

Dialectical vision, as we understand it, means viewing the process through the complexities, linkage and interaction of its component stages. In this way, the characteristics of the first stage do not get overlooked, but rather emphasized at a certain point in order to develop the common denominator for the unity of the broadest forces that have an interest in accomplishing the tasks of the stage. At the same time, the strategic horizons for the evolution of the process do not get overlooked; the working class continuously advances its position within the alliance, on the ideological, practical and leadership levels. This development will in turn help prepare the subjective factor that is capable of moving the national revolution to the stage of social revolution. At a certain point, such an interrelation will create additional difficulties in the face of the working class and its revolutionary party; the unity of the national and progressive forces, established on the basis of the national question, will be threatened. Then the internal relations among the forces of the alliance must change, qualitatively and quantitatively, through gradually transforming the tasks of the revolutionary process towards social liberation. Such are the difficulties we face now in Lebanon.

### **Alliances: conflict within unity**

We met in the framework of the National Salvation Front, our party having contributed significantly to its initiation. This front was based on acting to unconditionally remove the Israeli forces from our country, abrogate the May 17th agreement, and reject US hegemony and Phalangist rule. The enthusiasm of some other participants for accomplishing these tasks was not less than that of our party and other progressive parties. There are many examples of this, such as the positions of Prime Minister Karami and ex-President Suleiman Franjeh.

As a result of the Lebanese national uprising, Syria's great supportive role, the contribution of the vanguard forces of the Palestinian revolution, the support of the Arab national liberation forces and especially of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we were able to inflict a humiliating defeat on US imperialist policy, regionally and internationally, by forcing the US troops to leave, abrogating the May 17th agreement and opening the issue of internal reforms. Since then, we have found ourselves in objective contradiction with some of our allies, regarding the forthcoming political, economic and social development in the country.

The important feature of this new contradiction, resulting from the other aspect of the revolutionary process, is that it occurs while the tasks of the first aspect are yet incomplete: Israel is still occupying a part of Lebanon; the May 17th agreement was only officially abrogated, while the spirit that produced it in the first place is still very much alive, since it is the spirit of the Israelis' plans and their agents from within; the danger of US occupation was lessened greatly but not completely ruled out, as the conditions for its reimposition are still with us; and the rule of the Phalangist Party was shaken but not overthrown. At the same time, if the horizons of the other aspects of the revolutionary process are opened, a contradiction will necessarily appear among the participants in the (national) alliance. This contradiction is necessarily a class contradiction since the alliance itself is based on the interests of more than one social class in combatting foreign occupation and domination. Regardless of the various forms of expression, whether or not it takes a sectarian form as in Lebanon, this contradiction remains in essence a class one.

This makes the situation more complicated, imposing more difficulties on our actions, not only vis-a-vis the enemy

camp, but also within the framework of national alliances, in our striving to concentrate on the central task, while not ignoring the horizons for developing the revolutionary process. We cannot accept sacrificing the participation of essential forces on the side of the national liberation struggle against the Israeli occupation, US domination and the Phalangist rule. At the same time, we cannot accept the lowest denominator of the program of sectors of the bourgeoisie regarding these matters. The broad front should not be at the expense of the democratic, developmental, revolutionary program of the party of the working class. On many points, this program meets the agreement of sectors of the bourgeoisie, as well as the groups of the Lebanese national movement and the progressive forces.

### ***Democratic reform is necessary for Lebanon's independence***

That is why I said at the beginning that we face two kinds of tasks and coordinating between them. So you see us concentrating on mobilizing all energies behind the central slogan that is still all-pervasive: unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli occupation forces from our land, preventing the return of US domination and struggling to end its remains. At the same time, to complete this kind of tasks, there remains the slogan of preventing the hegemony of the Phalangist Party, which is a manifestation of US-Israeli domination. We reaffirm the centrality of this task. Likewise, there can be no reunification of Lebanon, no guarantee for its independence and genuine sovereignty, or for its existence at all, if our struggle against Israeli and US domination and Phalangist rule is not accompanied by the struggle for internal democratic reform. Democratic reform is necessary to prevent the political, social and economic make-up of Lebanon from continuing to be a breeding ground for elements of the Zionist design which aims at fragmenting Lebanon on a sectarian basis. Therefore, we raise the slogans for radical, non-sectarian, democratic reform as tasks of struggle related on the one hand to accomplishing the tasks of the national revolution, as far as national independence is concerned. We raise them on the other hand as tasks related to development towards revolutionary accomplishments in the social field.

Within this framework, our party recognizes the central tasks from their national as well as democratic change aspect. We proceed according to this dual vision: We mobilize the broadest forces to create a more favorable balance of forces between the progressive and national forces as a whole on the one hand, and the main enemy, represented by Israel, US imperialism and their direct, dependent agents on the other. At the same time, we wage the long-range struggle to change the balance of forces within the broad national alliance in favor of the democratic, progressive, revolutionary forces, so as to insure accomplishment of the first kind of tasks, and proceed with accomplishing the second kind related to democratic reform.

The coordination process involved is not easy; it does not fall within the domain of habitual skill, diplomacy or flexibility, even though it requires the utmost of these. Rather it hinges on the balance of power, firm adherence to the essence with flexibility concerning form, the sound political position of the working class party and its determination to consolidate its positions among the active social forces, particularly among the working class, the toiling sectors, revolutionary intellectuals and youth. Such a party, while fighting foreign occupation and domination, refuses to submit its legitimate aspirations to the plans of the bourgeoisie to rearrange its own interests, for example on the