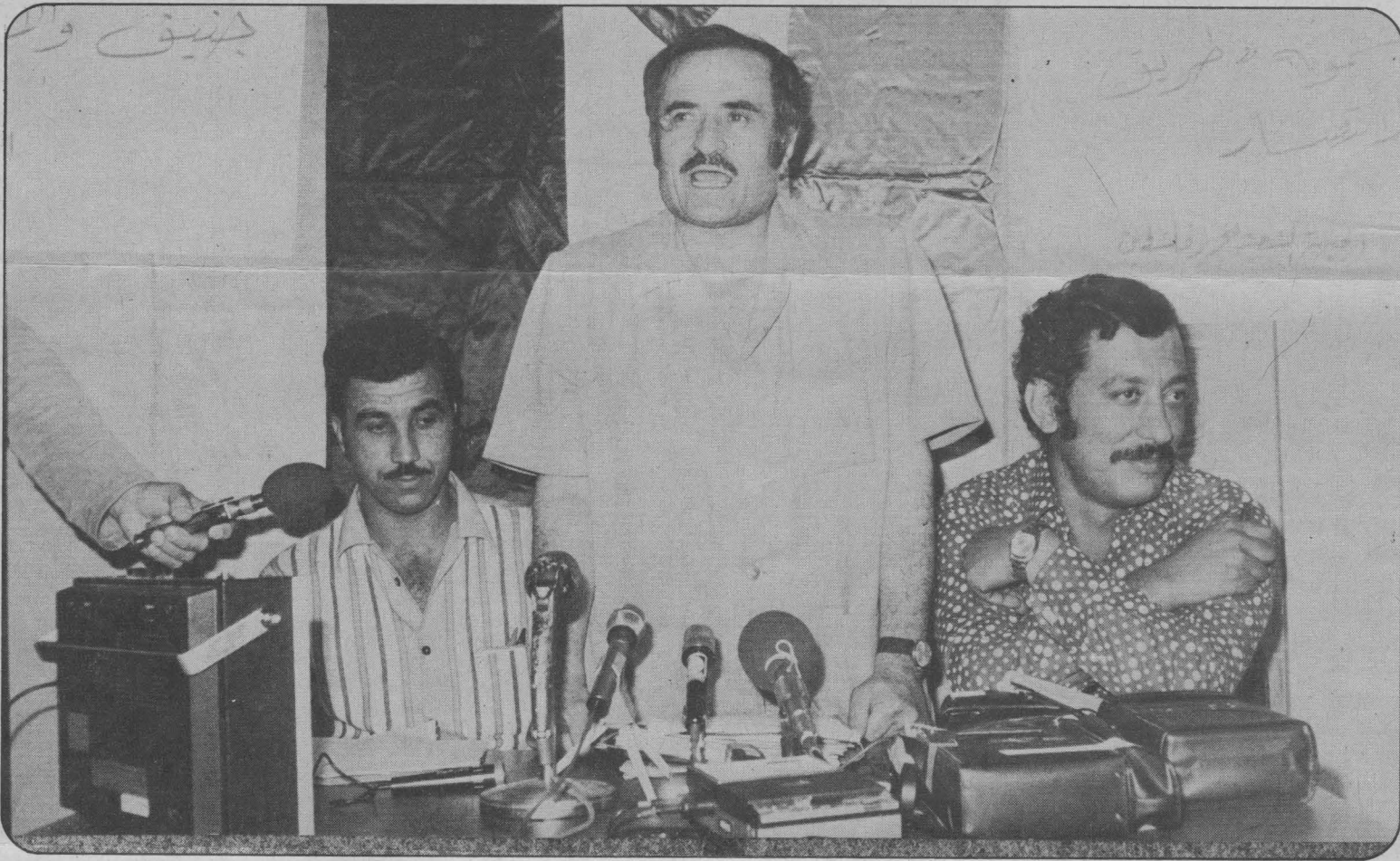




# PFLP STATEMENT OF WITHDRAWAL FROM P.L.O.



## PFLP REPRESENTATIVE DECLARING WITHDRAWAL

The popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine declares its decision to withdraw from the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

We do so as not to shoulder responsibility of the historical deviation followed by the leadership of the PLO, and to continue our struggle among the masses in order to correct this deviation, to express the will of the masses, and to impose the correct revolutionary political line on the leaderships that have become subservient to the reactionary and capitulationist regimes.

The PFLP has only taken this step after serious attempts to strengthen national unity at this stage on clear national basis. After these serious and responsible efforts to put the PLO leadership in the revolutionary course, and after serious attempts to warn the PLO leadership about the continuation in deviation and subserviency; after all of this, the PFLP cannot remain within the Executive Committee bearing responsibility for the dangerous, gradual deviation taking place. The conspicuous contacts with the Americans, which we are capable of affirming lately, and the misleading policy practiced on our masses aim to put them in a position where day after day they will sink in the swamp of the imperialist settlement that is being planned by U.S. imperialism, Arab reaction, and the capitulationists. This policy aims at establishing the settlement in a discreet and gradual way, step

by step, so our masses will not realize the extent of the deviation that the Arab and Palestinian events have been heading toward for some time now.

It interests the PFLP to assure our Palestinian masses, Arab masses, and the anti-(imperialist-Zionist-Reactionary) forces that it only took this step after long and responsible thought. We have a deep and strong conviction that the settlement being prepared now can not be but a liquidationist imperialist one that will lead to the expansion of U.S. imperialism influence in the area and concede the existence of « Israel » with future guarantees of its security and stability. We are convinced also, that for some time now, there have been serious efforts to drag the PLO to become a party in this liquidationist imperialist settlement, so as to guarantee the new conditions that will arise for the longest possible time. This also aims to give a cover to the capitulationist stands of some of the Arab regimes. It is apparent for us that the PLO leadership agrees to be part of this settlement, and even struggles so as not to miss on such a role.

In light of these facts, the PFLP has only one road — that is to disassociate its political line in a firm and clear way from the capitulationist line followed by the PLO leadership. The PFLP will struggle among the masses for its political line, will expose every step of deviation, and will expose every tactical deception that is taken by the capitulationist forces, which try to pre-

sent the retreats as victories; in particular, participation in the Geneva conference.

The PFLP has no choice but to firmly face these deviations so that our masses and the revolutionary forces will be capable to expose all these deceptions in order that a historical force will emerge from our masses. This will guarantee the continuation of the revolution until the liberation of Haifa, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Safad, Gaza, Nablus and every inch of our Palestinian land... until the racist, Zionist, fascist entity is destroyed... and until the reactionary regimes tied with imperialism such as Jordan and others are also destroyed, and until the Arab land is liberated from all imperialist influence and exploitation; even if this requires that our nation has to struggle for tens of years and sacrifice for it millions of martyrs.

The PFLP adopts this position out of its belief and conviction that the critical stage facing the revolution imposes on us to underline clearly and to explain to our masses frankly and honestly the responsibility that falls on every one and on our masses as a whole towards the revolution, martyrs, cause, homeland and future of the struggle.

As such, it is most important to put forward the reasons for withdrawing from the PLO Executive Committee so that matters will be very clear, and so that we carry out our duty in setting up a revolutionary path for the mass movement:

First: After the October war new Arab and international condi-

tions developed which pushed for what is known as a political settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict. The U.S. was the most anxious for this settlement relying on approval of the Saudi-Egyptian reaction in the first place. It was clear what this settlement could produce of results, for in return to the pressure put by the U.S. on Israel, the price was an expansion of U.S. influence and a guarantee for its interest on our land. For every part of Arab land that Israel withdraws from it, is paid a price that strengthens its economy, military power, security and is a step towards the conceding of its existence in the area. This picture is no more an issue of analysis of this situation, to specify its results, call for its exposition, and to fight it before every discussion after the results developed and became materially felt by our masses.

It was the duty of the Palestinian revolution to present to the Palestinian masses a precise analysis of this situation, to specify its results, call for its exposition, and to fight it before everybody so that our revolution will be a tortuous light before the struggle of millions of Arabs instead of being a cover to the capitulation of some of their leaders.

The PFLP has demanded, since the end of the October war — when the imperialist liquidationist conspirators became clear — that the Palestinian revolution declares its analysis of the new political situation, its opposition to the liquidationist settlement, and that it will not allow the PLO to be used as an



# EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

umbrella that covers the positions of some Arab regimes. The Palestinian revolution was supposed to expose the truth of the Geneva Conference, and the truth about the results that it will lead to; also to put itself outside the liquidationist settlement, to continue the mobilization of the masses to further the struggle for tens of years regardless of the sacrifices.

The real value of the Palestinian revolution is to set the example through which the Arab masses will be capable to resolve their contradictions with their enemies by the use of arms and through a popular war of liberation instead of capitulation within a balance of power that makes the price of land returned more expensive than the land itself.

The PFLP has tried its best to make this position one that will strengthen the revolution and the national unity on the basis of a clear and categorical rejection to the Geneva conference and the liquidationist conspiracy, and on the basis of continuation of the revolutionary line. But the leadership of the PLO kept avoiding the adoption of a clear position on the grounds that it has not received an official invitation to the Geneva Conference, in spite of the signs that showed the wish of many international and Arab forces to contain the PLO and abort its revolutionary contents by indulging it within the capitulationist plans.

The PLO held its « no position » position, and as such lost its activism and effectiveness in the Palestinian, Arab and international circles.

Second: On the eve of the twelfth Palestine National Council, which was held last June in Cairo the PLO leadership talked of the importance of national unity particularly at this stage. It also expressed its readiness to move its position from the « No Position » stand to the rejection position (temporarily) regarding the attendance of the Geneva Conference. At that time it used a deceptive « Tactic » which aimed at showing the rejection forces that it knows the truth of this liquidationist settlement, but that it wanted to abort it through cunning tactics instead of direct confrontation. At that point, and from a position of responsibility not to lose any chance for national unity, the PFLP decided to explore this chance and test its results. As such was our approval of the Ten Points Program, although it represented a compromising week form of national unity. Even then we made clear our own comprehension of this program i.e. that it rejects the Geneva conference and places the PLO outside the liquidationist settlement.

After the twelfth Palestine national Council, it became clear what the capitulationist leadership meant by its approval of the Ten Points Program. It considered it as a legitimate permit to follow the road

of deviation and capitulation. It began to give its own interpretation of the Ten Points Program in contradiction to the character of PLO and the resolutions of all the sessions of the national council, including the eleventh and the twelfth.

The trick became clear, and what more became clear that the tactic talked about by the capitulationist forces was aimed to mislead the comrades in arms and the masses, not the enemy.

We continued to struggle within the PLO and its Executive Committee so as to confirm the sound understanding of the national character and the resolutions of the National Council. But, day after day, we began to discover that the PLO leadership was deep in the settlement hoping to push it part at a time, and to follow the process of deviation gradually in order to put the masses before a fait-accompli.

Third: the PLO leadership began presenting its possible attendance of the Geneva conference (The conspiracy) as a great victory over Jordan and Israel. It also spoke about the possibility of coordinating with the hireling regime in Jordan if certain conditions existed. This is in contradiction to the resolutions of the National Council which call for the bringing down regime and the establishment of a national democratic one in its place. In one of the Executive Committee meetings before the declaration of the Egyptian-

Jordanian communique, decision to coordinate with the hireling regime in Jordan was taken if the later recognizes the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian People and recognizes the Cairo agreement of 1970. It is known that this agreement did not stop the hireling regime from striking the resistance movement and ending its open presence there; as if the Palestinian revolution did not have that long history of experiences with the regime, and as if there were no national council resolutions that demand the encirclement of and the struggle against the regime so as to bring it down.

Fourth: Some time after the twelfth national council, and after the PLO leadership abandoned the revolutionary line the Egyptian-Jordanian communique was issued; this was a hard blow to this leadership and its political line.

The declaration of this communique was an occasion for the PLO leadership to take a stand regarding its policy since the October 1973 war, and since the twelfth national council in particular. As such three organizations, members of the Executive Committee, presented a joint memorandum demanding revision and criticism by the PLO leadership so as to deduce the lessons from the previous experiences and specify its relations on the basis of the position of the regimes from the liquidationist imperialist settlement depending primarily on the masses of the Arab nation instead of the

agents of the U.S. in the area. The PLO Leadership neglected and rejected the memorandum and continued in its previous policy. It started to consider its battle not as one against the liquidationist imperialist settlement so as to continue the Palestinian and Arab fight, but a battle for the size of its share in the settlement vis-à-vis the hireling regime in Jordan.

Fifth: The PLO leadership is attempting now to make our masses forget its basic national battle concerning the liquidationist imperialist settlement and the necessity to abort it. It tries hard to divert the attention of the masses from the main battle to that of the PLO leadership with the hireling regime about each's share in the settlement. It wants the masses to be sympathetic towards it and to rally around it if the share of the hireling regime in Jordan grew at its expense. It also wants the masses to cheer it if its share becomes bigger on the account of the hireling regime in Jordan, all of this within the realm of the liquidationist imperialist settlement.

The PLO leadership makes its efforts to present the battle as one between Israel and Jordan on one side and itself on the other. As such it has the right to establish all kinds of alliances and gain the support of the masses. We categorically declare that this is a dangerous distortion of the battle and the map of contradictions. The battle is still going on with Israel, Jordan, Arab reaction,

## AN APPENDIX ON THE SECRET PALESTINIAN — U.S. CONTACTS.

The following are definite and clear information concerning the secret Palestinian-U.S. contacts. We put it before the Palestinian masses as to make them aware of what some people are carrying out with the leader of the enemy camp.

1. After the October 1973 war, King Feisal sent Mustafa Ben Halim (Former Prime Minister of Libya under the reactionary regime of Sanoussi) who is acting as one of his aides to discuss with the Americans the oil issue. Feisal advised his agent Ben Halim to consult the opinion of some Palestinians so as to benefit from it when meeting the American officials.

On his way to the U.S. via Beirut, Ben Halim contacted Mr. Walid Khalidi and informed him of his task and King Feisal's advice. Khalidi conveyed what Ben Halim told him to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, and they both agreed to write a memorandum explaining the position of the Palestinians and their demands. Khalidi put the plan of the memorandum and it was approved by the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

Ben Halim took the memorandum with him to the U.S. and

handed it to Henry Kissinger. After discussing it, Kissinger said: I have taken primary notice and I will meet the Palestinians in due time. Ben Halim conveyed the information to Khalidi, who in turn conveyed it to the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

During Kissinger's visit to Lebanon, Khalidi asked the Lebanese Officials to remind Kissinger of his promise. Kissinger's answer was not different from what he told Ben Halim; that the time was still early and that he will meet the Palestinians in due time.

During one of Kissinger's trips, one of the American officials, at the U.S. Embassy in Beirut, CIA officer Oakly contacted Khalidi and discussed the political situation. When Oakly mentioned that he will meet Kissinger in Damascus, Khalidi asked him to remind Kissinger of his promise.

Kissinger's answer was clear this time through some points that Oakly conveyed to Khalidi:

1. The U.S. realizes that peace cannot be secured in the area without the Palestinas.

2. The U.S. has not given any promises to Israel or Jordan regarding the future of the West Bank.

3. The U.S. will discuss this issue

at the appropriate time.

On meeting the Palestinians, Kissinger's answer was that the time was too early.

These points were conveyed to the Chairman of the Executive Committee. After a while Oakly contacted Khalidi and asked him about the answer of the Palestinians, because a verbal message should be answered.

Khalidi after discussing this with the Chairman of the Executive Committee conveyed to Oakly a general position from the points.

During Nixon's visit to Syria, President Hafez Assad asked him if the U.S. had direct contacts with the Palestinians. Nixon answered that there were official contacts with them. When later the Chairman of the Executive Committee was asked by President Assad about the truth of what Nixon said he denied his knowledge of that.

At the time these contacts were taking place, a study committee was formed in the same «secret manner» with the knowledge of the same individuals involved in the secret contacts, to prepare studies for the attendance of Geneva when the time is due to invite the PLO leadership.





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imperialism and capitulationist forces on one side and the masses of the Palestinian and Arab revolution on another. There is no power capable to hide this fact from the masses.

The Palestinian masses do not want the PLO leadership to win its battle against the Jordanian reactionary regime within the realm of the settlement so as to compete with the hireling King on who is to negotiate the Israeli enemy.

The Palestinian masses want the PLO leadership to win its battle against all the forces working to impose the liquidationist imperialist settlement, so as to continue its popular revolution against Israel, the hireling regime in Jordan, imperialism and all the forces of reaction and capitulation.

Sixth: The PLO leadership ignored the Joint memorandum of the three organizations, and after enough time had passed, it participated in the tripartite conference in Cairo. This was presented as a victory for the PLO by the media supporting the settlement, although the communique issued does not object to disengagement on the Jordanian Front, but states the necessity for coordination with other Arab countries (including Jordan).

The objection of hireling Hussein and his suspension of Jordan's political activities until the coming Arab summit conference is an expected and understandable matter within the competition for the share each party is trying to get as a result of this settlement which is lead by the U.S., which wants «Permanent» stability in the area that guarantees the existence of Israel and protects its security and stability.

Our masses will not allow such deception and plays to pass, our masses are not ready to contain its battle within the circles designed by the PLO leadership, so as to give their sympathy when its share is small and cheer when this share becomes bigger.

Seventh: Things did not stop at this level. At the time that the PLO leadership denied the existence of any secret contacts with the U.S. (enemy of peoples) we are sure that these contacts took place in a secret manner. We have put this information before the Central Council in its last meeting and we put it now before the masses.

We consider these as secret contacts with the imperialist enemies, taking place without the consent of the revolution masses, its cadres and bases. If some leaders have

come to see in this a natural thing, we leave it to the masses to have its say on this subject.

The PFLP, after taking knowledge of this information, would be doing wrong to the masses if it does not put it before them so that they will judge accordingly. The days when leaderships looked at our masses as a folk of sheep are gone.

Eighth: These are the most important reasons for withdrawing from the Executive Committee of the PLO, but not all of them. We do not wish at this time to talk about the organizational and administrative situation within the PLO. We do not also want to talk about the effects such issued had on several matters such as the building of shelters and fortifying the camps in Lebanon.

In light of all of this how can we continue to bear responsibility within the Executive Committee?

The suspension of our membership in the Executive Committee is a must.

In light of this important step, we would like to emphasize the following points:

1. We will practice our right to make clear our position to the masses in detail and by every way and mean. We call on all cadres and bases convinced of this analysis and position to carry out their duty in mobilizing and explaining to the masses so that they bear their responsibilities.

2. We believe in the correctness of our position and we will defend it by all determination and power. We feel a heavy responsibility towards the future of our revolution and our struggle, which puts on us the task of explaining it on the largest possible level, Palestinian, Arab and international.

3. We truly believe that we are serving the true Palestinian national unity. The road for national unity has become one, that is the road of the masses and the masses struggle to impose the right political line.

4. We will not allow the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary enemies to benefit from this situation in any way. All the rifles will be in one line against any Zionist imperialist reactionary aggression against the Palestinian revolution or any organization within it.

5. We aim by this position to mobilize the Palestinian masses and its revolutionary forces to have their say and impose their will that has been expressed through history at different occasions. Through this we will establish the unity of our revolution on safe national bases

that will fight liquidationist settlements and will play an effective role in mobilizing all of our Arab masses to win its final battle against imperialism Zionism and reaction.

6. Though we withdraw from the Executive Committee, we will remain in the Palestine National Council, in the popular unions and organizations and in the popular committees in the camps. We will continue to struggle among our masses with a deep sense of responsibility to correct the deviations in the revolution's path and to protect the Palestinian rock from being driven in the current of the imperialist settlement.

7. We will remain ready to participate seriously in building a true national unity based on a clear and frank rejection of the Geneva conspiracy and the proposed political settlement at this time and to the settlements and resolutions that concede the existence of our Zionist enemy.

8. We will continue to adopt armed struggle and all other forms of struggles connected with it until we destroy the Zionist entity and the hireling regime in Jordan, and the establishment of the democratic society in Palestine as part of a united Arab democratic society.

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Following are textual excerpts from PFLP's « Political Communique No 1 » which was issued on July 13, 1974.

« The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine :

« ... The Front declares that any meeting between the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the Jordanian regime would be a clear violation of all resolutions of the National Council — a matter which should not be met with silence, but should be firmly confronted and prevented.

« To declare readiness to meet with the hireling regime in Jordan, to declare readiness to attend the Geneva conference, and to talk about conditions for meeting with the Jordanian regime in preparation for participating in the conference are prominent landmarks along the path of deviation unacceptable to our masses and their struggling vanguard.

« The Front will not only expose the deviationary attitudes and their propagators, but will work to correct the line of certain leaderships declaring inside and outside official meetings of their readiness to participate in a settlement, for the setting up of the suspect Palestinian state. They would be conceding the existence of Israel, while using the term « national authority » to bury our holy cause... Any Palestinian party should be prevented from participating in the Geneva conference and any reconciliation with the Jordanian regime should be resisted. »

solidarity with the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people.

Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine

International Relations Committee

We express our admiration for and solidarity with the Palestinian people's determined struggle. The conditions for this struggle are very favourable today. Israel is more isolated than ever, beset by sharpening contradictions both internal and external, and through the blows it received during the October war, the Zionists have already experienced their Stalingrad. At the same time international support for the Palestinian liberation today stands at a crossroads. One part wants to take the road of compromise, which does not accord with the objective situation. This can only please the super-powers, the Zionists and certain reactionary Arab regimes. But it would bring the Palestinian people's cause serious defeat, delay the national democratic revolution in West Asia and thereby worsen the situation in the revolutionary movement in the

world as a whole.

We want to express our wholehearted support for the line which implies no to Geneva, no to a mini-Palestine. That is the road of continued struggle. The way which leads to a free and democratic Palestine where Arabs and Jews can live side by side. That is the road leading to victory in the national democratic revolution in the whole of West Asia.

LONG LIVE THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE!  
NO TO GENEVA, NO TO A PALESTINIAN MINI-STATE!  
ONWARD TO VICTORY IN THE ROAD OF STRUGGLE!

Communist League Marxist-Leninist (revolutionaries)  
International Secretariate  
Cothenburg, Sweden  
October, 11, 1974.