

# Lebanese Communist Party



**Political Document**

**The 11<sup>th</sup> National Conference**

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LCP Publications

## **Preface**

The eleventh conference of the Lebanese Communist Party (LCP) was held at a time of a historical transition; from a unilateral global system to a multipolar one, and in a rather extremely complex and crucial circumstances, ignited by the 2008 capitalist crisis, which was followed by the Imperialists exhaustive and hectic efforts to solve it, by attempting to re-organizing the split of global markets, and proceed with altering geographical boundaries, which emerged in 1945. Hence, they managed to expand zones of regional wars, and resorted once again to Cold War policies, by exploiting fascism and terrorism, and tightening the hold of financial oligarchy on fates of other nations.

The LCP believes that this stage is crucially marked, in our region, with a clash between the status quo in the Arab World and the need for developing the region. It is needless to say that the people's uprisings against schemes targeting this transformation, especially the USA's one, with its various fragmentative slogans, including its consequent mutations at present, which is embedded in various terrorist movements.

In light of this complex and crucial situation, Lebanon is undergoing through a new phase in its history, which is more fragile, given the role exercised by its sectarian political system. This stage is marked with the fast decay of its state institutions and further subordination to determinants and impacts of regional and Arab World circumstances, on one hand, and burdening the masses with the consequences of the political and economic crisis, on the other hand, by exerting more societal pressure, exposing to risk gains of dozens of years of popular struggle, ignoring essential social and political rights, collapse of public services at

various levels, deterioration of unemployment, poverty and corruption, insecurity and rise in crime rate.

This state of affairs, both Arab and Lebanese, which is supposed to be a progress of the alternate democratic and progressive project, is occurring in parallel with the crisis of the Arab National Liberation Movement, to which is linked the dilemma of the Arab Left in general, as well as the crisis experienced by the Party, shortly after the collapse of Socialism in the early 1990s and the end of the Lebanese civil war, by the disastrous Taif Agreement, which reproduced Lebanon's sectarian system.

Therefore, the LPC believes that its 11<sup>th</sup> Conference success in creating a breakthrough to resolve the Party's crisis is not merely a partisan need, rather a domestic, national and popular one. The success of the party in this sphere is a boost to our people, in regaining its confidence in the possibility of building a national and a democratic state, by bringing down the foundations of the sectarian political system; the hegemony system of the Lebanese bourgeoisie.

This success also grants the Arab Left a fresh impetus to strengthen its ability to have such a project that stems from this revolutionary situation and the contradictions in the current Arab state of affairs, in order to achieve its own project, which is interlinked with projects of other Arab social and political forces, on the basis of challenging Imperialism and Zionist hostile projects, especially the "New Middle East" one.

The success of our conference in charting a competence democratic political line, in the horizon of strengthening the global front against Imperialism, Zionism and fascist reactionism in general, is a real contribution to achieve the unity of Arab leftist forces and the unity of the Arab and Lebanese popular movement. It grants our party a role and a

space, qualifying it to gather democratic and secular forces, in order restore our people's confidence in the possibility of a socialist spearheaded change, rather a necessity, not only in Lebanon, and that it is an essential task, which relies on the completion of building of a resistance national democratic state.

## **Global Situation**

### **1- Features of the Current Phase: the Imperialist Era**

Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, humanity is undergoing a tense phase in its history, reminiscent of the Cold War and the threat of its developing into a hot war. We have been witnessing some of these war scenarios, especially the wars against Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine Ukraine, Lebanon, and many other African countries. We might add that various forms of tensions, which is seen in the Imperialists manipulation of internal conflicts in some countries to tighten their control over them, as is happening in some Arab countries, and through re-initiating of arms race, deployment of arms and strengthening military alliances, especially in Europe, besides initiating confrontation with Russia and BRICS countries.

Mankind has seen, in the last three decades, more coherence, convergence and integration among countries and nations around the world, confirming by that the unity of mankind's historical process and the transformation of external factors (international situation) into internal ones, which are felt in the dynamic evolution of these countries, both in their positive and negative dimensions. Such a cohesion and integration had influenced the conduct of nations in identifying eco-socio- political

options, in light of the global historical evolution and its outcome at the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. On one hand, the worsening global capitalist system had deepened because of its internal contradictions, which generates socio-economic and political periodical and frequent crisis, as well as the phenomenon of global and universal issue, which threatened humanity as a whole. On the other hand, this worsening of the global capitalist system could be clearly seen in the infirmity of International Imperialism in securing a wide replenishment of its relations, based its own mechanisms. This had resulted in deepening and worsening the decay and parasite which characterize the Imperialist stage of capitalist development.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and socialist states had helped capitalism in acquiring a new push, which helped it overcome obstacles before the cross-borders movements of capital and goods, as well as globalization inclusion of various components of the capitalist system: productive forces, relation of production and laws of capitalist production and its working mechanisms, including that of exploitation of man by man. However, that did not result in the erosion of the revolutionary impact of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; neither did it result in capitalism's elimination of its chronic ailments, which are depicted in new forms, manifesting its eclipse.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, along with the socialist camp, and the end of the Cold War in the interest of the Imperialist powers did not result in putting an end to prevalent contradictions, neither to international, regional or local conflicts, nor did it eliminate their causes. However, to the contrary, it initialed a new age of conflicts, disputes and wars due to the Imperialists rush to reap the fruits of that collapse. Hence, the USA has sought to impose a New World Order, to be led by it, as a substitute

to the old bi-polar one. It was designed more to be as an ultimate Americanization of the world. The USA drew in its endeavor on its superior advantages and capabilities in various fields; economic, political, military and technological.

The accelerated and contradictory tendency, which we are witnessing, towards a globalized finance capital-led globalization, is not by any means a free rapprochement between nations, economies and markets, rather it is a coerced rapprochement. It is not openness, but a conquest. It is not integration, but a merge. It is not interconnection, but tying. It is not development of the world and man, but exhaustion of their energies and wasting of resources. It is depriving man of his freedom to live in dignity. As a result of this globalization, which secured the freedom of movement of goods and capital, as well as transfer production from one country to another, the global financial oligarchy is succeeding in exporting conflicts and their impacts to other countries; dependent countries in the global capitalist system, through foreign trade channels and global financial system, besides various investments and productive projects of cross-borders corporations. This hinders the development of these countries and deepens their dependence on Imperialist hubs, and causes further social and political tensions, domestic conflicts and regional wars.

This has resulted in a very complex Mosaic of our contemporary world. Its evolution is subject to a number of contradictions and conflicts that evolved from the national level to a global one. In addition to the main contradiction between Imperialist hubs and dependent countries (a contradiction which is set to overwhelm politics all over the world), there is a further clear one between the Imperialist hubs themselves, and between them and rising states. Though, this is matched by a fierce resistance by nations throughout the globe, which is represented by the

anti-globalization movement, the international communist and the global labor unions movements, as well as environment, women, youth, anti-war movements and the rise of new international powers

## **2- Global Economic - Financial Capitalist Crisis**

What distinguishes the new globalized capitalist crisis, which exploded in the fall of 2008, is that it includes all the features and traits of previous crises, in addition to newly acquired ones.

It is a systemic crisis, which reflects the incapacity of the system to regenerate without borrowing odd mechanisms and “cells”, from the socialist production diction. It is also the crisis of intellectual background - capitalist ideology represented by the neo-liberalism; as well as the crisis of the financial sector which has evolved over the past four decades to be an exit capital from the crisis of its development.

This crisis has initiated a new phase in humanity’s life. It is the phase of unified global crises, which will engulf the whole world when it explodes. It also imposed a new logic of the crises law, with its composite character, so that no more production surplus crises will occur alone, a structural one nor a sectoral one alone. The logic of bubbles is a new one for the development of capital as a social relationship, which assumes successive transition from one sector to another in search of quick profits. It is a new mechanism for concentration of capital and production, having major proportions in this crisis. It seems that we are witnessing a new phenomenon of global capitalist economy, which is represented in serious remiss during its advancement process, hence placing the global capitalist economy in a persistent crisis.

Material and moral bankruptcies experienced by modern capitalism have prompted mankind to reconsider its approach to the prevailing capitalist state of affairs, especially amidst crises. It had paid reverence to Karl Marx and the ever evolving Marxist political economy, and proved the relevance of this notion as long as the reality it produced is still living with its essential problems. It also contributed in aggravating social tension in most capitalist countries; there had been demonstrations, uprisings and change of governments, besides the emergence of “Occupy” social movements, including “Occupy Wall Street” Campaign.

Although, this crisis had significant political outcome, as it shook the hold of centrist parties in Europe, after more than two decades of the dominance of the center-left forces on the political power and on the economic and social discourses, besides the emergence of new leftist parties, however, it did result in the developing fascist tendencies, manifested in the rise of populist and xenophobic extreme right, which also oppose state interference in economic life. This is reminiscent to 1930s scenarios, which witnessed the rise of fascists in the backdrop of the Great Depression, and their seizure of power, namely in Germany, Italy and Spain.

### **3- Aggressive Imperialism is the Main Source of Danger**

Deterioration of the capitalist system should not be explained by such a type of crises. What had been known as the process of capitalist self-renewal, in light of inconceivability of bringing it down, is rather a mere replacement of old technological methods with new ones. This process is associated with exacerbation of reactionary policies within the capitalist hubs, and dissemination of wars and armed conflicts by Imperialists, in order to open new markets for their products and to prevent dependent

countries from ripping off shackles dependency. Imperialism also seeks to strengthen its monopoly, through which it confiscated mankind's riches and capabilities, prominently the monopoly of natural resources and attempts to monopolize science and scientific achievements, as well as the world's media and production of weapons of mass destruction.

These Imperialist hubs rely on global organizations and institutions, which manage global economic, financial, political and military affairs, including NATO, WTO, IMF and the World Bank.

*a- The United States of America*

Although the United States still plays the role of locomotive of world, economically, militarily and politically, however, this role is diminishing in light of its worsening state of affairs and the capitalist system as a whole. This raises the possibility that we might be at the threshold of a substitution process, which threatens the position of the United States as the world leader.

All of this due to the fact that economic and financial measures taken since 2008 could not put the USA economy back on the track of full recovery. Economists in many countries have serious concerns regarding the depth of the crisis that threaten the USA and its economy. They believe that their countries need to review their economic relations with the USA and the roles of their national currencies, as well the stand against the dominant global currency; the USD. As such a prospect negatively affect the position of the USA in the world economy and financial markets, as well the role of its currency, it is undergoing a state of tension, resulting by the emergence of new global economic and political forces, which might rival it in all fields and regions.

### *b- NATO and other Imperialist alliances*

This context include strengthening NATO and increasing its capabilities and capacities of member countries grouped under its leadership, especially countries from former Warsaw Pact countries, as well as develop its tasks to constitute a striking force capable of intervention, any place and anywhere the USA administration and its allies desire. We had witnessed such interventions occurring in Afghanistan, Iraq and Libya.

Adoption of a new plan of deployment and control by planting permanent military bases, initiating practically the “Missile Shield”, enhancing its fleets in various seas and oceans, falls in the same context, as well as creating fresh “military coalitions” by involving regional pro-US powers and having them fight on instead of the US military. Moreover, as the US concern about the immense role being played by China in the global economy has increased, the US administration began, in Obama's second term, implementation of its “Orientation towards East Asia and the Pacific” plan. This plan required promotion and deployment of US fleets from Australia, in the South, to the coast of South Korea and Japan, in the North. The US is paying great attention to Latin America, where most countries had rebelled against it, as well as in Africa, where it is waging an undeclared war against China and some European countries for the control of the continent and its riches.

### *c- The European Union*

The enlargement of the European Union incarnates an opposite phenomenon to the march of globalization, as it had established a regional grouping of more than 500 million people. It is one of the largest consumption and capital markets, and a huge production block. However, facts confirm that such gatherings constitute a necessary step to achieve

globalization. This grouping has made significant strides in the economic, production and financial spheres, forming a unified mechanism to replenish capital and production capitalism relationships, before the US could hold the many European financial and economic leads.

This grouping is marked by varying capacities and levels of development among its components, making one talk about “two Europes”: one financially and economically dominant, including 4 to 5 states and the other dominated economically, financially, and even politically, comprising the remaining part of EU countries. This is manifested in the repercussions of the recent (financial) crisis on some vulnerable countries (Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain), as well as what happened in Greece, when the “Troika” forced it to continue its privatization of the public sector and restrict other productive sectors, and striking at social gains of workers and employees, in the interests of the financial oligarchy and banks, hence making the country burdened more with a growing debt

#### **4- Options Outside the Imperialist Polarization**

Presently, whereas dimensions of development of various countries are determined through dynamics of the global capitalist system and its dominant hubs, the stage had been set for dependent countries, which have unused sufficient capacities, to move from its marginal state to higher levels of development and interaction in the global economy. A range of options had materialized for a number of countries, which are characterized with their production patterns and degrees of development, though they have an interest in improving their geopolitical against the Imperialist hubs. Foremost of these countries are: the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), the Eurasian Economic Union, the BRICS, and Mercosur of Latin America. These groupings

represent projects of international centers, which establish multi-polar world system against unilateralism, which the US tried to impose on the world.

*a-BRICS and Russia (Product of disparate development):* This makes the dominance of the strongest force in the world, which was created in the backdrop of the collapse of the international relations system and due to non-creation of a new system, of a temporary transient issue historically. This demonstrates that the global structure is locomotive and not static. It is possible that certain conditions arise and new alliances are formed, and new players emerge, whereas natural and human resources, and military capacity becomes available to secure a relatively sustainable economic growth, besides the possibility of establishing a regional hub and leadership, ambitious to participate in addressing global and regional issues and to be involved in global institutions, such as the UN Security Council. For example, BRICS, which represents 45% of the world's population and is composed of first class emerging countries; Russia, China, Brazil, India and South Africa. Though there is a second-class category, comprising Mexico and Indonesia.

BRICS countries acts show that the grouping is serious in having degree of independence from institutions of Imperialist hubs; it has established a bank and a fund, similar to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. It also limited its dealings in US dollars.

If such developments are coupled with of an national project appropriate with the nature of the region and the prospects for global development, and with the possibility to engage in post-industrial infrastructure, as well as technological independence and the ability to form coalitions created on the notion of country-hub, and the ability to employ human and

material energy in specified strategic directions; all of this will affect powers distribution and the evolution of a world system. This could also allow increased democratization in global regulatory mechanisms and expansion membership of UN Security Council.

It is obvious that China and Russia represent models for the leadership of such an eventuality. Russia, which pursued after the dismantling of the Soviet Union “strategic partnership” approach with capitalist hubs, led by the USA, is reconsidering its approach, especially after the NATO expanded as far as its borders, and the emergence Ukraine’s conflict, which was explicitly instigated by the Imperialists. Though this had led to Russia’s breaking away from such engagement, on one hand, and developing relations with BRICS countries and some ex-Soviet Union republics, on the other hand, however, this was not associated, so far, by pursuing an integrated approach to dismantle dependency internally, nor rebuild concrete base for an independent development. Such a development will only be realized by altering its socio-economic choices

*b- China:* During the last two decades, China had gained the interest of the broadest political and economic circles in the world, due to its achievements after its 1978 reforms. The capitalist world wants badly to prove Fukuyama’s End of History “**prophecy**” because China could not achieve what it did, until it underwent different economic reforms, which produced a capitalist pattern of production in its various levels of development. However, leftists and supporters of the Socialist option see the Chinese experience as an emerging light in the dark tunnel of capitalism, whose beam might grow, or diminish, depending on the China’s success in completing its transition from capitalism to communism.

However, this rapid and effective rise had created a number of contradictions and difficulties, prominently growing inequality in income, in development of urban and rural areas, and between export sectors and other. Moreover, this openness had increased international competition, and risks posed by the superiority of capitalist hubs in economic, scientific and technological spheres.

In any case, the significance of the Chinese experience, if successful, lies in the possibility of providing a proof to mankind regarding adoption of other ways for development to liberate it of dependency and allows it to build modern societies, on the basis of solidarity among people.

## **5- Outcome of Exposure of the Capitalist Crisis**

*a- Intensification of Class Struggle:* The capitalist development and its contradictions, and resultant crises, was accompanied, and still, with social conflicts. These conflicts are increasingly becoming clear that they are not limited to the working class alone, rather surpass all those affected by the forces of the capitalist system. This class struggle is compounded at various levels, economic, political and ideological. The best proof of this social explosion is witnessed in Greece and other European countries, as well as the United States, as a result of the decline of the social gains achieved by the struggle of working classes and other laboring class during the twentieth century.

However, in “Third World” and former socialist bloc countries, the class struggle is featured with a national struggle against the financial oligarchy, where it imposes its control by subjecting them to forms of neo-Colonialism; it is also a struggle against Imperialism dependent bourgeoisie. Latin America is our best example in this.

*b- Leftist and Progress Forces and Global Democracy:* Although many communist and workers parties had recovered from the shock experienced by the collapse of the Soviet Union, and joined the “The International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties (IMCWP)”, these parties are still weak and unable to snatch initiative and benefit from the current crisis of globalized capitalism, especially in its US central ring, to impose a shift towards building a new socialist experience, apart from the role being played by some neo-Leftist forces, especially in Europe, which failed to materialize efficiently, despite the partial victories achieved by ascending to by these Leftist forces to power (as in Greece).

*c-Uprising of Latin America:* The uprising in Latin America had made a significant progress against the USA historical hegemony and the control of the world financial capital. These uprisings were embodied in political transformations led by leftist and national forces, which came to power through democratic means, such as in Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Nicaragua and Uruguay, as well as in Ecuador and Paraguay, as a result of what could be likened to an anti-Imperialist social revolutions, open to a horizon. The new authorities was fast in proving that another type of life is possible in these countries on the basis that they have hold on their destiny and riches. This had been the case Venezuela, which employ many resources for the benefit of the poor and the people generally, and in the nationalization of natural resources as was done in some other countries. The authorities in those countries had also started implementing collective activities and taking stands confirms this new orientation, as happened in the establishment Economic Development Bank. This was also manifested in common stand taken against the expansion of NAFTA to the south, and in the rejection of

Bush's plan to establish a free trade area in the American continent, as well as in great aid offered to liberation movements in the world. These countries are also trying to have a single currency for the continent. This was culminated at the summit of the Union of South American Nations (UNASUR), which is the umbrella of 12 countries, having 380 million people.

This Leftist transformation seeks to build a new world. However, Leftist forces vary in roots, either at the level of their transformation or in their relationship with USA. Therefore, these forces have a great responsibility not to disappoint their masses, and to prove that socialism is a practical future.

## **6- The Role of Leftist and Progress forces in Surpassing the Capitalist System**

In the light of the foregoing, the Lebanese Communist Party believes that the crisis of the capitalist system crisis, and its implications globally, put the revolutionary forces at the forefront of the confrontation at national, regional and global levels. Some of these forces had the chance to organize initiatives and numerous events around the world to resist the Imperialist approach, especially USA one. This was manifested by mounting broad mass protests movement, which concurs with the capitalist G7 summits; this was also embodied in the regular actions of certain of the organizations, prominently the Sao Paulo Forum, which adopts resistance of globalization as consistent form of struggle. They are characterized with their internationalist and class plurality; socially, ideologically and politically in their composition.

LCP also believes that surpassing the capitalist system requires the anti-capitalist forces, particularly communist parties, to overcome their own

crises, in order to build the socialist system, which stems from the specificity of material development in each country, hence it can't be a single system or a model.

Therefore, we believe that it is the duty of our Party, as well as other communist and workers' parties in the world, to work actively to come up with a new internationalism, characterized with flexibility in form and a hardcore notion to confront globalized capitalism. This should be done through:

- Work to form broad and effective leftist political frameworks, regionally and globally.
- Be open to all frameworks and global polarization and movements confronting Imperialist globalization.
- Develop, broaden and radicalize IMCWP, and develop common frameworks with other leftist parties in the world.
- Be involved in the ideological struggle against neo-Fascist forces and anti-communist campaigns, in order to expose attempts of distortion of human consciousness managed by the global financial oligarchy.
- Reconsider situations of global mass organizations, formed shortly after World War II (workers, youth, women, peace organizations, jurists, Democrats) and their agendas and methods of struggle, in order towards to activate this role and broaden their grassroots base.
- Activate research and documentary work of international affairs and cooperate with our sister parties for the establishment of specialized research centers.

This requires devising a detailed action plan and give greater importance to our Party's organizations abroad.

## **The Arab Situation**

The Arab world, along with the Middle East, is passing through a crucial transition period, which is estimated to last long, as it is a part of the global conflict for re-division of the world among the Imperialist hubs; It also constitute a front of global confrontation between forces of freedom and social progress, and the Imperialist forces of aggression and domination, along with dependent reactionary regimes. This stage reminds us of past phases of our region, either after World War I (which witnessed many Imperialists schemes , such as Sykes - Picot Pact, Balfour Declaration...etc., coupled with the discovery of oil in the Arabian Peninsula), or in the aftermath of World War II, which witnessed the Palestinian *Nakba* and the establishment of the Zionist entity, and the shift of the leadership of the Imperialist project to the USA, simultaneously with the confrontation with the Arab National Liberation Movement.

If the political forces representing small and medium-bourgeoisie, with their “nationalist” slogans, are the ones abating today, along with their liberation project, and if the Imperialist powers are trying to replace them with religious-political forces, the latter did not last long before falling nationally, by declaring, in the name of “realism”, their involvement practically in the Imperialist “peace” project, which is an integral part of the new “Middle East Project” which is designed, in light of the outbreak of capitalism structural crisis, to renew Imperialist domination by

redrawing the map of the Arab region, as a basis for redrawing the borders of influence. In light of the ongoing economic and geo-political conflict over sources of power and its transportation routes (the Mediterranean Sea and the Arab Gulf in general, and the Suez Canal, in particular, this project ensures the Imperialist control (especially the USA) over them, including continued reliance on Israel. This also ensures that newly discovered oil and gas fields in the Middle East, are kept under control, and the reorganization redistribution of markets.

### **1- Neo-liberalism Dependency Policies and their Socio-Economic Outcome**

Undoubtedly, major disparities encompass the economies of Arab countries. However, these remain quantitative and secondary at the same time, because the nature of these economies, in their entirety, are based on the dependent pattern of capitalist production, which grew and continue to grow with their dependence on the hubs of world capitalism, and their disability and lack of political self- decision. Moreover, these economies are revenue generating ones, both in Arab Gulf states, which is based on oil extractive industries, or other countries which depends on revenues of bloated activities in real estate, finance, banking, tourism, foreign remittances and simple distributive policies. This economic dependency is nourished by yet another political dependency, which is re-generated through a spiral of violence, exploitation and tyranny, and through the continued linkage of the dependent capitalist economy with superstructures belonging to the pre-capitalist era, in terms of representation, governance, weak devolution of power and control of royal families and similar mechanisms.

The past ten years, following the Imperialist coalition's war on Iraq, was marked by the subordination of the Arab world to neoliberal policies and by tightening political and economic dependency on the Imperialist countries. This was manifested in the tyranny of rent economy, through the steady increase of oil and gas production and their marketing to new and old industrial countries, and the implementation of policies of global capitalist organizations, in relation to the economic development of countries (the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization). Moreover, this economic model, condemned by dependency and control of rentier activities, made the Arab world ebb economically in the past three decades. This is reflected in the intense low rates of GDP and productivity growth, as well as weak capital accumulation and technology acquisition.

As far as oil and gas are concerned, their means of production and investment did not constitute a lever for economic development and social progress, neither was a mean to occupy an advanced position in the network of international interests. To the contrary, this promoted and strengthened relationships of dependency and increased disparity between Arab countries and within each country. This also resulted in focusing on worthwhile spending, especially on arms, and on real estate and financial speculation, both in local and foreign markets. Moreover, this was manifested by using oil as a tool to control and spark political conflicts in our countries, by directing the capital of floating deposits and funds and real estate investments.

Based on the foregoing, and if we take into account the exhaustion possibility of oil wealth, the substantial steady increase in population and shallowness of technological development, we can conclude that the Arab world had recorded, and still, unparalleled declining growth rates in the

world (except Africa). Moreover, inundation of dependency in the Arab countries has led to tightening control of financial capital and exacerbating of social inequalities, deterioration of the middle class and the spread of poverty, unemployment and emigration, especially among young people (including university graduates), in addition to corruption, clientelism and increasing numbers of marginalized groups, which are the result of wide-spread rentier mentality.

If the dependent bourgeoisie, in its quest to maintain its positions and regulations, have increasingly surrendered to the aggressive Imperialist projects and dictates, especially USA and Zionism, against the will of its citizens and at the expense of national independence, Arab regimes, which rose using slogans of liberation from colonialism and liberation of Palestine, was unable to realize the aspirations of their people in national independence, freedom, democracy, social progress and unity, though they tried to cover up their failures by intensifying their repression and by pursuing anti-democratic policies.

These accumulations of oppression, exploitation, dependency and dictatorship, which created an incubator environment for religious, sectarian and ethnic projects, had helped in incorporating uprisings and revolutions by Arab peoples in an effort to break restrictions imposed on them and to bring about democratic change, proving that revolution and its victory are possible.

## **2- The “Middle East” Imperialist Project and Other regional Projects**

Since 1990s, the formats of the Imperialist project to dominate the Middle East had varied, from the “Greater Middle East” and “Expanded Middle East” to the “New Middle East”. All such versions are aimed at

redefining the role of the region within the unipolar “New World Order”, and to reconsider the Sykes – Picot, and the geographical and political borders drawn by it. If this new predominant philosophy after the “End of History” theory emits from the priority of establishing “religious states”, then this new project stems from the notion of inflaming religious, sectarian and ethnic conflicts.

Imperialism, led by the United States, had benefited in this project from existing regimes that persist in following policies, which promote sectarianism among their citizens, and strikes down public freedoms and democracy. They also pursue neo-liberal economic policies, which have deepened class disparities in society for the benefit of financial oligarchies at the expense of a productive national economy; in addition to the role entrusted to reactionary Arab and regional puppet regimes in the Imperialist’s Middle East project. Collectively, these factors had created a platform for the US Imperialist project aimed at re-drawing the map of the Middle East on the basis of hatching warring religious and sectarian mini-states.

If the “Middle East” project, in its new version as announced by the George W. Bush administration, was able, just before the explosion of capitalist crisis, to achieve some results, especially by spreading chaos, infighting and inciting sectarian and ethnic conflicts, or by proliferation of military bases and fleets (especially in the Gulf region and the Horn of Africa), or by succeeding in dividing of some Arab countries (Sudan) and trying to divide other Arab countries (Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Syria ... . however, this project faces, today, various difficulties, after the Imperialist powers were forced to withdraw from Iraq, as a result of the Iraqi resistance and losses suffered by them, as well as impediment suffered by the Imperialist coalition forces in Afghanistan. Additionally,

Arab uprisings and revolutions in places, which Imperialism considered to be under its entire control, constituted a shock, forcing those forces to reconsider their project and seek to act in more than one direction (taking into account all the implications of these axes on the domestic situation in Lebanon).

***The first axis; Israel:*** it is linked to the realization of “Israel, the Jewish State in the World” project, and activating the role of the Zionist entity, which involves liquidation of the Palestinian cause, and to re-institute the role of this entity as the spearhead and an advanced base of Imperialism in the Arab region, the Middle East and Africa. This new became increasingly clear in Iraq, the Arab Gulf, Iran, Sudan, Libya and Pakistan. The Israeli penetration of in some North African countries is an essential base for USA led AFRICOM’s thrust toward central Africa, and then to the south of the Sahara, in order to control the reserves of that region's riches.

***The second axis; Turkey:*** it is based on Obama’s Cairo Announcement (2009) regarding the role of “moderate” Islamic forces in the region. It should be noted that the “moderation” had replaced “democracy”, which was used by George W. Bush’s administration in the context of its aggressive war and occupation of Iraq, which was spearheaded under the pretext to promote “democracy” in the Arab region. Basically, the “moderation” project aims at the development of the Turkish role as embodied by the program of the party of Justice and Development, and with it the role of religious forces spinning around it; this is done to benefit from the Turkish influence, not only on the Muslim Brotherhood Party, which still constitute a grassroots force in a number of Arab countries, rather other newly founded terrorist organizations, which spin in the orbit the Justice and Development Party, and may serve as a

catalyst in promoting the new system in the Middle East. One should not forget the position of Turkey vis-a-vis Iran and Russia ... Hence, the Turkish military role was enhanced within NATO, and the Mediterranean command was transferred to Incirlik Base, and similarly its role was broadened in Syria and it was given a green light in its fight against the Kurds.

The third axis; reactionary Arab: it spans since the Sykes-Picot stage, it concerns Gulf states, particularly Saudi Arabia and Qatar, and the political and financial role both play in mortgaging oil and gas for the benefit of American trusts, besides surrendering their decision making and role for the benefit of the success of the “New Middle East” project and its regional requirements. This role was manifested, first, in counter attack against the popular uprisings and their containment and further attempting to “install” the Islamists at the helm of power; it was also manifested in fighting the Iranian project in the Gulf, starting with the direct military intervention of the “Peninsula Shield” in Bahrain, and the war waged by Saudi Arabia in Yemen.

Fourth axis; Iran: The US - Iran's relationship is passing a new phase, after a period of mutual escalation, as a result of many previous factors, including the Iranian support of the Syrian regime and various Palestinian factions in their fight against Israel, as well as the US failure in imposing a security agreement in Iraq. The new phase is the outcome of changes resulting from the intersection of mutual interests, including those related to redistributing roles, some of which is linked to the division of spheres of influence in Middle East, in light of Iran's political expansion in the Gulf, in general, and its dissemination of its sectarian religious course and agreements and differences with the BRICS group, especially Russia. Signs of these shifts has emerged while handling Iran's nuclear program

and inviting it to play its regional role, along with Turkey, in the face of confrontation against ISIS on one hand, and redrawing the map of the region, on the other.

### **3- Liquidation of the Palestinian Cause and Forms of Confrontation**

The “New Middle East” project was an essential passage for the relaunching of the reactionary attack against national liberation and social progress movements in the Arab World, in general, and against the Palestinian cause in particular. This project, which was advocated by Shimon Peres as part of reorganization of world affairs by benefiting from the emerging unipolar system on the ruins of the Cold War, aims at strengthening the bases of Imperialism, and annulling aspirations of unity and integration in the Arab World, and substituting it with warring religious and ethnic projects. This will end up in justifying the existence of the Zionist entity and normalize relations with it. This all is done in the context of attempts to develop and expand Oslo and Wadi Araba Accords, and in the context of concessions imposed by the Palestinian right on the Palestinian revolution in return of promises of a fragmented state. Accordingly, the “Israel, the Jewish state in the world” project is the cornerstone in the Imperialist project, as it creates the basis for terminating the Palestinian Cause and is the hard core that other projects for establishing religious and sectarian states planned in the Arab region, orbit it.

This reborn project, which the Israeli entity paved the way for its rebirth, a few years ago, with its overall and continued aggression against Gaza Strip since 2008, and the establishment of tens of thousands of settlement units, the Judaization of Jerusalem and its surroundings region, and construction of the Segregation Wall, which concurs with other

projects, new or old, aims liquidating the Palestinian Cause by attempting to forsake the right of return as a first step on the track of the establishment of the so-called “Alternate Palestinian Homeland”, which will conclude a successful “Transfer” of all the population in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as well as Arab population of the 1948 green-line, either Sinai or Jordan, or by implementing the Zionist scheme by resettling Palestinians in all Arab countries. The crucial point in this matter is the assigned role to Arab official regimes and religious-political forces, to help in facilitating the implementation of the drawn plans, in addition to relying on a Palestinian-Palestinian intra fighting and on the decline of certain influential Palestinian factions. In this context, the distribution of roles for so-called “moderate” countries, which is pursuing a comprehensive peace with the enemy and normalization of ties with it, arises. Consequently, attempts had stated to create Arab themes - regional axes to entirely control Palestinian “chip”, such as the attempt to establish an axis between Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt (to thwart Egypt’s regaining its historical role, which it enjoyed during the Nasserite era) on one hand, and the Turkey - Qatar axis with the collaboration of Muslim Brotherhood Party, on the other hand.

This danger, which affects the Palestinian Cause, comes at a time when supposedly confrontation forces had weakened in the Arab World and the Palestinian division had prevailed, which took a serious turn recently. Moreover, Arab reactionary regimes, due to its affiliation with the US project, is an essential part of the conspiracy pushing for the normalization of ties with the Zionist entity. This conspiracy indeed confiscates victories and sacrifices of Palestinians suffered during successive clashes, and pushes for more collision and subordination to the terms of normalization.

Build on the history of the Palestinian resistance and the heroism of the Palestinian people, in Gaza and in the West, constitute an essential motive for Palestinian national forces, especially the Palestinian leftists, which is facing political and financial restrictions by the “two authorities” (the PNA and Hamas government in Gaza), to raise the degree of coordination among the progressive and national factions, on the basis three main principles: not to derelict unity of the land, the right of return and self-determination, and establishment of a democratic secular civil state on the whole of Palestine with Jerusalem as its capital.

Given these emanations, the Arab leftist and Arab progressive and nationalist forces are invited to review their marginal role, and regain the Palestine Cause as a hub for a comprehensive confrontation project. It also highlights the importance of developing the Palestinian resistance and restore the PLO role in leading the battle for the liberation of the land and the implementation of return right.

#### **4- Arab Popular Uprisings**

Popular confrontations with class exploitation, repression and suppression of freedoms, as well as the model of national resistance against the Imperialist and Israeli aggression, constituted the substantive basis for uprisings staged by Arab peoples.

These uprisings, with their revolutionary substance, did emanate from a vacuum, rather they were the logical outcome of class and former national struggles; the confrontation against surrender and normalization policies, rising to the task liberation, the Bread Revolution in 1977 in Egypt, and later in Tunisia, Jordan and other Arab countries, the uprising of the Moroccans against repression, as well as various popular movements in Yemen, Bahrain, Sudan, Lebanon.... The best expression

of the importance of these uprisings was the slogan launched by the popular masses of Tunisia, which was later picked up in Egypt and other Arab countries “The people want to overthrow the regime”, despite the disparity in awareness that toppling the “regime” means overthrowing financial oligarchy system, not simply the removal of this or that ruler.

This emerging Arab reality brought about by the popular uprisings is a non-static state of affairs. This unsteadiness is caused by religious influence of some political Islamic forces backed by global capitalism and oil states, on one hand, and due to lack of experience and capacities of the forces, which played a key role in the uprisings (the leftist forces) on the other hand. Nonetheless, it is a reality that requires one to pause and speculate on two issues, which were at the core of the ongoing debate about determining the stage priorities:

Firstly, in light of the decline of the Arab national liberation movement, as a result of its leadership crisis and lack of having a replacement, and as an outcome of the collapse of the socialist experiment achieved in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the counter revolutionary forces, led by their global, regional and local centers, to circumvent those Arab popular uprisings to deflected them from their path towards democratic transformative; similarly, in this context, it was normal that reactionary hubs would strive to save what could be saved politically, in an attempt to regenerate fresh “political elites” away from exposed plyers of former ruling class, ensuring these reactionaries hold on power and prevent the occurrence of any radical democratic change.

Secondly, the inability of some leftist forces to exercise an effective and orderly role in challenging repression, corruption and exploitation and hereditary rule and the failure of some leftists to rise to this task, formed

an obstacle in finding an integrated program for change and assembling of powers interested in executing it. This had helped in facilitating circumventing those uprisings by reactionary and parasitic forces, along with some repressive agencies, which hastened to focus, through the media, on the “spontaneous character” of these uprisings and to promote young leaders, belonging to small and medium bourgeoisie, whose experiences of struggle were limited to social networking, and were far away from the real suffering of the toiling masses in their places of work and living.

Despite this fact, Arab uprisings managed to overthrow rulers of Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and elsewhere. It proved tangibly that a revolution may begin and seem spontaneous; however, soon it is revealed that the confrontation with the regime is not merely a political or an economic one, rather it is ideological due to attempts by counter forces to be the guardian of public awareness and guide it for the benefit of perpetuating its class control. Thus, the political revolutionary slogan, “The people want to overthrow the regime”, remained short of addressing the need to understand the class nature of the “regime” that should be toppled. It has remained beneath the small bourgeoisie consciousness that fathoms the “regime” as a corrupt political authority needs to be toppled, or overthrow some of its figures, and replace by a “fair” authority, at a time when all the counter-revolutionary forces were enlisted to keep power vested in the same class, which was behind the misery of the rebelling masses.

## **5- Counter-Revolutionary Forces and Ways to Challenge them**

The Arab popular uprisings, then, had constituted a new qualitative stage in the Arab liberation struggle, in terms of slogans raised in them and the broad nature of popular forces, which participated in them. Even though,

they succeeded in toppling heads of dependent dictatorship, however they soon suffered a setback - a temporary one - as result of many factors, which allowed counter forces to re-capture the initiative, building on parasitic financial oligarchy in hubs of political and economic and social decision making.

Foremost important among those factors, is concluding compromises (domestic, regional and even international), which resulted in the sacrifice with the head of the regime, for the sake of keeping its class foundations, as happened in Tunisia and Egypt, and as was also proved in Yemen and Libya, where “counter-revolutionary” forces resort to direct military intervention, regardless of chaos and tribal and sectarian division, which might result... and as is still happening with the uprising in Bahrain, which was suppressed by the regime agencies which enjoy the cover of the “Peninsula Shield” and benefit from sectarianizing the uprising in light of the ongoing regional conflict.

Meanwhile, the second factor lies in the rapid exposure of the intended role for the forces of political Islam to strike against the Arab liberation project and other social and political forces interested in change, and to prevent Arab peoples to achieve national, social and democratic objectives of their uprisings. Hence, forces of political Islam, managed immediately after coming to power, to re-establish reactionary class policies of the former rule without bringing any change in the nature of the dependent system. At the same time, these forces worked on transforming the conflict into a mere ideological and political struggle free of any social or national content.

It is worth to note that acts by counter-revolutionary forces, backed by the USA, did not end the Arab revolutionary track, in the initial stage of the

uprisings, though they had succeeded in impeding it. Actions initiated by these forces, from their positions in power, either in Tunisia or Egypt, to circumvent the mobilization of masses and its suppression, and to bring things back in their class sphere, was a stumble in the beginning. This revealed the deep crisis within the system, which was more than was merely visible, as a governance crisis. Furthermore, the governance crisis in various Arab countries concealed the depth of crisis in the Arab system generally, as it was manifestation of the inability of this system, with its institutions and treaties governing the relationship among its components (the Arab League Mutual Defense Treaty, the Arab Common Market) to meet requirements of its stated objectives, even at a minimum. Generally, from this angle, the Arab system could be considered a tool in the hands of the counter-revolutionaries, which was prepared beforehand in anticipation of any democratic or nationalist penetration, which could threaten the Imperialist domination in any Arab country. One should also note that the reactionary forces resorted, with the support of Imperialism, to facilitate the formation and patronization of new terrorist organizations - as is the case in most Arab countries - to be used in achieving their objectives. Hence, one can say that terrorism is the other face of Imperialism; Terrorism has been transformed from an irrational reaction against state terrorism and addressing contradictions to a phenomenon feeding on pre-capitalism religious and ethnic consciousness.

In this context, the leftist-Progressive- - Democratic Alliance should consider two key issues: firstly, that any alternative, which does not link national liberation with social emancipation, is a setback for the revolution. Secondly, the counter-revolutionaries endeavor to defend their class position with religious, ideological or national mask should not be met with similar responses. It shall clash, in the end, with a class-based

sorting between representatives of the financial oligarchy, on the one hand, and the people, on the other. The latter, when engaged in the struggle with religious or national perspectives, and with its social “middle” groups, remain subject to exploitation by the financial oligarchy. Therefore, these masses have a genuine interest in democracy and social liberation and change that goes beyond epitaxial replacement of representatives of the financial oligarchy.

## **6- The Syrian Crisis: Causes, Risks & Horizons of Solution**

The Syrian crisis occupies a pivotal position in the context of the current Arab transitional phase, especially after its transformation from a domestic conflict, which began with a demonstration organized by some intellectuals on 8<sup>th</sup> March, 2011, to a regional and international one. It should be noted, first, that the crisis suffered by Syria in the second decade of the twenty-first century, dates back to the socio-economic policies pursued by the Syrian regime, which carried the name of “Neoliberal Openness” resulting in marginalization of the countryside, minimizing the role of the public sector, deepening class differences, and deterioration of the living conditions of wide social groups, including groups that formed the pillars relied on by the regime since the 1960s. Adding to the severity of the crisis was the consistent approach of repression and denial of democratic freedoms. On the other hand, openness included, under various pretexts, openness on many reactionary Arab and regional regimes and opening Syrian markets for Turkish goods, which resulted in a direct blow to productive sectors and social forces associated with them.

However, this intrinsic factor, a result of the nature of the system itself, is not the only aspect of the crisis; there is external factor, which is

manifested in persistent attempts to change Syria's position in the region's conflict. If the factors that initiated the spark of revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt find their roots in national, social and political reasons, resulting from the nature of the regimes and their subordination to Imperialism and its project, and from starvation, impoverishment and marginalization policies, resulting from linking economy with neo-Liberalism, in addition to policies of repression and security agencies practices, the Syrian regime, although it is similar to other Arab regimes in terms of the social factor and absence of democracy, Syria was a part of the Imperialist-Zionist project.

This interdependence between the two factors soon led to the isolation of popular movements, which had rightful reformist demands right and to the preponderance of "armed groups" - including terrorist groups - with foreign support. This did facilitate the Imperialist and reactionary regional intervention in all its forms, especially that the Imperialist powers, led by the USA States, had learned a lesson from the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt, lessons. These powers were set, even before the start of Syria's popular movements, to support the anti-revolution forces in order to deviate the popular movements from their goals and transform them, gradually, into an armed conflict, which will lead to a religious and sectarian division, and accordingly fragment Syria.

Imperialism and its allies have succeeded in ushering Syria in a long fragmentizing sectarian destructive civil war. One of its objectives is to bleed the Syrian army as a prelude to dismantle it (as happened the Iraqi army), and put an end equation of "military balance" with the Israeli entity. It also succeeded in moving a fresh step in the scheme "creative chaos", leading to fragmentation by hatching religious political terrorist organizations, reminding us of the formation of "al-Qaeda" in the 1980s

in Afghanistan. However these organizations announced their “statehood” on some of Syrian territories and their influence began to extend to neighboring countries, including Lebanon, Iraq, and Jordan, even in states that have contributed in their creation and funding.

Therefore, Syria’s exit from its crisis cannot be achieved through international projects, like the Geneva Conference, or with inadequate partial reforms, which do not meet aspirations of the Syrian people, in freedom and development, rather through a comprehensive national confrontation with the Imperialist - Zionist - Reactionary project in Syria, and with the tools of this project. This confrontation requires Syrian leftist forces to create a confrontation front, uniting all national democratic political forces, on the basis of a political struggle program aiming at instituting a national democratic rule, which would propel people's energies in order to challenge the fragmentation project, and strike against forces of terrorist serving it, as well as to liberate Syrian occupied territories and initiate political - economic – social change, which is bound to fortify Syria and return her to its position in the Arab - Israeli conflict, and its central cause, the Palestinian Cause.

## **7- Meeting of the Arab Left and the Task of Forming a New Arab Liberation Movement**

The Lebanese Communist Party relied in its call for an Arab leftist meeting on its analysis of the Arab state of affairs, given governing regimes, which had either surrendered to imperialism or “resisting” it, but had breached public freedoms and democracy and imposed economic - social policies, which had deepened dependency on the global capitalist system, and are oblivious to the possibility of having an independent and democratic political system and a productive national economy. In this

analysis, the LCP believes that what had been experienced by Arab peoples: oppression, exploitation, divisions, and imperialist imposed wars, especially in light of successive defeats suffered by the national liberation movement, carry the seeds of a comprehensive revolution, without predicting when or where it will occur. The party also believes that the revolutionary alternative is not yet ready to bear the responsibility of leading this stage, due to weakness of leftist and change forces – either at general Arab level or in each Arab country separately - in framing national and demands struggles waged, still, by social forces and transform it into a comprehensive program of change.

Therefore, the LCP aimed from its call for the establishment of an Arab leftist meeting, to gather Arab leftist and communist parties around a struggling program, even in the minimum, to confront Arab ruling regimes, as well as other alternatives being promoted internationally and regionally, which will ultimately bring no change in the status quo, rather re-produce it under various names, such as “moderation” or “Islam is the Solution”. On the other hand, the call emphasizes the need to struggle to mobilize an Arab national liberation movement on new basis, combining national liberation and social emancipation under national, democratic, and revolutionary leadership.

With the first spark of Arab revolutions and uprisings, the LCP stated clearly its support to the Arab masses in their just demands for freedom, democracy, dignity and social equality, while asserting that the threat to Arab revolutions and uprisings is a double one: the danger of imperialist powers led by the USA States, which supports the counter-revolution forces of the revolution to preserve their colonial interests and ensure the security of the Zionist enemy; the other is the threat posed by anti-revolution forces, especially the Muslim Brotherhood Party and other

forces that joined those revolutions and popular uprisings to serve their interests and ambitious authoritarian factionalism; hence, the LCP stressed during Arabic leftist meetings that the historic task before the leftist parties and forces lies in the struggle to radicalize Arab revolutions against counter-revolutionary forces and imperialism, in order to prevent their deflection from their goals. The LCP believes that achieving the task lies in the unity of the Arab Left in each country and in Arab countries, on the basis of a unified struggle program

Radicalizing Arab revolutions and the unity of Arab leftist forces around a change national program emits also from the belief that a democratic revolution might be exposed to setbacks, and that revolution with its Marxist - Leninist conception is not an adventure and is not realized through dreams, though to dream is a need, rather through the availability of historical material conditions and balance of powers. This goal's achievements cannot be safeguarded in one country; rather some of its conditions are the Arab Left resurrection of a comprehensive Arab liberation movement with a socialist horizon.

## **8- National Democratic Struggle and the Foundations of Change**

Based on consistence of liberation, progress, and development issues, as well as political and economic confrontation with aggressive imperialist and Zionist projects, the LCP believes that the present stage in the Arab World is a national and a democratic struggle aiming at toppling reactionary regimes and dependency, and to establish a national and a democratic national rule, which will resist occupation and other imperialist domination projects. This phase which had been expressed by Arab masses through slogans raised during uprisings and revolutions: freedom, democracy, human dignity and social progress. These slogans

were raised, along with the working class, by different social groups; small bourgeoisie and middle class, including young people of social groups, showing tangibly the extent of damage caused by the rule of the financial oligarchy.

This reality prompts us to radicalize revolutionary action of Arab masses and re-raise the slogan of unity among Arab peoples. It is also the task of Arab Leftist forces to confront counter revolution forces, which works relentlessly, under the cover of religion, to establish religious and sectarian division, which ultimately serve the interests of imperialist – Zionist by impeding the formation of a new Arab national liberation movement, which combines its liberation struggle program and the struggle for radical political change. Hence, the struggle, at this stage, shall mean laying the groundwork for a political, economic, and social minimum-program that meets the aspirations of all those affected by the ruling financial oligarchy; either workers, farmers or small producers. It has to be a program, which widely commit national and social liberation, based on the following:

- topple the ruling of financial oligarchy, old and new, along with authoritarian regimes, while establishing democratic national regimes, enfranchise public and democratic freedoms, and develop democratic constitutions, based on the separation of religion from the state, and which shall preserve cultural and ethnic diversity.

- struggle to launch a comprehensive Arab resistance to be unite around centralism of the Palestinian Cause, which goals will include putting an end to the Israeli occupation, and liquidate the imperialist military presence in the Arab region. It shall be a movement challenging Arab reactionary positions since signing the Camp David agreement [between

Egypt and Israel]. It shall adopt all forms of resistance; armed, political and cultural, until the liberation of prisoners and detainees as well as the entire Palestinian and Arab territories and re-gaining Palestinians rights. It shall include all Arab fronts and would establish a national and democratic Palestinian and Arab project to challenge the US-led so-called “peace talks” with the Zionist entity.

- Devise a development program, designed to secure economic - social integration among Arab countries, and promote a public sector and evolve its basic services, as well as strengthen, develop the industrial sector, develop and broaden it, and conduct a comprehensive and a genuine agrarian reform.

- Secure fundamental rights of workers, laborers and mass classes (right to work, dynamic wages scale, social and health security, housing, and education).

- Emphasize the role of youth in the process of production and the democratic process of change, their right to participate in decision-making, and to abolish all forms of discrimination against women, and focus on formulation of civil personal status laws.

The crisis of Arab regimes has reached a point where it has become urgent to bring in a democratic revolutionary change, concurring with a serious change of the official Arab system (the Arab League ), to meet the aspiration of Arab masses ; it is an aspiration which was evident in the dissemination of slogans during revolutions and democratic uprisings in Arab countries, in general; it is even more urgent after the pursuit of anti-revolutionary forces to circumvent those revolutions and uprisings. LCP relies in determining the historical task at this stage; i. e. propping a national democratic rule, by determining the main contradiction between

labor class and its allies on one hand, and the reactionary class forces associated with imperialism, on the other hand, as well as the priority of struggle against the Zionist and other terrorist projects, by dismantling dependency on imperialism. This will have to be achieved in a struggle process, in which national liberation and social emancipation are combined. Such a theme requires creating a wider coalition class-national among all social groups affected by the ruling of the financial oligarchy and its political system, and confronting endeavors of reactionaries for the reproduction of the financial oligarchy the rule in different forms and names. Combining national liberation and social emancipation, also requires an end to dependency and class capitalist exploitation. Hence, the masses will be combined in an independent political force challenging the rule of this financial oligarchy. This historical horizon will be ready to stage the long-range primary task of socialist revolution.

## **The Lebanese Situation**

### **Politically, Economically and Socially**

Today, Lebanon is passing through one of its most delicate development phases, as well as most crucial one to its independence, even its own existence, since its inception after World War I, as a result secret Sykes - Picot Treaty.

Twenty-five years after the conclusion of the *Taif Agreement* and implementation of some of its clauses, one might say that Lebanon has retracted back to the pre-*Taif Agreement*. In other words, Lebanon is passing, today, through a deep political crisis, which is the ultimate and

logical outcome of this *Agreement*; an Agreement that did not put Lebanon on the path of democratic political development, which should have pulled it from its weltering crises. Although the *Agreement* had put an end to the Lebanese Civil War, however, the reforms it included were confined to redrawing sectarian balances domestically in line with the new foreign equation, which Lebanon was subjected to after the *Taif*.

### **1- Collapse of Taif Agreement and the Crisis of the Political System**

If the Taif agreement has revised the sectarian dominance relationships by snatching apart of the powers of the President (the Maronite community) and vested it with the prime minister (the Sunni community), and rested decisions-making in the Council of Ministers in its entirety as an executive body exercising actual power in the country, the agreement's formula, which had merely preponderated its sectarian aspect (though it was temporary) on the one hand, and the changes which affected the Lebanese bourgeoisie structure through the rise of "*Harirism*" and some other commercial and real estate bourgeoisie, on the other hand, make the revision of the aforementioned dominance a major issue on the agenda of the Lebanese bourgeoisie various groups. This is the ground of troika rule today, though the *Taif Agreement* approved a duality rule. This troika merely embodies the distribution of the un-distributable under the sectarian system, because this redistribution process, which is linked to changes affecting the bourgeoisie structure, it will continue unabated, until a conviction is born to abandon its sectarianism or terminate it.

Here is where interests of the dominant class of the Lebanese bourgeoisie, i. e, the financial oligarchy, intersect with the interests of its partners in the power; warlords and militias chiefs, where everyone is involved in a

complex process of joint ventures, exchange of roles, benefits and reproduction of the system. Meanwhile, as the suffocating economic situation is a nutrition for sectarian leaders, because the citizens need their services, striking down the role of the State nurture capital as it imposes its pre-conditions and options on decisions made by the State. And if the class divisions pose the need to change the prevailing system and its dominant class, the sectarian divisions constitute a tool shattering the state and the national formula, propounds re-consideration of the sectarian settlement, as a sphere to restore the balance between various forces and sectarian leaders. Hence, sectarianism derives its strength from *Taif Agreement*, for being a quota formula for exchanging political and economic benefits and rents among parties of a single mafia-like authority.

This formula was grossly manifested under Syrian administration of the country, which was, at a time, the maestro and patron of domestic, regional and international balances, by supervising distribution of the spoils and quotas in the authority and administration, as well as in politics and economy. During the Syrian administration positions and roles were established, including exclusion, marginalization or inveiglement, in various cliental relationship, which has stark examples in troikas, dualities and extensions, as well election laws and distribution of funds; resulting in an unrestrained disruption of the state and its institutions.

The formula that emerged from the *Taif Agreement* does not have a coherence without an external balance, given the weakness of the domestic components of this agreement, besides its contradicting clauses regarding the solution of the sectarian issue; recognizing the need to eliminate it as well as establishing it practically, and being limited in addressing the crucial sectarian domination manifested in the distribution

of powers. Hence, after the alteration of regional and international equations and Syria was forced to withdraw from Lebanon, and abandon its control and patronage, the domestic arena was exposed again, and things were unprecedentedly out of control, prompted by foreign ties and domestic balances. Hence, crises were literally re-born in all areas, as if practices of the past had never changed, and only its tools, forms and formulas had only changed.

## **2- Deepening of Divisions and & Sectarian Mobilization**

Domestic divisions had reached its maximal, especially after the Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon. It had turned into a stormy one, though it had been a merely traditional one, pushing the country to the brink of a fresh civil war. This sectarian division has partially reflected a part of accumulated transformation in balancing various domestic political forces. It had also reflected a growing manipulation of the sectarian factor regionally by the USA, especially after its occupation of Iraq. Consequently, polarization in Lebanon, since mid-2014, became more or the less a sectarian conflict between two major blocs, with other forces rallying around them. This conflict was starkly demonstrated in the popular-sectarian show of March 8 and March 14, which set up the stage for the ongoing confrontation, ushering the country is into a vehement conflict over issues, courses, and projects, which are far from actual Lebanese aspirations and dynamic needs.

It is obvious that these sectarian political forces had supplemented what they had lacked during the civil war; association, deepening of political, social and sectarian division, achieves their authority bodies, including elements of mini-states within the state, such as state facilities as well as

other social and service facilities (schools, universities, health, media, social security, and security and judicial organs). It is also obvious political-social geography in Lebanon had turned into semi cantons, whereas each has its own economy, security, policy, visions and cultures.

Given such a balance and polarization, the country had been ushered in such a political-sectarian situation that Taif Agreement fails to comprehend and contain these fresh contradictions and conflicts, domestically and nationally. If we add to that governance mechanism derived of its new interpretations, which were established in practice after the Doha Agreement, through notions of “consensual democracy”, “involvement” and “blocking minority”, etc. ..., we find ourselves, in light of almost equal existing alliances and balances, confronting a mechanism which produces only stalemate in the political process and institutions, hence forcing us to live in a state of constant crisis and tension, resulting in far more on sectarian and religious seclusion, mobilization and instigation.

The failure of managing the country's affairs has become so inherent within the two bourgeoisie polarizations and the balance between them (without ignoring secondary contradictions among their components), in addition to illegality of constitutional bodies, either through extensions or crippling, and the absence of state authority over most of the Lebanese territory, as well as the lack of services it provides to the citizens .The maximal of failure caused by both the parties is starkly demonstrated in the domestic division reaction with foreign impacts flowing in from the region or from international reality, in the context of an equation, which is no longer simple. This equation had become rather very complex and intertwined, to an extend that loyalty to foreign factors and joining foreign projects has become an aspect of the domestic conflict, which

encompasses all areas; political, security, economic, financial, social, cultural, religious, etc.

### **3- Toppling the Sectarian Political System and Building a Secular Democratic State: A National Task**

What we are witnessing in Lebanon nowadays is absolutely a crisis of political and class domination. The dominant class, with its two polar, had managed to break up the working forces by raising affiliations and relationships of pre-capitalism over class one. If pre-Taif domination, for historical reasons, was the lot of the *Maronite* bourgeoisie, the Taif Agreement has grabbed the main part of this domination and allocated it *Sunni* bourgeoisie, due to changes in the balance of power within the bourgeoisie itself (which was expressed by Harirism barging in the Lebanese class structure); there is some other bourgeoisie groups had risen and are demanding their share, making some believing that the solution of the crisis lies in a troika system. Although the ruling coalition might conclude a temporary compromise to pull the country out of its crisis, however it will explode, sooner or later, with the emergence of new changes in the structure of the Lebanese bourgeoisie.

Hence, permanence of the sectarian political system, with its features and the nature of the authoritarian coalition controlled it, is basically a continuation of the environment, generating conflicts, civil wars and the collapse of state institutions. It is a continuation of the structural crisis, which has become, due to its sufficing, a crisis that threatens the existence of the entity itself. The political sectarian system is unable, today, to retain the legitimacy, even formal one, of the constitutional institutions of the state, while the inability of the state to perform its basic functions in all areas is worsening; defense, foreign policy, security,

safeguarding national unity, public services, economic management, social security and establishing the rule of law, the fight against corruption, bankruptcy of the state in managing differences of political parties secreted by the system formal mechanisms, as sects leaders themselves have become restricted by specific roles within the system logic and in accordance with the terms of their foreign affiliations.

Stopping this crisis-some and destructive march, has become an urgent national task before progressive political forces, to push the state on a different salvation course, for building a secular democratic state on the basis of citizenship, social progress and human dignity, after the collapse of the illusion of the “Sectarian State”, and the loss of the existing system its of legitimacy and ability.

This is the reason, which prompted the LCP involvement in the 2011 broad popular movement, under the slogan of “Toppling the Political Sectarian Regime”. It is also the reason that Party's worked, later, on broadening the slogan to include other economic and social aspects. This is what the Party pursues through the “National Initiative for Civil Peace and Democratic Change”, and through its call for convening a national constituent conference, to determine mechanisms of change and forces interested in its creation.

#### **4- Resisting Permanent Israeli Threat**

After almost a decade and a half since the Israeli humiliating exit from Lebanon under the blows of the Lebanese national and Islamic resistance, and despite the resounding defeat of Israel in its aggression in July 2006, Israel still occupies a part of the Lebanese territory, Shebaa Farms, hills of Kfar Shuba and the village of Ghajar, and still keeps remains of resistance martyrs. It also still commits transgression on Lebanon, and

violates its air, land and marine sovereignty. Its military preparations and maneuvers simulate a new aggression on Lebanon, in a manner reflecting its ambitions and greed in our land, water and wealth.

The position of the usurper Zionist entity and its aggression on Lebanon cannot be merely a subject of a dispute or disagreement, or an expression of a viewpoint. The Israeli threat does not target a part of Lebanon, rather all parts of the country; hence, responding to it is a national duty. It is the duty of all Lebanese political forces to develop a comprehensive plan to confront this Israeli threat. Such a plan should be based on the integration of Lebanon's capacities; political, military, economic and popular, within the framework of a national rule, which gives precedence to the interests of Lebanon and its people over any pressure, relationships or obligations.

Such a plan is bound to unite the Lebanese efforts and energies, by adopting a national resistance, which will utilize a wider participation of other political and popular forces in such a confrontation. However, the call for withdrawing the resistance arms outside the context of this plan, is a call to make Lebanon to discard its power embodied in the Resistance and its weapon, which had the honor of liberating Lebanese land from Israeli occupation and repulsing its repeated aggressions; given the sectarian division over domestic issues extending to the national cause, and foreign backed polarizations which does not serve the Lebanese national interest -though some these polarizations is a part of the anti-Lebanon project.

Nonetheless, this does not exempt us from addressing core issues that face the resistance and its weapons today, to benefit this plan, improve tactics of confrontation and a way to unite the Lebanese people around it. The first problem relates to the dual position of the Islamic Resistance, its

ideological character and its national role. The second relates to separation it practices between liberating the land and the liberation of man from injustice and oppression in the dependent class system. These problems had been deepened by the plunge of the Islamic resistance in the composition of sectarian system, as well as becoming a power partner, making it a factional party, whereas it became difficult to distinguish between its domestic and resistance projects. This made it easier for their opponents to mobilize against it, and forced it, in the meantime, to participate side by-side with those who betray it and strive to tow Lebanon with the USA-Zionist project in the region.

Experience of all nations that confronted an occupation or aggression on its territory, prove that the a resistance succeeds when it is attached to the people and worked to unify its ranks, in the framework of a national liberation front, and had adopted all forms of struggle; political, military, popular... etc. The experience of the 1982 Lebanese National Resistance Front, in which the communists were in the forefront and a basic force in it, is a rich experience in this area. It was able to have in its ranks various political, intellectual and ideological forces, as well as many popular and individual powers. All those forces had agreed on the goal of liberation, and contributed, each according to its means, without any factional or private manifestations. This was the main cause that it became, in a very short time, a popular broad resistance, which was able to defeat the occupation.

Our party had realized, since the launch of the Lebanese National Resistance Front, that this correlation between liberation and the domestic, which became a slogan of the Resistance Front. This slogan remains, even today, a differentiation factor between two projects of the

Resistance; one combines liberation of land and change the system, while the other separates them.

## **5- Threat of Terrorism and Means to Confront It**

Terrorism has become a phenomenon, posing a serious threat to many countries in the region, including Lebanon. It is not limited to security and stability, but it also effects the fabric of society, and the unity of the country; hence, its very national existence.

Lebanon has witnessed, during its modern history, many kinds of terrorism, domestic and foreign, under names, forms and colors; civil war massacres, sectarian killings, the 1982 Sabra and Shatila massacres committed by the Zionists and their agents, the 1985 Tripoli massacres, and its various new forms.

Lebanon is facing, once again, emigre terrorism from abroad, with all scenes of slaughter, killing and destruction, to impose its authority and build its state, with recruits from all over the world. This threat embodies an aggression on Lebanon. It affects the country; its sovereignty, territory and unity. It's a tool for sedition and infighting, taking advantage of divisions generated by the sectarian political system and other economic and social policies based on discrimination among Lebanese regions, as well as the outcome of these policies, which generate poverty, deprivation and unemployment, especially among the youth.

This terrorism is not different, in its direct threat, from the danger posed by the Zionist entity. In its pursuit to realize its objectives, it identifies itself with the American-Israeli project in the region, the new Middle East project. Whether it's an independent project, or directed by USA and its allies, it is a precious treasure compensates the USA inability to have

direct control over the region and its resources. It also covers Israel's failure to dispose its function and role after its successive defeats and blows suffered by it.

In light of the bourgeoisie ruling class's inability to formulate a national position, which fortifies Lebanon against these threats, there is an urgent need to develop a comprehensive unifying national plan to protect Lebanon and safeguard its borders, security, stability, and internal unity. Such a plan shall involve all political, military, popular, cultural and social aspects. It shall outline the task to confront decisively the threats of this phenomenon, both in its foreign forms and domestic extensions. This would not be possible under any factional, sectarian or denominational banner, no matter its magnitude. This is also impossible under a sectarian political system.

The Lebanese communists, who stood, and still are, against all forms of internal sectarian divisions and conflicts, find themselves today confronting the current threat of terrorism in defense of their families, land and national dignity. This is the political content of their call to carry arms to defend border areas in Northern Bekaa, first, and all of Lebanon. It is in this national spirit, that they stress linking the national cause with social issues. They also believe that combination of resistance and national struggle, on the one hand, and general democratic struggle, on the other, meet the conditions for the establishment of a national democratic rule, which means in the first place putting an end to the domination of the financial oligarchy over the State and society.

## **6- Crisis of Lebanese Capitalism**

The financial oligarchy had aspired, at the end of the Lebanese civil war, for a basic financial and services role for Lebanon in the globalization

process. It hastened to develop such a role in the so-called 2000 Plan. It embodied that in submitting to dictates of global capitalism hubs, by altering taxes policy and raising interest rates on financial deposits and discarded tariff protection policy, and freed exchanges with the outside world ... etc.; it also engaged, since mid-1990s, with negotiations with WTO and the European - Mediterranean partnership agreements. It submitted to the conditions set by the World parties before adapting operating institutions in the country, or provide them with pre-requisites of balance in interests resulting from those negotiations. Such an aspiration had resulted in a free alienation of the minimum economic independence and equality of opportunity in the exchange process. It also subjected Lebanon to conditions defined by the external party, through its monopoly companies controlling the import prices and the process of transition of technology... etc. It should mentioned here that there had been no fundamental differences in dealing of “March 8” and “March 14” factions with directions of establishing cash fixation policy and to maintain the incentives of a “rentier economy”. Both were also ignored facing the problem of public debt and the policy of high interest. They also failed to address the retrospective nature of neither the tax policy, nor the growing imbalance in the general insurance systems, or the process of dismantling system designed for the protection of domestic production and “liberalization of markets”, as part of the structural adjustment process recommended by the module “recipes”, included in the decisions of the Paris Convention in particular.

This approach had, virtually, resulted in a decline in the relative weight of industry and agriculture sectors in the GDP, which amounted to nearly half between 1974 and 2011 (from 31% to 15%). It also recorded a significant decline in the role of industrial zones, which were established

historically within cities or in their suburbs. These zones used to attract large numbers of Lebanese laborers, especially from rural areas. This decline trend also applies – even more – on the agricultural sector, which paid a high price due to a lack of government support and the persistence of growing investments of real estate speculators, without any tax controls on available agricultural land, and due to fragmentation of medium and small agricultural holdings. This had resulted in significant decline in agricultural employment opportunities and its incentives, as well as deterioration of farmers' conditions and deepening of food dependency in the country, and the spread of unemployment, extreme poverty and social exclusion in the rural community, in general, especially among the youth.

Furthermore, these policies had resulted, in practice, in increasing marginalization of areas in the interest of the capital, Beirut, whereas the economic attraction role of Greater Beirut area had been strengthened. It accounts now for 75% - 80% of GDP, while its residents do not combine more than one third of the Lebanese population. Most import operations, wholesale, commercial centers, banking, financial, insurance and major industrial enterprises operations, as well as major education institutions (especially higher education), health, tourism and other services activities are concentrated within Greater Beirut.

## **7- Financial Capital Control and Worsening of Local Economy Rentier Traits**

Since the financial capital has become, in the middle of the last century, a predominant universal trend in the imperialist countries, it is natural that this pattern is generalized and exported in various forms to “dependent countries”, including Lebanon, especially in the era following the

heightening of globalization phenomenon... taking into account the existence of special features in our countries, including the orientation of Lebanese commercial, banking and real estate components toward fusion in the domestic financial capital structure, and orientation of rents of these components towards a steady rise.

It should be noted that the “rent economy” in Lebanon feeds generally - though in different rates and forms - on many sources and factors, including:

- a- Financial swelling in the local economic structure advance towards exacerbations on the expense of real economy, due to the rise of fiscal deficit, starting from mid-1990s. The state needs to borrow in order to cover its growing fiscal deficit, especially its current spending, amid the absence of regular budgets and planned expenditure priorities; For their part, banks need to provide profitable uses of their accumulated money; Most significant of these uses: state lending through underwriting with Treasury and Euro Bonds. One of the negative consequences of this phenomenon is the decline in financing various productive sectors.
- b- Support the monopolistic trade policies, hence maintain relatively high levels of profits arising from commercial activities, which encourage banks and private capital to invest in this sector, against financing various productive sectors.
- c- Encourage real estate and financial speculation, which is an integral part of foundations of the prevailing economic model, which allowed production of rents and financial bubbles, and facilitated brokering and corruption syndrome, after the Taif Agreement; an agreement which was translated in part by an alliance between the financial oligarchy and lords of the Civil War.

- d- Regularity accumulation of rentier-like banks liquidity, through two main sources: first, the flow of “foreign” capital seeking high interest rates; second, the flow of Lebanese expatriates remittances. This dominant coalition has persisted in using all tools of fiscal and monetary policies for this purpose. It was also keen to burden the working class, the poor and middle classes, its social cost.
- e- Magnitude of financial flows - declared and hidden - that have been associated with donations and foreign aid. This applies directly granted aids and donations, which had been promised three Paris conferences by “donors”, particularly Paris Conference -3 (2007), and on aid, soft loans and deposits received by Lebanon, which had been decided by Arab summits, and grants from Gulf states, as well as political money following from Iran, and to a lesser extent from the US administration and the European Union, especially France.
- f- Increasing trend towards resorting to expanding “simple distributive policies” by the ruling forces, within partnership coinsurance and superstructures “understandings” to provide income to specific parasitic groups, as a tool to reproduce mechanisms of control and polarization that regulate the relationship between these forces with the chiefs of their sects and followers. Such “policies” also include extending the distribution of contracts by mutual consent, regarding the overall level of spending, and increased reliance on job contract which intensified in recent years, especially in the military and formal education sector.

## **8- Current Transitions in Class Structure**

- a- *Reinforcement of the Position of Banking Capital in the Financial Oligarchy Structure*: Big capital is distributed between the monopolistic banking bloc and the cartel of leading importers (particularly importers of

medicine, automotive and energy products), as well as major real estate groups, giant distribution networks (commercial centers, “malls”), the sector of commercial representation and global trade agencies, insurance companies, advertising and franchise, as well as holding companies groups, which is owned by far few major families, which historically inherited wealth and money.

The control of big capital control concurred with emaciation of various brokerage roles, which was played by the Lebanese economy in the Arab framework. In return, the increase in of consumer import bill (about half of GDP), resulted in promoting the already advanced position enjoyed by the trade capital in general. However, the brightest phenomenon is one that has recently been embodied in the promotion of real estate capital position within the nucleus of the financial oligarchy, benefitting from its attracting more than two-thirds of total public and private investment. Despite the significance of these emerging trends in the financial oligarchy structure, the banking and financial component exercise of an increasingly important role - in financing import movement, lending the state, and financing the real estate sector - has made this component occupies more than before, a leading position among the components of the dominant oligarchy.

This increasing dominance has strengthened objection climate among some industrial bourgeoisie segments, against the monopoly of top bankers with a share, which is growing steadily from capital gains, especially since capital belonging to the banks has doubled in three decades, more than a hundred times, in return for a rise in GDP less than ten times only. This objection feeling expresses emaciation of real economy base and pillars of internal productivity of the Lebanese economic – social composition.

*b- Decline in Relative Independence Among Dominant Political Forces and Dominant Economic Forces*

In the pre-civil war era, dominant political leaders (political feudalism) in Lebanon were content in merely embracing - from a certain distance - economic players, with an implicit division of labor, which provisioned that those political leaders will be responsible for running political matters, state affairs and employees in the public sector, while economic players exercise their traditional economic functions as usual. However, after the outbreak of the civil war, many changes did come into force and governed the relationship between dominant political forces and economically dominant forces, due the basic following key factors:

First, politically; the role and relative weight of “political Maronite” had declined in the composition of the sectarian system. In return, there had been a significant advance – though various - in the political positions of “Islamic” parties generally, with a noticeable change in the map of “key players” on both Christian and Muslim sides.

Second, economically; there had been certain significant breaches in the sectarian structure of the financial oligarchy and a segment of upper bourgeoisie, whereas the Muslim presence had been strengthened, especially the Sunni - in a number of certain economic activities, (banks, insurance, real estate activity, telecommunications...). These penetrations coincided with the evolution of the “migration to oil” phenomenon and the resounding emergence of *Harirism* phenomenon. However, they have not eliminate the permanence “Christian” domination, generally within this segment of bourgeoisie, in spite of the decline of the “political Maronite” relationship with the state.

Thirdly , emergence of new phenomena indicating the occurrence of certain diversification in the structure of closed club of dominant political leaders, including: tendency of some of these leaders having the help of those economic players within their communities, in order to extract additional financial resources, besides the tendency of some economic players who achieved huge financial successes abroad to join the club of Lebanese political leaders, hoping to replace traditional political families.

*c- Other Class Formations: “Middle Class” & “Tattered Groups”*

The size of the “middle class” in Lebanon and the quality of its composition is affected by many intertwined factors. Some of these factors are mainly domestic, while others are external in nature. As far as the domestic factors are concerned, there are several key sources; the position occupied by the individual (or family) in the production process and his share of the “primary distribution” of income, the level of utilization of the individual or family, or specific parasitic groups, investments in the public sector, possession of material and intangible assets by the individual or family, either through family inheritance factor, or through investments producing financial returns for those involved in it. As for external factors, they are determined by the extent of benefit from remittances sent from Lebanese working abroad to their families, or their access to foreign political money flowing to Lebanon ... all those factors and reasons had allowed the permanence of reproduction of the Lebanese sectarian political system over a century, in spite of all domestic and external shocks suffered by it and shrinking in size of this “class”.

Meanwhile, tattered social groups, which has grown in size and influence after the *Taif Agreement*, are generally similar to groups that live on

circumstantial and unstable activities and incomes, and benefit from accidental or temporary booms, speculation and brokering, corruption, political rents and employment in the public sector, as well as on crumbs of secondary distribution of income and political money. However, it is unable to have a stable and sustainable income to qualify it to rise to the ranks of “middle class”. This tattered class, which is often prepared to play a reactionary role politically, composes 10% - 15% of the total labor force in Lebanon (with the exception of Syrians and the Palestinians). And if the absence of accurate statistics is a sign of failure of the regime desire in address this phenomenon, it also reflects the system need to it as “masses” of the alliance of money with sectarian political feudalism.

The relative weight of the “middle class” in the Lebanese context, which is in a permanent mobility, up and down, between its components and various segments, and the spread of “spots” of tattered social groups within the urban centers and on their edges, affect undoubtedly the social structure of the country, particularly if that coincided with a predominance of business and service activities of paid work.

## **9- New Aspects in the Evolution of Features of the Social Problem**

### *a- Liberal economic model and Paralysis of the State Function*

The existing alliance between a liberal economy controlled by financial capital on one hand, and leaders dominating the sectarian political system, on the other, can only generate of social crises and to re-produce them in a sustainable manner, even if their forms differ. Such an alliance, which formulates all public policies, has sunk the country in many realities; most significant are: absence of development policies that will reduce poverty, uninhibited inability to create meaningful job opportunities that meet the needs of youth, lack of almost absolute

institutional controls on public spending, scandalous variability in tax on wages and sources of income, rents and profits, and distribution of tax burden among different social groups, latent collusion with cartels to raise interest and consumption rates, reluctance in annual correction of wage due to rise of living cost, defect and shortcomings in social and public services networks.

The liberal economic system has abandoned a lot of responsibilities that are related to social issues and citizenship rights, by following rents-based economic policies and harm the national economy. These policies had resulted in the success of the financial oligarchy in re-directing investment away from providing basic services to citizens by transforming Lebanese from citizens to subjects of the sects' leaders. A stark evidence of the paralysis of the state social function could be seen in successive nominal increases in what the ruling coalition dub as "social spending" (of the state). Such a spending failed to reduce the size of structural defect in basic fields; health, education, public transport, housing and other popular services. The policy of harming formal education, general and professional and university is still there, in spite of all of spending on this sector, amid growing hectic and unequal competition by the private sector. This conclusion almost applies on the state intervention in the health sector, whereas public and semi-public health insurance systems have mushroomed (with more than half of the population uncovered directly), control of monopoly on drugs had been established, and the cost of health service have settled at relatively high levels, despite the presence of excess health offer. In the meantime, the state has found it easier to award hospitalization coverage to private hospitals, through the Ministry of Health, while there are chronicle difficulties in running many government hospitals, especially major ones.

*b- “Inferiority Perception” of Wages and Workers Issue*

The issue of the wages system and its relationship to the cost of living falls in the heart of social dilemma in Lebanon, since the actual value of the average remuneration did not catch up, over the past two decades, with the rise of prices and accumulated inflation. The gap has been relatively narrowed between levels of wages and lower and upper poverty lines. Moreover, social benefits granted to workers could not compensate for the relative loss suffered by the purchasing strength of wages, though more than one-third of workers do not benefit from public insurance systems. Therefore, the relative weight of total wages in GDP had declined, year after year. It is worth to recall that loss of purchasing power suffered by workers in Lebanon - for the interest of profits, interest and rents - during the last 18-year (1996-2013), is estimated to be worth more than USD 10 billion. If the nominal value of wages in the public sector alone, have risen at a rate twice since early nineties, in return, capitals of banks had doubled in the same period more than 100 times, while their profits had increased 6.4 times, the GDP 3.64 times, the state revenues 8.3 times, while land prices doubled more than ten times.

Often, the financial oligarchy claims that inflation in Lebanon is an imported inflation from countries of origin, and thus the local markets bear no responsibility for that. But what refutes this claim, is that cumulative rise in consumer prices in Lebanon over the past two decades, is almost equivalent to three times than that in industrialized countries, from which Lebanon get most of its imports. This confirms that the financial oligarchy and monopolistic groups controlling the markets assume direct responsibility for the decline in wages share in GDP.

*c- Exacerbation of Unemployment is Most Prominent Manifestations of the Social Crisis*

Unemployment crisis in Lebanon has been worsening since the mid-1990s; It is concentrated in following basic groups basic: young people, whereas unemployment rate is more than twice the national average; females whose standard enrollment rates in all education levels do not match the proportion working women; holders of higher education certificates who are facing great difficulties in finding a job, due to the poor quality of education in general, and qualification for domestic demand in particular. Meanwhile, there are two types of imbalances in the labor market, one of them macro and the other is structural.

At the macro level, the huge gap exists between labor supply, which is subject mainly to infrastructure demographics of the country - where 40.000-50.000 new comers flood the labor market annually, including about 28.000 fresh university graduates - and the labor demand by existing and new private enterprises, and a limited number of public institutions. Available estimates indicate that the total domestic annual demand for labor absorbs only 30-40% of the total number of new comers into the labor market annually, while the rest either migrate if they had the chance, or join - for a long or short period - the army of unemployed.

Meanwhile, at the structural level, the imbalance is between the domestic structure of job offers, governed mainly by specialties and outputs of higher and vocational education, and work demand, especially the demand of newcomers of economic institutions active in the private sector, though predominance of this structural imbalance is mainly attributed to lack of building a modern and productive economy.

*d- Poverty Phenomenon is Part of the Social Question*

Proliferation of hotbeds of poverty in Lebanon is certainly a stark manifestation of the social crisis, especially in some urban areas (such as Tripoli, whereas 20% of its population suffer from extreme poverty, in addition to some areas of Beirut's suburbs) and in vast rural areas, particularly in the North and the Bekaa Valley. Poverty is concentrated in large-size families, with high rates of unemployment, illiteracy, health disabilities, and scarcity of work in regular economic activities. It is also concentrated in households where women exercise the role of head of the family. Extreme poverty - or worst forms of poverty - affects about 10% of the total population of Lebanon, while this figure encompasses one-third of the population when it comes to the poor in general (not only the worst forms of poverty).

Poverty should be dealt with not as independent determinant of the economic and social structure - as envisaged by literature of various government and international organizations - but rather as an integral part of outcomes of the capital structure governed by mechanisms of class exploitation and dependency. Poor families in Lebanon belong, in large parts, to groups of small farmers and lower workers in both the private public sectors. In an attempt to skip this objective reality, the rulers try to market the task of combating poverty, as an artificial alternative to the task of devising a comprehensive strategy for social development.

## **10- Changes in the Structure of the Working-class**

Changes in the structure of the working-class are not an emergency, rather the result of the evolution of the capitalist system and its mechanisms, which adopt in each stage new forms, preserving the terms of exploiting those who only their labor power, and increase the size of the other groups affected by it; including owners of small enterprises

which has occupies a marginal position in the monopoly market. With deepening of the conditions of exploitation and harm suffered by large segments due to the laws of capitalist development, one of the tasks of the LCP is to attract these groups, as well as working class, in the struggle against exploitation and its laws.

*a- Most Significant Changes*

The percentage of salaried workers decreased in Lebanon in the past four decades. It fell from about 65% in the mid-1990s to about 50% at present. This decline was the result of several factors, including: increase in migration of Lebanese workers during and after the Civil War, deterioration of conditions of salaried labor (especially in the private sector), relative decline in number of large institutions, enormous boom in number of microenterprises, as well as the steady and standard rise in the percentage of the self-employed (independent workers), whose percentage had nearly doubled to about 28%, most are almost similar - in terms of working conditions, significantly selling working power – with other working-class conditions, though they are not an integral part of the working class.

There are some other significant, which objective results have not drawn much attention. These include:

- Majority of workers in the private sector is concentrated in the Greater Beirut area, due to the presence of a large section of major and medium-sized private enterprises in Beirut and other main cities of Mount Lebanon.

- More than half of the total number of salaried workers of the private sector works in about 170.000 private enterprises. Each of these

enterprises employs no more than five persons in the average, though the total number of active enterprises in Lebanon is almost 200.000.

- High unemployment rate among young people (more than 25%) and women.

- Clear dominance of males over females among workers (4 against 1), while women percentage of total workers in the public sector is far more than that in the private sector. Women in the private sector work in a wide fan of relatively inferior administrative jobs.

- More than 80% of workers work in the private sector compared to 20% in the public sector, though this sector's role in job creation had declined. It creates only about 5000-6000 job opportunity annually. Most of these join the ranks of various security forces or are contracted teachers.

- A quarter to one third of Lebanese workers work in private irregular activities (they are not declared to Social Security or Finance and Labor Ministries), leading to the possibility of depriving them of social security.

Moreover, one had to consider non-Lebanese workers, with no accurate available information about their numbers (especially if Syrian workers are added to them) and unemployed Lebanese, who total about 75.000-100.000, who lack any formal framing of family support or professional habilitation.

Traits and conditions of work for each of these basic components vary to a large degree. Average wages is relatively higher among staff and employees group in the public sector, than the other two groups. The gap is likely to widen after the adoption of a new series of ranks and salaries. However, the fan of average wage dispersion is much broader in the formal private sector, than staff and employees of the public sector,

which means that a minority of workers and private sector employees account for the major share of total value of wages in this sector. However, as far as workers of the informal private sector are concerned, their wages are relatively very low, and it could not be compared with the other two wage groups. Meanwhile, complementary working conditions - such as health benefits, pensions, and end of service compensation, as well as allowances for transport - the disparities are obviously relatively high. Generally, the status of state employees – regarding these complementary conditions – are far better than that of employees of the private sector, while most of those conditions are non-existent in the case of workers and employees in the informal private sector.

*b- Harm Suffered by the Working Class due to “Export” of Lebanese Human Resources and “Import” of Cheap Labor*

Lebanese rentier model system had laid the ground for “expelling” environment of labor power generally, and in particular young people with high academic and vocational qualifications. The society had spent huge amounts of money for their education and vocational grooming to be the basic lever for economic and social development in the country. More than one million Lebanese had migrated since 1975, though the Lebanese bourgeoisie and pillars of the sectarian system insists on considering this emigration a “blessing”, given that their interests rely on the interacting and sequence of the following basic factors: export of Lebanese human capital is encouraged, hence transfers pour in from overseas Lebanese, and serve to broaden deposits base of local banks. As a result, these banks are more able to reproduce this model of the economy (through their typical control of lending channels to various sectors). Moreover, this presents a chance to the state - which suffers from a deficit governed by poor expenditure and revenue management –

to expand its borrowing from the banks in return of high interest rates, to be paid by the citizen. However, this “blessing” soon becomes a “curse”, if it is viewed from the public interest of the country, the economy and society. This semi-forced migration has generated negative implications and repercussions, politically and economically, as well as work conditions of the market for the following main reasons:

*First*, such a migration compromised a high economic cost, as the Lebanese immigrants have scientific and professional capacities relatively far better than those of the local workforce; Moreover, the amounts of money spent by the Lebanese on education of their migrant children - from kindergarten until their graduation from universities – are almost fictional figures. There is no evidence that annual remittances from those migrants to the country could be an accepted average payback for the huge investments, such as incurred by the Lebanese society on education.

*Second*, this migration also compromise a high political cost, as it emptied the country of an mass of citizens, who are considered in principle to be more aware of their legal rights, and are more adherent to express their opinions, and call for accountability. Consequently, this human bleeding may had objectively reduced the size and quality of organized pressure which could be exercised by these young immigrant resources and competencies - if they were allowed to settle down in their homeland – in confronting the dominant coalition by forcing it to introduce greater political reforms and promote public democracy.

*Third*, expatriate remittances from overseas workers (which make up about a fifth of GDP), is an important source of support for consumption and living standards of a significant portion of households, which are no

less than one-third of the households residing in Lebanon, resulting in their “taming” and exclude them in general from all arenas of struggle. This had helped the existing system to reproduce itself in a sustainable manner.

*Fourth*, the serious risk is that solidification of these migrations has encouraged many Lebanese to acquire non-Lebanese nationalities, which facilitated their settlement abroad.

Against this immigration, historically, the bourgeoisie proceeded to “import” cheap and far less competent non-Lebanese labor, helping big capital further increase the its exploitation of workers and laborers, both Lebanese and non-Lebanese. Foreign labor is subjected to poor work conditions, and most of it is concentrated in agriculture, construction and house service, as well as in informal activities spread in various Lebanese regions. Although, foreign labor was not involved, even the recent past, in sharp and direct competition with the Lebanese labor - with the exception of a narrow fan of activities –nevertheless it reflected on local labor conditions, by keeping the sword of service termination hanging over the heads of Lebanese workers.

## **11- Union Movement Between Authorities Marginalization and Struggle for Autonomy**

Although, the Lebanese union movement has been able to maintain a certain amount of unity and struggle during the civil war, by its adherence to a relative independence of parties to the sectarian political system, the dominant sectarian coalition has succeeded, in the past two decades, in dismantling and marginalizing it, by doubling the total number of licensed trade unions about three times, at the time paid work in proportion to total labor force at the national level was declining. It is

certain that most new unions licensed by the state, were tailored to fit the dominant sectarian and class forces, transforming labor union to a mere semi empty upper structure. This miserable reality of the trade union left its imprints in more than one field:

- Low enrollment rates to unions - especially by young workers, with continued male domination in these enrollments, despite the increase in proportion of female workers, in part, due to weakness of the productive sectors.

- Block of leading posts in trade unions in the face of young workers, and the subordination of the official leadership of the trade union movement to the system and its sectarian leaders, in part, because of widespread corruption practices and dominant culture of political rent in recruitment and promotion policies in the public sector, including teachers sector.

- Declared collusion between the two sides - as and behind them the core of the Lebanese bourgeoisie - over many matters concerning the working class, including wages correction, retirement, social security, and reform of social security fund.

- Lack of any real progress regarding adoption of a new labor law, which might address enormous gaps that have emerged since it was adopted in 1946

- Non-approval of a new union structure, which takes into account the reality of transformations and changes in both the economic and social infrastructures of the country.

The dominant sectarian coalition has also succeeded in striking the coordination body of the union movement, despite the significance of the experience it was through for three years in its struggle for the adoption

of a new ranks and salaries series in the public sector, after nearly 16 years of effective freeze on wages in this sector. This experience has collided with an unprecedented kind of collaboration between the dominant sectarian political leaders and dominant financial capital, resulting in the restoration of a section of its components. Although, it was unable to snatch a compromise over a certain extent of these demands due to the refusal of the ruling powers, the coordinating body has been able to record notable successes, including:

- Confronted and penetrated established sectarian alignments, and launched a broad demand popular movement, involving social and professional groups belonging to various Lebanese regions.

- Gathering large segments of workers and employees who belong to the public and private sectors, and the ability to formulate a unified program for their movement.

- Uncover fake and the fragile positions adopted by the majority of the dominant political forces (including forces affiliated with March 14 and March 8) regarding legitimate demands of teachers in the formal education and employees of the public sector. It also demonstrated that these forces are merely interested in pushing this matter in such a direction that serves the process of continued sharing of mutual upper interests and benefits among parties in authority;

- establish an orientation of a mass trade union movement, free from tail link to the alliance of power and money, and includes existing or under-establishment trade unions, democratic trade unions, labor committees, along with associations of teachers of formal and private education, as well as associations of employees in public departments and university professors, and free professions associations.

The campaign for ranks and salaries series, along with battles fought by the trade union movement in more than one sector, along with youth and women's movement, and the movement of tenants, was absolutely a struggle station to break the arrogance of the dominant class coalition, and to restore respect to the public sector, the civil service, rights of workers, employees and all those with limited income. The coordinating body has resisted all temptations offered to it: it rejected the idea of political manipulation of the series in the upper tugging among the ruling parties; it rejected pressure for intentionally sacrificing the interests of one of its components for the benefit of another; it insisted that series be financed through an additional tax deducted from capitalist and rentier profits, so that no rise results in in consumer prices or interest rates; hence, it thwarted attempts to finance the series at the expense of the poor and the middle class, and exposed the fundamental pillars of the exiting economic and social model: the state's failure to develop correct budgets and its disregard for persistent aggressions on the citizens' rights, the public interest and public property, its systematic drive in smashing the image and legitimacy of the public administration, and its insistence on abolishing formal employment and replacing it with a hybrid forms of job contracting.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the system's success in the election of the coordinating body, as well as government fight against the right to form trade unions and the distortion of women violence protection law, are an indicator of the effectiveness of practices of the authority in undermining the independent trade unions. This shows the futility of limiting the demands of the trade unions in the public and private sectors to demand programs without linking the same to projects preserving the independence of trade union, as well as the role played by

the public sector and developing its grants and halting sectarian political interference in recruitment.

Hereby, the need arises to have members of the Lebanese Communist Party at the forefront of the trade union and people's movement for the adoption of the fundamental matters which concern the working class and all workers, and all those affected by the sectarian quota system in general, starting with the following:

- Development of productive sectors, agriculture and industry, like the service sector, either by defining the state's role in their protection, or in the provision of financial and political support.

- Defend priority right to work and develop a plan to combat unemployment and create new job opportunity, especially among the younger age groups, and graduates among them in particular.

- Struggle for the implementation of a new policy in the arena of correcting wages, based on the adoption of mobile scale of wages

- Struggle for the approval of retirement and social and health protection plan, as well as the reform of the National Social Security Fund.

- Defend the right of residence against real estate companies, especially in Beirut and other major cities.

- Maintain, develop and strengthen basic services provided by the public sector, and respond to attempts to privatize them, and drop all the policies contained in the three Paris agreements.

- Emphasis on the right to education, by going back to the slogan "Democracy of Education", and by safeguarding formal education and the Lebanese University.

- habilitation of the concept of public service and the right of the citizen to avail it, without going through the “sectarian” mediator, as this right falls in the heart of building a state of social welfare.

-The significance of the LCP movement is further emphasized for the adoption of a new labor law, which shall address gaps plaguing this law since it originated in 1946, as well as approval of a new union structure, taking into account the reality of transformations and changes in the economic and social infrastructure of the country; in addition to modifying the employees law regarding enforcing the right union organization for workers in the public sector. The LCP, in particular, is invited to include the issue of development of the trade union movement among its priorities, and to fight for its resurrection and infuse its operating mechanisms and include young cadres among its leadership ranks, in its targeting all components of the working class.

The strategic option in this arena is to form a substitute democratic and independent trade union center.

## **12- Waste Crisis and the “Popular Movement”**

The waste crisis was not unexpected. It was natural consequence of the policies of successive governments, which ignored obligations to maintain public hygiene, health and safety of the environment in a sustainable manner. However, the crisis worsened in the summer of 2015, due to non-fulfilment of the authority repeated promises made to the people for the closure “al-Naemah Landfill”, and due to the conclusion of the operating company's contract, as well as the eruption of differences among authority powers over distribution of quotas and benefits, leading to spread of waste in the streets and residential neighborhoods in general. Soon, successive protest movements were launched and succeeded in

attracting growing numbers of participants. The beginning of this “popular movement” was demonstrated through a civil campaign opposing the existence of landfills (al-Naemah Landfill) and plans for the establishment of new landfills (Popular Campaign of the People of Barja), initiating the first steps in the popular movement which reached Beirut. This movement benefitted positively from earlier accumulation of struggles by the trade union, particularly the fight of the Trade Union Coordinating Body, and other political movements embodied in the campaign of “Topple the Sectarian System” three years prior to the start of “Popular Movement”. Regardless of the ultimate outcome of those struggles, separately, the Popular Movement has formed, as a whole, a solid ground for the establishment of a popular movement of a new type, and the maturation of the subjective factor in continuing the political and democratic struggle against the power system and its “failed” state.

There had been many efforts, initiatives and the forces that contributed to the launch of the popular Movement, which lasted for nearly eight months, despite varying forms and frequency of the struggles waged, as well as the extent of mass embracement of each of them during that period. As the Movement reached its zenith on 29 August 2015, indications emerged showing the start of the disintegration of the masses of the dominant sectarian parties away from their sectarian representatives. This Movement was marked with dominant role of the younger age group, both at the initiative, organization and leadership levels. Moreover, youth capabilities and skills, had emerged, in adapting and using of modern means of communication, media and social networking, as well as methods of advertising and sophisticated media. One might emphasize the following dimensions of the Movement: the first dimension is related to the democratic character opposing the

policies of the dominant coalition rampant with corruption and factionalism; the second dimension is embodied in the mass character of the Movement, which succeeded in attracting crowds to its ranks in its street protests; the third dimension expressed the combating character for contradiction with the system, manifested by direct confrontations with the authority and violent collision with security services of the State, which responsibility is bore by the state services. However, internal, complex and interconnected gaps originated within the Movement and played a significant role in its decline and failure to achieve its objectives, including:

- First Gap: inability of the Movement basic components of to agree on a common working agenda, or build a general institutionalized framework to oversee implementation of such an agenda. While influential forces in some of these components are directly responsible for this gap, the weakness of the political incubator at the national level also bears a share of responsibility, as it was unable to neutralize, at least a part of, the great pressure exercised by forces in power and their organs.

- Second Gap: emergence of sectarian practices of in some campaigns. While the Movement was in urgent need to develop frameworks and areas of coordination and unification of ranks, some of its parties would monopolize decision-making and attempted to monopolize leadership, or explicitly reject cooperation and coordination.

- Third Gap: prevalence of spontaneous course and practices by groups involved in the Movement, beyond the ability and willingness of the people to understand and also exceed the ceiling of political demands raised by this movement. Furthermore, some had even refused from the outset that Movement have a political dimension, demanding it remains

under the ceiling of environmental demands. In the meantime, slogans raised in the demonstrations were radical ones (such as “The People Wants to Overthrow the Regime”), expressing the strong desire of the people for change.

- Fourth Gap: emergence of frequent tactical disagreements among forces that adopt nonviolent means on one hand, and some youth groups and components which resort to direct confrontation with the authority forces.

On the other hand, the authority forces united against the Movement and sought to adjust their differences by initiating a dialogue table. Furthermore, the authority powers mobilized their supporters and tightened their sectarian and political band, and mobilized them in counter factional movements and activities. This allowed the authority to re-gain control of affairs. Moreover, “economic bodies” and some media also played a significant role in foiling the Movement by justifying violence resorted to by the authority apparatus and through distinction of the Movement groups to shake its unity and spreading rumors against dynamic groups within the Movement.

Against the unity of the ruling class forces, the forces of the Movement were weakened and were forced to retreat after their steadfast for several months. With the failure of the popular Movement in preserving the popularity of its actions, strengthening joint action among its components and shed light on the national political dimension of this battle, the state re-adopted the solution of landfills, and managed to impose it through financial allurements, purchasing personalities and making promises, along the threat of resorting to the use of force.. In this meaning, it is not a solution; it rather lays the foundation of fresh battles

to come. The forces of the Movement must be prepared to carry on those battles, by benefiting from the lessons learned from the past experience.

### **13- Stand of the Communist Party on Democratic Change**

Consequently, to stop this destructive path, has become a present national task current before the Lebanese. If the parties of the dominant class alliance bear responsibility for what outcome of the conditions in the country; crises, paralysis and loss of legitimacy of institutions, including their own legitimacy, their inability to meet the Lebanese population needs, they are certainly not qualified to manage that process. They are also, not trust-worthy to take it to its ultimate conclusion, given their class and sectarian positions and their narrow national interests.

Contradictions produced by the current phase of Lebanon's development are multiple and intertwined development. These contradictions are an objective basis for creating a broad socio-political class alliance to confront them. The Communist Party shall play a pivotal role in this alliance, because of its representation of the working class, the fundamental force interested in change.

The working class, along with all other popular groups; farmers, peasants, middle and lower classes, employees, laborers, artisans... etc. are the ones affected by economic and social policies imposed by the ruling financial oligarchy. This means that there are large groups, which find themselves in a position against the dominant financial oligarchy and its political behavior as far as democracy and public freedoms are concerned. Among those groups one finds some social elites breaching the sectarian alignments, cultural enlightened elites, and some political, social democratic, secular, and progressive personalities. From this very premise, the LCP raises the question of general democratic struggle as a

class struggle basically, where the party engages the broadest masses of the Lebanese people to achieve their interests, immediate and strategic, at all levels.

Accordingly, the task of the LCP is emphasized in completing the move towards the establishment of an open Lebanese leftist movement interacting with the democratic forces and all forces resisting Imperialism - Zionism - Terrorist projects and strive for change, as well towards contributing in producing a political - economic - social program for liberation and democratic, which shall overthrow the rule of the financial oligarchy, around which shall rally, the working class and all other forces aspiring to produce a dynamic producing economy, with a socialist horizon.

Basics of such a program shall include:

- Developing various forms of resistance against Imperialist projects and Zionist aggression on our territory, and devise plan to complete the liberation of the rest of the occupied territories (Shebaa Farms and hills of Kfar Shuba), and put an end to Israeli aggression on our territorial waters.
- Assemble all affected forces from the sectarian political system, and the system of exploitation, oppression and dependency, in order to build a secular democratic system, paving the foundation for change towards socialism.
- Resist all forms of terrorism against our homeland and people, and develop an overall national confrontation against terrorist organizations, in conjunction with devising development policies, which eliminate social causes facilitating penetration of this terrorism.

- Struggle for an election law based on proportional representation, whereas Lebanon shall be one electoral district and beyond sectarian registers. Such a law shall allow young people to participate in decision-making by lowering voting age from 21 to 18 years.
- Develop a struggle program encompassing all democratic and secular forces to impose approval of a uniform civilian status law.
- Abolition of all forms of discrimination against women.

With this, the Lebanese Communist Party defines its position as a party of progress and democratic change, representing all advanced classes and social groups in the community, which have an interest in eliminating the closed sectarian system and build an advanced and modern economic one; as by overthrowing sectarianism, dependency falls.

Based on the above mentioned, the Lebanese Communist Party, paves the way for the construction of the material base that contribute to the building of socialism on a scientific basis, in light of global economic and political condition, in which balance of power tilts in favor of forces of progress and socialism.

Therefore, there is no way for the Lebanese society to defend itself in the face of this parasitic reproduced oligarchy, but through general democratic struggle. A pure economic struggle centered on demand struggle is no longer sufficient, although it is necessary to defend gains, interests and rights of the working class and other labor popular groups, for being major and progressive factors in pushing capital to concentration and centralize.

