

our progress in this field, even though it is still less than we had expected.

## **Relations with the socialist community**

*How do you evaluate the Front's relations, from its foundation until now, with the socialist community? What are the factors that brought these relations to their current level?*

First I would like to point out an important matter in this field. Anyone who reads the Front's documents, especially the one from the 2nd congress in February 1969, realizes the leap that has since occurred in our understanding and view of the socialist community, regulating our policy for relations based on ideological understanding. In the 1969 document we find that a Maoist tinge prevailed in our understanding of the socialist community, although we did not adopt all Maoism's slogans, such as «the two imperialisms» or «the aging imperialism and the young imperialism.» Still, it is clear that themes of Maoist rather than Marxist-Leninist origin were influencing the level and mode of relations with the socialist community. The Front's concept of armed struggle seemed to be derived from the Chinese theses on the revolution and the masses, considering their recent victory in the late 1940's. In addition, there was our enthusiasm about any force whose position on the Palestinian cause was based on non-recognition of the Zionist entity. All this led us to fall into an indefensible underestimation of the forces who have truly abided by Marxism-Leninism and exerted most influence on the international level, i.e., the socialist community, first and foremost the Soviet Union.

On this basis, we can in retrospect evaluate our relations with the socialist community until the mid-seventies, when things were put in their proper perspective and broad solidarity relations were developed, and enacted through political and militant support to the Palestinian people's struggle. Of course, there are issues that cause secondary differences, such as how to envision the perspective of the confrontation with the Zionist entity, but these do not affect the relations of solidarity. These issues are not a matter of a simple yes or no. Rather they are related to two parallel developments which, with time, will clarify and settle the differences in opinion:

1. Exposing the true nature of Zionism as a reactionary, racist movement, as stated in UN resolutions, to our friends and international opinion in general. This will help to unveil the truth about the Zionist entity as the embodiment of reactionary, racist ideology. Such exposure will help create a change in outlook as to how to solve the conflict with this entity that harms the interests of the Palestinian and Arab people. Due to the role it performs for imperialism, the actions of the Zionist entity also pose a threat to the people of the three continents and threaten to ignite a larger confrontation that would endanger all humanity.

2. Stepping up the Palestinian national struggle, creating the conditions for its continuity, and creating conditions on the Arab level that would facilitate supportive bases for the revolution in the countries surrounding Palestine. After creating these conditions, we must increase the effectiveness of the struggle, relying on our own subjective factors and the support of our allies, in order to produce a new reality. This reality would surpass the reactionary program that handled the Palestinian cause by dealing with the colonialists in the forties, a fact which helped in the creation of the Zionist entity.

The reactionary program, governed by a chauvinist men-

tality hostile to the socialist countries, played a role in delaying their understanding of the truth about the Zionist entity and its creation. Today, in the context of the current revolution, we witness another position and view of this entity on the part of the socialist community. This is not fully developed, as we envision it. However, achieving a more developed position does not depend on our wishful thinking. Rather it depends on our ability, as Arabs and Palestinians, to effect a qualitative change in the balance of forces. Now events are going against us and in favor of the enemy camp, due to Arab clumsiness and hesitation about forming genuine international alliances, and the fact that some are only waiting for the chance to enter into imperialism's solutions. As long as this situation persists, any solidarity with our cause given by the socialist community is actually more than we deserve.

The matter is in our hands; our allies are supporters, hoping for the development of a truly progressive Arab position, not only a verbal one. Despite all this, our proletarian internationalist relations are constantly being reinforced; they exist on a genuine, principled basis. We appreciate the stable, principled position of the Soviet Union and the socialist community towards the Palestinian cause. We see this as an essential pillar of support to our cause. There is no doubt that the transformation in the Front's understanding of the international dimension, explains the progress made in these relations. As we develop our struggle, we will find that our allies are our best supporters and will never be an obstacle to achieving our goals, tactically or strategically. On the contrary, they will be a pillar of support in this advance.

We can take a practical example. Since the 1967 defeat, the Soviet Union has called for implementation of resolution 242. This resolution does not deal with the issue as the Palestinian people's national cause; it pertains mainly to Arab land. The Soviet Union, in the light of the defeat and Arab subjective conditions, had only this resolution to deal with. After the 1973 war, the Rabat Summit decision of 1974 and other factors reinforced the Palestinian cause and the PLO's status in the Arab and international arenas. Palestinian struggle increased, proving that this is the cause of a people that requires a just solution. After all this, how do we find our allies dealing with the issue? The basis of support to our people's struggle has become stronger due to better subjective conditions on our part. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries call for an international conference with the participation of the PLO. They fully support our rights to return, self-determination and an independent state. This improvement was considered a defeat of resolution 242.

Yet now the Palestinian right is again lending its ear to reactionary programs and beginning to abandon the PLO's sole representation of the Palestinian people. After the Palestinian right deviated from the national platform, we find the reactionary and imperialist circles again calling for implementing 242. Who do we find alluding to the reactionary program and returning the matter to where it was on the eve of the creation of the Zionist entity? It is the Arab reactionary regimes and the dominant leadership of the PLO. They are doing their best to spin the wheel backwards.

In contrast, our friends in the socialist community stress their adherence to their principled position on solving our cause. We cannot ask our friends to give more than we ourselves give. They cannot be a substitute for us in conducting the conflict with the Zionist enemy. In summary, we stress our satisfaction with our relations with the socialist community and the optimal development of these relations.