

**PFLP. *Towards Becoming A Revolutionary Proletarian Organisation.* 1970.  
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*About the Cadres Political and Military School*

The PFLP's cadre school is considered a unique and pioneering experience in creating qualified cadres and competent revolutionary leaders for the Palestinian *fida'i* work.

Below is an analysis by one of the comrades leading the school:

The reason for establishing the Cadres Political and Military School was the evaluation of the PFLP's military and political forces. The evaluation revealed a shortage in mid-level cadres capable of the leading a base militarily and politically, capable of turning every base into a revolutionary center and every fighter into a revolutionary and a social reformer, and capable of mobilising the masses in the camp and bringing out the largest number possible out of passivity into interaction with the resistance and later on participation in the resistance. The evaluation revealed the PFLP had good mid-level cadres. However, such cadres were either good politically or militarily. This meant that the cadres were two types. The first is aware and competent militarily but their political awareness and ideological commitment was spontaneous and classless without clear intellectual commitment. They were capable of leading military operations but incapable of creating revolutionary atmosphere, revolutionary centers or revolutionary party. The second type are cadres who are experienced politically capable of creating a revolutionary party but incapable of military action, combat in the mountains or street fighting in the popular militias.

This made it clear that we needed the individuals to be fighters capable of military leadership and of using sophisticated weaponry as long as they don't remain just a doer or an instrument but be able to understand the hidden political goals moving this instrument. We also need to create politicised individuals who understand the revolutionary theory and the political goals but at the same time know the nature and complexity of the military instrument he employs....

They spoke in a language strange to the language of the fighters and didn't know their interests. This experience failed after a period of time. The political and military leadership decided to conduct a new experiment. The new

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experiment was sending political intellectuals to training camps where they would become fighters. After that they would be sent to the bases where they would join the fighting through going into the occupied territories to fight the enemy, join the patrols, prepare ambushes, and all other combat duties as well as fulfilling their daily chores at the bases. When they have gained the trust of the fighters, increased their own self-confidence, and became experienced fighter they can start proposing political ideas and start working as intellectuals. This experience failed because of the nature of the intellectuals and the short stamina of some of them for struggle. At this point we needed a new solution to create the experienced fighter capable of political education. The best, most steadfast, and most proven fighters through a long period of fighting the enemy, harsh life and dealing with the fighters, and who had proven their revolutionary discipline were recruited along with political cadres active in the camps who have proven their ability in organising and educating the masses as well as raising their awareness and have proven their steadfastness in long party work to study at the school. The aim was to create politicised military individuals capable of being the military leader and the political intellectual simultaneously, in a way that prevents the dualism of authority, in the PFLPs bases inside and outside the occupied territories as well as organising and preparing the masses as well as raising their awareness and increasing their support for the resistance as well as supporting the resistance with the largest possible number of fighters.

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Political education and military training are not everything. The most important thing is practice during the long period of the training course. This long period of living in battle conditions, dangerous conditions near the frontline with the enemy, and daily threat of enemy air and land attacks gives the student at the Cadres School a real combat atmosphere different to the theoretical atmosphere. This is in addition to "Self-Confidence Workshops" before graduation to increase the self-confidence of the students, gain practical experience and to increase the fighters' trust in those leaders as practical competent leaders.

The social life in the school between the students and between the students and the teachers is very is very important as well. Such relationships are purely comradely relationships. The socialist and democratic principles at the school are applied in practice through military democracy.

Critique and auto-critique are carried out weekly in a good organised fashion. In addition there is the weekly evaluation of everything that happened that

week. There are also revolutionary academic implementation to high degree of success of some principles such as the principle of "Each according to their abilities and each according to their needs." There was a practical implementation of this principle in daily life in areas such as clothes, food, and cigarettes. Training, services and practices were built on the basis of continuous political education. For example, the school's administration calculated the normal consumption of cigarettes and then calculated the consumption after the application of the principle and found out that consumption decreased by 6%. This was despite the lack on enforcement for the principle except the students' own consciousness in this kind of social life and comradely relationships between the trainers and the students. This kind of revolutionary discipline doesn't depend on traditional disciplinary measures as much as it depends on conscious application of instruction as a result of class, ideology and goal unity. This is considered a huge revolutionary success and a material application of the theory the students studied at the school.

The graduation of the first class from the Cadres School will be a leap in the cadres we have. The graduating cadres will replace the current cadres who will be sent to the School for similar course. The current cadres have demonstrated their abilities, bravery and steadfastness and need to improve their political and military leadership. The best graduate will be sent to further courses in some of the socialist countries.

*PFLP General Secretary George Habash's Speech at the Graduation Ceremony of the First Class from the Cadres School*

*The Special Meaning of the Cadres School*

Comrades,

We hold a special meaning and understanding for the line take at the Cadres School. This particularity comes from the nature of the transformation stage the PFLP is going through. From its class and theoretical composition it became clear to us that the PFLP is a radical petty bourgeoisie organisation going through a period of transformation towards becoming a Marxist-Leninist proletariat party. This is where the importance of the Cadres School comes from. This is where the necessity that the Cadres School line becomes one of the lines of our revolutionary party work comes from.

When we say the PFLP is transforming into a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary proletariat party, into a leftist party, we mean that the transformation process will be continued until its decisive conclusion. We mean we need to provide the revolutionary instrument that propels the national democratic revolution, allied with the other revolutionary forces, towards its decisive conclusion. For the instrument to be from fulfilling this great task, for our Front to be able to carry out this mission, we need to continue the process of leftist transformation that our Front is going through to its ultimate horizons; to the horizons that include everything in our party life including our understanding of our mission, our strategy, our tactics and the meaning of the Left.

## *The Meaning of the Left*

The Left is simply, and without any complexity, the masses suffering oppression, injustice, persecution, and class exploitation. The masses that suffer all of this are the left. Working for the masses and for their class interests is the leftist work. The masses are the meaning of the left. We are defending the masses in the plants, the factories, the institutions, the cities and the countryside. We struggle for their causes, class interests and achieving their hopes and aspirations.

The left means to live among the masses in poverty, misery and deprivation. We work hard to make the masses happy; we sacrifice our lives to protect them and ensure their victory against their class enemies. Those poor, deprived, and oppressed masses. The masses in our mind and understanding are: the workers, the peasants, and the petty bourgeoisies in the cities. Here in Amman the most deprived masses are the masses in the Palestinian refugee camps of misery, wretchedness, and torment. To confirm the image that we see and live daily we need to record here that the class that leads all the revolutionary classes is the working class.

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## *Evaluating the Course*

What is the role this course can play in the transformation process?

The difficult circumstances we went through prevented us from conducting an accurate scientific evaluation we could offer you. We feel the need to offer a responsible opinion. This is an opportunity for me to apologize, in the name

of the schools administration and the PFLP's political leadership, for the members of the course for not running this course according to our initial plan. The political events that Jordan is witnessing since the 10<sup>th</sup> of February deprived this course from receiving all the efforts that we wanted to give it when it started. As you know the course started on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February and the malicious conspiracy, the conspiracy against the people and the people's national movement, started on the 10<sup>th</sup>.

In such decisive moments it is natural all efforts be directed towards protecting the revolution, the people's goals, and people's aspirations.

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The circumstances also prevented us from achieving the general goals. It pains us that it wasn't achieved. One of our goals was to get to know each other much better. As a result of joint living a scientific evaluation would have been shaped followed by the real value that could offer the people and their goals. It could be very difficult to offer a responsible opinion about the course, the degree to which it would achieve its goal, or its real contribution in the transformation process.

Comrades,

We have a general impression about you from the official conversations we had with you and the casual conversations we had while we were at the school. Your evaluation of the course and what you have learnt is one of the essential measures adopted in the evaluation. I believe it is wrong if the school's administration shuts itself in a room while trying to evaluate the benefits gained by the students in this course. The evaluation given to this course by the students might be the most important measure. We are satisfied with the impression we got from our conversations with you. We are satisfied that some of the comrades taking part in the course said that the course made their vision of the revolutionary work clearer and increased their commitment to their cause and to the organisation that you are aiming to build to play its expected role in achieving the aspirations of the masses. Based on your opinions we can record a general impression and we leave it to the scientific experience to confirm. You bare the responsibility for confirming the accuracy of the evaluation when your behaviors match yours self-evaluation.

Only practice can give the final evaluation. Practice is the only proof to the validity of the theory, the positions, plans and any evaluation we run. We can say that the course's evaluation, scientifically not emotionally, is in you

hands. In the next few months you will determine the evaluation through the responsibilities that you will assume and the way you will carry out those responsibilities. When the PFLP has the scientific evaluation of the course the PFLP's leadership will be able to estimate the role that this practice plays in the PFLP's transformation and construction. We hope that your answer comes to confirm that the efforts and time dedicated to the course weren't wasted. We hope that the answer would be an increase in the speed of the transformation as a result of the number of comrades that had the opportunity to take part in such a course.

If we wanted to mix the scientific evaluation with feelings allow me to express an honest feeling. With the graduation of this course the PFLP will be stronger than before. For the first time we feel we are building the backbone of the PFLP that will deepen its transformation to the Left.

We hope to conclude this process quickly.

#### *Arrogance and the Proletarian Behavior*

Honestly there is a difference between you and the others. How do we understand this difference and how do we act in the light of our understanding of this difference?

If we behave according to a person's, uneducated revolutionary, inclination for arrogance or if arrogance controls our behavior we will lose everything we learnt in this course.

If we understand the difference as being superior to others, if we fail to employ it to serve the PFLP, PFLP's members, the masses, and the PFLP's leftist transformation process, and if we fail to benefit from this difference then this difference would be our end and for everything we learnt in this course.

If we understand this difference correctly it will add more responsibility to our shoulders. It will benefit our revolutionary work. Each one of you will be able to transfer everything they learn in the course to other members. You will be able to transform it into reality and into tangible practice. You will be able to bring it from theory into practice. This will make its presence in the PFLP productive.

Comrades,

I don't need to remind that a true revolutionary is educated, modest, wants to learn and teach continuously, and focuses on his weaknesses more than his abilities and his weaknesses more than others' weaknesses. He is a person who has integrated with his and the masses' cause. All his personal causes become part of the revolutionary cause and subject to it. Individual causes become secondary causes in comparison to the great cause.

Comrades,

Protect yourself against arrogance because it's deadly for you as individuals and for the PFLP. It will make us lose the contribution of many comrades. We want the PFLP to gain the maximum benefit from you.

#### *Evaluation Criteria*

Comrades,

The other issue we need to pay attention to is the three evaluation measures we specified for this course:

#### 1. Understanding the Political Programme:

We said there was a political programme that we wanted the members of the course to learn. We need to ask ourselves to what degree have we learnt the material offered to us in this course? To what degree do we understand the theoretical weapon we can use to face all intellectual, political, organisational, struggle, and military issues of revolutionary work? Back then we said this was one of the measures we need to analyse at the end of the course and consider in analysing each material separately and in analysing the political programme as a whole.

#### 2. Understanding the Military Programme:

This was the second measure of evaluation that we specified then. To what degree did you understand the military topics, in addition to the political and organisational topics, you studied in this course and to what degree did it benefit you?

#### 3. Good Behavior, Conscious Commitment, and Iron Discipline

At the start of the course we said there is a third measure more important than the first two. Back then we said it was as follows:

What would be our behavior after graduating from the course as a result of understating of the scientific course and employing it in confronting our issues and a result of understanding the military programme created especially for the Cadres School? Back then we said this was a very important topic. We all know the meaning of a petty bourgeoisies organisation. From this point and as a result of the individualistic tendency that characterises many of we waste a big part of our time and thought at the expense of the other revolutionary issues.

This is the individualistic tendency that characterises the petty bourgeoisies. The issue of the I. Where would I be? What are responsibilities? Who is my leader? Why am I in this place? Why should I assume this responsibility? Such as issues and the resulting tension between the comrades becomes as if it was the main issue of the revolution. This is one of the illnesses of the petty bourgeoisies organisations. We as a petty bourgeoisies organisation suffer from such illnesses. In the course we discusses how sometimes people are amazed at the nature of the issues that occupy the ranks of our party and leadership ranks as well as some of the PFLP members.

The country is the subject of many dangerous conspiracies including foreign occupation. The conspiracy plans have already been prepared for the country. Despite this we still find some branches of the organisation stuck at personal and individual issues that govern our behavior turning into a behavior strange to the proletariat behavior and to the nature of the working class and contradicts its virtuous revolutionary characteristics.

Our understanding of the Marxist-Leninist theory should be reflected in our behavior and characterises our actions. Where are we from the iron discipline of the proletariat? Comradely relations require organisational ties and discipline resulting from voluntary consciousness and discipline.

We want iron discipline but conscious discipline.

We want real integration in the revolutionary work and revolutionary causes.

We want total rejection of petty personal issues.

We want complete avoidance of internal tensions and individualistic tendency.

We want collection action and party behavior at the highest levels of responsibility.

We want serious dedication to the great causes, the causes of the PFLP, the causes of the Party, and the causes of the revolution.

We want revolutionary conduct and discipline and comradely party relations.

We want a true proletariat so that the members of this course become an example of the left and of the iron coherent organisational construction built on central democracy.

We want members of understand this principle well and apply consciously.

Through the practical translation of these organisational principles we can make the PFLP an iron Marxist-Leninist organisation capable of leading the masses. This way we can change our Front from a radical petty bourgeoisie organisation torn apart by its internal conflicts, personal tensions and the silly issues the national movement, and all its factions, are living.

Comrades,

We are waiting from you an effective and active role that pushes our intellectual, political, organisational, military and struggle forward. This doesn't mean we are waiting for miracles. For our evaluation to be realistic it needs to come from the new intellectual, political and military knowledge that the members of the course learnt. What we expect is not outside the limits of these qualifications. I'm optimistic about the important and serious role that you will play in the Marxist-Leninist leftist transformation of the PFLP aimed at transforming our radical petty bourgeoisie organisation into a proletarian organisation capable of participating in leading the working class and the toiling masses.

The third measure of evaluation is the Marxist-Leninist proletarian behavior that depends on the ability to admit mistakes, and confront, expose and overcome failings and never repeating them. This comradely behavior that the revolutionary causes constitute its engine and guide. The behavior that rejects self-centered causes, which is the illness we need to recover from.