

LCP STATEMENT ON SITUATION IN ARAB WORLD

Following is the slightly abridged text of the statement which appeared in full in **Al Akhbar**, August 30, 1973.

The Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party met in plenary session in the middle of last August to discuss the situation in the world, in particular the Arab world, in the light of the Political Bureau report, as well as recent developments. On the basis of the debate, the CC described the main features of the international situation and the situation in the Arab world as follows:

SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

The positive aspects of the new international situation find no reflection in the Middle East due to the policy of retreat and concessions pursued by Rightists in the leadership of the Arab national liberation movement, who prevent the movement from taking advantage of the changes in favor of peace, liberation and socialism occurring in the world.

Over six years have passed since the June 1967 aggression and yet the Arab peoples are faced with the same problems plus new ones arising from the increased dominance of Rightists and from concessions which these elements make in various home and foreign policy spheres. These concessions express themselves in suspending social progress, going back on what was achieved, suppressing patriotic and democratic mass activity, dividing the national liberation forces through anti-Communist and anti-Left slogans, severing the bonds of solidarity with the Palestinian resistance, maintaining a conciliatory stance towards Arab reaction and U.S. imperialism, and loosening Arab-Soviet friendship.

DANGEROUS TREND TOWARDS RETREAT AND CONCESSIONS IN EGYPT. ITS MANIFESTATIONS

The Central Committee reaffirms the conclusions set forth in the Party Program and the political thesis of the Third Congress

on the need to set up a broad front of all Arab anti-imperialist, patriotic and progressive forces and concentrate on the main contradiction, that between these forces, on the one hand, and imperialism, Zionism and reaction, on the other, and not on secondary contradictions between patriotic forces. At the same time it is deeply concerned about the tendency to retreat and the lack of principle shown by some Arab national regimes today, as well as about the increased activity of Rightists in these regimes and the policy of retreat which they are pursuing on a growing scale and which has already become a deviation without a limit.

The tendency to retreat and make concessions has become dominant in Egypt. This is particularly dangerous in view of Egypt's standing in the community of Arab countries, especially among those confronting the aggressor, and in view of Egypt's place in the Arab national liberation movement. The situation in Egypt today is characterized by a sustained policy of abolishing Abdel Nasser's legacy in every sphere of life. This policy expresses itself in renouncing social and economic gains, suspending economic development and industrialization, striking blows at the state sector, encouraging concessions to the private sector and investment by foreign imperialists and reactionary Arab regimes, trying to undermine friendship with the Soviet Union and holding down democratic and progressive Nasserite forces.

This tendency can under no circumstances lead to a solution by peaceful means or through armed struggle. The advocates of solving the problem through conciliation with imperialism and reaction try, therefore, to justify themselves and put the blame on the Soviet Union, adducing numerous arguments which cannot convince anyone.

The Arab peoples know by experience that all the gains of the Arab national liberation movement in the political sphere as well as in the sphere of economic development, social change and military aid are associated with Arab-Soviet friendship. That is why they reject attempts to raise doubts regarding the Soviet Union and why they seek closer friendship and alliance with the first socialist country. They consider this indispensable for solving the major problems before the Arab national liberation movement in ending Zionist occupation and in continued advance along the path of national liberation and social progress. The fact that their every success is linked with this friendship explains why anti-Soviet intrigues and attempts to question the role of the Soviet Union have been defeated.

The Arab peoples emphatically reject Maoist allegations about "Soviet-U.S. collusion," which link up with the fabrications of Arab reactionaries and with attempts to raise doubts behind which are

forces refusing to continue the struggle. The Arab peoples hold that the purpose of these allegations is to isolate the Arab national liberation movement from its allies and friends and divert it from anti-imperialist struggle. They see them as a slogan aimed at covering up a deal with the U.S., a conciliatory attitude to reaction, abandonment of the cause of national liberation and social progress, and a means of fomenting chauvinistic and narrow nationalist sentiments to further the aims of Right-wing and reactionary forces.

CRISIS OF THE RIGHTIST LEADERSHIP OF THE ARAB NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PROGRESSIVE FORCES

In view of the situation in the Arab world, with degradation continuing, there is no serious prospect of solving the problem in such a way as to end Israeli occupation, eliminate the effects of the imperialist Zionist aggression, and safeguard the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to self-determination on their own native soil. This inability to find a solution constitutes the substance of the crisis which the Arab national liberation movement is passing through and which is essentially a crisis of the Rightist leadership of the movement. The situation makes it imperative for all patriots and progressives to find a way out of the impasse, a progressive alternative to the Rightist trends in the leadership of the Arab national liberation movement.

Continuous concessions to and retreat before U.S. imperialism and Arab reaction did not produce, nor could they have produced, the results expected by the advocates of passivity and retreat. They did not make it possible "to win over America" and prevail on it to exert pressure on Israel, nor did they fulfil other illusory hopes. The result was the exact opposite or, at any rate, what might have been expected: ever more brazenly, the U.S. extends unlimited political, economic and military aid to Israel, which goes further and further in its policy of aggression against Syria and Lebanon, as well as the Arab people of Palestine in the occupied areas, and continues all-out colonization of the lands overrun in June 1967.

Recent struggles and positive changes indicate that the outcome of the battle has not yet been settled in favor of imperialism and the Right.

Despite a deterioration of the situation and the feeling of hopelessness that has gripped large sections of people, the Arab patriotic progressive movement has not succumbed to despair. It is fighting on with determination and the recent period has seen, not only retreats, but also great battles which warrant the statement that the battle is still going on.

Mention should be made in this connection of the recent struggles which the progressive patriotic forces of Lebanon carried on in common with the Palestinian resistance against plans to end resistance. Also noteworthy are the positive changes in the Palestinian resistance, the nationalization of oil in Iraq and the subsequent adoption of the National Front charter by the Iraqi Communist Party and Arab Baath Socialist Party, the achievements of the national democratic state in Democratic Yemen, the gains of the revolutionary forces in Oman and the Persian Gulf area, the advances of the agrarian revolution in Algeria, which is proceeding in an atmosphere of intensifying class struggle, and the miscarriage of the latest reactionary conspiracy in Syria, which made struggle for religion its slogan.

Throughout the Arab world, from the Atlantic to the Persian Gulf, a vast mass campaign is developing, demanding elimination of the strategic interests of U.S. imperialism in our region and an end to the U.S. political, military and economic presence, particularly in the form of the U.S. imperialists' oil interests. This campaign has become so powerful that the oil monopolies and Arab reactionaries are trying to emasculate its national and progressive content through maneuvers and suspicious plans aimed at robbing the masses of the slogan "put oil in the service of struggle" and at updating links between imperialism and Arab reaction by making the Right wing of the Arab liberation movement a new participant in this system.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A FRONT IN IRAQ: A GAIN OF ALL PROGRESSIVE ARABS

The CC LCP notes with satisfaction that the adoption of the National Front charter by the Arab Baath Socialist Party and Iraqi Communist Party is an achievement of all the progressive, patriotic forces of Iraq and the Arab world as a whole. By strengthening the position of Iraq's progressive regime in the face of a reactionary imperialist conspiracy, the move affords fraternal Iraq vast opportunities to advance towards accomplishing the tasks of the national democratic revolution, towards socialism. It is a major setback for Arab reaction and anti-Communist policy, a failure of attempts to disrupt patriotic and progressive unity and cause divergences and clashes between Arab Communist parties and the democratic nationalist contingents of the Arab liberation movement.

Positive changes in the Palestinian resistance movement are gathering tempo. Serious steps have been taken towards united action and joint struggle.

The Central Committee notes that the development of the Pales-

tinian resistance as a component of the Arab liberation movement inseparable from the latter as far as the fundamental positions of struggle against imperialism and Zionism are concerned is intensifying. As the struggle expands and as anti-imperialist trends go deeper, the Palestinian resistance is moving farther away from Arab reaction, strengthening its alliance with the progressive forces in the Arab world and anti-imperialist forces all over the globe.

As well as persevering in all its armed struggle in the occupied territories—a struggle gaining in scope and strength—the resistance movement is coming to appreciate the importance of political work among the masses and the need to foster national unity on democratic lines, discard Rightist views which prevent militant cooperation with Arab progressives and international anti-imperialist forces and desist from "left" adventurist actions which seriously prejudice the resistance and, moreover, tend to isolate it from the main Arab forces and their international allies.

Lately, above all since the eleventh session of the National Assembly, the resistance movement, which is becoming increasingly aware of the need to appeal to the main forces which can effectively support the cause of the Arab people of Palestine, has taken, under a program of joint political action, serious measures towards establishing unity in struggle and unifying the actions of its diverse contingents. It has taken important steps to extend and carry forward its links with its international anti-imperialist allies.

The Central Committee, fully realizing the objective difficulties in the way of these positive changes, notes that their scope, depth and speed also depend on a variety of subjective factors, primarily the readiness of advanced, progressive forces to work for the establishment of a firm basis guaranteeing continuity of the process of change.

PLANS FOR A PALESTINE STATE AND THEIR CONNECTION WITH PLANS TO LIQUIDATE AND TAKE OVER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE RESISTANCE MOVEMENT. THE OBJECTIVE OF THESE PLANS IS TO SPLIT THE RANKS OF PALESTINE RESISTANCE

Proceeding from the actual situation in the Arab world, the Central Committee holds that the Palestinian resistance is increasingly becoming a major obstacle to defeatist trends in the search for a solution of the problem, an obstacle which hostile forces are compelled to reckon with. Hence the continued efforts to liquidate the movement, take over its leadership and artificially set up Palestine detachments prepared to negotiate. The plans for a Palestine state, which are linked with plans for liquidating the movement, are part

of a policy of retreat and are aimed at spreading discord over a non-existent problem, splitting the resistance movement, isolating it from supporting detachments of the Arab national liberation movement, and liquidating the resistance movement as a revolutionary wing. All imperialist-sponsored plans for setting up a Palestine state share in common the goal of putting an end to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and to the problem as a whole, because it is an acute issue in the confrontation between the Arab forces of liberation and progress and the forces of imperialism and reaction.

OIL WEALTH OF ARABIAN PENINSULA AND PERSIAN GULF AREA AND RAPID DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN-IRANIAN-SAUDIAN PLOT

Reviewing the situation in the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf areas, the Central Committee holds that the vast oil wealth of the region, especially with the steadily rising consumption of oil, makes it a focal point of imperialist interests and action.

Closely related to the situation in the region is the conference of American ambassadors from Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian countries in Teheran, as well as hasty attempts to resurrect CENTO and set up a new "regional" alliance including Saudi Arabia, Iran and Jordan. Within the framework of stepped-up activity of imperialist and reactionary forces, reactionaries in Saudi Arabia and Iran have been assigned the role of a "local policeman" with the task of striking at the national liberation movement in the area.

Reactionary activities in Saudi Arabia, as well as the position and development of Iran as a force with serious interests in the Persian Gulf area, provide a source of mounting threat against the national liberation movement in this region and the progressive regime in Iraq, which is being pressured by Iranian reaction and is the target of endless plots masterminded by it. This has created tensions on the Iran-Iraq border and prevents Iraq from taking part in repulsing imperialist Zionist aggression.

In these circumstances the revolutionary forces of the region are engaged in a courageous struggle against the plans of imperialism and reaction, especially Saudian reaction, which is interfering wherever it can and supporting local reaction in Northern Yemen, Oman and all parts of the Persian Gulf. The Central Committee holds that progressive, patriotic Arab forces should give full support to the revolutionary-democratic detachments in the Democratic Republic of Yemen, Oman and Northern Yemen, as well as to the patriotic forces in Saudi Arabia courageously fighting against the most ugly forms of violence, oppression and exploitation.

COMPLETE UNIFICATION OF EGYPT AND LIBYA AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE'S POSITION WITH REGARD TO ARAB UNITY

The Central Committee discussed events connected with the complete unification of Egypt and Libya and reaffirmed its fundamental stand with regard to Arab unity, holding that it is an expression of objective reality and the aspirations of the masses inseparably linked with the struggle for national liberation, democracy, progress and socialism.

The Central Committee reaffirms that for unity to become a genuine embodiment of mass aspirations and an effective tool in promoting their objectives of liberation, progress and socialism, it must be based on clear-cut positions and democratic principles in the mobilization of the broad masses, with due consideration for their rights, especially the rights of the working class to organize politically, so that they may be able to play their full part in defining their country's policy lines; this is the main prerequisite for ensuring the strength of the united state and forestalling reactionary plots of any kind, the earnest of a progressive, democratic national policy.

While the struggle for unity merges with the struggle for national liberation and social progress, the desire for unity should not be separated from the need to strengthen bonds with friendly forces. The Right-wing tendencies hostile to democracy, communism and the Soviet Union currently apparent in the appeals of some groups, reveal their intention to use the unity slogan as a camouflage for a policy of retreat towards imperialism and reaction, a policy departing from the progressive national line. Such sentiments in the appeals of other groups reveal their desire to use the unity slogan as a camouflage to conceal their unilateral cessation of the class struggle and give food for the propagation of fictitious notions like the "third way." These are the groups attempting to invoke the so-called "people's revolution" to emasculate the slogan of democracy and rid it of its progressive content, straightjacket the movement in ossified forms imposed from above, and deny the working class and toiling people the right to political organization, democratic activity and organization and ideological independence within a broad anti-imperialist democratic, national front.

The changes taking place with regard to the question of the complete unification of Egypt and Libya go to prove, like the unification experiences before, that Right-wing trends in the Arab national liberation movement are incapable of putting the unity slogan into effect. These Right-wing trends view unity either from narrow class positions or from narrow territorial positions. In some cases they

use the unity slogan as a substitute for the struggle against imperialism, in others they see it as a magic formula, quite unconnected with reality, for a way out of all the difficulties encountered by the Arab national liberation movement, thereby demonstrating their inability to resolve these difficulties.

In the sphere of relations between progressive, patriotic Arab forces our Party has always advocated the active promotion of all forms of joint struggle, in Lebanon as well as in the Arab world as a whole, holding that success in this field is a prerequisite for success in accomplishing all the tasks facing the Arab liberation movement.

Proceeding from this point of view, our Party's Third Congress addressed its well-known appeal to all progressive, patriotic Arab organizations and forces to call a conference with the task of setting up a popular anti-imperialist Arab front capable of rallying our people's forces in the face of imperialist plots and occupation, in the struggle for the return of our natural wealth, for social progress and Arab unity on a firm, viable basis.

FORMATION OF THE ARAB FRONT OF ASSISTANCE TO THE PALESTINE REVOLUTION, — AN IMPORTANT POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT IN THE ARAB NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

Proceeding from these positions, our Party worked to help convene the Arab People's Conference held in Beirut in November 1972, at which the Arab Front of Assistance to the Palestine Revolution was formed. Our Party sees the birth of this front as an important positive development in the Arab national liberation movement, an event creating the first nucleus for our people's unity on one of the cardinal questions on which the broad masses agree, that of the Arab people of Palestine. Our Party hopes that this front, which should be developed and made to function actively by creating the necessary conditions for its work, will become the basis for the creation of a popular Arab anti-imperialist front whose tasks will embrace all problems of the Arab liberation movement and which will merge with the mainstream of the Arab anti-imperialist struggle.

ROLE OF ARAB COMMUNIST PARTIES IN MOBILIZING THE MASSES AND PRESENTING AN ALTERNATIVE PROGRESSIVE PROGRAM

Having analyzed the role of the Arab Communist movement, the Central Committee notes that as a result of the difficult conditions that developed after the aggression and defeat, Arab Com-

munist parties were faced with the tremendously important task of repulsing the attacks of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, especially in the wake of recurrent retreats and concessions and the emergence of Right-wing trends to various degrees dominating the Arab national liberation movement.

The Central Committee notes that, alongside these retreats, there is a growing mass interest in scientific socialism. And this squarely raised the question of concerting the efforts of all national progressive forces, notably the Communist parties, to present an alternative democratic national program capable of rekindling faith in the masses and mobilizing them to fight imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for freedom, progress, socialism and unity.

Now as always, our Party will work for solidarity with all the contingents of the Arab Communist movement, now the victims of harassment and terror by the reactionary and Right forces. Our Party will always work for militant unity of the various detachments of the movement and for unity with all progressive national forces. Our Party will devote even more attention to exchanging experience and promoting cooperation between Arab Communist parties, with a view to joint work in resolving the major problems confronting the Communist parties and the Arab revolutionary movement as a whole.

KEY CONCLUSION FROM SURVEY OF POSITION IN ARAB WORLD

The key conclusion drawn by the Central Committee from an analysis of the position in the Arab world is that the Arab national liberation movement is now in a state of profound crisis. The basic reason for this crisis is the strengthened position of the Right forces in the movement's leadership and their continued attempts to wipe out its progressive gains. To that end, they are working hand in glove with reaction, making concessions to it and to the political foes of the Arab peoples, imperialism and Zionism, both of which are trying to regain their lost privileges and to strengthen their position. The Central Committee also notes that, despite the difficulties it has meant for the Arab national liberation movement, and the threat it offers to its gains, this crisis could not prevent the emergence and development of a number of positive elements within the movement. They find expression in the heightened class and political consciousness of the masses, their keen interest in socialism as the only solution of the national, economic and social problems confronting them, the mounting activity of the masses, their bigger share in the work of the various organizations, their growing readiness to fight on two fronts,

against reaction and against the Rightist forces within the movement, to safeguard gains already won and disrupt all attempts to abolish them.

The Central Committee is of the opinion that in the coming period the struggle between the mutually-opposed forces and their class, ideological and political differences, will become sharper still. This presents greater opportunities to advance our movement by combating the Rightists, thwarting their plans to surrender to the enemy on the national question and to abandon our social and economic gains.

BASIC TASKS OF PARTY AND ALL PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL FORCES

In the light of this situation, the Central Committee has formulated the following basic tasks for the Party. Their accomplishment presupposes the use of all forms of struggle and joint work with all the progressive national forces in the Lebanon and in all other Arab countries.

1. Cooperation and interaction with Arab Communist parties in all fields; agreement on clear-cut formulation and interpretation of the position in the Arab world and the tasks this poses for the Arab national liberation movement at the present time; discussions with a view to working out a progressive program for the movement to replace the one advanced by the Right forces.

2. Participation in and support of all actions designed to unite the Arab progressive and patriotic forces; measures to foil all attempts to widen the rift in the movement and provoke conflicts and clashes. This includes efforts to implement our Third Party Congress appeal for a conference of all Arab national progressive parties and organizations to discuss the problems facing the Arab peoples, and the struggle for strengthening the role of the Arab Front of Assistance to the Palestine Revolution as one form of interaction between various detachments of the Arab revolutionary movement.

3. The Party must assert its position on Arab unity and work to give this unity a more progressively democratic content, i.e., struggle against imperialist reaction and for the following basic demands of the Arab masses: progressive social and economic gains, democratic freedoms, including the working class's fundamental right to have its own political party, also cooperation and interaction of progressive national forces. These are essential prerequisites for the unity so strongly desired by the Arab masses as a basic condition for defeating the plots of imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

4. Support for trends now developing in a number of Arab countries, notably Iraq, Democratic Yemen and Syria, towards organization of progressive national fronts involving all progressive national organizations; efforts to extend such fronts and enrich their programs to make them genuine leaders of the masses and responsible to the masses for the country's progress, the reconquest of its national wealth, and for measures promoting the vital interests of the working people.

5. Support of mass democratic movements of a progressive character in various Arab countries; exposure of police pressure, which has latterly assumed dangerous dimensions. Support of progressive trends in countries with national regimes, and also other positive measures that help the masses, at the same time exposing attempts to discredit such measures. Exposure of sectarian campaigns against progressive trends, for instance, the sectarian movement in Syria inspired by reactionary circles in Saudi Arabia and other countries. At the same time, we should not gloss over shortcomings and errors.

6. Closer ties between the Party and the Palestine resistance movement, based on a viable alliance aimed at utilizing all available means and opportunities to help the resistance movement. Specifically, we should support it against foreign-inspired campaigns to liquidate it and against campaigns organized by imperialist and reactionary circles and manifestly designed to distort its essence and purpose. All-round assistance to assert and consolidate its international status as a revolutionary, liberating anti-imperialist force.

7. Consistent ideological struggle against infantile Leftist trends in the Arab national liberation movement, showing the danger they offer, exposing the subversive and opportunist role of China in the international arena, primarily in relation to Arab problems.

8. Closer contacts between the Party and the Arab progressive national parties and forces; closer ties with the liberation movement in the Persian Gulf area, Oman and the Arabian peninsula, helping the movement there to become more effective.

9. Closer friendship between the Arab peoples and the Soviet Union, as the cornerstone in the Arab national liberation movement's struggle for its proclaimed goals. Such friendship is not only a matter of principle, but also has practical implications, considering the aid and assistance the Soviet Union continues to give the Arab peoples and states, both in their national struggle against occupation, for the liberation of their territories, and in their economic development and achievement of higher living standards. Closer friendship with the Soviet Union is both a national and international task; defense of this friendship is, above all, a national

task for all Arab peoples. Naturally, closer friendship with the Soviet Union is the main link in strengthening relations between the Arab national liberation movement and the world revolutionary movement as a whole.

10. Continuation of the Party's work in explaining the position in the Arab countries and the Arab national liberation movement, particularly with respect to Palestine, as a means of strengthening cooperation with fraternal and friendly parties, and effective participation in international actions, for instance, the World Congress of Peace Forces to be held in Moscow this fall.
