

the field. This was seen in the camp war when all Palestinians united, despite political differences, to protect the armed presence in Lebanon. Over the years, the Palestinian masses' unity in occupied Palestine has been a living testimony to this fact.

In the PFLP's view, the failure of the Palestinian National Front was due to the hegemonic policy of the Palestinian right-wing leadership, despite its having approved this front in theory. Faced with the demise of the National Front, the PFLP has exerted all efforts to rebuild it. Unfortunately, these efforts have yet to materialize. However, the reunification of the PLO in April paves the way for a genuine, new drive to this end.

## TWO BASES FOR THE REVOLUTION

The PFLP's view that there are two bases of the revolution relies on the dialectical relationship between the struggle inside and outside occupied Palestine, as well as the relationship between the Palestinian and Arab nationalist struggle. Scientific analysis of the nature of the Zionist enemy and the direct threat it poses to the Arab masses and their progressive and nationalist forces, reveals that objectively the Arab masses are an organic part of the ongoing conflict. Confronting the Zionist entity becomes a direct task for the Arab masses and progressive and nationalist forces. In the absence of this pan-Arab dimension, the Palestinian revolution loses its strategic depth - in geographic, demographic and economic terms. The PFLP posits the central and strategic need for a supportive operational base (outside occupied Palestine). Without a high level of material and moral support from the Palestinian masses in exile and the Arab national liberation movement, the struggle in occupied Palestine will be incapable of enforcing the needed change in the balance of forces. The PFLP's view is not merely a political slogan. Rather it issues from an analysis of the class aspect of the Arab-Zionist conflict and an understanding of the tools required to achieve the Palestinian and Arab masses' goals. Changing the present level of struggle, where no Palestinian land has been liberated, into a level allowing for liberation, is closely connected to great changes in the structure of the Palestinian and Arab liberation movement. It requires that the leadership pass from the bourgeoisie to the working class. This change would ultimately affect the nature of the confrontation, and facilitate the objective and subjective conditions needed for victory.

This conception also takes into account the class, social, economic and ideological nature of the Zionist enemy and its position on the international level. The PFLP has long confronted the viewpoint that neglected analysis of the nature of the Zionist enemy, and justified contacts with Zionist forces on the pretext of infiltrating the enemy's internal front. In contrast, the PFLP outlined its position for dealing with democratic Israeli forces, and clarified the extent of their influence in the Israeli political arena, without harboring illusions or wagering on internal change in 'Israel'. A clear, scientific analysis of the Zionist movement, its role in the capitalist system and its relations to the state of 'Israel', has governed the PFLP's strategy and tactics. Any defect in realizing these objective facts would doubtless lead to political deviation.

## MASS WORK

The PFLP policies for mass and union work stem from its strategic view of the masses as the main force in the process of change. The Front's documents clearly show that a revolutionary party cannot play its historical role without relying on

the masses' strength and support. As a political line, this has never been evaded by the Front. However, there was relative delay in establishing mass organizations and participating in unions in occupied Palestine, due to several factors. One, the PFLP's general tendency was for military action with little consideration given to mass work. Two, the Front was inexperienced in this field due to its youth and inadequately scientific understanding of mass work; it had only recently emerged from the Arab Nationalist Movement which operated chiefly on the regional plane and had a totally different understanding of mass work.

The PFLP, however, succeeded in overcoming this lack due to its distinguished militant heritage and the mass support to its policies. In addition, the Front's orientation towards Palestinian national unity led it to participate in the already established mass frameworks rather than creating its own. Still, the unifying approach was always confronted with a factional trend that viewed the Front's unity policy as a weakness and attempted to exploit this to its own advantage. This led the PFLP to establish mass organizations supportive of its political line, without neglecting the goal of unifying all mass organizations to achieve a unity that would prevail in leading the struggle. Unification of all unions and mass organizations remains a slogan of the PFLP's work in the occupied land.

The same policy is applied to unions. The PFLP has thus far proven to be the most committed to the unity of the General Trade Union Confederation in the West Bank, condemning all attempts to divide the ranks of the Palestinian working class, for this would be detrimental to this class and to the overall mass struggle. The Front has always worked towards preventing any division, but the Confederation has in fact been twice divided in recent years. The PFLP, along with other Palestinian resistance organizations in the PLO, is currently engaged in efforts to rectify this situation.

Alongside consistent work for unified mass organizations and unions, the PFLP has always worked to upgrade the masses' political and militant level, and has succeeded in this field. The mass organizations supportive of the PFLP's line have always been in the forefront of the struggle; they are characterized by a high level of militancy. In other fields of mass work, various forms of mobilization have been employed, based on an understanding of the circumstances of the various sectors of the masses. The Front has amassed a rich experience in the fields of working with students, women, workers, etc. There is also mass work carried out via sports clubs, medical emergency committees, committees for defending the land and the camps, and cultural groups for safeguarding Palestinian heritage.

## PFLP: TARGET OF ZIONIST AGGRESSION

The PFLP, with what it represents in political, military and ideological terms, has been targeted by the enemy which views its line as a threat. Many efforts have been exerted by the occupation authorities to try and eliminate the Front's organization in Palestine. This was very obvious during 1985 and 1986 when PFLP cadres were numerous among the hundreds of militants and activists who were arrested in occupied Palestine, and the scores who were deported.

The attacks against the Front attest to its status in the struggle in the occupied land. Despite the ferocity of the attacks, it was proven that the PFLP has accumulated an experience that helped it in resisting siege and going on to consolidate its organizational structure and its support among the masses. ●