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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SYRIAN-LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

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THE TRUTH ABOUT THE SYRIAN-LEBANESE COMMUNIST PARTY

Following is a translation of a pamphlet in Arabic; pages 1-48.

Dedication

To the great Arab people so that they may know their enemies;
To all those who lost the right path and worked for the Communist Party believing that they were serving their nation and country;
To all those who were misguided by false Communist propaganda;
To the Arab people who throughout the Arab World are struggling to defend Arab nationalism and the Arab lands for a victorious Arab nation, we dedicate this pamphlet as a token of our pledge that we shall support them to the end.

The publishers.

Preface

Dear Arab reader,

Perhaps you missed the opportunity to listen over the Damascus radio broadcast to two ex-leaders of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon expose the scandals and treason committed by this Party against Arab nationalism and against all national objectives. These facts are of such importance that they must be told to each Arab patriot, and we therefore decided to publish them in this pamphlet hoping thereby to enlighten Arab public opinion and all Arab patriots as to the nature of the crimes, treason, and foreign dictation to which the Communist Party is prone.

But before we start, we feel that you should know something about our background and about the responsibilities which we previously had in the Communist Party. Each one of us spent a long period of his life, ranging between ten years and thirty years, in communist activity. We were thoroughly indoctrinated in the aims and strategy of the Party, and we could observe at close range the true nature of the Party. In denouncing this traitorous Party and returning to the Arab fold, we would like to include the following biographical notes of ourselves and describing our activities and positions in the Party:

Rafic Rida was a member of the Central Committee and of the Political Bureau of the Party during the period 1933 to 1959, which

means that he was familiar with the secrets of the Party during that period. He was entrusted with grave responsibilities, including acting as the representative of the Party with the French Communist Party, which position took him to Paris during the crucial years 1936 to 1939 and made him keenly aware of the extent of the dependence of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon on foreign orders.

Mohammed al-Hakim is an outstanding lawyer from Lattakia, and the head of the Communist Party organization in the Lattakia district. He was the candidate for the Party in the national Syrian elections of 1954. He attended the expanded meetings of the Central Committee of the Party.

Lian Dirani is the President of the Arab Writers Union and is one of the intellectuals of the Party. He is a member of the General Assembly of the Greek Orthodox community in Antioch, an organization which represents the Christians of the Greek Orthodox faith in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, North America, and Latin America.

Abdul Halim Malhami is one of the officials of the Party in the Damascus district and one of the leaders of the Party in that district; he was responsible primarily for Party activity among teachers.

The history of the Communist Party is full with treason, committed at every turn in the history of this nation which is struggling for its independence and unity.

Dear Arab reader, our sole motive in writing this pamphlet is our sense of responsibility to this nation and to our country. We are under obligation to expose our enemies. It is also our way for beginning a new and honorable life and for ridding ourselves of any connection with this despicable group. We pledge ourselves to God and country, following the leadership of Gamal Abdul Nasser, the first leader of the Arab Nation.

Signed: Rafic Rida, Mohammed al-Hakim, Lian Dirani, Abdul Karim Malhami

(Photograph of Rafic Rida, known as Ra'fat)

Statement of Rafic Rida, Known as Ra'fat, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon, to the Citizens of the Syrian Region of the United Arab Republic

Dear compatriots,

The person addressing you from the Damascus Radio Broadcasting Station of the United Arab Republic is a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon.

Before I open for you the shameful record of treason which the Communist Party has committed against the Arab nations for many decades let me give you a brief biographical description of my activities in the

above mentioned Party. I have occupied responsible positions in the Party and was therefore in a position to learn many of the secrets of the Party and to participate in its shameful and despicable policies which were hostile to nationalism and Arabism in general. I followed the Party line step by step in its attitude towards the political development of our country since the inception of the nationalist struggle.

Dear compatriots, sons of my Arab country,

I joined the Communist Party early in 1932, and shortly after I was nominated for a membership on the Central Committee. Upon becoming a member in this Committee, I attended all its meetings, participated in all its conferences, and was chosen a member of the Central Leadership which was entrusted with the task of executing the political and organizational decisions of the Central Committee.

At the beginning I was responsible for the Party organization in the city of Tripoli which was the strongest Party organization in Syria and Lebanon. I was then jailed and after serving a term of four months, I was entrusted with the duty of working with the central organization in Beirut in addition to assisting the Central Committee in Damascus. I was in effect responsible for the Party organization in Beirut and was also given the responsibility of supervising the organization in Damascus. For a whole year I had to commute between Damascus and Beirut to perform my duties and to supervise other Party organizations as well. But finally I was arrested in Damascus by the French public security officers, tried, and given a two year jail sentence, which I served first in the Damascus prison and then in the Hama prison. Soon after I was released, I attended a meeting of the Central Committee in which the political situation and the state of Syrian-French relations were discussed. It was then decided to send me to Paris to serve as a delegate of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon with the French Communist Party. In Paris I contacted the Party headquarters and was assigned an office. My duty was to coordinate the efforts of the two Parties in all matters of interest to France in Syria, Lebanon and North Africa in order to avoid disagreement and inconsistencies between the two Parties and their leaderships. The French Communist Party during this period was supporting the French Government and trying to remove all obstacles in its way. It therefore requested the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon to adopt the same policies with regard to the Syrian problem and to the intense national movements in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. This is the origin of the policy of submission and treason followed by the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon during this period, and it explains its acceptance of the 1936 Treaty which was drawn up by the French Foreign Ministry and submitted to the Syrian negotiating delegation. It was meant to sanction the domination of Syria by French Imperialism and to give legal recognition to the right of France to enslave the Syrian nation. This also explains the series

of traitorous acts committed by the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon against the Syrian people. Among these acts, the major disaster was the annexation of the district of Alexandretta by Turkey which was sanctioned and brought about by France and its other imperialist friend England who were eager not to displease Turkey. Thus we find the leadership of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon advocate the treacherous view that that was not a major national disaster but that the solution, even if unjust, has brought nearer together the democratic nations, especially England and France and has strengthened the traditional ties of friendship between these nations on the one hand and Turkey on the other. The whole world, they claimed, was thereby spared a major international crisis in the Middle East.

In France I attended the Communist Party Congress held in the city of Arles in 1938. Attending the meeting with me was Khaled Bikkas. I also attended meetings of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, and before returning to Syria, I attended the convention held for resisting racial discrimination which was attended by delegations from several Arab countries and in which was discussed the problem of the oppressed nations, the problem of Palestine and the persecution of the Jews in Europe. I returned to Syria towards the end of 1938, on the eve of World War II. I was entrusted with the Party organization in Damascus, which remained my responsibility until the end of the War. I then moved from one Party organization to another throughout Syria and Lebanon, working mainly with the organizations in Beirut and South Lebanon. I was then delegated to work with the Peace Partisans Movement of Lebanon and helped to organize its committees in the various districts and city quarters, including Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon.

I served in fact as a trouble shooter for the Party which sent me from one place to another wherever the Party felt that its strength was faltering. I was also entrusted with the duty of organizing union meetings on the national Lebanese level especially for the purpose of electing representatives to participate in the International Congresses of Labor held in Eastern Europe.

Dear compatriots, I was shocked by the repeated treachery of the Party and by its open hostility to Arab interests in favor of the objectives of the imperialists and the traitors. This has been the main course pursued by the Party in its criminal anti-national policies.

I observed how in 1931-32 Syria rebelled against the French imperialists when the latter wanted to rig the constitution which had been drawn up by the Constituent Assembly in a manner which would have given the French High Commissioner dictatorial rule and the authority to veto arbitrarily any measure taken by the nationalist Syrian authorities. Syria rebelled against France, and the people put pressure on their deputies not to submit to the wishes of the High Commissioner. There were riots in Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo and martyrs fell. The High Commissioner retaliated by suspending the Constitution and dissolving the Constituent Assembly. The riots spread to all parts of the land in protest against the stand of the French imperialists.

In this atmosphere of national enthusiasm in which the French violated the dignity of the Syrian nation and its sacred rights, the Communist Party was shouting: Down with the Constitution and down with the constituent Assembly. Thus the Communist Party followed the imperialist line of the French authorities. It was a national scandal which moved the entire Syrian nation to denounce and curse the Party whose policies were frankly in line with the objectives of the worst imperialists.

This was the first historical fact on the attitude of the criminal Communist Party towards our national struggle. I observed it and lived with it, and no doubt many of my compatriots still recall the events of 1931-32.

During the decisive years 1935-36, when the struggle of the people gained momentum and was followed by the popular explosion in Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo against the decree promulgated by the High Commissioner regarding the administrative reorganization of Syria, in which he attempted to divide the Arab nation in Syria and consolidate his rule. There was hardly a town or village in Syria which did not participate in the demonstrations and the national strike which were organized in protest. The soldiers of the imperialists killed hundreds of people, but the nation did not retreat under fire and persisted in its efforts to break this imperialist law until the French were compelled to retreat and withdraw the decree; the High Commissioner was however planning another attack. He contacted the nationalist leaders and invited them to enter into negotiations with France in order to conclude a treaty which would ensure the rights of both parties and guarantee for Syria freedom and independence, as he claimed.

The negotiations which actually took place in Paris revealed that the French were seeking recognition for their imperialist rule and for their political, military and economic domination of Syria. They presented the Syrian negotiators with stiff and unacceptable conditions including the continuation of their military occupation of Syria, the perpetuation of their political and economic control and the autonomy of the Bank of Syria and Lebanon, etc. In short they wanted complete submission on the part of Syria and the sanctioning of slavery in a legal treaty.

The whole country put pressure on the Syrian negotiators to reject these demands outright and to demand independence and full unrestricted national sovereignty. This was the national position, what was the attitude of the Communist Party?

I was in Paris at the time and I recall how the leadership of the French Communist Party called me in and asked me to inform the Syrian Communist Party of the necessity to advocate acceptance of the Treaty. It was indicated to me that the French Communist Party was eager to avoid embarrassing the French Government and that it was necessary to put pressure on the Syrian negotiators to compromise. The Communist Party was then motivated by other international considerations. I did in fact write to the Communist Party in Syria and Lebanon explaining

the viewpoint of the French Communist Party. The former immediately made very wide contacts with responsible officials in Syria requesting them to accept the French conditions with some minor changes. The editorial policy of the Lisan al-Sha'b, the official Party paper in Beirut was also changed, and it started to urge the Syrian negotiators to take into account the general world situation and arrive at a compromise solution with the French. This policy was also advocated by the Party members in Syria and Lebanon.

Dear compatriots: It is for you alone to judge this policy of the Communist Party. At a time when the dignity of Syria was being trodden by the French and the country was being subjected to pressure in order to legalize imperialism, and when Syria was being denied the independence and sovereignty it was seeking, the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon sided with the butchers who have occupied our towns and villages and murdered thousands of our people.

The Communist Party was not satisfied with being a middleman for French imperialism and an echo for its propaganda, it also sided with the reactionaries. Then came the catastrophe of the Alexandretta district, which appeared on the horizon of international politics when Turkey, supported by France and its ally England, claimed this part of Syria. The French authorities in Syria were instructed to prepare the way for the annexation of the district by Turkey.

I was then still in Paris, and I was again called by the leaders of the French Communist Party, who explained to me the situation as they saw it. They said that France did not wish to anger Turkey and thus drive her into the Berlin-Rome Axis, and that the British Foreign Office was insisting on the necessity to satisfy Turkish demands at any cost. The French Communist Party, they continued, found itself in a critical position vis-a-vis this international crisis, because it was eager to avoid any embarrassment of the French Government which might bring about its resignation and the collapse of the Nationalist Bloc. This would be considered catastrophic since the Soviet Union attached great importance to the stability of the political situation in France. I transmitted these views in detail to the Communist Party in Syria and Lebanon. This Party again adopted the views of the French Communist Party, supporting the traitors against the interests of Syria. It approved the annexation of Arab territory to a foreign state ignoring completely the hopes of the Arab people. It justified this attitude by claiming that the international situation demanded compromise and the acceptance of the status quo. It thus proved again that as a party it derived its policies from imperialist quarters and that on every occasion it permitted imperialist penetration into Arab lands. It is in fact a bad limb which must be amputated.

Then comes the problem and tragedy of Palestine which was and remains the greatest tragedy that has afflicted the Arab nation in its history. Those who plotted with the imperialists and the Zionists to deprive Palestine of its Arab character have been denounced as traitors.

The Communist Party was as enthusiastic about the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine as was Ben-Gurion. They maintained that Israel would be like an oasis of democracy in the Middle East and that the homeless Israeli people must eventually meet in the Promised Lands. They also maintained that international cooperation was one of the essential teachings of Marxism and that the human justification for the creation of Israel transcended narrow nationalistic considerations.

That was the logic of the Communist Party of Syria and Lebanon, the logic of imperialism and Zionism, the logic of treason, the logic of uprooting an entire Arab nation from the country of their forefathers in which they have lived for many centuries, and the logic of replacing them with Jews. From the beginning to the partition of Palestine in which the major Powers sided with the Zionists, from that cursed day in the history of our nation, the Communist Party leadership sided with Zionist imperialism. It advocated the justice of partition just as a true Israeli would have. Having thus openly chosen to side with the imperialists and the Zionists, the Party was subjected to a universal denunciation by all Arabs which shook its very foundations, until no Communist could openly admit that he was a Communist. This was all in line with the policies of the Soviet Union and in keeping with Communism's traditional mistrust of Arab nationalism.

I owe it to you dear compatriots, to give you an idea of the source of funds upon which the Communist Party relied to support its political and organizational activities. This is what I found out during my work with the Communists: In 1932 a number of Jewish Communists arrived in Syria and Lebanon bringing with them a large amount of money which they paid to the Communist Party. I recall one by the name of Emile, another called Oscar, and a third Muller. I exchanged for them some dollars for local currency. In 1938, I myself brought with me from France 25,000 French francs which was given to me by the French Communist Party as a contribution to the Syrian and Lebanese Party to assist them in the drive to bring about the ratification of the Syrian-French Treaty, which was being resisted by all the nationalist elements. It is also known that upon his return to Syria from the Congress at Arles, Khaled Bikdash brought with him another sum of money. But on every possible occasion the Communist Party claims that its financial resources are limited to the contributions of its members and its supporters and that it has never received any external funds whereas in fact it did not refrain from receiving money from the Zionists.

Dear compatriots, I have often in the past felt lost between two conflicting emotions. On the one hand my nationalist feelings and the sense of injustice which the repeated disasters suffered by my people aroused in me, made me think more carefully. I tried in vain to find a justification for the acts of treason which the Communist leadership was committing against my people. On the other hand I was bound to that traitorous leadership. But finally the hostile attitude adopted by the Party towards the union of Syria and Egypt and the creation of the United Arab Republic made me break my silence to speak out against this criminal Party.

Dear compatriots, the creation of the union between Egypt and Syria, the great Arab dream for which many martyrs have given up their lives, has been one of the greatest events in the history of Arab nationalism. The whole Arab World, except the Communist Party, was moved to joy by this event. The Communist Party insisted on adopting an attitude of treason and sabotage. But when the union became inevitable, the Communist Party began to maintain that it was not the principle of unity they were opposed to but rather the manner in which this union came about. Thus they shifted to delaying tactics in the hope of avoiding the wrath of the people.

Dear compatriots, the Communist Party has crowned its activities with the greatest crime committed against the Arab nation and Arab nationalism; namely its open support of imperialism, Israel and the reactionaries by opposing the union between Egypt and Syria and attempting to destroy that union when it came about. But this treachery was clear to the people of these countries who boycotted the Party and denounced it. It is now completely isolated. It is inevitable that this should be the outcome, for the Party has allied itself with the foreign imperialists and with Israel in plotting against the Arab nation. It tried to betray the thousands of Arab martyrs who gave up their lives for this union. And it tried to divide the Arabs among themselves so that they will become an easy target for the imperialists and the Zionists.

Dear compatriots, a Party which adopts the policies of the imperialists and allies itself with the Zionists and the reactionaries; a Party which tries to stab the Arab nation in the back by sabotaging its unity and national objectives, such a Party shall never live in the Arab lands no matter for how long it succeeds in deceiving us or how great the support it receives from the imperialist and reactionary forces. Arab nationalism must prevail.

President Abdul Nasser has already charted the course of our nationhood and laid the cornerstone of our unity. He is today the hero of our national movement and the leader to whom many millions turn for guidance from Morocco to the Arab Gulf (Persian Gulf). There is no force in the whole world which is capable of obstructing the movement towards complete Arab unity.

To those Communists, who had the Arab courage and loyalty to renounce their allegiance to the Communist Party and its criminal leadership, a greeting for returning to the right course among their nation.

Fellow citizens, I am proud, after having recounted to you the history of the Communist Party, to announce my withdrawal from the Communist Party and from its criminal leadership and to offer myself as a member in the great Arab nation.

Long live the hero and leader of the Arab nation, President Gamal Abdul Nasser; long live the United Arab Republic; long live the immortal Arab nationalism, and death to its enemies.

Signed Rafic Rida (Ra'fat)

June 6, 1959

(Photograph of Abdul Karim Mahlami)

Statement of Abdul Karim Mahlami, High School Teacher in Damascus and Member of the Executive Committee of the Teachers' Union; One of the Communist Party Responsible Officers in the City of Damascus and Secretary General of the Union of Communist Teachers.

Dear people of the Arab countries, the speaker was a member of the Syrian Communist Party of ten years standing, and has handled responsible Party assignments first at the Syrian University and then in the district Committee for the city of Damascus. He was Secretary General of the Union of Communist Teachers and has participated in several youth festivals held in Berlin, Warsaw and finally in Moscow.

I participated in the various phases of the national struggle, fighting French imperialism and observing the injuries inflicted by imperialism upon my country when it attempted to create sectarianism and divide our ranks. I observed the bloody battles in the streets of Damascus and the French aggression on the Syrian towns in 1945. I also observed the Palestine tragedy which was handed to us by the major Powers, including the Soviet Union, assisted by traitors among the Arabs.

I was driven by this current of events to join the Communist Party in 1949, but my objective was always to work for my country through my Party work. My aim was to contribute to raising the economic and cultural standard of my country. I was a firm believer in Arab unity, and I believed that the best way to achieve this unity is to liberate the Arab nation from the yoke of imperialism completely and piecemeal. Thus when Syria and Egypt gained their independence it was natural that they should join in a union and I rejoiced with all other citizens at the news of this unity. I was not aware then, as I am now, that my feelings were not shared by the Communist Party. And when the union was declared, I was shocked by the attitude of the Communist Party towards this move, and I was at a loss explaining it. My embarrassment was compounded when the Party started to attack the reforms which the United Arab Republic implemented in a matter of a few months while our parliaments failed to implement over a number of years.

I then asked myself the question whether the leadership of the Communist Party might not be untrue to the cause of Arab unity and that instead it was an obstacle to Arab unity and to the creation of a strong Arab nation which would become a stronghold against imperialism and foreign domination. I finally came to the conclusion that the Communist

Party, with its dubious stand on the issue of unity and on the issues of social reform and in its attempt to break up Arab unity, has allied itself, though unwittingly, with the imperialists and the Zionists. It has betrayed the hopes of the Arab nation. I then recalled how the Communist Party during the Palestine crisis, followed the Soviet line and supported the decision to partition Palestine.

I also recalled how once Khaled Bikdash asked me to remove a button on which there was a picture of President Nasser saying that our Party was not the party of Abdul Nasser. At the time I did not fully comprehend the import of his remark, but I now realize that this small incident had great significance. It meant that the Party leadership did not want its members to side with the movement for Arab nationalism and unity led by Gamal Abdul Nasser.

No one can deny the inestimable value of the union to the Arab cause. And no one can deny the drive this union created among all the Arabs to liberate every inch of their territory, and the respect it gained for the Arabs on the international level, both among friends and enemies. No one will deny that had it not been for the union, feudalism would not have received that mortal blow in Syria which the union made possible. Such reforms as the abrogation of the Bedouin laws, and the irrigation and industrialization projects were also brought about by the union. The United Arab Republic has not deviated from its liberal policies and has remained true to its policy of positive neutralism, non-committal, anti-imperialism, and the preservation of world peace. It was the Communist Party which betrayed the Arab nation, sabotaged it, and declared on it a war of treason and deceit until it was on the same level with the imperialists and the Zionists.

While declaring my pride in being a member of the Arab nation and my firm belief that the great Arab cause of unity will emerge victorious. I announce my withdrawal from the Communist Party which has betrayed the most sacred hopes of the Arabs and allied itself with the traitors and the imperialists.

I urge my fellow citizens of all creeds and political parties, to unite their ranks in the service of the national cause, and to abandon all sectarian and national jealousies, because these have been the successful weapons of the imperialists in dividing our ranks and setting one group against the other. The Communist Party adopted this policy of divide and rule after the creation of the United Arab Republic, following the same course as did the imperialists before them in arousing sectarian and other jealousies.

I urge the people of my motherland to support their young Republic which continues to call for unity among all national and sectarian groups. Long live the United Arab Republic, Long live its leader and hero President Gamal Abdul Nasser.

Signed, Abdul Karim Mahlami

(Photograph of Lian Dirani)

Statement of Lian Dirani

My fellow citizens:

In the past I was President of the Arab Writers' Union and a member of the Greek Orthodox Patriarchal Assembly. I was also a member in a cultural Communist circle, and a member of the group of Communist teachers.

I was raised in a nationalist environment, which hated imperialism. As a young boy I felt strongly the weakness of my country which was being subjected to the wishes and interests of foreign domination. I came to believe that my country cannot live until it is united and imperialism is driven out of its territory. A complete union was bound to increase the strength of my country and help liquidate the imperialist system in it.

This faith in Arab unity was like a beautiful dream and an objective to which I directed all my efforts. It also drove me to participate in the social life of my community and in its cultural development. I participated in founding the Union of Syrian Writers in 1950, which was later changed into Arab Writers' Union.

The Communist Party, was able to infiltrate this organization gradually and began to use it to attain its own objectives. The Communists appreciated fully the influence of the writers and the poets in molding public opinion.

Dear compatriots, when the Communist Party issued its statement calling for unity, they were disguising one of the most despicable plots against the Arab nation. Their aim remained one of resisting Arab unity and destroying its foundations throughout the Arab World.

Events proved however that the movement towards unity was irresistible. Suddenly the beautiful dream became a fact and all rejoiced in it. The joy of the masses was beyond description. But the true motives of the Party were becoming evident to all when during the historic meeting of the Syrian Parliament which was convened to ratify the measure, we were surprised to find Khaled Bikdash absent. I was at a loss trying to explain his absence, but I soon realized that it was intended to create confusion and fear of the union. But the good Syrian people, who are fully aware of their interests, decided to ignore these Communist conspiracies. In fact the rumors that were spread by the members of the Party served to strengthen the cause of the union, not to weaken it. The Communist Party, by its actions, thus sided with the imperialists, the Zionists and all the enemies of the Arab nation who

want to destroy Arab unity in order to humiliate the Arabs. But the people continued on the right course of supporting and protecting the union.

I was among those who supported the union vigorously, both in writing and speech. But I was then influenced by the propaganda and hesitated for a while until I finally realized that the Communist leadership under Khaled Bikdash was working towards the objective of destroying this unity while pretending that they were supporting it. It is shameful that this policy should be in line with the imperialists and the Zionists, and it is shameful that it should agree with the Syrian Nationalist Party and other destructive elements whose sole objective is to destroy the foundations of our youthful Republic. I say frankly, that I am greatly embarrassed to have found myself among imperialists and to find that I was destroying what I dreamed of achieving. I was misled by false Communist propaganda.

Dear compatriots, I was also a member in the Orthodox Patriarchal Council and I believed that serving ones' community, which is but a part of the whole nation, is equivalent to serving my country. My fellow citizens of the Orthodox faith have had a long history in the national struggle, and have fought side by side with their brethren to rid Syria of French imperialism. The Communist Party found in this great national drive, a fertile field for its intrigues. It interfered in their affairs, divided them among each other and sowed hatred among them. When the Holy Office of the Patriarchate was vacated and prior to the election of his Eminence Patriarch Theodosious the Sixth, the Communist Party sent one of its members, Maurice Salibi, who was also a member of the Orthodox Council in Rome and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. His duties were to exploit the elections in the interests of the Party and to spread Party propaganda. It was evident that the Party was attempting to attain a political objective which was the same objective pursued with respect to Arab unity. Both moves placed the Party in the same camp with the imperialists and the Zionists. It was treason.

Dear compatriots, the unity which we have attained with so much sacrifice has been one phase in our historical and national development. It is one step forward in building a great Arab future; our only enemies are the imperialists, the Zionists and their allies.

We have made an important step forward when we created our Republic. It was a great victory for Arab nationalism. Several reforms followed, including the Agrarian Reform Law, the implementation of the industrialization, irrigation and development programs, abolishing the bedouin tribal laws and other reforms which are considered basic to our progress and prosperity.

These reforms which meet with the support of all citizens and which form the basis for our future prosperity were realized during one year after the union, but were not possible during decades of disintegration and partition. And this is not a strange phenomenon, for a nation attains its objectives when it has a unified will.

The Arab nation has renounced these subversive elements forever, and it is our duty to cooperate in order to expose all those who might be tempted to abuse the trust of the people.

My fellow citizens, while I denounce with disgust the policies of the Communist Party, I announce with great pride my withdrawal from that Party. I urge everyone to intensify his efforts in building our young Republic, raising its standard, contributing to its projects, defending it against the imperialists, and supporting its wise leadership which is represented in the person of the foremost Arab leader, President Gamal Abdul Nasser.

Signed, Lian Dirani

President of the Arab Writers' Union and formerly member of the Syrian Communist Party.

(Photograph of Mohammed al-Hakim)

Statement of Mohammed al-Hakim, Previously in Charge of the Communist Party Organization in Lattakia and Banias.

Sons of the United Arab Republic, Oh Arabs throughout the Arab World:

At a time when our heroic Republic was destroying the plots of the opportunists, the reactionaries, and the feudalists, the stooges of their imperialist masters, the leadership of the Communist Party decided to break the national unity and side with imperialism. This is not surprising since the Communist Party has always worked against Arab unity under a thin disguise believing that it could fool the people and divert their efforts. Communist treachery was first experienced when they supported the restriction on the Constitution drawn up by the Constituent Assembly. It was again experienced when they sided with the French National Bloc in its decision to allow Turkey to annex a part of Syrian territory. And it was experienced for a third time when they sided with the partition of Palestine.

The Communists did set up an effective camouflage for their treachery after the creation of the United Arab Republic, but our beloved leader, who has defeated imperialism in many fields from the nationalization of the Suez Canal to the battle of the heroic Port Said to the creation of the union between Syria and Egypt was not fooled by these tactics. With his great experience and knowledge and his national sense, he realized that the Communist Party was planning a coup against the Arabs and Arab nationalism. In his historic speech on Victory Day, he exposed the Communists and showed them in the true light, as traitors to all the Arabs.

Dear compatriots, over ten years have passed since I joined the Communist Party. During this period I handled many Party assignments until I was entrusted with the Party organization in Lattakia and the district of Banias. I participated actively in indoctrinating the Party membership in the districts of Jableh, and I attended most of the expanded meetings of the Party's candidate for the district of Banias. Thus I became familiar with Party objectives, plans and methods. We were misguided by narrow partisanship, seeking justification for the crimes committed by the Party, until that historic speech of the President opened our eyes. After that it was a crime to remain silent on the many acts of treason committed by the Party leadership against our people.

Dear compatriots, the great Arab unity is the dream of all Arabs and for which they have struggled over the ages. Many generations have sacrificed lives to achieve this goal, the rock upon which all imperialist conspiracies will flounder.

This is the reason why imperialism resorted to dividing the Arab nation, for then it became easier to suppress the fragmented national movements. This is also the reason why the struggle to achieve unity is such a necessity.

When Egypt gained her independence and rid itself of all imperialist ties, the leader of the Arabs, the hero President Gamal Abdul Nasser decided that his major objective was to work towards Arab unity in the struggle for independence. The United Arab Republic came as a stronghold of the Arabs which would light their way in the struggle for independence and unity.

Instead of taking this as its starting point and supporting the movement towards unity, the leaders of the Communist Party decided to impede and obstruct unity. They instructed all Party members to try to convince the masses that the Union was unworkable. When the measure came for approval by parliament, it was decided that the best way to cast doubt in the minds of the people was for Khaled Bikdash to boycott the meeting. He was the Secretary of the Party and the only Communist deputy in parliament. The Communist Party thus failed to approve the great document.

In Europe, Bikdash started to issue statements all attacking the union. The worst statement was that made to the Lebanese daily Al-Akhbar

in which he, despite the use of guarded phrases, tried to destroy the union from its foundations.

The leadership of the Communist Party instructed its members to fight any move designed to unify the laws of the two regions. They resisted the unified labor law, the unified union law, the unified Teachers Union, and the Agrarian Reform Law, despite its great political, economic and social advantages. The law which was the dream of all farmers was attacked by Khaled Bikdash in the periodical Problems of Peace.

Oh Communists, I urge you in the name of the martyrs to shed your shameful allegiance and join me in reentering the progressive Arab movement. My faith in the greatness of my Arab nation impels me to announce my withdrawal from the Communist Party and to swear allegiance to Arab nationalism and opposition to the reactionaries.

Long live the United Arab Republic, a bastion against imperialism, and a torch for all the Arabs, and Long live its leader, the great hero Gamal Abdul Nasser.

Mohammed al-Hakim

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