

SPEECH GIVEN BY COMRADE NICOLAS CHAQUI, SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF LEBANON

Comrade Hawatmeh, Secretary General of the DFLP, Comrades, and friends:

Allow me, in the name of the Communist Party of Lebanon, to salute the DFLP on the occasion of its 6th anniversary which our party joins in celebrating as we have a position of support for the Palestinian people's cause and are part of the common struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

The rise of the DFLP, the left wing of the Palestinian national revolutionary movement, was the development of the role played by the left trends within this movement since its creation. It is the crystallization of those tendencies which are to the core hostile to imperialism. It constitutes the development of a revolutionary line based on scientific analysis and aimed at defining the objectives and working methods that put the revolution on a sound basis assuring continual growth and opening the road to reaching the final goals.

Our participating with the DFLP in its 6th anniversary celebration has for us a double significance. On the one hand, we are taking part with the whole Palestinian revolution in celebrating the



Comrade Nicolas Chaoui. The Lebanese and Palestinian national forces' alliance.

accomplishments made throughout its struggle. On the other hand, our participation here is also an appreciation of the role played by the DFLP to the core of the Palestinian revolution through its crystallizing the political positions which will get the tasks accomplished.

As communists we know the positive significance of the development of the leftist tendencies in all national liberation movements. By this we are not putting the left and right of the movement into some sort of formal or superficial categorization nor are we making artificial differentiations between the various organizations based only their slogans, nor are we turning away from the call for the national unity of the groups struggling for national liberation and social progress. Concerning this we recall the DFLP position which adheres to national unity of the resistance organizations. Throughout even very difficult times and while firmly maintaining its line, the DFLP has not lost sight of national unity and not allowed the struggle for its positions to be cause for divisions nor has it allowed itself to get dragged down in artificial divisions or factionalism within the Palestinian national movement.

The positions of the DFLP on Fateh, the most important faction within the Palestinian resistance; the positions on brother Abu Ammar, commander-in-chief of the forces of the revolution; and the positions on the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people testify to the correct line followed by the comrades of the DFLP on the matter of national unity.

The Palestinian revolution had found itself at a crossroad in a stage in which it had to correctly resolve the twofold task of escalating the armed struggle and escalating the political struggle. This based on a program of stages that would be capable of mobilizing the largest percent of the masses around the defined tasks, and that would guarantee success. The DFLP was able to discern the new factors and from this define a precise scientific analysis and the appropriate tactics.

The program of stages and the democratic state

We give credit where credit is due in saying that the comrades of the Democratic Front have led a wide political struggle, carried on profound theoretical debates and have been able to develop an organized military practice with far reaching influences. The DFLP was the first group within the resistance to put forth, as an urgent and fundamental task, the program of stages, and was the first to raise the slogan of «national authority». Fateh, the PNF in the occupied territory and all Palestinian national forces have agreed on this program — recognizing that there are progressive stages to reaching the final goal of creating a democratic state on the whole of Palestine's land.

The victories of the revolution

The Palestinian revolution has achieved many successes in this last period. These were above all a

result of the boundless sacrifices of the Arab and Palestinian people in their resolute struggle against Zionism, imperialism and Arab (mainly Jordanian) reaction. Due to the struggles led by the masses of the whole Arab homeland; to the October War; and to the firm support given by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and support from all forces of the world which care for freedom and progress we have witnessed the great strides made by the Palestinian revolution. These strides were concretized by the U.N. general assembly decision to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and by it now having permanent observer status at the U.N. In addition, the Rabat decisions were a great achievement for the Palestinian and Arab cause. For these decisions stipulate the Palestinian people's right to national independence and to establish their national state on all land that is liberated from the occupationists, and the decisions reject any partial or separate solutions.

Dangers of the partial solution

Many moves taking place in the Arab world after the Rabat Summit constitute transgressions of the Rabat decisions. Such are the attempts to make the PLO give to the Jordanian regime a mandate to negotiate disengagement on the West bank, as are the moves for a partial solution in Sinai.

Clearly, no patriot opposes an Arab country trying to regain its land, but the scheme of partial solutions is not such a clear cut matter. To see this one need only note the declaration of the Israeli military chief of staff stating that reaching a separate agreement with Egypt through Kissinger is more important than keeping the strategic positions in Sinai. The dangers of Egyptian leaders' positions which place all confidence in Kissinger are clearly dangers of political concessions, this being the core of the partial solutions.

The October War has proven that Israel will not be able to indefinitely occupy Arab land. Developments in the international situation have proven that U.S. imperialism is no longer capable of imposing its will. Regaining land through partial solutions is regaining it at the expense of other occupied Arab land and to the detriment of the Palestinian people's cause. And this, at a time when Arab and international support is behind a just solution in the area. Such concessions do not help us in gaining our national rights, rather, they encourage the enemy to make more demands; they work against the unity of the patriotic Arab forces; they break the alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; and they deny the Palestinian people the achievements made in their struggle.

The illegitimate solutions will not come to pass

At best the rightist solutions can only see some sort of temporary success. Any solution that does not

encompass the total retreat from all occupied territories and the guarantee of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people is a solution that will not last. The experience of the years following the Palestinian people's 1948 tragedy proves this. Many Arab countries have since liberated themselves from the domination of colonialism and reaction. These masses have made important national, democratic, and social accomplishments which can not easily be reversed by antagonistic forces, and the Palestinian people have made their way out of a great prison which no force in the world can put them into a second time.

The support of the parties of the Solidarity Front

Comrades and Friends,

The matter of support for the Palestinian resistance takes an important place in the struggle being waged by the Lebanese people – struggles for total national liberation, for democratic liberties, for a worthwhile life and a better future.

Our party takes part – side by side with the Progressive Socialist Party and all sectors of the Lebanese national liberation movement – in supporting through various ways the Palestinian cause which epitomizes the cause of Arab liberation and the people's destiny.

The Arab Solidarity Front constitutes for the Palestinian revolution one of the frameworks in which our party, along with all groups of the Arab national liberation movement cooperate together in our common struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

The masses of Kfar Shouba and South Lebanon have demonstrated the national consciousness of our people and their regard for their sovereignty. They struggled side by side with the Palestinian resistance against Zionist aggression and they condemned the policy of desertion followed by the bourgeois-feudal alliance which has been ruling in Lebanon for more than a quarter of a century.

Our party has persistently warned of the Zionist and imperialist dangers to southern Lebanon and of the Zionist obsession for its waters. We have called for a serious national defence policy that is in coordination with the Arab brother countries and has arms supplied by the friendly countries.

The martyrs of the Lebanese people constitute the most striking referendum

Those who plead for foreign protection and international guarantees and carry the myth that Lebanon «draws its strength from its weakness» have totally opposed any real national defence policy in order to preserve their interests which are tied to imperialism.

These people have not lifted a finger in defending national sovereignty – not in 1958 when the U.S. 6th Fleet landed in Lebanon at the outbreak of the

14th of July revolution in Iraq nor when Zionist enemy forces have invaded Southern Lebanon costing us lives and much destruction. These people talk about «sovereignty» only in opposition to witnessing the Lebanese masses united with the Palestinian resistance in defending national dignity and Lebanese land.

The extreme right of the Lebanese bourgeoisie is growing more and more isolated. Their fascist cries attempting to scare what is, in fact, a determined sector of the Lebanese people or to inject the poisons of confessionalism, are ineffective. They have proved incapable of preventing the large national democratic and syndical struggles through which the will for change from the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese people is being manifested.

From this rightwing come the voices trying to agitate the people against the Palestinian resistance, trying to light isolationist and sectarian fires. These are the voices calling for a Lebanese referendum* on the question of the Palestinian resistance's presence in Lebanon. To this we answer: the martyrs of the Lebanese people in the South who side by side with the Palestinians gave their blood for the homeland, and those martyrs who were killed in Beirut on April 22, 1969 are the most striking referendum to the Lebanese people's national dignity and to the unity of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples' destiny.

Attempts at creating sectarian divisions and undermining the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples' unity will once again fail. This, due to the heightened political consciousness of our Lebanese people and to the real solidarity between the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. As in the past, our Party continues to stand with the other sections of the Lebanese national democratic movement in confronting such attempts, and we will work even harder than before to ensure that this rightwing will harvest nothing but condemnation and defeat.

Comrades and Friends,

In closing I would like to affirm that our Lebanese Communist Party and the Democratic Front have relations founded upon a solid basis. The commitment of the Democratic Front to the cause of its people; its refusal of all and any form of tutelage over the Palestinian people and the experience of the revolution have provided the Democratic Front with the means to follow a correct line in its relations with other national and progressive Arab forces – to working in a way which benefits Palestinian national unity.

Due to its Marxist-Leninist comprehension, the Democratic Front does not present itself as an alternative to the other Marxist-Leninist organisations. Rather, it has established solid relations with the Lebanese Communist Party, the other Arab communist parties and with the international communist movement.

Salute to the 6th anniversary of the DFLP
Long live the Palestinian revolution.

*Pierre Gemayel, the Phalangist Party leader who represents the fascist extreme right in Lebanon, has called for a referendum to decide on the presence of the Palestinian resistance in Lebanon.