

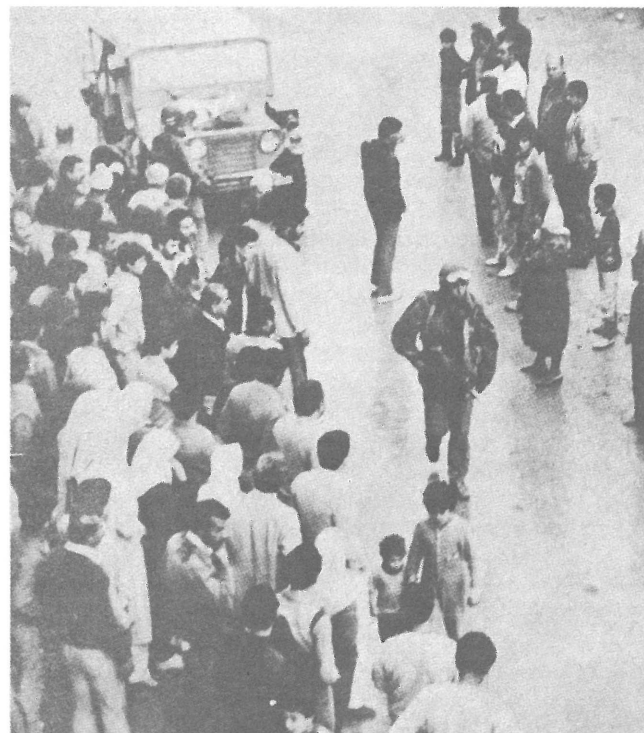
factors that accelerated the pace of the Israeli withdrawal from Beirut. LNRF strikes continued in other regions and are still harassing the occupiers.

Our party is proud of the fact that our call for resistance became the slogan of the broad masses of our people, and of many national and progressive forces; we are proud that it is supported by people immensely diverse in terms of their class and ideological leanings. I do not reveal a secret when I emphasize that our party not only fired the first bullet in the process of the Lebanese national resistance, but also contributes to more than half of the heroic operations against occupation, in the framework of the LNRF. We mention these facts only in response to distortions that have come from sectors that were supposed to be siding with the revolutionary Lebanese forces. I am referring to some degenerate propaganda organs linked to the right-wing Palestinian leadership which presented itself as being behind these heroic operations. This is a complete distortion of the heroic Lebanese struggle and of the important Palestinian contribution which essentially came from the Palestinian left.

Focusing on occupation

Emphasizing the Israeli occupation played a decisive role among all the factors which contributed to the uprising in Lebanon, and its current and potential impact on the Arab level. An unfavorable balance of power existed following the Israeli occupation and the US-Israeli political and military domination. Focusing on the occupation not only automatically raised the level of Lebanese popular and national uprising; it also gave us confidence and boldness to confront the US occupation and Phalangist hegemony in both its official (state) and unofficial capacity. Having paralyzed the Israeli factor, Lebanese national resistance enforced the paralysis of the other components of the enemy alliance, externally and internally, and deepened the crisis that engulfed their plans. This was and will remain the central element that, if touched, will affect all aspects of the enemy plans.

1984 demonstration in Saida dispersed by the Israeli forces



On the same basis, we concentrated our efforts on forcing the abrogation of the May 17th agreement. We made that struggle the litmus test for sincerity in rejecting the political conditions of the occupation, since this agreement was actually the Lebanese copy of the Camp David accords. As such the struggle against the agreement became an essential part of the Arab national and progressive forces' battle against Camp David.

Overthrowing the Phalangist Party's rule is also among the national liberation tasks. It was inconceivable for the Phalangists to attain the presidency if not for the Israeli occupation, US military presence and the activities of US envoy Philip Habib.

On this basis, the Party concentrated its efforts on fighting within the framework of the LNRF, and on encouraging and organizing popular uprisings in the South against the occupation. We also organized the broadest possible Lebanese solidarity campaign against the occupation, attempting to create a new national spirit antagonistic to Israel, for the occupation stood in contradiction to the interests of the vast majority of the Lebanese people and to all the national interests.

On this basis, the broadest popular energies could be mobilized; the broadest unity could be forged among the progressive and national forces upholding the independence, sovereignty and Arab identity of Lebanon. I can state with confidence that never before has Lebanon had such breadth, size and diversity allied in one front, as was the case with the unity of different social, political, ideological and religious tendencies in the National Salvation Front, and its alliance with the Amal movement. This unity and breadth was furthered by other, complementary forms of national action, such as the meetings at Dar al Fatwa which represented a broad sector of the bourgeoisie in Beirut, the position of liberal Christian trends such as that of former President Raymond Edde, and the Catholic and Orthodox churches, rejecting the logic of going along with the Israeli plans for Lebanon.

National and social liberation

The other kind of tasks, those related to internal reform, are interlinked with the first kind in a way that makes it difficult to see them as a separate kind of tasks, despite the importance of making such a distinction. This is a result of the interrelation between the tasks of national liberation and those of social liberation within the process of the national democratic revolution in the countries of the three continents. These countries face several forms of foreign domination, coexistent with the tasks of a social nature. This is especially true in the light of the nature of the struggle on the international level in our times. This makes the (local) struggle more comprehensive and internationalist; its main directions are determined according to the logic of the main struggle between the «two camps», which is in essence a class struggle. Thus, accomplishing the tasks of the national revolution is integrated with the struggle to accomplish the tasks of the social revolution; the national struggle is dependent on qualitative advances to accomplish the tasks of revolutionary social change. Therefore, the forces most capable of waging the liberation struggle to the very end are those most capable of waging the struggle aimed at social change to the very end. In other words, the tasks of national liberation become essential components of the historical tasks of the working class and its vanguard party.

This relation does not, however, indicate convergence. Neither does it indicate complete separation into stages, i.e. accomplishing the tasks of one stage, then starting the other. ►