

Palestinian National Council. "Political Programme Adopted by the Twelfth Session of the Palestinian National Council". Cairo, 8 June 1974. *Filastin al-Thawra* (Beirut), 12 June 1974.¹

Proceeding from the Palestine National Charter and the PLO's political programme which was approved during the 11th session held from 6 to 12 January 1973, believing in the impossibility of the establishment of a durable and just peace in the region without the restoration to our Palestinian people of all their national rights, foremost in the light of the examination of the political circumstances which arose during the period between the Council's previous and current sessions, the Council resolves the following:

1. The affirmation of the PLO position regarding resolution 242 which obliterates the patriotic and national rights of our people and regards our people's cause as a refugee problem. Therefore, dealing with this resolution on this basis is rejected at any level of Arab and international negotiations including the Geneva conference.
2. The PLO will struggle by every means, the foremost of which is armed struggle, to liberate Palestinian land and to establish the people's national, independent and fighting sovereignty on every part of Palestinian land to be liberated. This requires the creation of further changes in the balance of power in favour of our people and their struggle.
3. The PLO will struggle against any scheme for the establishment of a Palestinian entity the price of which is recognition, conciliation, secure borders, renunciation of the national right, depriving our people of their right to return and their right to determine their destiny on their national soil.
4. Any liberation step that is achieved represents a step for continuing [the efforts] to achieve the PLO strategy for the establishment of the Palestinian democratic state stipulated in the resolutions of the previous national councils.
5. The PLO will struggle with the Jordanian forces to create a Jordanian-Palestinian national front whose aim is the establishment of a national democratic regime in Jordan, a regime that will coalesce with the Palestinian entity to be established as a result of the struggle.

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6. The PLO strives to establish a unity of struggle between the two peoples and among all the Arab liberation movement forces that agree to this programme.
7. In the light of this programme the PLO will struggle to strengthen national unity and to elevate it to the point where it can carry out its duties and its patriotic and national tasks.
8. The Palestinian national authority, after its establishment, will struggle for the unity of the confrontation states for the sake of completing the liberation of all Palestinian soil and as a step on the road towards total Arab unity.
9. The PLO will struggle to strengthen its solidarity with the socialist countries and the world forces of liberation and progress in order to frustrate all the Zionist, reactionary and imperialist schemes.
10. In the light of this programme, the revolutionary leadership will work out the tactics that serve and lead to the achievement of these objectives.