



The PFLP believes that the developments which followed the October 1973 war were a conspiracy aimed at ending the Arab-Zionist conflict on the basis of accepting the Zionist presence as a *fait accompli*. This entailed containing the Palestinian revolution, tempting it with the offer of a Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, in exchange for its foregoing its demand to liberate all Palestinian land. The deletion of the slogan «No negotiations with the Zionist enemy» from the political program of the PNC's 12th session, was the reason behind the PFLP's withdrawal from the PLO's Executive Committee. The PFLP, with three other factions, then formed the Palestinian Front to Reject Capitulationist Settlements.

This division in the Palestinian political stand persisted until Anwar Sadat made his visit to Jerusalem. As a result of this visit, the first conference of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front was held in Tripoli, Libya, and all factions of the Palestinian resistance movement agreed on the Tripoli Document. This document rejected the Geneva peace conference for the Middle East and the settlement trend; it emphasized the principle of no negotiations with the Zionist enemy. It stipulated that any interim (tactical) goal of the Palestinian revolution be subject to the conditions and provisions which would make it a step in line with the overall strategy, not a substitute for this.

### 3. The civil war in Lebanon

The PFLP does not view the battle between the Palestinian resistance and Lebanese National Movement on the one hand, and the fascist Lebanese Forces on the other, as limited or temporary battles caused by emergency conditions or irresponsible practices. In the PFLP's view, the fighting of May 1973 was a prelude to the extensive battles which have occurred in Lebanon since April 1975. The PFLP posits that the nature of the battle, and the nature of the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plans for Lebanon, do not allow for a halfway solution. The present conflict is an antagonistic one which cannot be resolved unless one of the opposing sides is defeated.

The PFLP called for the progressive and nationalist forces involved in the conflict to determine their stands and tactics on this basis. The PFLP believes that maintaining the open, armed Palestinian presence in Lebanon means continuation of the Palestinian revolution. This in turn means sustaining the greatest moral, material and political support for the Palestinian people in occupied Palestine. The PFLP also considers that the Palestinian armed presence is a major obstacle to imposition of the «autonomy» plan, and to any Arab regime wanting to join Camp David. It also believes that keeping the Palestinian gun raised means continued generation of a

revolutionary atmosphere whose repercussions would spread in the Arab region.

In addition to this, the PFLP considers that the imperialist-Zionist-reactionary plans target the Lebanese National Movement as much as the Palestinian resistance, with the object of imposing hegemony over the Lebanese masses. The PFLP therefore advocates the necessity «of considering the Lebanese National Movement as the main party in the confrontation of these attempts in order to defeat them...the role of the Palestinian resistance is one of support and participation.»

### The Military Aspect

The Palestinian branch of the ANM began preparing for armed struggle before June 5, 1967, and practiced military activity before that date. The first martyr to fall was Khaled Abu Aisheh on November 2, 1964. After the June war, the PFLP practiced armed struggle from within the occupied territories and outside. Its activities constituted a part of the struggle of the military factions of the Palestinian revolution.

This military activity dealt Zionism painful blows in the hills of Al Khalil (Hebron), and in the Gaza Strip. A revolutionary nucleus was formed which cost Zionism heavy losses. However, adverse objective conditions, the halt of the war of attrition on the Egyptian front, the 1970 events in Jordan, and the Zionists' massive operations against the resistance, led to the liquidation of the PFLP's first rank leadership in the Gaza Strip branch which was led by the martyr Mohammad Mahmoud al Aswad (Guevara Gaza), member of the PFLP's politbureau. A number of the PFLP's revolutionary groups in other areas of the occupied territories were also wiped out. These setbacks, however, did not prevent rearrangements and the continuation of armed struggle.

The PFLP expended military efforts on border operations from outside the occupied territories. Its forces ambushed and attacked Zionist enemy patrols and bases; they planted land mines and attacked the Zionist border settlements, throwing the enemy into confusion and wearing down its strength.

The PFLP also leveled military blows against imperialist interests as in the case of blowing up the pipelines traversing the occupied Syrian Golan Heights, and the operation against an oil tanker in the Bab Mandab Straits. It also struck Zionist interests and economic institutions outside the occupied territories. The PFLP has played its role in defending the Palestinian resistance and its armed presence, together with other Palestinian factions, in the face of attacks aiming at its eradication.

In Lebanon, the military section of the PFLP present in Tel al Zaatar, headed by Central Committee member and martyr Abu Amal, played an effective role in the camp's heroic steadfastness alongside the Palestinian masses and fighters of the different factions of the Palestinian resistance. Similarly, the fighters of the PFLP, along with the other fighters of our revolution, steadfastly defended the city of Sour during the Zionist invasion of South Lebanon in March 1978.

The vision of the PFLP, with regard to the process of military confrontation of the Zionist enemy, focuses on the necessity of struggle in order to move from the stage of limited guerrilla warfare, launched against bases and institutions of the racist Zionist enemy, to protracted people's war, relying on secure, supportive operational bases in Arab states bordering the occupied territories.

\* A group of pro-Jordanian, Palestinian notables met in Jericho and approved the idea that the West Bank become part of Jordan.