

THE FUTURE OF THE LEFT IN PALESTINE

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AN OVERVIEW:

I would have preferred if my paper had a different title, such as “*The Future of the Palestinian left*” as this title would mean that there is a real left wing to which we are seeking a future; but necessity knows no laws. I see that the title “*The Future of Left in Palestine*” is very suitable for the meantime as this requires us to examine five specific aspects: The first aspect would discuss the status of the left in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967; the second aspect would tackle the reasons behind the deterioration of the left; the third aspect would look into the consequences of the left crisis; it’s logical that the fourth aspect would explore some solutions; and finally, the last one would propose some recommendations to reach a left Palestinian wing in order to have the next paper titled *the Future of the Palestinian Left*.

FIRST: THE STATUS OF THE LEFT IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

It’s hard to put all the Palestinian factions and parties that call themselves “leftists” in one basket; there are those who are moderate left, extreme left, progressives and others are actually rightists but call themselves leftists. The parties that this paper will address and define as leftists are: The Popular Front for the liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Palestinian People’s Party (PPP), the Palestinian Democratic Union (FIDA), the Palestinian Popular Struggle Front (PPSF) and the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP). I’m obligated to rule out the others, particularly the Palestinian Initiative headed by Dr. Mustafa Barghouti who stated to Al Hal Newspaper, issue 2 on 1/3/2005 that, “The Palestinian Initiative is not affiliated to the Palestinian leftist parties and didn’t run the elections as part of the leftist coalition; however, it’s a democratic coalition. As proof, the Palestinian Initiative received the support of Islamists like Abd Al Sattar Qasem” 1. It’s clear hear that Dr.Barghouti means the liberal Democracy that is totally different than the social democracy based on progressive ideologies.

The above mentioned five parties are the ones representing the Palestinian left wing that is living a comprehensive historical structural crisis. The fragmentation and deterioration of the leftist parties, which would lead to their destruction, are becoming the characteristics of these parties and factions. Accordingly, it’s imperative to think of and act on ways to stop this state of continuous deterioration. This can be done by analyzing and examining the elements, work mechanisms, characteristics and practices of the crisis and providing the ideological, structural and programmatic alternative that would ensure a solution to get out of this crisis and rise up before reaching the moment of destruction. In case we reach the moment of destruction, the process of rebirth will be too difficult. The deterioration and failure, inflicted upon the Palestinian left, demand serious consideration of restructuring the Palestinian left vis-à-vis its notions, ideologies,

conceptions and methodology. It also requires clarifying the ambiguity, fogginess and fabrication that surrounded those notions. This would be a clear and solid entrance to the second mission of rebuilding the work mechanisms and practices, clarifying the goals and achieving high level of unified dialectics, ideology, structure and policy that would eliminate all forms of chaos, bullying and blocs, on one hand, and creating a state of comradeship closeness and motivation; then reaching and mingling with the public, on the other hand. 2 This mingling would necessarily put an end to the state of political polarization between Fateh and Hamas movements in the occupied territories while the rest of parties, in the arena, swing between these two pillars without having an independent and unique stand. 3 Having a left unity is a necessity in order to make a political balance by having a three equal political powers, Fateh, Hamas, and the Left

Due to the crises facing these factions, they reap deterioration after deterioration and defeat after defeat. As such, the left wing parties are living the same crises facing the society without any distinctive and pioneer stand that would help them to solve the problems of the people; instead, the ordinary people are taking initiatives that overcome the initiatives taken by the factions. This has demonstrated itself in the second Parliamentary elections in January 2006 where the left parties have only won 5 seats out of 132 seats and their total votes reached 78,201 divided among themselves as follows:

- 42,101 to the People's Front (PFLP)
- 28,973 to the Alternative Coalition (the Democratic Front, People's Party & FIDA)
- 7,127 to the Struggle Front. (PPSF).4

This makes up 7.8% only out of the entire votes; however, it only makes around 4% of those eligible to vote*. 5

If we conduct a simple comparative study to measure the popularity of these parties against the popularity of independent non political candidates, we will find out that there is a huge declination in the popularity of those parties. For example, the independent candidate, Mu'awiyah Al Masri representing Nablus electoral constituency, received 33,561 votes. This exceeds the numbers of votes that the Alternative List (includes PPP, Fida and DFLP) had received in the West Bank, Gaza and the occupied Jerusalem and a bit less than the votes that PFLP list had received. The independent candidate, Jamil Al Tarifi on Ramallah electoral constituency received 16,147 which is more than any faction of the three Alternative factions had received and more than double the votes than The Palestinian Popular Struggle Front received. Also, the candidate, Kamal Al Sharafi received 16,362 votes for the north Gaza electoral constituency and many others. One more well known case happened in Ramallah constituency where Mr. Omar Assaf from DFLP who ran elections on the majority level gained 11,012 votes while The Alternatives List in the same constituency gained 3,609 votes only.

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- * - The no. of eligible voters is about 1,816,000.
 - The no. of eligible voters who have registered is 1,332,399.
 - The no of registered voters who participated in voting is 1,042,424.
 - The no. of voting cards that have been counted is 990,837

SECOND: THE FACTORS BEHIND THE CRISIS

The Occupied Palestinian territories are not considered as a focal point for the rest of the World and neither a super power; therefore, there are many factors that have led to this crisis. The following four factors are, inter alia, the most important factors:

- 1- **The International Factor:** we can't restrict the international factor to the collapse of the Soviet Union, the collapse of the socialist system and the end of the cold war in a simple classical way. This is as if all the leftist powers in the world were members in the Supreme Soviet Council. Of course the collapse of the Soviet Union had a great impact. However, the strongest factor is represented in the consequences of this collapse. This collapse has incurred international, regional and local changes that enhanced the imperialistic hegemony on most of the third world countries. Consequently, the World Order stood alone led only by the United States of America undisputedly; thus, the balance that maintained the world peace for more than four decades had ended.

In addition, the biggest backward imperialistic media agencies had widely promoted what was described as the final victory for the western liberalism and announced the end of history. That is, the era of ideologies has ended. They sent a message indicating that Marxism, whether as an ideology or a methodology, has been defeated in the face of capitalism. This campaign has purposely attempted to combine the ideology and practice of socialism in Eastern Europe, and Marx was prosecuted for the mistakes of the bureaucratic communist parties that were defeated because of their corruption and the fact that they dealt with Marxism as a cover/religion and a historical necessity where democracy was confiscated. "It is impossible to think of socialism without democracy, or democracy without socialism, all citizens should participate in decision making, life dies without elections, freedom of expression and the rest of the freedoms 6.

The members of the communist parties ruled out the collapse of the Soviet Union. This has created an intellectual vacuum and this is where the main issue lies. This vacuum was filled up by the western liberal ideology, the ideology of individualism, the market economy, the ideology of globalization, cunningness and serving self interest (Machiavellism).

- 2- **The Regional Factor:** the Arab left had started to deteriorate before the collapse of the Soviet Union and the socialist community. The war had already been going on by the United States, particularly in the seventies and eighties of the last century. The USA played a big role in using religion as a pretext to combat the heterodoxy of the socialists. The USA has found significant benefits in suppressing the subordinate systems. As, in addition to being a source for energy, they are a big consumer of weapons under the pretext of the national enemy threat. The support of the USA to a number of political Islamic movements in close cooperation with Arab regimes has increased in order to isolate and strike the conscious movements within the Arab World – the movements that seek national liberation, modernization and democratization and to move from the Middle Ages to the twenty first century. The USA has mobilized armies of fighters to fight in Afghanistan, Bosnia & Herzegovina and Albania under the American agenda. The USA has also entered its wars in the area under the Islamic Salafiyya's banner and the dark forces against anything that is leftist, national and democratic. 7 The USA had already destroyed the secular democratic change in one of the biggest Islamic countries in 1965, which is Indonesia. All this has led to politicizing religion and converting it to become a tool to oppress freedom of thought, creativity and scientific research.. “This has increased the leftists crisis as many groups from its parties were hesitant to continue in their track fearing the extremist powers and due to the disappointments they had. These groups are from the youth who were influenced by the liberal ideology as a result of the failure of the leftist leaderships to reproduce an understanding that would suite the Arab reality. Instead, they basically depended on adopting existing theoretical quotes produced by the Marxist parties and dropped them on the Arab reality without examining the requirements and forms of this reality.” 8 Moreover, the leadership of leftist parties hit the breaks in order to stop the deterioration process or to prolong it. Accordingly, the democratic process was not on the priority list of those parties. The absence of the democratic practices and refraining from electing new blood had caused these parties to lose the youth who were the spine of the Arab left wing during the sixties, seventies and eighties of the last century. This had a negative impact represented in isolating the Arab left parties from the public especially that their speeches fail to interact with the experiences of the people and failed to uplift them from disappointments and despair. Nevertheless, the USA and its allies from the backward regimes persisted on claiming that the leftists are outsider powers; they are blasphemers and that the call for ideological liberation which is the core of the leftists teaching is going against religion and social values. The success of the Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 has made a new obstacle. This has constituted a big challenge to the Arab leftists and the Middle East that considers the wheel of history as going forward instead of backward. In addition, the executive Iranian governments have financial capabilities and thus have supported most of the Islamic movements. Therefore, these movements seemed to be as an alternative which is seen as more revolutionary than the leftists in their fight against the greedy ambitions of the USA in the region.

- 3- **The Israeli Factor:** the Palestinian left movements have received many strikes by the Israeli occupying authorities since 1967. The first was in 1973-1974 when Israel expelled most of the leftist leaderships into exile. Also, in the early eighties of last century, the leftist student movement was targeted by Israel after they thwarted Israel's attempt to replace the PLO with a controlled leadership (Villages Leagues) project in 1982. In the 1st Intifada in 1987, the leftist leaderships were the first targets of Israel's policy of assassination, arrest and expulsion.

The repetitive hits that leftist movements received ended in having the Palestinian leaderships either in exile, or in Israeli jails, or under house or territorial arrest. The other hit was on the political level after the peace process that was launched in 1991 and still swaying in its place. The Palestinian Communist Party and FIDA participated strongly in that process whether in the bilateral or multilateral negotiations that resulted in the so called "Oslo Agreement". After Oslo, "the Palestinian People's Party" (the x-Communist Party) supported and strongly defended the Oslo Agreement. It was noticeable after Oslo that there was a real growth in the Israeli-Palestinian peace camp and the leftists from the two sides were the spine of this camp. But this popular expansion ceased to exist, surrounded by harsh Israeli governmental policies represented in denying the signed agreements, intensifying the land confiscation and settlement expansion policy, tightening the siege upon Jerusalem, shutting down the Jerusalemite Palestinian institutions and pursuing and arresting activists till it became evident to the people that peace is a real charade. And the owners of the Palestinian peace camp became ashamed to express their supporting position to the peace process. Yes, Israel succeeded in achieving its goals to destroy the Palestinian and Israeli peace camps and the Palestinian left wing. Israel did so because the Palestinian and Israeli peace camps adopt the International Law and ask for the implementation United Nations Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. **Israel found a substitute for this camp that carries the same mentality and inclination, who have been pulled to play in the armed playground that is preferred by the Israeli, so Israel has succeeded in strengthening The Palestinian Fundamentalists in order to play the role of the victim in front of the world 9"**

- 4- **The Internal Factor:** the deterioration of the left wing in Palestine started to be noticeable in 1989 with the deterioration of the first Intifada. This is contributed to:
 - 1- The intervention of the Palestinian leadership in Tunisia at the time of the internal affairs of the freedom fighters and the unified national leadership at home. The Palestinian Leadership in Tunisia started to pull the carpet from beneath the unified leadership in the Occupied Territories by sending funds to field leaderships and interfering in the drafting of statements that ceased to express the suffering and aspirations of the Palestinian people who were under occupation. Accordingly, the level of public participation in national field work was dropped to a minimal especially after following new imported practices, such as wearing

masks, using axes and weapons and other similar manifestations that drove people away from participating. 10 There was no resistance to such practices in my opinion as the leadership abroad wouldn't have accepted to be replaced by a leftist leadership from inside as the Palestinian Communist Party, based in Palestine, will reap all the political benefits. The Palestinian Communist Party made a mistake in not investing, on the political level, the confrontations on the ground, the international support and sympathy and the Israeli peace camp, rather they lagged and waited for decisions to come from Tunisia.

And before reaping the fruits of the Intifada, Saddam Hussein occupied Kuwait and the Palestinian official and public position was in support of the Iraqi occupation. Therefore, all the gains of the Palestinian Intifada went in vain. There was no credit left to be invested as political gains. The Palestinian leadership abroad convinced people that Saddam Hussein will liberate the occupied territories and no one gave an ear to the sound of reason but to the sound of Saddam's missiles. Accordingly, the opportunity to start a political process driven by the power of the Intifada and the leftist leadership was lost. In the meantime, the American Administration, through its Foreign Minister, Mr. Baker started preparing for the Madrid Conference and the bilateral and multilateral negotiations that the Palestinian side attended. During this process the Palestinian side was the weaker side, not having public support on the ground and having already lost Arab and regional support. In addition, the Palestinian side was the weakest since its international ally represented in the Soviet Union was living its last stages.

Going into negotiations in this form and then participating in the PA had changed the balance among the political parties and changed the rules of competition to become in favor of the PA and the party behind it, Fateh.¹¹ At the beginning there was a division in the position of the left. The PFLP and the DFLP didn't participate in the PA but opposed it, together with the Hamas movement. The Palestinian People's Party had hesitant stands, not knowing whether to participate or not to participate, so it wasn't part of the opposition. Also, FIDA party was an ally to the PA. Hence, the left wing in Palestine had three stands: an opposing stand, a supporting stand and an indecisive stand. This had the compass point to the two biggest poles: Fateh representing the PA with some other small parties and Hamas together with other parties opposing it. The internal conflict, though it might appear to be resisting the occupation, it was a conflict over power between the right wing and the extreme right wing. This had created a division in the Palestinian arena during the first Parliamentary elections that was held in 1996 where the left didn't win any seat and Fateh and the clans reaped all the seats. Hamas stayed in the opposition and didn't take part in the elections. Since that time until now, the conflict is between the right and the extreme right. However, the left is on the margin of the Palestinian politics not being influential, having old aged members and being deserted by its members. This was clearly manifested in the 2006 elections where the left had only received 5 seats out of 132 seats.

- 2- The second reason that led to the deterioration of the left is represented in the incapability of the left leadership to adjust with the new political circumstances, especially after the initiation of the peace process and allowing the above-ground political work. Such changes would necessarily need a young and new leadership that is not restricted by the traditional work mechanisms and notions. Keeping the old leadership after adopting these changes and modifications would have, in best case scenario, paralyzed the activities and movement of the leadership due to the conflict between the old and the new. 12 Such leaders were appointing themselves on the top levels of their parties. But to have an effective leadership, it should be chosen by its citizens a leadership that doesn't afraid of freedom. 13 As such, the left has failed to crystallize the central idea to build a progressive democratic stream or the third left party that is clear about its Marxist identity and its serious methodology. 14
- 3- The Palestinian left is financially depended on the Palestinian National Fund that is controlled by Fateh who decides on how to distribute the shares whether it is financial shares or positions in accordance to the quota previously specified. The quota system has abolished the already declared leftist policy that calls for having a Palestinian institutional stream based upon a democratic coalition away from subordination and containment. 15
- 4- The left in Palestine has also failed to transform the popular rejection to the forms of disorder in the PA or the PLO to a popular force. This has led to enhancing the two poles of conflict between Hamas and FATEH. 16
- 5- The left has failed to transform any issue to a public issue; ordinary people have had high expectations from the left towards the issue of corruption as well as poverty and unemployment.
- 6- Lack of awareness in the theory and its methodology and the way they are related to the reality and the spread of the internal institutional crisis.
- 7- The entrance of new groups to the left bearing with them tribal and religious thoughts which has led to an inclusion of rightist and conservative thinking.
- 8- The absence of media facilities and shutting down of newspapers
- 9- The separation between civil society organizations and their parties

THIRD: THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE CRISIS

- 1- The deterioration of the left parties has led to the deterioration in their status and influence on Fateh movement. Therefore, their political agenda and working mechanisms, especially in fighting the occupation have deteriorated. This has increased the phenomenon of extremism and violence which had disastrous impact on the Palestinians and provided a pretext for the Israeli policies. On the political level, big challenges ahead of the Palestinian people were created as a result. Among these challenges are: building the Colonial Wall, expanding settlements, intensifying closures and assassinations, controlling the borders and the water and power resources and losing support to the Palestinian Cause on the international and Israeli levels.
- 2- The deterioration of the moderate left has led to changing the references of the political solution. Hamas refuses the International Law and the UNSCRs as a reference and Fateh supports new legislations like the Arab Initiative, the Road Map, Bush's vision and Geneva Initiative that has a bad reputation amongst Palestinians. A new reality was created on the ground to marginalize or rule out the United Nations Resolutions. This was demonstrated during the visits of Bush, Sarkozy and Merkel to the region where their statements didn't give a hoot for the International Law and the Palestinian response was shy.
- 3- The left failed in the 2006 legislative council elections, which were the first democratic challenge after the second intifada. The left became a dispersed and torn apart power that couldn't reach an agreement among themselves
- 4- Crossing out the Palestinian Democratic Coalition from the political circle during the electoral process as the blocs didn't go along with the Coalition.
- 5- Diversion towards the right among the leftist parties as there are members who are not leftists or secular within these parties; they are there to serve their interest for a certain period of time.
- 6- The parties have deserted working with the poor and the public especially the laborers and the labor unions who are affiliated to the ruling party.
- 7- An increase in the ideological confusion among the leaders and cadres of the left parties. It is not clear anymore who is the leftist; is it the Marxist, the secular, the progressives or those who refuse Fateh and Hamas? The gap is widening between the leftist ideological identity on one hand and the majority of the cadres and members of the left parties on the other hand. The absence of awareness has led to getting closer to the reality where the ideologies and goals of the left parties are not personal goals of the party's members and cadre and the dialectical and revolutionary correlation between them became absent. 17
- 8- The youth are refraining from participating in the secular political work. The confrontations between Fateh and Hamas left a huge political gap that was supposed to be filled by the leftist parties; however, due to their own crises, they couldn't convince the citizens who refuse Fateh and Hamas to join any of them. It was obvious lately that those who benefited from this gap are new groups that are very extremists, such as the Islamic Liberation Party that calls for the re-establishment of the caliphate.

FORTH: THE PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

1-On the international level:

The Palestinian left should establish new relationships to similar parties, organizations, parliamentary blocs and individuals in order to recruit political support to the Palestinian question and to solve the Palestinian Israeli Conflict by establishing two states for two people. To gain political support, this requires a clear political stand that is corresponded with the International Legitimacy and the International Law that enables the Palestinian Left to be accepted by the similar bodies as well as such a stand defend and support the foreign supporters. Having this support could fill the vacuumed that has been left by the absence of the USSR and the rest of the X Socialist Countries.

2-On the regional level:

The Palestinian left should have relations with Palestinians in the exile, in order to convince them of the political stand of the two states for two people. These relations should be with movements and parties who are left and democratic, in addition to opening relations with the Israeli side, with the Arab Israelis and with the real peace camp in Israel. This kind of relationship strengthens the left and assists it to get out of the marginalization and be in a state parallel to the power of Fateh and Hamas. Hamas has regional and international support from Syria, Iran and Hezbollah in addition to a big number of individuals from the Gulf, USA, and a few numbers of Islamic countries. In addition to the international support, they have from the Muslim Brothers Movement. Fateh also has regional and international financial support from USA, Europe, and from some other countries mainly the Arab Regimes. In order to the left to be a third power, it is not enough to be active on the regional and international level, it should have a clear political and social agenda within a democratic, secular state that believes in social justice, and human rights as well as having their daily struggle against the corruption and by strengthening the democratization process on the ground.

3-On the Local Level:

- 1- **On the political agenda:** since the Palestinian People are still in the phase of national liberation and since Fateh and Hamas have no clear reference for solving the Palestinian Cause, the Palestinian left should be committed to solving the conflict in accordance with the UN Resolutions to establish the Palestinian state on the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967. This might distinguish the leftist from Fateh movement, which has adopted new references and from Hamas, which refuses the UN Resolutions.
- 2- **On the Social Agenda:** If we review the agenda of Fateh and Hamas, we notice the huge difference between the two. Fateh seeks a modern and democratic state while Hamas struggles to establish an Islamic state. However, the speeches, behaviors and the living pattern of Fateh leaders are not different than the speeches, behaviors and living pattern of Hamas leaders. For instance, Fatah movement, for more than 15 years, has been trying to compete with Hamas in their closeness and adoption of the Islamic religion. This is as we heard it from the deceased President Arafat and his slogans about Jihad and what we read in the third draft of the Constitution particularly article five that combines between the

- Islamic law and the International Declaration on Human Rights as a base for the Palestinian legislation. Members of Fateh in the middle leadership and the field leadership are not secular; that is, maybe they are not committed to the written texts, but they are trying to compete with Hamas in the issue behaving in a religious way. Proceeding from here, the Palestinian leftist parties should boldly raise the banner of secularism, separating between the state and religion, talking about social justice as an economical dimension in order to distinguish themselves from the two poles particularly from Fateh.
- 3- The leftist parties have to reacquire the notion of leftism and the clear scientific and communist context of leftism and its methodology of dialectical materialism. The left has to be open, modern, progressive and democratic and more in contact with the public, particularly the poor, marginalized and educated. The left has to conduct a theoretical encounter on the issues related to the left among its different departments. This ideological process of the leftists national, social and economical liberation cause, the political system, the issue of equality, social justice and its modern working mechanisms should constitute crucial points in restructuring and renewing the left. 18
 - 4- The left parties shouldn't be restricted to the national dimension of the political work; rather, they should include the two dimensions of the state or authority: the social and economic dimensions. They should also include the political system, democracy and secularism. Their work should be based on rebutting exploitation and class discrimination that are connected to Capitalism and market hegemony; In addition, their work should seek to provide the necessary social guarantees to meet the interests and rights of social classes. They need to consolidate loyalty to the society instead of the individualistic inclination of the Capitalistic approach. They should also seek to achieve equality by enhancing the bases of social and economic equalities between men and women based on citizenship and without prejudice to sex or color. 19
 - 5- In order to protect themselves and to preserve the homeland and their achievements, all the left political parties have to be unified in one leftist party. It should be a progressive democratic leftist party in its national, social, economic and struggling identity and in its struggle to get to the authority in order to achieve its program, especially that all the left parties literature discuss the same directions and aspirations and thus there is no justification for not merging them in one party.

FIFTH: RECOMMENDATIONS:

The leftist parties should work in more than one direction:

A- The Ideological Identity:

The Palestinian left parties should define their progressive identity as "LEFT DEMOCRATIC" that is based on the Marxist Scientific Methodology

B- The Socio-political Stand:

The Palestinian left parties should distinguish themselves from Fateh and Hamas Movements in having a clear Political stand committed to the International legitimacy and the

International Law that was adopted by PLO in 1988 when the Declaration of Independence was announced by the Palestinian National Council , paragraph no. 11 from the declarations says: "In pursuance of resolutions adapted by Arab Summit Conferences and relying on the authority bestowed by international legitimacy as embodied in the Resolutions of the United Nations Organization since 1947; And in exercise by the Palestinian Arab people of its rights to self-determination, political independence and sovereignty over its territory".

As for the shape of the state, the Palestinian left parties should also be committed to the PDI, where paragraph number 12 says: "The state of Palestine is the state of Palestinians wherever they may be. The state is for them to enjoy in it their collective national and cultural identity, theirs to pursue in it a complete equality of rights. In it will be safeguarded their political and religious convictions and their human dignity by means of parliamentary democratic system of governance, itself based on freedom of expression and the freedom to form parties. The rights of minorities will duly be respected by majority, as minorities must abide by decisions of the majority. Governance will be based on principles of social justice, equality and non-discrimination in public rights of men and women, on ground of race, religion, color or sex, and the aegis of a constitution which ensure the rule of law and an independent judiciary".

C- Class Representation:

The Palestinian left parties should define their representation mainly to the poor and the marginalized

D-Practical Initiative on the urgent level:

- 1- Initiating genuine dialogue to form one electoral bloc that includes all the five left parties in addition to any other democratic party, this is a necessary step towards having a left democratic movement.
- 2- Following the democratic methodology in electing the nominated members in the list after having discussions at the base level and with the targeted groups.
- 3- Forming a committee or committees to submit research and studies on the importance of unifying the left and the mechanisms to achieve this unity. These studies and recommendations should be submitted to the leadership bodies

- represented in the central committees of the above mentioned parties and not only to the general secretariat
- 4- Having a progressive non governmental organization adopting a newspaper or a magazine or any other media instrument representing all the left parties and to be a free platform for the leftists and progressive Palestinians to initiate serious debates towards the real unity of these parties.
 - 5- Having an organization independent from a political party implementing programs and projects specialized in national, civil and political education and the main target group would be members from the left and democratic parties. The aim behind these activities is to break the ice among the members and raising the issue of unity and its importance.
 - 6- Establishing contacts with the German left to benefit from its unity experience and to study this experience and to learn from it.
 - 7- Communicating with Akel as it's the closest to us and has had lived under similar circumstances to ours. This would benefit us in achieving an internal democratic process and to communicating with our constituency.
 - 8- Opening new channels of communications with in left parties in Latin America to get introduced to the development endeavor in the economic field.
 - 9- Strengthening the political relations with the Israeli Left that recognizes the Palestinian political legitimate rights.
 - 10- Proposing a dialogue to be conducted on the International level and to be discussed by the left strong parties that have the capacity to work globally in order to:
 - a- Forming a left front on the international level that should fill the vacuum left by the absence of the X-Soviet Union. Such a front should have its own identity, mission, vision....etc to work under the following slogan "0000000000"
 - b- This left should define its stand from the globalization and its consequences
 - c- This left should be the defenders of the International legitimacy that is threatened by the United States and the it allies
 - d- The left should work on three levels; locally, regionally and internationally. One main reason for the strength of the Moslem Brothers is having a regional and an international network; they have a maximum understanding towards most of the political and the social issues. The left have to have a minimum understanding towards political, economic, social, environmental....etc issues on both the regional and the international level taking into consideration the dialectical relation between these three levels that strengthens the parties locally and give them the opportunity to find an international understanding towards putting strategies on the global level that qualifies these parties to face the imperialistic domination and hegemony on the world wealth.

This is a serious and important matter, it needs a special research. But as Palestinians we feel that we are the first victim because of the absence of an international left front since we are cornered and usually pressured by the Israeli side as well as by the regional and the international sides to accept those unjust proposals to solve the Palestinian Israeli conflict on our own account since we are the weakest player in the region because we lack the international political supporting front

E- Asking for European Left support to Palestinians

1-Political support:

Palestinian people in general and the Palestinian left in particular expect a strong support from the left in the world for a just peace in the region, a peace that is based on the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolutions.

2-Spiritual support:

The absence of an international supporting front to the Palestinian Left while such a front is available to both Fateh and Hamas Movements made Palestinian left feel alone in their battle against Imperialism, Zionism, terrorism and reactionism.

3-In-kind Support:

Most of the members of the Palestinian left parties are the poor and some of them represent the middle class, the percentage of poverty in the occupied territories is more than 70% that makes it impossible for the left to ask for membership fees. And even if fees are paid, it will be very little compared with money that is given to others. The Palestinian left are not asking for cash money but for universities scholarships to the poor left, asking for medicine and hospitals for sick people, asking for markets for some of the light productions for their target groups and for a translation coverage to some literature for different experiences

4- Exchanging Experiences:

Developing and strengthening successful experiences for left civil society organizations similar to the one between Rosa Lux. And PCPD, such an experience is playing a major role nowadays to strengthen the discussions on the left unity as well as strengthening the democratization process taking place amongst the left different parties in Palestine.

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