalked by the storms of

morbidity and the monsters of hunger, illness, separation, despair, injustice, and wilt.

Wherever we disembarked in the lands of Arabism, they forced us to be silent and deprived us from working for our homeland. They did not leave us with any possibility for uniting our ranks and licking our wounds. They constrained any move for our salvation, persisted in imposing their guardianship in all of our affairs, and afflicted us with false hopes. And so, whenever we spotted a light in the horizons of our Arab world, we drew our breaths with anticipation, carrying greater expectations than we should ever have.

Years passed and our people's wounds were becoming deeper, wider, and more poisoned. Those that imposed their guardianship upon our people tightened their ropes around our necks, chalking our breath, hushing our screams, and crushing our dreams of mobilising the strength of our people and organising ourselves. Our people lived through terrifying conditions, and we continue to suffer from their effects no matter where we live.

The Myth of 'International Conscience'

International conscience lay idle as the global forces of collusion supported our adversaries and fortified their entity. These forces continue to afford protection to our foes, and generously endow them with patronage. They persist in their efforts to liquidate our cause through segmenting it, imposing half-solutions, and preparing the suitable conditions for the realisation of a criminal peace with the Zionist invaders. Towards that end they tempt, threaten, alarm, and manipulate, utilising all means available to them.

Our screams and pleas for rescue failed to awaken international conscience. Instead, it encouraged and shielded our enemies, celebrating the crime of the establishment of their state and its growth over our shreds. It disposed of all notions of justice, right and fairness, and it was the first to ignore the principles of human rights and the UN charter. When international conscience recalls our tragedy, it does not spare the tears of pity. However, in this age of ours, no one listens to the weak or to the cries of anyone other than the revolting strong.

The Condition of our Adversaries

As the days pass, our enemy grows in strength and ability. Having time on its side, it builds its castles and forts in our occupied land, filling them with

weapons and supplies. It rallies soldiers and fighters, bringing millions of Jewish colonists from across the world so as to prepare for a coming battle in which it hopes to achieve its aims of expansion and spread. In contrast, our Arab nation is divided and it is reticent about confronting our adversary in the battle of destiny. Our lazy inaction affords our enemy security and peace. While our foe prepares and lurks, we remain silent. This ensures that its feet become increasingly planted in our lands, and renders our precious homes ever more distant.

Crushed Hopes

As we left our beloved homes, our eyes were filled with the tears of longing and the hope for return in a few days. Instead, we were left with nothing other than despair. The tears of hope dried up, replaced by the streaming drops of disappointment, bitterness and despondency. Our people turned left and right, seeing people speaking in its name in the absence of its knowledge. Its opinion is never sought and its will is not respected, and any expression of its pains and aspirations is not allowed. In the meantime, its guardians articulate on its behalf demands that it does not approve of or accept.

Amidst the conspiracy to distance our people from the cause of its homeland, and in our absence as an essential party to the issue, the world viewed the Arab countries as strangers and aliens to the cause. This view persisted no matter how hard these countries asserted themselves as our brothers or neighbours acting in self-defence. As a result of the indolence of these countries and their drift behind the coloniser, our enemy freely roamed the international arena, convincing the world of its falsehoods, and harnessing material and moral support for its entity at a time when the Arab voice of Palestine was completely absented.

Our Lived Reality

Under the cloak of thickening darkness, our people do not see anything around them other than the uncertainty, floundering, and chaos that engulf all aspects of Palestinian life everywhere. Surrounded by dark gazes saturated with doubt and accusation, they observe division and conflict undermining the strength of our Arab nation. Subjected to harrowing troubles, violent pains, and sour indignities, they are given false hopes and pledges. In the meantime, the rushing currents of enthusiastic outbursts and random surges sweep away our energies and vitality. This is our lived reality in every location.

As such, our people have been dispersed in every country, demeaned in the lands of exile. Stripped of their homeland, they live without dignity, leadership, hope, weapons, direction, support, effective bonds, and respect. With their very existence undermined, our people have experienced the grinding insistence on tearing apart their collectivity and our masses have been prevented from paving for themselves the straight path for liberating their usurped lands. Throughout the long years that have passed us, we have waited on and on. Every hope dissolved before us, and the foundations of humane endurance and patience have been shattered inside our depths. The longer we waited, the more our lives became complicated.

Years passed and they have not given us a single chance to unite and organise the forces our people so that we could regain our hold over the reins of our cause. Under the current system of guardianship, our people have not taken a single step forward. Instead, our conditions have been deteriorating and we descended into scary depths. The armistice lines have not moved back an inch. In fact, they are expanding at the expense of our Arab lands and our enemies are swallowing additional parcels every day, seizing any plot they find. They have been handed over territories as a result of intentionally made mistakes on maps that were criminally signed by black hands during the treasonous agreement at Rhodes. Reality has confronted us with the dreadful truth: there has been no improvement in our condition, and our people are afflicted with more wounds, suffering, casualties, shocks, fetters, and loss.

We must move.

From here, from the depths of terrifying actuality, amidst the shipwrecks of pain and the waves of sorrow, and in our search for being and dignity under the shade of the motherland, our people had to move after the hope of forthcoming relief was burnt by the flames of long anticipation. The revolutionary vanguard that is conscious of its responsibility had to chart its path, specifying the direction of its march in the context of surrounding realities. Keeping its distance from spontaneity and impulsiveness, it had to lay the foundations of action that is driven by awareness of all prevailing conditions and necessary considerations, comprehending all the currents and directions that affect our cause and our people on the local, Arab, and international levels.

Revolution is the Solution

This vanguard has not found a way other than revolution for saving our people from all that surrounds it, reviving our cause out of the shrouds of lethal staleness, and removing the grime of colonial Zionist occupation. The

necessity of revolution is imposed by the conditions of our people and its realities. It is dictated by the logic of history and the natural development of our actualities and the vicissitudes of our cause.

We have no path other than revolution.

The alternative is to surrender to what surrounds us, remain inaudible, succumb to dependency, justify our failings and silence, and philosophise the crime of our dejection and temporisation. Taking that path means that we would become a people that condemns itself to destruction, consents to indignity, and sleeps under tyranny, authoring its demise with its own hands and burying itself. Far be it that our revolutionary people would ever become like that or accept such a fate!

Through revolution, we announce our will and take our only available path. By way of revolution, we put an end to this pungent surrender and the terrifying existence that is led by the sons of the Nakba in every land. With revolution, we restore to our people its self-esteem and belief in itself, reclaiming the confidence of the world in us and its respect for us.

Where were our people?

When the freedom bell was rung, it loudly awakened peoples in all corners of the earth. The caravan of dignity assembled across the world, marching with pride and confidence in nearby lands and far away, heading towards liberty, independence, and shedding away the darkness of colonialism and occupation... The free peoples of the globe searched with their eyes for the Arab people of Palestine, which had once been pioneers of heroism and sacrifice. They looked for those who had once been a burning revolt against the tyranny of colonialists and invaders, but they could not find them. The eyes of the free were filled with sorrow and grief when they began to realise that this proud people was fettered by the chains of the guardians and the shackles of surrender, alarmism, and endless waiting. In the meantime, our people watched that rising force, overjoyed by the victories, salvation, and liberation of weak peoples. Yet, its inner depths were stung by the acidity of the Nakba with which it was afflicted, preventing it from enjoying the blessing of freedom and living under the shade of dignity.

All the Free Peoples are With Us

With our revolution, we shall demonstrate a truth that has been long obscured, showing that our people has not acquiesced or resigned.

Throughout the years during which we were absent from the battlefield we were steadfastly struggling against the consecutive onslaught of the stormiest of intrigues against our people, battling the fragmentation and liquidation of our cause, and resisting the dispersal and suffering to which we were subjected.

As we cross through the darkness of amassing tragedies, we shall pass with the insistence of the believers and the resolve of revolutionaries. Guided by the light emanating from the fire of revolution, we shall heal our wounds and create glory, taking our first step on the correct path for the liberation of our land. And when the flags of revolution begin to fly high, our Arab brothers will support us, and the free peoples of the world will stand by our side. The whole world will chant for us, for we would then raise our heads high as revolutionaries fighting for right, dignity, honour, and humanity.

What do we aim to achieve through our revolution?

The main aim of our revolution is action towards the full liberation of the occupied land of Palestine and the liquidation of the Zionist colonialist invasion of our stolen homeland, so that the entirety of Palestine would return as a free part of the greater Arab world. Towards that end, our movement faces several principal responsibilities that are shaped by the special place that the revolutionary vanguard occupies in the battle for liberation. These responsibilities include:

- 1) The organisation of active and effective elements, as well as the revolutionary forces, arising out of the ranks of the sons of the Nakba in every location. These must be prepared and tied together so as to constitute a strongly wielded, and powerful, mass that could directly carry out the responsibility of liberationist revolution in accordance with the overall plan of the movement.
- 2) Total revolutionary mobilisation of the entire forces, capacities, and efforts of our people in all locations, and their deployment as a vanguard for the Arab struggle to liberate the usurped land. This should be supplemented by the amassment of all Arab and friendly forces, energies, and capabilities, so that they could back our struggle in the battle of destiny.
- 3) Preparing the appropriate conditions that would allow the West Bank of the Jordan to become the main base for the launch of the emancipatory revolution.

Several other responsibilities are included in the general plan for revolutionary action, covering its various stages and spheres.

Section 2: The General Plan for Revolutionary Action

The plan drawn for revolutionary action was conceptualised so that it could be applied in a complimentary manner in all revolutionary strategic spheres. It is premised on the cohesiveness of its stages and the absence of forbidding disjunctures between them. Each stage has a time that is appropriate for it as well as specific sub-tasks that correspond to it. All stages require full mobilisation of political, moral, military, economic, and other capacities. This must take place within the totality of arenas that are utilised towards the desired end, and on all fronts, be they internal or external.

Stages:

- 1- The stage of consolidation.
- 2- The stage of mobilisation.
- 3- The stage of revolution.
- 4- The stage of victory and its aftermath.

Firstly: The Stage of Consolidation

The importance of this stage derives from the fact that it consolidates the essential components of work after the completion of the preparatory stage. It solidifies efforts and capacities in all sectors of work, offering an essentially concrete foundation for the subsequent stage. Steps that are required for this stage include:

a) The Organisational Sphere

- 1- Preparing the general structure of the movement and its organisations with care and precision. In doing so, movement branches and units must be closely connected intellectually as well as institutionally; involving the peripheries as well as the core.
- 2- Concentrating the bases of the movement and generalising its formations in every location in which Palestinians live.
- 3- Consolidating the general committees that branch out of the higher central committee or the regional branch committees. This is so that each committee could oversee all the organs of revolutionary work, in accordance with its prescribed tasks and within its particular sphere.
- 4- The regional branch committees, within their specified areas, oversee the organisations of the movement and their various wings.
- 5- During the consolidation period, the following needs must be attended to:
 - Complete secrecy, vigilance, and caution.

- The selection of elements that are safe, clean, and free from perversity.
- Concern for quality as well as quantity.
- According special attention for members that possess leadership qualities, show flair for guidance, or demonstrate greater activity and energy. Each member must be placed in the position to which their qualities and capacities are best suited.

b) The Political Sphere

- 6- Laying the foundations for the political apparatus of the movement, accounting for all its formations and operational fields.
- 7- Monitoring all developments pertaining to every aspect of the Palestinian cause. These include events that affect the cause- or that are affected by it- within the Arab and global arenas, as well as on the level of the United Nations and all international organisations.
- 8- Developing a comprehensive understanding, and regularly producing extensive studies, of the conditions and affairs of the criminal invaders living in our occupied land as well as the Zionist movement and the bodies and organisations connected to it in all parts of the world.
- 9- Providing all the necessary assessments, documents, and political files concerning countries, international organisations, unions, popular committees, personalities, and general international currents.
- 10- Preparing political studies, revolutionary curricula, as well as programmes that generate ideas capable of mobilising the members of the movement along revolutionary, patriotic, and conscious lines that can deepen belief in the necessity of revolution and the inevitability of practicing it.
- 11- Setting up means of dissemination and political guidance for the movement, including radio and print media. This is in addition to relying on media in the Arab homeland and the friendly countries, so as to spread the goals of the movement and its various positions on issues and events. This is done by means of:
 - The magazines and special pamphlets issued by the movement.
 - Direct and indirect communication through newspapers, over the airwaves, and elsewhere.
 - Official and personal contacts with journalists, commentators, and writers based in the institutions of the press, radio, and the media.
 - Provision of facts, studies, articles, and opinion pieces.

c) The Revolutionary Sphere

12- The military sector of the movement concentrates its armed and revolutionary organisations in all relevant areas inside and outside the occupied land. It should secure the following:

- Revolutionary strike forces and active units.
- Support and reserve units.
- Units for the protection of the revolution.

These types of units could be by means of organisation, training, and the adoption of revolutionary tactics.

- Military hardware and all resources necessary for revolutionary mobilisation, including weapons, equipment, and stocks.
- Supply and provision mechanisms.
- Establish medical centres and specialised as well as general hospitals.

13- Comprehensive strategic research of enemy conditions, developments, and relations in the occupied territory.

Secondly: The Stage of Mobilisation

In the sequence of steps that has been outlined in the general plan for liberation, the stage of mobilisation holds a unique importance, especially for ensuring that motivation remains strong following the subsequent launch of the revolution. During this stage, all organs and divisions of the movement work towards the material and moral mobilisation and supporting the broad gathering of forces in all fields and fronts. The following steps will be pursued:

- 1- Consolidation of the connections between all of the movement's units with its branches and peripheries in a strong and coordinated manner.
- 2- Broad expansion in the establishment of bases and wings, as well as spreading connected revolutionary cells that could cover all the areas in which our people live.
- 3- Strengthening the activities of the general committees of the movement with the aim of achieving its adopted programs.
- 4- Intensification of active forces in the political organisations sector; amassing manpower in all striking, operational, supporting, and reserve revolutionary structures; increasing general military missions, supplies, and preparations; and accumulating administrative, technical, and tactical experience and raising efficiency.

- 5- Deepening national awareness-raising activities so as to mobilise spirits and prepare them for supporting the revolutionary launch and interact with it, utilising all available or specially created mediums for that purpose.
- 6- Preparing the revolutionary radio station so that it could start transmission at the specified moment in accordance with the general plan.
- 7- Supporting the activities of the movement's political structure in all Palestinian, Arab, and international arenas so as to achieve all objectives required at this stage within each of these spheres.
- 8- Expanding interaction with all sectors of our people on every level, so that networks could become organised in a manner that ensures the fulfilment of their roles in a dynamic manner. These sectors include:
 - a) Workers and farmers.
 - b) University and school students and youth.
 - c) Graduates, intellectuals, and politicians.
 - d) Organisations, unions, associations, chambers of commerce and other bodies.

Revolutionary nuclei in each of these sectors should fulfil their roles so that they could support the revolution in a more responsible manner in all its spheres of operation.

- 9- Supporting the revolutionary treasury with internal financial resources so that the initial funding for the revolution in its initial stages could depend on the resources of our people.
- 10- The Revolutionary Council and the Higher Central Committee of the movement prepare the Palestine National Council for being convened in the place and time of their choice, so that it could represent the areas in which our people live in a broad manner. Its members should be prepared in a clandestine manner.