

FORMATION OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS IN
EGYPT, SYRIA AND LEBANON
IN THE 1920s AND 1930s

The communist movement in the Arab East appeared under conditions of a powerful upsurge of the national liberation movement which gripped the colonial world in the 1920s and 1930s under the influence of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia. It was a period of mass anti-colonial uprisings and wars in which the emerging working class played an important role.

The first communist organisations took shape in Egypt, Syria and Lebanon, as in other Eastern countries, before the local proletariat evolved into a strong political force forming a mass workers' movement. These organisations were set up by few revolutionary intellectuals who turned to Marxism from anti-imperialism.¹ The communists of the Arab countries broke away from the national-revolutionary forces as a result of the radicalisation of the national liberation movement, their disillusion with the policy of the bourgeois nationalist leaders, and the tremendous influence the revolutionary events in Russia had upon them.

Under these conditions the interest of the advanced national revolutionaries of the Arab East in Marxism was a result of the desire to find in the ideology of the working class an effective means for liberating their own countries. However, this did not mean that the evolving communist movement was a mere continuation of the anti-imperialist struggle. The communist parties have become a mighty factor of social development in the Arab countries.

The formation of the proletariat was rendered difficult by the colonial regimes, feudal relations and stable Muslim traditions. These, in turn, determined the extent to which the working masses were prepared to comprehend the ideas of scientific socialism.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the proletarian base of the communist movement was formed only in those countries of the Arab East where the following conditions existed: specific geographical location, vast natural resources, developed infrastructure, large plantations, and where a higher level of capitalist relations was reached (Egypt, Syria and Lebanon). These countries were the first in the Arab East where communist parties and organisations came into existence.

From Nationalism to Marxism

Egypt. The working class of Egypt began to increase rapidly in the beginning of the 20th century. In 1914 workers made up 32 per cent of the country's 3 million urban residents. Of these 212,000 were employed in industry and construction, approximately 20,000 were employed in the railroads and 23,000 were employed in agricultural enterprises.² The skilled workers were, as a rule, non-Egyptians, that is, Europeans from the Mediterranean countries, Armenians and Jews.

Before 1907 the working-class movement in Egypt was initiated and led by foreign workers. As a rule, the actions by Egyptian workers were spontaneous and unorganised, and a small number participated in the first trade union associations set up by the foreigners.

The mass strikes of 1907-1911, inspired to a great degree by the First Russian Revolution, marked the beginning of a new stage in Egypt's working-class movement. The owners of enterprises and the authorities were compelled to recognise the workers' trade unions after Cairo, Alexandria and a number of other large cities were swept by strikes, and the workers resorted to force in defence of their rights (the unrest in Bulak, at the outskirts of Cairo, in October 1910 and again in July and August 1911). Beginning in January 1911, the railway workers of Cairo were led by the Association of Railroad Depot Workers,³ the country's first national trade union.

The working class of Egypt played an important role in the March 1919 bourgeois revolution. The general strike in which the railroad workers were supported by the fellahs gave new impetus to the people's struggle against the British colonialists.

In the course of the 1919 revolution, during which the working class entered the arena of political struggle, the class differentiation of Egyptian society became more pronounced. The fact that the Wafd denounced the insurgent masses called for the establishment of a new leading body in the revolutionary movement, one that would be capable of expressing the interests of the worker and peasant masses.

The origins of the Egyptian socialist movement are to be found in the isolated socialist groups of the Armenian, Italian and Greek colonies. However, in 1890 an anonymous Egyptian author published an article entitled "Political Economy" in *Al Muàyyid*, a Cairo newspaper. The article reflected the author's first-hand knowledge of Marx's works and, in particular, of *Capital*.

Socialist ideas penetrated into Egypt through students who studied in Europe and maintained contacts with the parties of the Second International and through local trade unions of foreign workers. Salámah Músá, a Fabian, who published the pamphlet entitled *Socialism* in 1913, was one of the first propagandists of socialist ideas in Egypt. *The History of Socialist Theories*, written by Mustafa Hasanyan al-Mansûri, a young teacher from Al-Mansûra, and containing a detailed account of the activities of the European socialist parties,

appeared the same year. Al-Mansûri was the first in Egypt to openly propagate the Marxist teaching. He believed that his country would "arrive at the stage reached by Europe, and the day would come when socialism would pave the way for us". According to al-Mansûri, Marx "put the socialist principles on a scientific basis and was dissatisfied with the demand for partial reforms, as he was quite aware of their inadequacy". The author also noted that Marx introduced the "spirit of internationalism" into the socialist teaching, transforming it from "a sweet illusion into a comprehensive method ready for realisation".⁴

However, al-Mansûri's work did not have any noticeable impact on the evolution of the country's socio-political thought. It was but the first response to the interest in socialist ideas which had arisen in the anti-imperialist liberation movement.

The rise of the working-class movement attracted the attention of the leaders of the National Party (Hisb el Watani) which guided the national liberation struggle of the Egyptian people in the beginning of the 20th century. The Party's leadership sought to establish close ties with the working class whose most advanced contingents—railroad and tram workers—combated foreign capital, displaying great courage in resisting the repressive measures of the British colonial authorities. The Watanists came out in support of the workers' movement in their press. In November 1907, they founded the country's first evening school for workers in Bulak; in the spring of 1909 they founded the industrial workers' trade union, with branches in Cairo, Alexandria, Al-Mansûra and Tantê. The ties between the workers' trade unions and the National Party were consolidated by the activities of the Party's leaders and, in particular, of Muhammed Farid, who headed the Party. These activities were directed at acquainting the workers with the Labour Code drawn up by the Watanists.

The National Party, which had evolved under the influence of European social-democracy, and especially, the British Labour Party, maintained close ties with the member-parties of the Second International. The Party's leaders participated in the work of international social-democratic conferences, urging them to adopt resolutions in support of Egyptian independence.

The popular uprising of March 1919, the growth of the working-class movement, and the victory of the socialist revolution in Russia all contributed to the political development of a number of Watanists who then founded the Socialist Party of Egypt and, later, the Communist Party.

The Comintern analysed the change-over of the most consistent Egyptian patriots to Marxist positions. In evaluating the role of the Wafd in the 1919 Revolution, the Comintern defined this Party as "a conservative party of Egypt's big bourgeoisie, which the masses pushed to the left".⁵ However, a new force emerged in the course of

the revolution; the Marxist intelligentsia. Its aim was to express the interests of millions of peasants, artisans and workers, and "to seek the support of the broad working masses, not of the local bourgeoisie". In the future this could imbue the mass movement directed against the British colonialists with a "clearly expressed social nature". *International Press Correspondence*, put out by the Comintern, noted that the appearance of the first Marxists in Egypt, as well as their further consolidation would turn the country's national-revolutionary movement into an invincible process. Sooner or later it will flow into the broad stream of international revolutionary activities directed against capital and imperialism.⁶

The Socialist Party of Egypt was founded in 1921. This was the first step towards a merger of scientific socialism and the working-class movement. The Party was far from being a homogeneous political organisation: it included both the group of petty-bourgeois intellectual-educators (Salâmah Mûsâ, Ali Al-Anani and others) and the Marxist group, which was active in the national workers' movement (I. Rosenthal, Safvan abu Al-Fatkh, Antun Marun and others). Muhammed Abdalla Anan was elected General Secretary of the Socialist Party.⁷

The new party was faced with a complex problem: whether to follow the opportunists of the Second International or to support the Russian Revolution, to create a truly revolutionary party of the Egyptian proletariat and consolidate its influence in the trade union movement, or whether to create a "scientific society" for propagating opportunist ideas in the workers' movement.

In February 1921, the Marxists in the Socialist Party founded the General Labour Confederation of Egypt. Twenty of the country's 43 registered trade unions, with a combined membership of 3,000, joined the Confederation. By 1923 the membership had increased to 20,000.⁸

The Executive Committee of the Communist International analysed the activities and class composition of the Socialist Party of Egypt; the formation of the Party was an indication of the appearance "among the working masses of Egypt of a force which the local and foreign bourgeoisie will have to take into consideration". The leaders of the Communist International found that Egypt's socialists represented "the extreme Left wing" of the national liberation movement, though they were still "insufficiently proletarian and revolutionary to lead the masses and present a threat to the British rule". However, the Executive Committee of the Communist International regarded the presence in the Party of Marxist elements who wished to create a party of a new type and promote revolutionary syndicalist movement in the country as a prerequisite for the Socialist Party becoming the vanguard of the Egyptian working class. The Comintern leaders welcomed the organisation of working-class trade unions, the publication by Marxists of a workers' newspaper in Arabic and the

first Egyptian May Day demonstration held in Alexandria in 1921. They predicted that the activities of the Marxists would bring about a further stratification of the left wing of the national liberation movement and, in particular, of the National Party, whose most politically conscious members "are shifting to proletarian positions".⁹

On February 14, 1921 the Marxist elements in the Socialist Party made public their first programme: "The Statement of the Socialist Party of Egypt". It outlined the tasks of an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. As for Wafd, it had never put forward a programme similar to this.

Egyptian Marxists declared that they "stood for the complete political, economic and social independence of the Nile Valley", the evacuation of British troops from Egypt and Sudan, the abolition of treaties and agreements concluded behind the backs of the Egyptian and Sudanese peoples, and for granting the people of Sudan the right to self-determination and the formation of their own independent state.

The Marxist members of the Socialist Party were the first ever to call for the nationalisation of the Suez Canal. They did not view the struggle against imperialism as being isolated from the struggle against the local ruling stratum, whose interests coincided with those of the British colonial administration. The Programme demanded that "the high-ranking Egyptians, the hangers-on of imperialism, who are as responsible as foreigners for terror and tyranny against the peoples' movement, be persecuted". The Programme also stressed that the struggle against colonialism and for the freedom of Egypt would not be successful if capitalist society, the source of colonialism, was not liquidated.

Attention was focused on the position of the working class. The Programme also called for the establishment of an 8-hour working day, the adoption of labour legislation and equal wages for Egyptian and foreign workers. It reflected, to some extent, the interests of the peasantry by calling for the organisation of "poor peasant unions" and for cooperation between the peasant unions and the workers' trade unions.

Egyptian Marxists stood for the recognition of Soviet Russia and the establishment of friendly relations with it. They were the first to proclaim the need for maintaining relations with Soviet Russia. Its existence, as well as the material and moral aid it offered, were instrumental to the attainment and consolidation of Egypt's independence, its social and economic progress.¹⁰

All subsequent demands put forth by the radical national liberation and social movements of Egypt stemmed from the first programme of Egyptian Marxists. This was also true of the Society of Free Officers, which carried out the 1952 Revolution.

In 1922, the General Labour Confederation of Egypt, led by the Marxists, joined the Profintern (Trade Union International). That

same year the Socialist Party, having overcome opportunism in its ranks, voted to join the Comintern and sent its representative to Moscow, to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. That was an extremely important step in the Party's development. In January 1923, it changed its name to the Communist Party of Egypt (CPE) and in 1924 it had a membership of 700.¹¹

Syria and Lebanon. The working class of these countries was made up of ruined artisans and landless peasants who had migrated to the towns. They were chiefly employed at the enterprises owned by foreigners.¹²

In Syria, which at the time included present-day Lebanon, Beirut and Mountain Lebanon were the regions in which the working class was formed most actively. The following industries had the highest concentration of hired labour: silkweaving (close to 3,500 workers early in 1931), tobacco (close to 1,000 workers in 1933) and furniture (200 workers in 1931). Over 1,600 workers both male and female were employed in Beirut in 1933 at enterprises chiefly foreign-owned. The total number of Beirut dock, railroad and tram workers, and workers employed at electric power stations stood at almost 2,000. There were large contingents of construction workers, printers and people employed in the services.¹³

Trade unions appeared in Syria and Lebanon during World War I. Printers' and railroad workers' trade unions were organised in Beirut in 1914.

National-revolutionaries began changing over to the ideological positions of the working class under the conditions of the mounting working-class movement and the growing struggle for the liquidation of the French mandate regime.

On September 28, 1922 the first issue of *As-Sahafi At Ta'ib*, which proclaimed itself the organ of the "workers and oppressed people", and the foe of the Beirut General Labour Party of Great Lebanon, appeared in Zahle (Mountain Lebanon). The newspaper, a harbinger of new ideas, was sponsored by a group of young socialist intellectuals.

Yûsef Ibrâhim Yazbek from Zahle was one of its correspondents. His letters appeared in the newspaper regularly and reflected the evolution of the views of this young intellectual, as he gradually came to understand the truth of the Marxist ideas on the role and place of the working class in society, and on the ways and means of accomplishing a social revolution. On November 13, 1922, the newspaper published Yazbek's "A Study of Socialism". It called for the establishment of a socialist society which would do away with class inequality and the exploitation of the workers and of all working people, and introduce distribution of income according to one's labour. Yazbek later came to the conclusion that such a society could be created by the proletarian organisation (of a trade union type) which would educate the masses.

Yazbek regarded socialism as a society in which there would be no

poor people, where the workers would receive fair wages, would have their own representatives in the government; it would give the country a just tax system, free education, and abolish the monopolies, while the construction of large industrial enterprises would be undertaken by the government.¹⁴ These ideas were still far removed from scientific socialism, though his democratic programme contained the socialist principles on remuneration according to one's labour, on the socialisation of the means of production, etc.

The ideological immaturity of the first Syrian and Lebanese socialists was due to the weakness of the working class and their recent split with the bourgeois nationalists. Time and experience were required to overcome their immaturity.

An important step in the organisation of workers' trade unions was taken in the summer of 1924: the tobacco factory workers' trade union was founded in Bikfaya (Mountain Lebanon). Fuad Shimali, an Egyptian communist of Lebanese origin who had gained much experience as a trade union activist in Egypt, was instrumental in organising the union. During the same period the revolutionary syndicalists organised the first trade union in Syria (the trade union of knitted goods factory workers in Damascus in 1925). Fuad Shimali had great influence on Yûsef Ibrâhim Yazbek and was in many ways responsible for his ideological evolution.

As in Egypt, the nucleus of Syria's and Lebanon's first communist organisation was made up of intellectuals who had adopted a Marxist position. Later in 1924 they founded the Party of the Lebanese People,¹⁵ headed by Yazbek and Shimali and closely linked with the tobacco workers' trade union in Bikfaya. The Palestinian communists helped the Party to establish contact with the Comintern, which it joined the same year.

The new party's activities were mainly bent on providing political education for the proletariat and organising a trade union movement on a class basis. On May 1, 1925 the Party sponsored the country's first May Day rally. Fuad Shimali delivered a stirring speech at a meeting held in the Crystal Cinema in Beirut to celebrate the international day of revolutionary solidarity. Shimali said that the unity of the workers was the force which could and should put an end to capitalist exploitation. He was the first leader in Syria and Lebanon to demand an 8-hour working day, a uniform minimum wage, introduction of labour safety measures, vacations for workers, old-age and disability pensions, the prohibition of night work, education for workers' children, etc.¹⁶

The Spartak Marxist group of Armenian workers and students, founded in 1923 in Beirut and headed by Artin Madoyan, joined the Party of the Lebanese People at the meeting in the Crystal Cinema. This fact attested to its internationalist tendency towards consolidating the efforts to unite Armenian and Arab workers in Syria and Lebanon in the struggle against French colonialism and against the ac-

tivities of the Dashnaktsutyun (the Armenian bourgeois-nationalist party) aimed at isolating the Syrian and Lebanese Armenians from the native Arab population and turning the former into the tool of French imperialism.

On May 25, 1925 the *Al-Insaniya*, the Party's official newspaper, published its first programme; Party Principles. The programme noted that the communists of Syria and Lebanon had put forth the following tasks at this stage of the country's development: "To promote the development of industry, agriculture and trade; to cultivate a spirit of fraternity among the people; to liquidate the bacilli of religious and confessional fanaticism and forbid the clergy to interfere in the political life of the country, to provide public education in Arabic; to increase the income tax on the rich; to turn the property belonging to religious communities (waqf) into public property controlled by the government; and to emancipate women." The programme proclaimed the Party's solidarity with all oppressed people, both at home and abroad, as well as the free nations; "its desire to side with the parties that had similar tasks; and its determination to use all possible means for achieving its goals."¹⁷

An article in *International Press Correspondence*, a Comintern journal, noted in regard to the position occupied by the Party of the Lebanese People: "The Communist Party comes on the scene. But it has accomplished much towards the fraternisation of the quiet city population with the tempestuous and insurgent rural population. It has been successful in bridging the eternal religious antagonisms. The Communist Party as a faithful guardian of the Revolution has stood by the cradle of the labour movement."¹⁸

The Communist Party of Egypt and the Formation of an Anti-Imperialist Front

The question of mobilising the oppressed classes for gaining national independence and establishing a union of all the forces of the anti-imperialist movement, one common to all communist parties of the Arab East, figured most prominently before the communists of Egypt. In the 1920s and 1930s, no other Arab country had such a mass anti-colonial movement led by the party of a relatively well-established national bourgeoisie that united the peasantry, artisans, urban middle strata, and large contingents of the working class, as Egypt had.

Unlike Syria and Lebanon, Egypt was a formally independent and sovereign constitutional kingdom. The Wafd, which had headed the national uprising of 1919, played an important role in the country's political system; its leader was the head of the government. The Communist Party of Egypt did not regard the degree to which the Wafd preserved its revolutionary and anti-imperialist potential after assuming power in January 1924 as a theoretical question, since the com-

munists were the first to be attacked by the Wafd.

The Wafd government resorted to force to prevent the convocation of the Second Congress of the Communist Party of Egypt which was to be held on February 16-17, 1924 in Alexandria. In March of same year the Zaghul Government arrested all the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and also the leadership of the General Confederation of Labour. The seizure by the workers of a number of industrial enterprises owned by Egyptian capitalists in Alexandria was used as a pretext. At the trial which was held in September 1924, the communists were charged with spreading "anti-constitutional ideas" and with "inspiring criminal action and reprisals against the owners of enterprises" from December 10, 1922 to March 1, 1924. Many of the accused were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Antun Marun, First Secretary of the CPE Central Committee, died in prison.¹⁹

After the defeat of the Communist Party, a number of separate communist groups continued to function in Cairo and Alexandria. This gave start to a "plurality" in the Egyptian communist movement. Despite the aid of the Comintern, which made it possible for the Party to re-establish its Central Committee, to resume publication of *Al-Khisab*, its official central newspaper, and to organise an Egyptian section of the Anti-Imperialist League, the communists of Egypt failed to overcome the coterie system and to restore the Party's unity. They were also unable to regain their influence in the working class. This was also due to the new severe repressions against the Party in 1926 and 1928.

However, repressions were not the only reason that prevented the Party from becoming a truly national force. The communists misunderstood the role of the national bourgeoisie in the liberation movement of the Egyptian people against British imperialism. In the end, correct tactics in regard to the local bourgeoisie depended on correct solutions to the following questions: was the national bourgeoisie still playing an objectively progressive role under the new conditions which had arisen after Egypt was proclaimed an independent and sovereign state in 1922? To what degree did the declaration of Egypt's formal independence solve the tasks of national liberation? Were the revolutionary events leading to a social revolution or to a nation-wide struggle against the foreign imperialists? Therefore, the crux of the matter was whether the Communist Party of Egypt, which had achieved important successes by 1924, would remain an ally of the Wafd, or whether it would oppose the national bourgeoisie.

During the first years of its existence the CPE followed the wrong tactics of "class against class" (the proletariat against the bourgeoisie) and under the influence of growing revolutionary sentiments in the country tried to accelerate events. In turn, the Wafd's policy of conciliation, pursued in the 1919 Revolution, and, particularly, its

leaders' consent to compromise with the king, a British flunky, and form a government, resulted in the communists' underestimating the Wafd's struggle for the national demands and overestimating the role and possibilities of the proletariat. This led to their belief in the need for an immediate socialist revolution.

The CPE's leftist radicalism was determined by the leadership's superficial understanding of communist ideas and adherence to petty-bourgeois views, so characteristic of the national-revolutionaries. The Party Programme, which outlined the most radical ways and means of dealing with the problems facing the country including the national question, attracted not only workers, but petty-bourgeois intellectuals to its ranks (the latter comprised 22 per cent of the CPE membership in 1923)²⁰ who were influential in determining the principles of its building. Anyone who declared his sympathy with communism and attended (even irregularly) Party meetings, could become a Party member. Between 1922 and 1924 there was practically no difference between the General Confederation of Labour and the Communist Party of Egypt. The leadership of both were located in the same building in Alexandria and were, in fact, a single body. The CPE started out not as a vanguard party, but as an organisation which confused the concepts of class and party, thus disorganising its ranks.

The left-wing sectarian trends typical of the Communist Party of Egypt were revealed in Hussein al-Arabi's speech delivered at the Fourth Congress of the Communist International. He stated that in the opinion of his party the day was near when the red flag would wave over the pyramids as it waved over the Kremlin and that his country was completely ready for spreading socialist ideas. He declared that in Egypt there were no obstacles to extensive communist propaganda. Hussein al-Arabi equated British imperialism and the Egyptian national bourgeoisie, adding that the working masses of Egypt had taught both of them a good lesson in the course of the revolutionary events of 1919 and 1921. The speaker noted that the communists of Egypt were ready to wage a stubborn struggle against the Wafdists, because they were aware of the growing strength of their Party and were ready to take their place in the economic and political struggle. He informed the Congress that the Party press disclosed every single action of the government, and the communists spread the ideas of socialism and class struggle among the workers by means of speeches and the publication of articles and leaflets.²¹

However, the actual situation in Egypt was far removed from that described by Egyptians. True, as compared with other Arab countries, Egypt had reached a higher level of socio-economic development; national contradictions and class antagonisms were becoming more evident; the workers' movement was highly-developed and the Communist Party of Egypt was the largest in the Arab world. Still, the formal independence which Egypt won in 1922 did in no way solve the major national problems which continued to be the chief concern

of the liberation forces, including the working class.

British troops were still stationed on Egyptian soil, British advisers controlled the Egyptian army, finances and the legal branch of the government; numerous factories, banks and cotton plantations were also owned by them. The Suez Canal was controlled by the Britain and France. Above all, the king was a faithful protégé of the British imperialists.

The agrarian question was a pressing one. The masses of landless and poor peasants were the driving force behind the revolutionary events in 1919 and the following years. The struggle for freeing the peasants from feudal requisitions took on the nature of a national liberation struggle against both large landownership and the colonialists.

The demands of the working class for the equality of Egyptian and foreign workers, for 80 per cent of all jobs in the country's enterprises to go to Egyptian nationals, etc., were also a part of the national liberation struggle.

During the years in question the revolutionary movement in Egypt was going through a bourgeois-democratic stage. The period following 1922 was a period of a growing confrontation between the reactionary forces represented by the British colonial administration and Egyptian monarchists, on the one hand, and the members of the national liberation movement, including the national bourgeoisie, on the other.

Under these conditions the national bourgeoisie, represented chiefly by Wafd, consolidated its economic position and gained an impressive political victory by forming the first national government in Egypt's post-war history. The influence of the national bourgeoisie became still greater after the Wafd and its leader, Saad Zaghlul, a hero of the anti-imperialist uprising of 1919, came to power.

The bourgeois leaders of the anti-imperialist struggle managed to strengthen their positions in the villages and to attract the working-class movement.²² By the spring of 1924 the Wafdists, who supported the workers' major economic demands, controlled 120 trade unions with a combined membership of 150,000.²³

Naturally, the Wafd could never become a consistent defender of the workers' interests and a dedicated foe of British colonialism. The fact that this party managed to unite large sections of the nation (whose positions were often diametrically opposed) around its chief demand of "gaining complete independence for Egypt", did not at all mean that it defended the interests of the working class which had also gone over to its side. The Wafd always upheld the interests of the national bourgeoisie which, as it grew stronger, became increasingly opposed to British imperialism. The aim of the Wafd Party was to seize full power, but it could not succeed in this without the help of the working masses. The Comintern pointed this circumstance out to the communists of Egypt. Thus, an obituary entitled "The Death of Zaghlul Pasha and Its Importance for Egypt", published in 1927

in *International Press Correspondence*, noted that the desire of the bourgeoisie to preserve its hold on the masses resulted in a compromise with the peasantry, and that it had only revived the trade union movement within the framework of its own ideological and political supremacy. These methods were intended not only as a blow to the British imperialists, but "... to cover the growing antagonistic interests within ... the 'Wafd' between the Left radical and Right compromising wings."

The death of Saad Zaghlul once again brought the urgent problems of the Egyptian national liberation movement to the foreground; "the fight against imperialism or compromise; united revolutionary mass movement, or political cliques knocked together by personal connections; the leading role to be played by the organised working masses, with the stock-taking of the interests of the peasants or the hegemony of the bourgeoisie and domination of the landowners".²⁴

In such a situation it was evident that an immediate socialist revolution was out of the question. And since the country was confronted with the tasks to be tackled by the democratic, national liberation stage of the revolution, the CPE strived to guide the oppressed strata of the population towards solving the country's vital problems. However, this would only be possible if there were a united anti-imperialist front which included the national bourgeoisie and had the active support of the entire national liberation movement. The resolutions adopted by the 5th Enlarged Plenum of the ECCI (March-April 1925) stressed that since the masses supported the Wafd, the Communist Party had to put all its effort behind joint action with the liberation movement, "with the aim of founding a united anti-imperialist bloc with the two national-revolutionary parties (the Watanist party and Wafd)".²⁵

Naturally, the Party's key concern over national tasks did not mean it had abandoned the fight for the class interests of the working people. At the same time, in the situation that existed in Egypt, in the 1920s the Communist Party had to discard its erroneous tactics of calling for an immediate opposition of the workers to the national bourgeoisie. Even if in some cases this policy proved to be correct it was, in general, suicidal for the Party to follow it. The Comintern leadership regarded the Egyptian communists' encouragement of the workers to seize enterprises belonging to the national bourgeoisie (which resulted in the Saad Zaghlul government's disbanding the Communist Party) as insufficiently substantiated and organised.²⁶

The Sixth Congress of the Communist International provided a thorough analysis of the situation in Egypt. Although its resolutions were somewhat sectarian, it offered important recommendations concerning the ways and means of establishing ties between the communists of the East and the nationalist leadership of the liberation movement. These recommendations were made at an extremely difficult time for the Communist Party of Egypt which was once again under

attack from the ruling circles.

The section of the "Theses on the Revolutionary Movement in the Colonies and Semi-Colonies" (adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Comintern) devoted to Egypt offered the following measures for the Communist Party of Egypt to restore its ranks and strengthen its ties with the masses: to found a class trade union movement; to work out the Party's agrarian programme; and to restore the Party's structure on the basis of Leninist organisational principles of party building.²⁷ The Congress also noted that in order to carry out these tasks, the proletarian party had to utilise to the utmost the anti-imperialist sentiments current among the bourgeois-reformist parties of the East, including the Wafd. The communists had to bring the conflict between the national-reformists and the colonialists to a head, drawing the masses into it and thus giving rise to a truly revolutionary crisis.²⁸

On several occasions the members of the Oriental Section (later known as the Oriental Secretariat of the ECCI) informed the communists of Egypt that the Wafd was acting under colonial conditions and was adhering to national liberation slogans. This explained the influence it had on the masses and the basic difference between it and the Constitutional-Democratic Party in Russia.²⁹

Proceeding from a detailed analysis of the revolutionary movement in Egypt, the Comintern pointed out that the road to involve the masses in it lay in the struggle for the national and social emancipation of the Egyptian people. However, the aid offered by the Comintern was not limited to recommendations on strategy and tactics. The Communist International helped to train the activists of the CPE, to organise campaigns against the repression carried out by the Egyptian reactionary forces and the colonial authorities against the communists of Egypt; it helped to organise campaigns of solidarity with imprisoned Egyptian communists. Nevertheless, despite the tremendous support of the Comintern, the Communist Party of Egypt failed to become a mass political force, and left-sectarian trends continued to prevail in it.

The Communists of Syria and Lebanon and the Formation of an Anti-Imperialist Front

From the very inception of the independent proletarian party of Syria and Lebanon, the communists were faced with the task of establishing an alliance with the non-proletarian forces of the anti-imperialist movement.

Between 1920 and 1924 the mandate regime, enforced in Syria and Lebanon, was confronted with recurrent, spontaneous peasant riots in Hauran, Jebel Druz, the Euphrates Valley, and Latakia, as well as with mounting discontent in the cities, workers' strikes and the first attempts of the national bourgeoisie to organise an anti-French move-

ment. In June 1925, the French Mandate Territories in the Middle East became the scene of bitter struggle for national independence and class battles.

The Syrian national uprising, which began as local Druzean disorders under the leadership of Sheikh Sultan al-Atrash, erupted into an anti-colonial war. It was triggered by the refusal of the French authorities to meet the nationalists' demand for Syrian independence, and by the French High Commissioner in Syria General Sarrail's announcement of the Draft Constitution, which legalised the mandate administration.

The rebels' programme called for the recognition of an independent Syrian Arab State, the unity of littoral and interior Syria, the formation of a popular government, the convocation of a Constituent Assembly to draft a constitution, the evacuation of foreign troops and the establishment of a national army.³⁰ The uprising was directed by the leaders of the People's Party, set up in Damascus in February 1925. This was the first political party of the Syrian bourgeoisie which formed a provisional revolutionary government in Jebel Druz.

From the point of view of the Syrian communists, the uprising of 1925-1927 was a national liberation revolution, organised and inspired by the national bourgeoisie, which had managed to consolidate all the anti-imperialist strata and classes of Syrian society: the peasantry, workers, artisans, commercial bourgeoisie and some of the large landowners. In such a situation the class differentiation that took place among its members was a logical development of the liberation struggle. The Party of the Lebanese People felt it was its duty to bring the lower strata to the front ranks of the national liberation movement by releasing their initiative and activity. With the aim of winning over the masses, the communists should have had united with the leaders of the uprising, supporting their democratic programme, and strengthening the positions of the left nationalists in the leadership, as they defended the interests of the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie.

On June 22, 1925 the Central Committee of the Party of the Lebanese People published a statement in which it called upon the communists of Syria and Lebanon to give their full support to the incipient liberation movement. Ali Nasreddin, a patriot and journalist, helped the Party to establish contact with the leaders of the uprising.

Fuad Shimali noted that as early as 1925 the Party's Central Committee adopted a number of important decisions on the ways and means of rendering aid to the insurgents: establishment of permanent liaison with the Comintern to keep its leadership abreast of current events; coordinated action directed at sponsoring a world-wide movement of solidarity with the Syrian patriots; constant exchange of information with the French Communist Party during the course of the uprising (Ali Nasreddin passed all information received from the leaders of the uprising to the Central Committee, and from there

it was passed on by Syrian communists to the Comintern and the French Communist Party); delivery of arms to the insurgents in the Jebel Druz Mountains; assistance in spreading insurgent appeals and proclamations among the people of Syria and Lebanon, and among the soldiers of the French Army stationed there.³¹

On December 9, 1925 the First Conference of the Party of the Lebanese People heard the report of the Central Committee on the situation in the country, on the liberation struggle, and on the stand taken by the communists. The participants voted to support the Party's policy of extending ties with the leaders of the national uprising. Members of the conference who supported the left nationalist leaders of the liberation movement and opposed the right and moderate nationalists, demanded the confiscation of all land and property belonging to feudal lords and landowners and situated in areas liberated by the insurgents, with the exception of property belonging to landowners who took part in the revolution.³²

Having gone underground in January 1926, the communists of Syria and Lebanon continued to further ties between the young working class and many-million-strong peasantry, the participants in the national uprising. The general strike that took place in Beirut, Damascus and Haleb (July 23-27, 1926) was the peak of the workers' strike movement of the time. The workers put forth their economic demands and insisted that the colonial authorities stop the terror and repressions against them. They also proclaimed their support for the uprising.³³

Another important trend in the communist activity was the campaign to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between the progressive forces of the world and the participants in the national liberation movement in Syria. A joint appeal of the communists of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine entitled "Protest Against the Imperialist Terror of the French in Syria!" was published on August 6, 1926.³⁴

The communists of Syria and Lebanon distributed anti-imperialist appeals and leaflets among the French colonial troops stationed in this country.

Communist groups were organized in a number of Arab units in the French Colonial Army. In December 1926 two battalions of Lebanese Christians went over to the side of the insurgents near Rshain (Lebanon).³⁵

Members of the Party of the Lebanese People were agitators among the Christian minorities. They blocked the efforts of the colonial administration to split the insurgent movement, to stir up religious strife and draw the Christian Arab youth into the French Army under the pretext of defending Christians.

As the uprising progressed, its social content became broader. The administrative bodies of the national-revolutionary power which were established in the liberated areas imposed a contribution on the feudalists. In many instances landowners and village elders who collab-

orated with the French and betrayed the revolution were sentenced to death by revolutionary courts and executed. The Syrian merchants and landowners, fearing the upsurge of the people's movement more than the French troops, sought the support of the colonial authorities. By the end of 1926 the appeals to resume contacts with representatives of the mandatory nation became more insistent. The Comintern press offered the following comment: "All this should commit the national movement to seek the increasing support of the masses, the European proletariat and the world revolutionary movement, since rich financial 'contributors' to the national movement might leave the movement in a critical moment, join the imperialist camp and betray the national liberation cause."³⁶

The stand taken by the bourgeoisie in the national uprising of 1925-1927 enabled the Syrian communists at the end of 1926 to provide a leftist interpretation of the role and place of the bourgeoisie in a national liberation movement. It became obvious that the transition of the national bourgeoisie to the insurgent camp was no more than its attempt to use the revolution for attaining its own narrow class goals. Its following desertion was due to the fear of the national-reformists of the developing class movement of the peasants and workers, and due to the possibility of the revolutionary movement developing into a social revolution.

The communists of Syria and Lebanon negated the national bourgeoisie's revolutionary potential in the last year of the uprising and after its defeat and their view ran counter to the Comintern's opinion on the matter.

A number of analytic studies published in those years in the Comintern press on the revolutionary movement in the Middle East is indicative of the close attention the ECCI paid to these events. The Comintern leadership instructed the communists of Syria and Lebanon to increase their activities among the working class. It assured the communists that the working class should not isolate itself from the anti-imperialist movement, but join the anti-colonial action of the national-revolutionary and national-reformist organisations. The ECCI held that under the existing conditions in Syria and Lebanon the demands for proclaiming national independence, with drawing foreign troops, convening a Constituent Assembly, and establishing a revolutionary-democratic republic (which would allot the peasantry land, provide legislative protection of the workers' rights, and defend Syria from imperialist encroachments) were all in accord with the interests of all classes and social strata taking part in the liberation struggle. The Comintern also stressed the particular importance of preserving and upholding the independence of the communist movement and the inadmissibility of turning it into a left wing of the national-revolutionary parties and organisations.³⁷

The ECCI held that the contradictions that existed between French imperialism and the bourgeoisie of Syria and Lebanon, who was

taking its first steps in the early 1920s towards assuming leadership of the national movement, could and must result in open clashes between the bourgeoisie and the colonial authorities, given the conditions of the growing liberation struggle supported by the working class and the peasantry. The Comintern leaders stated that the national bourgeoisie of Syria and Lebanon was not at all a solid, homogeneous mass either economically or politically since the internal division was bound to take place in the national-reformist parties under the influence of the people's revolutionary struggle, that left-wing trends capable of adopting a national-revolutionary position would split it off. The ECCI stressed that in both countries the *Effendis*, the feudal-compradore elements, were the chief support of imperialism: the *Effendis* had fought not for the liberation of the people, but simply and solely for their own interests, and could bring themselves to agree in principle with all compromises with France. They were used by imperialism in its struggle against the national bourgeoisie.³⁸

The Comintern insisted that the communists of Syria and Lebanon should pursue a policy of alliance with the national-revolutionary leadership of the uprising, noting that any attempt to ignore such a policy and underestimate the role of the national bourgeoisie or any "leftist extremes" (an overestimation of the role of the proletariat, the demand for workers' Soviets, etc.) would undoubtedly isolate the Syrian communists from the mainstream of the national movement.³⁹ In other words, the Comintern proceeded from the well-known precept of Lenin's addressed to the communists of the East: "You ... will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening, and must awaken, among these peoples, and which has its historical justification".⁴⁰

The communists of Syria and Lebanon, who had given a negative appraisal of the potential of the national bourgeoisie ever since 1926, argued that no contradictions existed between the bourgeoisie and the colonialists, thus encouraging a split in the national movement. The communists overlooked the fact that the national bourgeoisie, who had failed to achieve their goals in open confrontation with the colonialists, could not surrender to the French authorities without undermining their own economic and political interests. The communists declared the tactical manoeuvring of the national bourgeoisie, directed towards gaining political independence, to be a betrayal of the national interests, and stated that only a social revolution could bring national independence to Syria and Lebanon.

On July 1, 1930 the Communist Party of Syria⁴¹ that functioned underground issued a Manifesto proclaiming the reconstruction of the Party and specifying its basic tasks. The document noted that the National Bloc (Al-Kutla Al-Watania), a new legal party of the Syrian bourgeoisie, founded in 1927 on the basis of the People's Party, "has betrayed the Syrian revolution for the sake of its class interests". Its policy of negotiating with the French invaders, which resulted in

the election of the Constituent Assembly (Hashim al-Atasi, leader of the National Bloc, became its chairman), could not, in the opinion of the communists, produce any tangible results. That is why the Manifesto called "upon the workers and peasants to enter the Party and to march under its leadership to further decisive struggle against French imperialism and its lackeys, for the Syrian workers' and peasants' government, for the complete liberation and independence of Syria."⁴²

The Syrian communists exaggerated the strength of the local proletariat and its ability to lead the broad masses of the peasantry and of all working people. It was obvious that at the time the masses supported the National Bloc, which scored an impressive victory in the 1928 election to the Constituent Assembly. Despite considerable economic, political and military concessions, by means of which the nationalists hoped to induce the metropolitan country to grant Syria independence and thus see it united, they nevertheless had the support of the national liberation movement.

The masses also supported the leaders of the National Bloc in their open confrontation with the representatives of the metropolitan country after the French authorities dissolved the Constituent Assembly. In 1930-1933, mass demonstrations swept the country. The actions directed by the National Bloc were in opposition to the mini-constitution that had been forced upon the country, and to the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian agreement. However, the Communist Party of Syria viewed these events as a "deceit of the masses", and as an attempt on the part of the national bourgeoisie and its party to "satisfy its egoistic interests", and "achieve a more just distribution of the wealth, which French imperialism had stolen from the Syrian people with its aid".⁴³

In 1930, the First Congress of Syrian Communists adopted a new Party Programme which declared as its goals the struggle for Syrian independence and territorial integrity, for the introduction of rights to the workers and peasants, and for the emancipation of women. This document was not free from erroneous conclusions and statements. Although the communists were correct in assuming that "the disagreements which at times arise between the nationalist leaders and colonial authorities resulted from the acute competition between the colonialists and the national bourgeoisie, who were deprived of the opportunity to exploit the entire country and appropriate all that was produced by the working masses", their conclusions in this respect were misguided. The Programme sought to prove that "the national bourgeoisie only pretends to ... resist the imperialists", while in reality it "deceives the people, bargaining with the imperialists behind their backs and betraying the struggle for complete independence and unification of the country". Thus, the chief slogan advanced by the Syrian Communist Party during the stage of national liberation was: "The establishment of a worker and peasant government in Syria."⁴⁴

The supporters of the left-wing deviation were seriously criticised at the Fourth Enlarged Plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (June 1933). The Plenum stressed the urgent need for establishing a stable alliance between the communists and all the participants in the national liberation movement and extending the Party's ties with the working masses of Syria and Lebanon. The Plenum also noted that the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian agreement would provide tangible opportunities for intensifying struggle of the Syrian people against French imperialism and for gaining true independence. Under these conditions the Party should strongly support those demands of the national bourgeoisie which continued to struggle for liquidating the French mandate.⁴⁵

The decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the Resolution of the Secretariat of the ECCI entitled "The Tasks of the Arab Communist Parties in the Struggle for a Popular Anti-Imperialist Front" (February 29, 1936) were of the utmost significance to the activities of the communists of Syria and Lebanon in organising this front. The Resolution stated that the communist parties of the Arab countries had for a long time been functioning as groups isolated from the masses and disconnected from the growing national liberation and workers' movements. As for tactics, the Arab communist parties held sectarian views. The ECCI recommended that the Arab communist parties follow Lenin's precepts on the support of the national liberation movement, and indicated that their future and the opportunities for strengthening their positions among the working class depended upon a correct approach to the question and upon their participation in the popular struggle for national independence. The ECCI also noted that the communists' cooperation with the national-reformists included an ideological struggle against national-reformism as an ideology and practice of collaboration with imperialism, and against any attempt to interpret the tactics of the popular front as a conciliation with imperialism.⁴⁶

Speaking on behalf of the Arab communist delegates to the Seventh Congress of the Comintern, Khalid Bagdash (Ramsi was his assumed name at the time) of Syria said: "Socialism is our final goal. But before we can lead the masses to the direct struggle for socialism, we must successfully pass through the preceding stages. At present we are at the first stage of the struggle, the stage of the fight against international imperialism, which is the chief, most abominable and most detestable enemy of the Arab peoples... We must do our utmost to make the masses learn from their own experience that we are defenders of their elementary national and economic interests."⁴⁷

Nowadays the communists of Syria hold that the activities of the Syrian Communist Party to create a united anti-imperialist front in the mid-1930s meant the unification of the people in the struggle for the complete and unconditional withdrawal of the French troops from the country, the liquidation of the French mandate, and the

attainment of national independence. These were the important tasks of the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolutionary process. The Party managed to preserve its ideological and organisational independence, while being allied with all the participants of the national liberation struggle, including the national bourgeoisie, and while exposing their compliance with the French imperialists. This made the Syrian Communist Party an important national force which played a major role in the revolutionary process.⁴⁸

* * *

The communist parties of the Arab countries founded in the course of the struggle against colonial oppression were a truly national force, a product of national socio-economic development. From the very inception they have taken on the difficult task of combining the national and class aspects in the revolutionary movement. The example of just but three Arab countries—Egypt, Syria and Lebanon—bears out the following theoretical and practical conclusion: a mere knowledge of the scientific theory of the development of society is not at all sufficient to provide a communist party with a key to the hearts of the masses, no matter how skilfully this theory is propagated. The working masses will only turn to Marxism-Leninism after they acquire their own political experience and appraise it.

The experience gained by the international communist movement has shown that the struggle for the final goal of the working class can only be achieved provided the communists consistently fight for the radical solution of the tasks put forth by the masses at the pre-socialist stages of the revolution.

This means that all classes and strata whose interests are objectively met by the successful completion of the current stage of the revolution must be united. The unfolding of the revolutionary potential of the non-proletarian strata precipitates the confrontation with the chief enemy of the working class and all working people. Overcoming sectarian isolationism, while preserving the organisational and ideological independence of the communist movement is the basic principle of the communists in working out their approach both towards the national bourgeoisie during the struggle for political independence and towards those forces (in particular, the revolutionary democrats) who today head the Arab national liberation movement, as well as towards the complex of national and social problems facing the peoples of the Arab countries.

The history of the communist movement in the Arab countries goes to prove the validity of its general strategic and tactical principles. The successful application of these principles in the Middle East and North Africa increases the prestige and influence of the communists. Any attempt to ignore these principles results in serious errors which can become irreversible, in certain circumstances.

NOTES

- 1 M. A. Persits discussed this in his article "A Major Source of India's Communist Movement". In: *Rabochi Klass i Sovremennost*, No. 2, 1980.
- 2 Abd Al-Asim Muhammed Ramadan, *The Development of the National Movement in Egypt (1918-1936)*, Cairo, 1968, p. 82 (in Arabic).
- 3 J. Couland, "Regards sur l'histoire syndicale et ouvrière égyptienne (1899-1952)". In: *Mouvement ouvrier, communisme et nationalismes dans le monde Arabe*, Paris, 1978, pp. 181-82.
- 4 Quoted from: B. Y. Volgin, "Some Problems of the History of the Communist Movement in Egypt (in the Writings of R. Said)". In: *The October Revolution and the Topical Problems of the Arab World*, Moscow, 1979, pp. 216-17 (in Russian).
- 5 *Correspondances Internationales*, No. 31, 1923, p. 219-20.
- 6 *Correspondances Internationales*, No. 3, 1922, pp. 20-21.
- 7 See: Rifat As-Said, *History of the Socialist Movement in Egypt (1900-1925)*, Beirut, 1975, pp. 188-90 (in Arabic).
- 8 J. Couland, "Regards sur l'histoire syndicale...", p. 186.
- 9 *Correspondances Internationales*, No. 56, 1924, pp. 59-60.
- 10 See: Rifat As-Said, *History of the Socialist Movement in Egypt...*, pp. 194-96.
- 11 See: *Correspondances Internationales*, No. 56, 1925.
- 12 The first national enterprises of a capitalist type, in particular textile mills, appeared in Beirut and Damascus in the mid-1920s and early 1930s. According to a 1956 census of industrial enterprises taken in Syria, only seven joint-stock companies of the forty-one registered in the country were founded between 1929 and 1944. See: E. Longness, "The Working Class of Syria", *At-Tarik*, Beirut, October 1978, Nos. 4-5, p. 56 (in Arabic).
- 13 Data in: J. Couland, *Le mouvement syndicale au Liban (1919-1946)*, Paris, 1970, pp. 135-36.
- 14 J. Couland, *Le mouvement syndicale au Liban...*, pp. 87-91.
- 15 See: Khalid Bagdash, "Forty Years of Service to the Motherland and People", *Al-Abbar*, Beirut, November 8, 1964, p. 1 (in Arabic).
- 16 See: M. Dakrub, "We, the Party of the Working Class Proclaim... (The Formation of the Communist Party of Lebanon)", *An-Nida al-Usvi*, October 26, 1980, p. 26 (in Arabic).
- 17 Quoted from: M. Dakrub, *The Roots of the Red Oak (The Formation of the Communist Party of Lebanon 1924-1931)*, Beirut, 1974, pp. 315-16 (in Arabic).
- 18 *International Press Correspondence*, No. 61, 1926, p. 1041.
- 19 See: Rifat As-Said, *History of the Socialist Movement of Egypt...*, pp. 313-22.
- 20 After the repressions of 1924, the number of intellectuals in the Communist Party of Egypt dropped to 5 or 6 per cent (See: Avigdor, "The Major Stages in the Development of the Communist Party of Egypt". In: *Revolutsionny Vostok*, No. 6, 1934, p. 79 (in Russian).
- 21 *Correspondances Internationales*, No. 41, 1922.
- 22 The Wafdists never downplayed the significance of the working-class movement as a force opposed to British colonialism. On October 18, 1919 Abd ar-Rahman Fahmi, the future leader of the Wafd workers' movement, wrote to Saad Zaghlul that the ability of the workers to respond instantly to an appeal of the nationalists "makes them a mighty force, whose importance must not be underestimated" (quoted from: J. Couland, "Regards sur l'histoire syndicale...", p. 185).
- 23 *Ibid.*, p. 187.

- 24 *International Press Correspondence*, No. 53, 1927, p. 1190.
- 25 *The Communist International*, No. 4, 1925, p. 68 (in Russian).
- 26 *Correspondances Internationals*, No. 26, 1924, pp. 297-98.
- 27 *International Press Correspondence*, Special Number, No. 88, 1928, pp. 1159-1676.
- 28 See: *Documents of the Communist International*, Moscow, 1933, pp. 850-51 (in Russian).
- 29 *The Communist International*, No. 29/30, 1920, pp. 78-79 (in Russian).
- 30 Amin Said, *The Great Arab Revolution*, Cairo, p. 312 (in Arabic).
- 31 M. Dakrub, *The Roots of the Red Oak ...*, pp. 356-57.
- 32 *Ibid.*
- 33 *International Press Correspondence*, No. 71, 1926, p. 1242.
- 34 *Ibid.*, No. 61, 1926, p. 1040.
- 35 See: A. Shami, "The Experience of the Syrian Uprising", *Revolutsionny Vostok*, No. 3, 1928, pp. 278-90.
- 36 *Correspondances Internationals*, No. 3, 1928, p. 38.
- 37 *The Communist International*, No. 11, 1925, p. 120 (in Russian).
- 38 *International Press Correspondence*, No. 32, 1924, p. 325.
- 39 *The Communist International*, No. 12, 1925, p. 34 (in Russian).
- 40 V. I. Lenin, "Address to the Second All-Russia Congress of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East. November 22, 1919", *Collected Works*, Vol. 30, p. 162.
- 41 In January 1926, the French colonial administration disbanded the Party of the Lebanese People. In the late 1920s the communist organisation of Syria and Lebanon was restored. From 1930 to 1944 it acted as the Syrian Communist Party and two communist parties were founded on its basis in Syria and Lebanon in 1944.
- 42 *International Press Correspondence*, No. 41, 1930, pp. 863-64.
- 43 *Ibid.*, No. 31, 1930, p. 562.
- 44 See: *Pages from the History of the Syrian Communist Party. Policy Documents and Studies. In Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the SCP (1924-1974)*, 1974, pp. 30-31 (in Arabic).
- 45 *International Press Correspondence*, No. 24, 1936, pp. 658-59.
- 46 *The Struggle of the Communist Parties in the Developing Countries for a United Front*, Moscow, 1976, pp. 20-21 (in Russian).
- 47 *International Press Correspondence*, No. 62, 1935, p. 1541.
- 48 *Documents of the Third Congress of the Syrian Communist Party (June 1969)*, 1969, pp. 52-54 (in Arabic).