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# THIRD CONGRESS OF THE LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

## POLITICAL RESOLUTION

The Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party, having heard the Central Committee report presented by Nicolas Chaoui, General Secretary of the Party, and taking account of the Congress debate on the draft political theses, the opinions expressed by all Party organizations and all Communists on the draft, and the report of the Political Commission on the proposed amendments, approves the following resolutions:

### INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The class struggle now unfolding on an international scale is growing in breadth and depth, becoming ever more acute. The world revolutionary movement, represented by its three contingents—the world socialist community, the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and the world movement for national liberation—is progressing and is steadily weakening the positions of imperialism and reaction, against which it strikes blows in the political, economic and ideological spheres alike. The socialist system, whose main force is the Soviet Union, plays a decisive role in this general international struggle due to its ever more powerful economic impact on the world, its signal successes in building socialism, its growing political role and its military potential.

The working class of the capitalist countries and its Communist and Workers' parties play an ever more notable part in the political life of their countries. They are stepping up their fight against monopoly domination and the monopolies' increasingly reactionary home and foreign policy. The crisis of capitalism is being aggravated which is evidence of the instability of the system. The monetary crisis, which is an aspect of this instability, and the sharpest social and political contradictions and conflicts that capitalist development has ever known since World War II are creating a particularly favorable climate for stepping up the class struggle involving large sections of society opposed to the monopolies and their increasingly brutal policy of aggression.

An ever more important factor in the world revolutionary process is the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Despite the enormous variety of forms and methods

of struggle employed by these peoples and the diversity of the tasks undertaken by each of them — abolishing the consequences of imperialist colonial domination and establishing new, independent states, or consolidating the political independence already won and setting up a modern economy and new socio-economic structures — the worldwide character and international role of the national liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and one-time colonies is so obvious that this movement contributes to the making of world history as predicted by the great Lenin.

All international developments show that the general trend is towards greater cooperation and cohesion of the three contingents, on the one hand, and towards greater disintegration of the world capitalist system and sharper conflicts within it, on the other. They confirm the validity of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that the main contradiction of our time on the world scale is the contradiction between imperialism and capitalism, on the one hand, and the socialist system, the revolutionary working-class movement and the worldwide national liberation movement, on the other.

The changes in the alignment of world forces in favor of the forces of socialism, social progress, national liberation, democracy and peace could have proceeded at a faster rate and at the price of less heavy sacrifices had the Chinese leaders not persisted in their increasingly dangerous subversion. By departing from the line charted by the world Communist movement, adopting a line frankly hostile to the socialist countries and the revolutionary world front, the worldwide movement for national liberation included, signing accords and agreements with the strongest and most inexorable imperialism—U.S. imperialism—and adopting conceptions of great-power chauvinism, the Chinese leaders have in fact rendered an immense service to world imperialism and encouraged it to persevere in its policy of aggression. The dispute with the Chinese leaders has long since gone beyond the ideological sphere. Indeed, their political activities and practices have already had most harmful repercussions. They undermine and weaken the world revolutionary movement and bring grist to the mill of imperialism and reaction. The impact of their pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric on a limited number of dupes has already declined after their ignominious flop at the UN, due to their hostile stand on the cause of the freedom-loving people of Bangladesh and their approval of the massacres perpetrated in the Sudan.

The international situation and its evolution show that there is no reason to believe that imperialism is strong enough to act as it pleases in matters of the peoples' freedom and world peace. They also prove that it is dangerous to minimize the strength of imperialism for this would lull the vigilance and reduce the militancy of the revolutionary forces at a time when imperialism possesses means

which seriously endanger the peoples and which can and must be neutralized. Unity of the anti-imperialist forces on a national, regional and world scale, as well as their united action are the principal condition for curbing the forces of imperialist aggression and providing greater and more favorable prospects for the development of the world revolutionary process.

## SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD

The Zionist and imperialist aggression is a manifestation of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism throughout the world. Its purpose was to check the upsurge in the Arab liberation movement and the development of its new progressive trends, which have produced economic and social changes to the detriment not only of foreign monopoly capital but of the domestic big capitalists and feudal lords. The Zionist and imperialist aggression was also designed to realize Israel's expansionist ambitions, frustrate the Palestine cause and the fight of the Arab people of Palestine, and strike at Arab-Soviet friendship, an essential factor in the national liberation movement and in the consolidation of its positions against imperialist pressures. Furthermore, this friendship opens the way for progressive regimes to building solid national economies and a harmonious social and cultural life for all.

Ever since the June 5 aggression, the imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries have exerted pressure in various ways to achieve the objectives that a massive military attack was unable to achieve in the past, thanks to the fight of the Arab peoples and support from the Soviet Union and world opinion, which stemmed the aggression.

The LCP took a positive stand on the resolution passed by the UN Security Council in November 1967, which explicitly stipulated that no forcible annexation of territory would be tolerated. In view of the balance of forces in the area, application of this resolution would help to recover from the reverse and create a climate favorable to a new advance of the national liberation movement. The Party considers that the attitude of certain segments of the Arab liberation movement, which flatly reject all political solution and artificially pose political against military struggle, is wrong because it does not view the struggle in all its magnitude nor take account of objective conditions.

## THREAT OF TRENDS TOWARDS RELAXING FIGHT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALISM

While adopting a flexible stance on the issue of eliminating the effects of the aggression and supporting the judicious political initiatives taken in this field by some contingents of the Arab national



liberation movement, the LCP notes the danger posed by trends towards relaxing the fight against U.S. imperialism with a view to neutralizing it. It emphatically condemns these theses and their authors. Slogans of this kind encourage Arab reactionary forces to step up their attacks against the Arab national liberation movement and the Palestine resistance, organize periodical massacres against them, try to reappear on the Arab political scene and claim the role of "leader," to which Saudi Arabia has lately aspired. All these factors embolden Israel and enable U.S. imperialism to persist in its political maneuvers, exploiting every concession to demand another in an unrelenting bid for the full achievement of the goals of the imperialist-Zionist aggression.

The satisfaction which the LCP feels at the establishment of progressive regimes in some Arab countries and the Party's support for the economic and social efforts of these regimes breaking with neo-colonialism, its monopolies and the system of capitalist and feudal exploitation, and for the general anti-imperialist line of their foreign policy do not eliminate, nor should they eliminate, the need to note, where necessary, the rise of certain Rightist trends within these regimes, due primarily to certain structural shortcomings and deficiencies of these regimes, as indicated in the Party's political program, and secondly, to difficulties of an economic, political, social or military character aggravated by the perpetuation of Israeli occupation.

### **RIGHTIST TRENDS REAPPEAR**

The reappearance of Rightist trends and their pressure aimed at imposing their orientation on the policy of progressive regimes imperil the development of these regimes and run counter to the interests and imperatives of the evolution of society as a whole. The increasingly organized strong actions of the workers and peasants against these trends, their resolve to safeguard past gains and their effort to carry forward and intensify their fight against imperialism, Zionism and reaction are indications of tangible progress in the political maturity and level of the workers and peasants. They also speak of the existence of socio-political factors capable of resisting and stopping the drift to the right, preventing the infiltration of state power by reactionary forces and sectors and assuring onward movement.

### **EVENTS IN THE SUDAN: A RESULT OF HOSTILITY TO DEMOCRACY AND COMMUNISM**

The Sudan events last July threw some light on the dangers of hostility to democracy, communism and social progress. Even the

most seasoned imperialist agents had never dared to organize massacres as savage as those carried out against the fraternal Sudanese Communist Party and its heroic leaders and against the working-class and democratic movement of the Sudan. However, that savage brutality was localized and those behind it were denounced thanks to a vast campaign involving numerous parties, patriotic forces and large sections of the people in the Arab world along with the Communist parties, all of whom realized that this phenomenon and its perpetuation were seriously endangering the national struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for democracy.

The isolation of Rightist and conservative trends in progressive regimes, the strengthening of progressive trends in them, the struggle to put the armed forces and government agencies on a sound basis and rid them of flunkies of the exploiting classes, the granting of substantial democratic rights to the working people, the definitive renunciation of anti-Communist policies, the opportunities which the working class has to play a growing role in leading society, and closer bonds of friendship with the Soviet Union are all measures necessitated by the development of these regimes and the entire Arab liberation movement if they are to defeat the imperialist-Zionist conspiracy.

### **NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE**

The Arab people of Palestine contribute manifestly to the general national liberation struggle in the area against imperialism and Zionism. The Palestine resistance is a vivid expression of the autonomous character of this people and of their determination to fight in various ways for the right to go back to their homeland and shape their own destiny. Never contesting the shortcomings and mistakes of Palestine resistance units, the LCP, insisting on its point of view and proceeding from its experience, holds that these shortcomings and mistakes should not overshadow the progressive and anti-imperialist content of the movement. It is on this principle that the Party has cooperated with the fraternal Communist parties of Jordan, Syria and Iraq to strengthen solidarity with the resistance movement, support it more strongly, fight in its ranks and form guerrilla units.

The Third Congress of the LCP reaffirms the Party's stand on Arab unity, considering that the effort for unity is prompted by objective reality, for the idea of Arab unity was conceived at the dawn of the movement against foreign domination. Its content has evolved in step with its development. . . . The trend towards unity links up increasingly with the aspirations of large social sectors looking more and more to socialism. . . . The rise of progressive

Arab states that are anti-imperialist or open to these trends provides more solid and favorable conditions for achieving Arab unity on a sound basis.

### TRIPARTITE UNITY

In line with this concept, the Party takes a positive view, from the standpoint of both principle and policy, of the tripartite unity of the ARE, the Syrian AR and the Libyan AR. However, this overall positive estimation should not dissemble the negative phenomena that are in evidence on the political scene in some Arab countries and have attended the achievement of tripartite unity, for one can never speak of unity without taking into account the Arab peoples' estimation of its markedly and definitively anti-imperialist content. Real Arab confederation or unity is out of the question if there is the slightest trend towards compromising with imperialism and Arab reaction. Likewise, there can be no real Arab confederation or unity unless it has a sufficiently far-reaching democratic content to enable the workers and peasants directly and effectively to influence and orientate the home and foreign policy of the federation through their trade union, professional and political organizations. The struggle will be carried on to safeguard tripartite unity against Rightist trends, so that this unity may have a content more thoroughly opposed to imperialism and more profoundly democratic and become a solid basis on which to rally the forces opposed to imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, a means of safeguarding and carrying forward the economic and social gains achieved, and a force capable of consolidating and deepening friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and the socialist countries in every field.

### UNITY OF PATRIOTIC AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES

In this complex situation marked by an intensification of the offensive and plotting of the imperialists, Zionists and reactionaries, and the rise of serious difficulties for the patriotic and progressive forces due to the perpetuation of Israeli occupation and the process of differentiation going on in it, the problem of patriotic and progressive unity on an all-Arab scale and in each Arab country is gaining in urgency.

Unity of the patriotic and progressive forces is based on a common progressive attitude to the solution of the main problem of the region, namely, the contradiction between the Arab national liberation movement, on the one hand, and imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, on the other. Unity of these forces meets the interests and the strategic aims which each of these forces sets itself and

which reflect the imperatives of the conscious and successful struggle of social classes and large social strata—the working class, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie — which, however, are not organized definitely enough. Imperialism and its underlings, being aware of the danger posed to their interests by patriotic and progressive unity, do their utmost to perpetuate the dissociation of the forces involved and to provoke strife and bickering among them.

The common fight of the patriotic and progressive forces, which creates more favorable conditions for the growth of each of them, enables these forces to resist in common reactionary repression and attempts to liquidate them, as well as to defeat Rightist attempts to isolate them. The LCP will firmly and energetically oppose every measure against any patriotic or progressive force, whatever the Party's ideological and political differences with it.

The LCP is convinced that unity of action and coordination of the policies and activities of the Communist parties are the solid core of unity of all patriotic and democratic forces of the Arab countries. The Party holds that all objective conditions are favorable to the Communist parties of the Arab countries playing a growing role in the Arab national liberation movement.

The LCP reaffirms that it will seek closer coordination and unity of action between the fraternal Communist parties of the Arab countries on a common platform in line with the tasks of the present period of the Arab liberation movement, and will strive to make unity of action of the Communist parties the basis for the broadest possible alliance of the forces of the Arab liberation movement.

Taking a positive view of the relations of cooperation that have clearly been developing between brother parties, the LCP will work to make these relations more consistent, regular and effective. Our Party considers respect for the sovereignty of every party, and above all its unity, to be very important. Indeed, the unity of every party is the fundamental guarantee of its victory in struggle. This is why our Party emphatically denounces all factional, divisive and subversive activities against brother parties. It condemns them as criminal activities directly serving the class enemy, whatever the reasons given to justify the split.

### THE SITUATION AT HOME

Manifestations of the economic, social and political crisis have become so extensive that increasing sections of the big bourgeoisie are compelled to admit that the attempts to head off the crisis have produced no valid results. The appeals for "reform" launched by the big bourgeoisie, and its fruitless efforts to improve the system — measures expected to ease these crises and lessen their harmful effects in the economic and social sphere—have plainly miscarried, for, taken as a whole, they did not get at the roots and main causes



of the crisis: the supremacy of the financial oligarchy, which fully controls the economic and political destiny of the country, and the dependence of the Lebanese economy on neo-colonialism.

### **SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CRISIS IS GROWING**

The growing economic crisis led to the rise of factors which, in turn, brought on a political crisis. In recent years the political crisis has manifested itself in a reactionary orientation, repressive measures and the domination of well-known secret services. It also takes the form of acts of violence against democracy and the progressive forces on the part of certain Right-wing alignments and their political organizations. These facts inexorably stress the reactionary and outmoded character of the country's entire socio-economic superstructure, which is based on a system of religious communities, clans and families, a Constitution inherited from the regime of a mandate territory and a retrogressive and undemocratic electoral law sanctifying the rule of the big capitalists and big landed proprietors.

In this context, the big bourgeoisie and its political spokesmen look to a regroupment of the bourgeoisie as a class to counter the popular movement, without, however, forgetting that there are contradictions among its diverse trends. These contradictions result from the diverse national and world economic and political links of these bourgeois alignments, from internal economic and political contradictions which induce each alignment to seek power, and from contradictions born of traditional caste, clan, family and other feuds. Lastly, there is the growing pressure which an increasing mass movement brings to bear under the impact of the economic and social crisis.

### **TWO TRENDS WITHIN THE BIG BOURGEOISIE**

In an atmosphere of growing crisis, two trends stand out more and more clearly within the big bourgeoisie: a reactionary trend towards perpetuating the present economic structure under which the dominant factor is the alliance of the clique of financiers, intermediary trade and the landed proprietors, strengthening the bonds of dependence on imperialism and thereby preserving the present political situation, with a marked predilection for the most reactionary and undemocratic methods of government, by establishing what they call a "strong authority." The other trend wishes to take account of the permanent factors and causes that have brought on the crisis. Hence the adherents of this trend are inclined towards a modification of the economic role of Lebanon within the framework of world capitalist relations, which until now has been merely the role of a commercial and financial go-between. They seem to favor the development of certain sectors of Lebanese industry in

cooperation with foreign monopolies, so that its products may be sold on the Arab market with the tag "Made in Lebanon" . . . These quarters seek a re-establishment of the economic situation, an easing of unemployment and hence a lessening of the economic and social crisis. This is why they do not consider it necessary to resort to repressive methods of government and publicize "liberal" procedure instead, posing as defenders of democracy and advocating a "reform" of the political system through superficial changes that would not affect the nature of the regime, and so on.

### **GROWING STRUGGLE OF WORKING CLASS AND RURAL WORKING PEOPLE**

The Third Congress of the LCP notes that the struggle of the working class against the economic, social and political orientation of the Lebanese big bourgeoisie is intensifying. This struggle takes diverse forms: demands, talks on demands, meetings, strikes, demonstrations and the occupation of work places. It reveals the leverage and increasing role of the working class as an independent social class. Encompassing the whole nation as it does, it reflects the crystallization and maturing of the working class as an independent entity and a stronger unitary trend on the part of the trade union and working-class movement. Like its slogans, it is assuming a political character. The leading role of the working class in the broad mass movement is consolidating due to the activity it unfolds to defend the interests and demands of other social strata bearing the burden of the economic crisis.

A striking manifestation of the progress of the class struggle is the intensification of initiatives by the peasants and agricultural workers, and increasing manifestations of militant solidarity between the working people of town and country. Moreover, this struggle involves very large sections of salaried workers, clerical personnel, intellectuals and handicraftsmen. . . .

*The objective factors — the growing economic, social and political crisis—and such subjective factors as the fight of progressive forces and parties, particularly the LCP, provide highly favorable conditions for the intensification of the struggle at diverse levels by all social classes and strata affected by the domination of "total economic liberty."*

### **SAFEGUARDING AND EXTENDING DEMOCRATIC FREEDOMS**

In view of the socio-economic and political crisis, the intensifying mass struggle and the anti-democratic policies of certain segments of the big bourgeoisie, the cause of democracy and the task of extending democratic liberties are of prime importance for the country's political life.

Under the system of "total economic liberty," attempts to rob democracy of its content and reduce it to something nominal have gone on unabated with the object of putting it in the service of the propertied classes and assuring their political supremacy. Yet there is every opportunity, not only to safeguard the present minimum of democracy, but to extend it appreciably. Indeed, the working class, the mass of the people and all patriotic and progressive forces are ready vigorously to uphold democratic freedoms, which they regard as a requisite of success in their fight for concrete demands and social progress.

The LCP considers it very important to safeguard and promote democracy. It refuses to content itself with official recognition of its legal status and freedom of action but wants the same rights to be extended to all patriotic, progressive and democratic forces, to the working-class movement, the mass organizations, the press and even to other political forces, whatever its political differences with them, so long as there is agreement on the need to safeguard the freedoms and promote democracy.

A minimum of democracy in harmony with the most modest exigencies of our time requires a democratic, secular and progressive Constitution providing democratic rights and liberties, social guarantees, the right to association in political and other mass organizations and in trade unions and definitively abolishing the system of religious communities. Furthermore, to strengthen democracy, it is necessary to revive the electoral law on democratic lines so as to remove all obstacles to popular representation in parliament and all other representative bodies, such as elected municipal councils, whose role must be strengthened.

#### **USE PARLIAMENT TO MEET PEOPLE'S DEMANDS**

The Communists of Lebanon, carrying on the fight for democratic reforms in the political sphere, urge all forces championing the cause of democracy and its development to cooperate and act in common to bring about these reforms. The Communists are aware of the vast importance of general and municipal elections. They fight on the people's side to use parliament to the utmost as a medium for expressing the people's demands and having them met. They are convinced that, if united, the patriotic, progressive and democratic forces can impose the necessary democratic reforms and win representation in parliament.

The Third Congress of the LCP reaffirms that the Lebanese Communists, pursuing their struggle to uphold the economic and social interests and demands of the masses and working to extend and carry forward democracy, will fight with energy, and in the spirit of responsibility they have demonstrated, to safeguard and consolidate the independence of Lebanon. The primary condition for

guaranteeing the national independence of Lebanon is to establish closer links with fraternal Arab countries, meet the interests and will of the Lebanese people by taking every step in home and foreign policy to transform Lebanon from a weak component of the Arab front against imperialism and Zionism into an operational base against imperialist positions and plans and against Zionist conspiracies and ambitions. To attain effective political, economic and cultural independence from the imperialist powers, to be able to follow an independent policy fostering the growth of the Arab national liberation movement and supporting the liberation movement of the Arab people of Palestine, assure the most extensive and lasting cooperation with the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America fighting for national liberation, renouncing the economic and political discrimination against the socialist countries, and recognize the GDR and all socialist countries with which Lebanon still maintains no diplomatic relations, Lebanon must radically change its foreign policy orientation.

#### **IMPORTANCE OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN LCP AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY, BAATH AND THE NASSERITES**

The Third Congress of the LCP considers that primary importance must be attached to the cause of united action and alliance between the patriotic and progressive forces according to a program democratically evolved by the parties to the alliance, so that the common struggle for democratic change may be crowned with success. This is needed if the social forces are to be ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared to accomplish their decisive tasks in society. Congress is of the opinion that close cooperation between the LCP and the Progressive Socialist Party constitutes the nucleus of an alliance of the country's patriotic and democratic forces and that it will have to assume the chief responsibility for elaborating a minimum program of unity for the patriotic and democratic forces and lay the organizational foundations for the relations between the parties grouped in a solid alliance.

The LCP is interested in developing its cooperation with the BAATH Party, progressive Nasserites and all anti-imperialist and democratic forces and organizations. The cooperation and alliance of patriotic and progressive forces are polarizing and mobilizing large sections of the country's working people who are still uncommitted politically. Thus the leverage and impact of the popular movement and the patriotic and progressive forces in the nation's political life are growing.

The LCP holds that the activity of the front is aimed primarily at winning the economic, social and political demands for which



the working people are fighting, and secondly, meets the interests of the members of the alliance. In their united action with other political alignments, the Communists set an example of devotion and loyalty to the common cause, eschewing isolationism, a narrow view of things and attempts to win over members of other parties in the alliance.

### **ESTABLISH A NATIONAL AND DEMOCRATIC POWER TO PAVE THE WAY FOR TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM**

In deciding on the general orientation of the Party's activities in the years to come in view of the evolution of the entire fight for democratic change, the growing participation of the working people in this fight and their transformation into a force capable of influencing the country's political life, the Third Congress of the LCP reaffirms the main conclusion of the Party's political program, namely, that the crises affecting economic, social, cultural and political conditions at home can be effectively remedied only by transforming the economic, social and political foundations and structures of the present capitalist system. The first condition for this transformation is to end the domination of the financial oligarchy in power, set up a national and democratic regime representing the alliance of the workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeoisie, revolutionary intellectuals and those sections of the middle bourgeoisie linked with domestic industrial and agricultural production. . . .

A national and democratic regime is the road to easing Lebanon's economic dependence on neo-colonialism, relaxing the grip of foreign, especially U.S., capital on the country's vital institutions, and ensuring the harmonious development of an independent national economy based mainly on the advancement of its production sectors. It is not only possible but indispensable to build and develop an independent national economy if Lebanon is to extricate itself from its economic and social crisis.

The main economic and social tasks which a national and democratic regime should fulfil are, specifically, to abolish foreign monopolies and reduce the economic positions of the financial oligarchy with the object of eliminating them by nationalizing the banks and insurance companies, entrusting foreign trade to one public agency, consolidating and expanding industry, first of all the public sector, effecting an agrarian reform in the interests of the agricultural workers, poor peasants and small peasants and of agricultural progress, by abolishing big landed estates while leaving small and medium holdings intact.

On the political plane, the national and democratic regime will pursue an independent foreign policy towards the imperialist powers,

which will help to strengthen the front opposed to imperialism and aggression, back the peoples' fight for liberation, strengthen the bonds of solidarity with fraternal Arab peoples, including the Arab people of Palestine, and guarantee the right of the people of Palestine to return to their country and decide freely on their own fate.

In home policy, the national and democratic regime will have to guarantee the broadest democracy in government, administration and political life and ensure that the working class and other working people exercise their right to association in political, trade union and public organizations, freely elect their representatives to legislative and executive bodies and supervise the activity of these bodies.

The national and democratic regime, whatever the forms of struggle used for achieving it, will be necessarily established through a process of qualitative transformation of political power whose essence will be the overthrow of the political power of the financial oligarchy and the transfer of power to the alliance of the working class, salary earners, rural working people, large sections of the urban and rural petty and middle bourgeoisie, and all who are interested in fostering domestic production and are not against the tasks that the national democratic regime will have to accomplish.

The tasks to be undertaken by the national and democratic regime are not of a socialist nature. However, the breadth and depth of the economic, social and political reforms launched by the regime depend on the role of the working class in the struggle to overthrow the power of the financial oligarchy and on its place in the national and democratic alliance. This role will determine the pace and process of the transition to socialism, which implies removing the foundations of the capitalist system, establishing social ownership of the means of production for the benefit of the whole of society, ending the exploitation of man by man, the opportunity to solve the economic and social problems arising from the capitalist system and greater scope for the progress of culture, literature and artistic endeavor free from all material or moral pressure.

In fighting for the victory of socialism in Lebanon, the LCP, which is firmly loyal to the general objective laws of the socialist revolution formulated and confirmed by Marxism-Leninism and which draws on the experiences of the working people of the socialist countries, is deeply concerned with the specific conditions and historical traditions of our people, which give rise to decisive contradictions when it is a question of forms of struggle, the transition to socialism, the moment of transition, or building socialism.

Proceeding from these realities, the LCP will explain its ideas and policies and its conception of socialism to the masses as it exposes the calumnies of the bourgeoisie and imperialism intended to misrepresent socialism and frighten the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie

by alleging that socialism will confiscate its property and ruin it, whereas it is capitalist evolution that is responsible for the ruin of these social strata, or that socialism will destroy civil liberties, whereas socialism affords the greatest scope for the exercise of democracy by providing a material basis which guarantees it.

The Third Congress of the LCP reaffirms that there is every opportunity to step up political, organizing and propaganda activity among the working class and other working people. It calls on all Communists and sympathizers to assume their responsibilities in this field and engage in building a mass Communist Party in Lebanon, using the Congress documents as a basis.

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## RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE

The Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party reaffirms the principled attitude which the Party has adopted in its political programs towards the Palestine cause, considering it the national liberation cause of a people driven out of their own territory, which was wrested from them by force, and prevented through violence and compulsion from exercising their national and legitimate right to decide on their own destiny, and regarding the fight of the Palestine people as part of the Arab national liberation movement against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction.

Congress reaffirms that the Communists of Lebanon, who in the past have stinted no effort to support the just, all-out fight of the fraternal Arab people of Palestine and have contributed to this fight, in which their blood was mingled, will continue to back the fighters of the Arab liberation movement of Palestine against imperialism, Zionism and Arab reaction, in the name of the supreme common interests of the Arab liberation movement and the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

Zionism, a tool of imperialism, especially of U.S. imperialism, and its agent in the area, goes into action whenever the Arab national liberation movement surges high and fresh steps are taken to abolish the economic, political and strategic positions of imperialism. Zionism assumes the role of watchdog of the interests of the imperialist oil monopolies, so as to hold the Arab world in a dependent and underdeveloped condition — for Zionism is inseparably linked with imperialism — and to realize its own aspirations for territorial expansion and establish a “great State of Israel.”

The Zionist-imperialist aggression of 1967 fitted into this context. This was also the reason for the attempts to annex the Arab territories occupied during the June war, and for the challenge posed to world public opinion by refusing to this day to execute the

Security Council resolution confirming the illegitimacy of the forcible annexation of the Arab territories.

Backed politically, militarily and financially by world imperialism, above all by U.S. imperialism, Israel still tries to exploit its military victory as a means of imposing its conditions of surrender and capitulation on progressive regimes and the Arab liberation movement as a whole in order to bolster the positions of the imperialists and the Arab reactionaries who make common cause with imperialism, to the point of fomenting conspiracies against the Arab liberation movement in general and against units of the Palestine resistance movement, which they try to crush by brute force.

Congress considers that the struggle to accomplish the principal task of today, that of forcing the enemy to withdraw and of eliminating the effects of his aggression, is, in view of the present balance of forces, part of the general fight for Arab national liberation and for a fair solution of the Palestine problem guaranteeing all the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine to their territory and homeland.

The material possibilities of fulfilling this task are becoming riper for the forces of the liberation struggle of the Arab peoples and the people of Palestine acting in solidarity are growing from day to day. The varied aid which our peoples receive from the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist camp and from all the world forces of liberation, democracy and socialism increasingly consolidates the strength and position of the Arab liberation movement. It helps to expose, isolate politically and denounce Israel and its U.S. imperialist advocates and supporters on a world scale.

In these circumstances, and in order to cope with its responsibilities, Congress declares that the Communists of Lebanon will do all in their power to develop and intensify the fight of the masses against Zionism and its ambitions and against imperialism, to expose its maneuvers and foil its conspiracies, safeguard, support and carry forward the liberation movement of the Arab people of Palestine represented by the resistance movement, build up and consolidate the unity of the national and progressive forces of the Arab world opposed to imperialism, Zionism and reaction, including the units of the Palestine resistance, extend and strengthen relations in every sphere with the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and all the contingents of the world revolutionary movement, and counter all attempts—whatever the cover names used for them—at isolating the Arab liberation movement from its natural allies in the world.

These conditions are needed to resist the aggressor and make him withdraw, eliminate the effects of the aggression, safeguard the gains of the Arab national liberation movement, provide better conditions for its development and deepening; afford the Arab people of Palestine effective opportunities for exercising their right to



decide on their fate freely, without violence or compulsion, and create more favorable conditions for the development of the Arab national liberation movement as a whole. In the light of the foregoing, the Communists of Lebanon express their satisfaction over the principled internationalist stand taken by the world Communist movement on the Arab peoples' fight against the Israeli imperialist aggression. They also express their satisfaction over the manifest changes of attitude by large sections of world opinion—in the sense of a better understanding and stronger support of the Arab cause in general and the cause of the Arab people of Palestine in particular.

Continuous support from world opinion, and the intensification of this support and its extension to larger sections, depend on the development of the struggle of our peoples, the unity of their progressive forces and the correctness of their position at home and abroad.

Fully appreciating the importance of the international aid and support which the Arab peoples and the Arab people of Palestine receive as they fight against imperialism and Zionism, Congress urges all the world forces opposed to imperialism and aggression to step up their support of our peoples' just cause so as to make the aggressors withdraw, prevent them from reaping the fruits of their aggression, safeguard the gains of the Arab national liberation movement and enable the Arab people of Palestine to return to their homeland and shape their own fortunes.

Joint efforts of the Arab national liberation movement and the world revolutionary movement as a whole can help our Arab peoples in accomplishing their noble tasks and support their legitimate cause.

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## RESOLUTION ON VIETNAM, LAOS AND CAMBODIA

On behalf of all Lebanese Communists and their supporters and friends, the Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party sends heartfelt, fraternal greetings to the heroic people of Vietnam and their vanguard tempered in battle, the Working People's Party of Vietnam, leader of the people's struggle and maker of all their victories. It sends greetings to the courageous patriots of Laos and Cambodia, those gallant fighters who strike at and inflict reverses on U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious and barbarous imperialism of our time, and courageously beat off its aggression in fighting for the freedom and independence of Indochina and for a peaceful and prosperous future for their peoples.

We are certain that the staunch, heroic defenders of the DRV will achieve new victories in the fight against imperialism's aggression and renewed barbarous raids. We again join our voices to those of champions of freedom, progress and peace throughout the world to condemn the repeated violation of the territorial integrity of the DRV and denounce the latest barbarous air raids. We wish them ever greater victories under the leadership of the Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, so that they may free their country from the aggressors, bring about their withdrawal, overthrow the traitorous puppet regime of Saigon and enable the people of South Vietnam to shape their own destiny and choose their form of government.

We reaffirm our solidarity with and support for the patriots of Laos and Cambodia who are fighting with courageous resolve against U.S. aggression, for the victory of the just cause of their peoples.

We reaffirm our full support for the proposals put forward by the DRV government, the PRG of South Vietnam, the National Front of Laos and the United National Front of Cambodia as an essential basis for a settlement in Indochina that would be in keeping with the peoples' right to decide their own fate.

Our Arab peoples, who are faced with imperialist-Zionist aggression and resist it, are linked with the peoples of Indochina by special bonds of friendship and solidarity. They rejoice in the admirable victories achieved every day by the heroic people of Vietnam and the gallant patriots of Laos and Cambodia, and in the blows they deliver to our common enemy, U.S. imperialism, and its underlings and mercenaries.

The most ferocious and arrogant imperialism ever known in history is daily losing face in Indochina. Thousands of tons of bombs have been unable to break the will of the people of the DRV, a socialist state which wins victories under the leadership of the Communist Party, nor the will of the courageous patriots of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

The extension of aggression to the whole of Indochina has merely detracted from U.S. prestige more than ever. It has led to a strengthening and extension of the front of the defenders of the peoples of Indochina throughout the world, above all in the United States. Nor will "Vietnamization," that pernicious plan aimed at inciting strife between Asians, enable the U.S. imperialists to attain their objectives. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, backed by the peoples of the Soviet Union and socialist countries, the world Communist movement and all forces of liberation and progress, are bound to triumph over their ferocious enemy.

The Communists of Lebanon and their supporters and friends

consider that it is a duty of all opponents of imperialism and all partisans of freedom, progress and peace to identify themselves more emphatically with the peoples of Indochina and to offer more vigorous resistance to the U.S. policy of aggression. We reaffirm our support for the embattled peoples and our solidarity with their just cause.

The Third Congress of the LCP calls on all who stand for freedom, progress and peace—in Lebanon and the Arab world—to raise their voice in still stronger protest and to condemn the U.S. imperialist aggression in Indochina.

Denounce with still greater force the crimes and atrocities committed by U.S. militarism in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia!

Identify yourselves more emphatically with the courageous fighters of Indochina, for the enemies of these peoples are our own enemies and their cause is ours!

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## STATEMENT\* BY LEBANESE AND ARAB ORGANIZATIONS IN SUPPORT OF AN ALL-ARAB CONFERENCE OF PROGRESSIVE AND PATRIOTIC FORCES

Arab progressive and patriotic forces, meeting in Beirut on invitation of the Lebanese Communist Party to attend the party's Third Congress in Beirut from 7-10 January, 1972, realized the necessity for unity to oppose the offensive of imperialism, Zionism and reaction, fully support the appeal of the Third Congress of the Lebanese Communist Party and the earlier initiative of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon to convene an all-Arab conference of progressive and patriotic parties and organizations to discuss the problem of achieving their full cohesion and unity of action.

The progressive and patriotic parties and forces who are signatories to this statement, entrusted preparations of the conference to a special committee consisting of spokesmen of Lebanese progressive and patriotic parties and organizations, signatories to this statement, and spokesmen of the Palestinian Resistance Movement.

The document is signed by: Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon, Communist Party of Lebanon, Arab Socialist Party of

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\*Al-Ahbar, January 15, 1972.

Labor, (party of the Palestinian Popular Liberation Front), Baath Party of Lebanon, inter-Arab leadership of the Baath Party, Arab Socialist Union of Egypt, Communist Party of Iraq, Communist Party of Jordan, Communist Party of Syria, Communist Party of Sudan, Liberation and Socialism Party of Morocco, Socialist Vanguard Party (Algeria), Palestinian General Federation of Labor, Jordanian General Federation of Workers' Trade Unions, Yemen Democratic Youth Organization, Fath Organization, Popular Liberation Front of Palestine, Peoples' Democratic Liberation Front of Palestine, Arab Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Al-Ansar Organization, Arab Socialist Union of Syria, Nasserite Forces Unity Organization in Lebanon, Democratic Party of Kurdistan, National Union of Popular Forces of Morocco.

A Pravda correspondent\* asked Nadim Abdel Samad, Politbureau member and CC Secretary of the LCP, about the purpose of the conference.

"The Central Committee of the LCP," he said, "believes that the time has come to convene an all-Arab conference of progressive forces. This is especially so due to the increasing imperialist pressure upon the Arab national liberation movement. One of the forms of this pressure is the attempt of definite circles to incite anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. There can be only one answer to the question of who our main enemies are — imperialism, Zionism and reaction."

"The Lebanese Communist Party," said Nadim Abdel Samad, "discussed the convening of an all-Arab conference jointly with other progressive forces. In the course of the preparatory work it became clear that the idea of such a conference had already matured in other progressive parties also, particularly in the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon led by Kamal Jumblat.

"The Joint Statement of 24 parties and organizations is a significant success for the supporters of unity in the struggle of the Arab peoples against imperialism, Zionism and reaction. At the same time it is a serious defeat for the apologists of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

"The agreement reached by the 24 parties and organizations to convene an all-Arab conference signifies a triumph of the ideas of cooperation between the Arab national liberation movement and the world revolutionary movement, headed by the Soviet Union."

"It would be wrong to think that there will be no difficulties in preparing the conference," Nadim Abdel Samad said in conclusion, "but we are ready to work persistently in order to complete what we have started."

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Pravda, February 22, 1972.