

**The Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party**

# **POLITICAL REPORT**

**Tenth National Congress**



**The National Bureau of Culture**

**POLITICAL REPORT**

**TENTH NATIONAL CONGRESS**

*The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party*



## **The Relationship Between Ideology, Strategy and Tactics**

The political strategy of the Party aims, in a scientific and practical way, at developing Arab trends and tendencies towards the higher national aspirations of the Arab Nation in its present stage of historical development. While trying to comprehend and absorb the dialectic peculiar to the present Arab trends and realities, it is also very much involved in controlling and directing the movement, helping it to gain acceleration in the proper direction, consolidating its achievements, safeguarding the correctness of its line and enriching it with national and international experience.

Needless to say that the scientific and objective interpretation of social trends and movements is a prerequisite for their control. It would be necessary therefore, for any political strategy of a revolutionary and scientific nature, to be closely associated

with a scientific and revolutionary theory which can comprehend and absorb comprehensively the movement of society at a certain historical stage.

The overall and permanent strategy of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party is to build a socialist, democratic and unified Arab Nation fulfilling thus the aspirations of unity, freedom and socialism. It is a long range strategy encompassing a whole historical phase. As for the phased aims and targets, it would be necessary to define matters of action in the light of their national importance, urgency and their impact on the future of the Nation. Such matters of urgency include the Palestine problem, the imperialist invasion of the Arabian Gulf, liquidating foreign military bases in some Arab countries and the creation of new forms and formulas for integrationist action. On the social level, this involves the elimination of the remnants of feudalism and regression. The clear vision and understanding of the dialectical relationship between the national and the social, together with the present forms of struggle, is necessary for defining the strategy of each phase.

A clear and definitive ideological framework is basic for the elevation of the strategy from the level of the expedient to the level of the scientific and which is capable of comprehending the direction of historical change and the laws of social development.

Ideology is also a basic safeguard for political strategy against the loss of vision in daily tactics or overestimating the importance of tactics at the expense of strategy or divorcing tactics from strategy all together.

The ideology of the Arab Revolution as embodied by the Party is the theoretical framework of the Party's scientific interpretation of historical movement in Arab society. The basic factors governing the direction of the movement and the political strategy of the Party must of necessity be an application of the ideology within certain circumstances of time and place which takes into consideration the present forms of external and internal struggle and the real volumes and weights of the acting political and social forces. While theory is a revelation of the historical context and direction of development of Arab society within the wider human picture, political strategy tries to discover and analyse the main contradictions governing the direction of the masses' movement at a certain phase of this context and its relationship with the secondary contradictions. Their relationship is dialectical. For as theory without strategy is only thought unorganized and ineffective, so is political strategy without an ideological foundation. It is an action lacking in the

scientific historical standard. Consequently it becomes experimental tactic devoid of dimensions and clear ends.

It is true that, while tactics are in addition to being a provisional plan of action consonant with objective and subjective circumstances of strategic clarity, they are at the same time an act of accommodation with circumstances uncatered for by strategy. In the absence of relationship between theory and strategy, tactics become a *defacto* strategy. It becomes a chronic disease whose most obvious symptoms are absolute submission to necessities without being able to envisage the phase or historical line of development of society. In such cases, norms of struggle degenerate and become a continuous practice of manouvre, gamble and incomplete solutions. Thus, the absence of theory leads to the absence of strategy and political work becomes continuous tactics.

The interdependence of political strategy and revolutionary ideology, enables the Arab Movement to forecast the moments of change, when secondary contradictions are liable to become primary ones and consequently the Movement is able to anticipate events with a capacity to re-evaluate temporary alliances in time. Thus the revolutionary movement will never be out of step with events. It will not



retreat or give up its position of leadership. It will not submit to expedient solutions which sap its revolutionary energy by arresting the development of struggle to the benefit of certain political leaders whose interests are not served by the new phase of revolutionary work. While political strategy is helped by ideology to recognize and distinguish between phenomena and never lose itself in details, theory is enriched by political practice and direct contact with reality.

Theoretically ideology draws up strategy. In practice, ideology is enriched and tested by revolutionary work which makes strategy a constant source of enrichment for theory and continuous re-discovery and development of the revolutionary idea through recognizable events. It also makes ideology a continuous process of discovering the general historical development of the nation and the age. In other words, ideology makes theoretical strategy. In practice, ideology is enriched and made clearer while strategy itself is tested effectively and made more capable of bridging the gap between revolutionary thought and action.

The rewards of such complete association between political strategy and theory depend a great deal on a third vital condition : the existence of a

revolutionary organization with genuine revolutionary thought, stable strategy and good discipline. Such an element enables the Party to keep high standards in realizing its idea and channelling events in the required direction. The Party can then teach the masses and learn from them on a mutual growth basis.

The vitality of association between political strategy and the ideological framework, the dynamism of such a relationship and its fertile effect depends on an organizational theory inspired in form and basic content by the ideology of the Party and in its details by political strategy. On this basis, the process of defining a phased strategy for the Party is a task with interrelated ideological, political and organizational facets.

National strategy reflects the analysis of the whole political and social phenomena at a certain phase in the development of Arab society, deriving from a revolutionary theory which enters into application under the control and direction of a central command.

Regional strategies, on other hand, analyse the circumstances prevailing in individual Arab countries. They try to discover definite patterns of general laws governing the development of

Arab society in those countries. The relationship between the national and regional strategies is in itself one of interdependence and mutual support. Regional strategies enrich the national strategy by the way they handle the local complications arising from the state of division of the Arab Homeland. Likewise, the national strategy widens the revolutionary horizon of the regional strategies and makes them more effective and less pressed by the prevailing conditions and more drawn to the ideological and organizational form of the Party.

The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party is a national socialist party, cognizant of the reality of the Nation as a whole and based upon national strategy and organization. The greatest threat to the existence of the Party and its mission comes from the distortion of the national meaning. The meaning will be debased if unity comes to mean a mere gathering of separate units rather than actual unification.

Our Party is characterized by its insistence, from the beginning, on the reality of the Nation and its unity and the rejection of the present state of division. For division is unrevolutionary and indeed antirevolution. The national strategy is a complete and original whole and not a mere grouping of local

strategies that are immersed in their daily, local circumstances. The national strategy does take into consideration the peculiar local circumstances and the degree of development of each country in relation to the others and strives at the same time to create suitable conditions for uniform development. This is the central mission of the unified strategy which distinguishes our Party from the other Arab forces of revolution.

The regional strategy is, therefore, only a branch of the national mainstream. It is not a springboard to a national strategy. The meaningful existence of the Party depends on the fulfillment of this important formula. And it will not be possible to achieve such a formula without creating the conditions for cleansing the Party mentality of regional tendencies, of local reform as shown in local political practices which are contradictory to the national strategy. Those conditions can be summed up in the interrelationship of political strategy, the ideological and organizational frames; the unity between thought and leadership. It can be shown then, that any contradiction in the political and national strategy is an ideological and organizational deviation.

Stress on the national meaning of the Party is not only a reminder of the basic axioms from which

the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party sprang, nor is it but a warning against the mistakes and deviations committed during the previous phase of the Party's life, but rather an indicator of the new pinnacle which must be reached by the Party and the Arab struggle at the present stage as an expression of inevitable necessity.

The notion of unification in the previous phase was more of a philosophical nature. The Party was preoccupied with moulding its intellectual strategy until the Arab revolutionary ideology became the main wellspring of contemporary Arab revolutionary thought. In the present phase, after the defeat, the need to give unity a strategic meaning and nature has become an objective necessity and a basic requirement for the struggle against the reactionary Zionist-imperialist alliance.

The new phase of the struggle requires, not only theoretically but practically, that unity be put forward as a base. For in this phase, it would be impossible for any single Arab country, whatever its resources may be, to meet the effects of the defeat and to prepare adequately at the same time for the fight, considering the size of the challenge facing the Arab Nation. The national strategy must of necessity be both the foundation and the springboard.

The relationship of the political strategy to the ideological frame work becomes even stronger as objective circumstances become better suited for a supreme revolutionary effort. There is no room at present, in the life of the Arab Nation, for political work devoid of a revolutionary horizon. There is no justification for the existence of a regime or any political force if it has no role to play in creating the proper conditions for facing the disaster.

This phase, being the most revolutionary phase in contemporary Arab life, requires unity axiomatically as a minimum requirement; complete unity between the political strategy and the ideological framework. This is a phase of ideological-strategic action. Revolutionary-ideological tools capable of absorbing the shock of defeat, are required at this stage as well as theoretical planning for the battle which will bring us victory. This phase is with us now.

Our Party, the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party, is qualified to make its Tenth Congress, like the Ninth, a practical guide for the contemporary Arab revolution. This can be achieved by drawing up a national strategy which meets the objective requirements and needs of the contemporary Arab revolutionary struggle.

The clarification and definition of such a strategy must come as a result of analysing the political realities of the Arab Nation at present, defining the nature of the present phase and the main tasks to be carried at the Party level, the level of political struggle and by the Guerilla Movement.





## **The Present Political Realities in the Arab Homeland at Both the Official and Popular Levels**

The present political realities in the Arab Homeland are the cumulative results of all the historical factors acting upon it both distant and near. The present political reality, on the official and popular levels, is but a reflection of the cultural interaction within the Arab Nation in the past and present and all that it has witnessed of progress and regression. It is also part and parcel of the world political reality and the currents and undercurrents acting upon it, especially those since the Second World War. This past phase of world history has been characterized by currents and countercurrents which have changed the map of the modern world. The most prominent were the liquidation of the old imperialism, political independence of colonized peoples, national unification movements, socialism and its many centers, national liberation movements

and protracted wars of peoples' liberation. At the same time, countercurrents emerged such as neo-colonialism, conspiratorial reaction against the newly independent countries through economic sabotage and military aggression as well as through espionage and agents. National and geographic unifications of a progressive nature were also opposed by the imperialists. The Zionist-imperialist alliance was forged and the world's revolutionary positions were attacked or subverted by imperialism. It is therefore necessary to take into consideration the current international situation in order to understand the present political situation in the Arab Homeland which forms an integral part of it. Politically, the present situation in the Arab world is a reflection of both the struggle for national liberation and the social class struggle; both phenomena were not unfamiliar in either past or present Arab society.

Arab society is distinguished from many of the underdeveloped societies in the Third World by a political and cultural past to which it is drawn by many factors of history, religion and civilization none of which can be ignored when the present political situation is analysed. For many of the present positive and negative factors go back in origin to the

past. The will to sustain and preserve cohesion in the face of disaster and the historical expectation of revolution to change present conditions and re-establish a living relationship with the past and participate actively in the building of human progress, and the many virtues distinguishing the contemporary Arab struggle cannot all be divorced from a civilized past.

On the other hand, contemporary class factors alone cannot explain all that we observe of the negative elements such as narrowmindedness, superficiality, clinging to forms, moral weakness and manipulation of religious belief. These are but a continuation of the degenerate phases of our past. Present sectarian groupings, small nation factionalism and reactionary-minded tendencies are partly reflections and residues of a past which is still with us affecting our political present. On both the official and the popular levels, we can observe the effect of this past in our present institutions and political movements. We cannot ignore the effect of the past in the formation of the present regime in Syria after the revisionist movement of 23rd February, the present regime in Lebanon, and many aspects prevailing in other countries such as Yemen, Sudan and Iraq where sectarian, tribal and nationalistic influences play their role directly or indirectly in the lives of

these countries. The bases of many political creeds in the Homeland are decided by their stance toward the past. Some political organizations, especially the ideological ones, have made the Arab past one of the main ideological pillars of their work. Reactionary, conservative and rightist movements adopt a highly emotional but negative stance by embracing the past completely and manipulating it for narrow self-interest. Communist parties, on the other hand, especially in their beginnings, adopted an attitude of rejection toward the past. This was emotional and subjective and also unscientific reaction, no less harmful than the attitudes of the reactionary parties and movements.

Our Party's attitude was distinguished by the adoption of a positive and effective attitude with no blind submission to the past, as was done by the reactionaries, conservatives and rightists, yet no irrational rejection. For the rejection of such a glaring objective truth would only mean ignoring the crystal clear realities of Arab political life; such realities as can be witnessed in the lives of individuals as well as institutions, and which give distinguishing features to the Arab struggle. The past with all its positive and negative elements occupies a part of the contemporary Arab political life, but the

contemporary struggle of the Nation occupies the largest part.

There are two aspects of Arab struggle during this century : the national liberation aspect and the social class aspect. The first aspect was clear with distinguishing features from its beginnings as expressed in the national renaissance which characterized the Arab liberation movement at the end of the Ottoman era. The division of the Arab Homeland into many states, large and small, and the crushing of its unity under Western imperialism also resulted in the nature of the Arab liberation struggle being divided as well. The distortion of the struggle pushed it towards scattered and incomplete forms. Thus the slogan for political independence, under conditions of division, pushed the national struggle towards positions of regional interest, away from the national line. The imperialists used their influence to subvert the independence movements and transform them into empty and hollow formal movements. Heroes of independence were transformed into self-seeking manipulators of the national struggle, devotees of division and road-blocks in the way of the Arab Revolution. Had it not been for the role played by the Arab Ba'th Socialist Movement during the last third of a century,

the regional frames would have snuffed the Arab revolutionary idea out of existence. And the contemporary Arab Revolution would have remained a dream for the unborn generations.

The contemporary Arab social class struggle, went hand in hand with the national liberation struggle. They were two faces of the same reality which is the contemporary Arab Revolution. The historical continuity of the Revolution made the emergence of the second aspect possible. But the second aspect did not obviate the first. The national insurgencies in Egypt (1905 and 1919), Iraq (1920), Lebanon (annually during the Ottoman rule), Syria (1925), Morocco (Independence 1947), Palestine (the thirties), Algeria (1954), and the Sudan (Wad Habouda insurgency of 1907 as a continuation of the Mahdi uprising), were all peasant in nature. For as much as these uprisings were national liberation movements primarily directed against imperialism and colonialism, they harboured also the seeds of class movement which would place the feudalists increasingly, in the same category with the imperialists as class injustices and manipulation became clearer and the alliance between the feudalists and the imperialists against the masses in the Homeland was revealed. Class struggle between the peasants and the feudalists, in most Arab countries, took

violent forms. The role of labour unions and workers' struggle continued to increase on the social, patriotic and national levels especially in Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Libya. The movement for independence in the Arab Homeland and the national struggle in general is thus characterized by a national content which reflects the dialectic peculiar to the contemporary Arab experience. The independence movement started as an Arab liberation movement against Ottoman rule and as a peasant rejection of the manipulating classes. As Western imperialism imposed its policy of dividing the Arab Homeland and consolidating the division, the movement for independence took a form of struggle for solidifying the national content of the patriotic movement, and refusal to falsify or degrade its meaning to the level of regionalism. It also fought against divorcing political independence from national independence and against the hegemony of the *bourgeois* class and its attempts to appoint itself the guardian of the national movement.

When the progressive elements of regionalism attempted to draw a line between the national and the social contents of the Movement in the Arab Homeland, it was the duty of the Arab Revolutionary Movement to explain and unmask the deviation

which tries to make a separate road for social struggle and socialism away from the pan-national struggle.

The Arab Revolutionary Movement found itself compelled to unmask other deviations of a different kind... the bureaucratic and individualistic deviations and the attempts of the *petite bourgeoisie* to overrule the masses and Arab Revolutionary Movement itself. The phase of the fifties and the sixties witnessed struggle within the national movement between the revolutionary popular unionist current and the many other attempts of revision, distortion and enmity engendered by many various sources covering a wide spectrum, from the enemy reactionary forces opposing the national progressive struggle line to the local communistic movements adopting a negative stance with regard to the Arab union both intellectually and practically, to the forces of regionalism which took upon themselves the mission of rationalizing the division, to the purely nationalistic movements which imposed a sort of contradiction between the national idea and socialism, to the regimes which emptied the slogans of Arab revolutionary union of their popular content and made them tools for authority, thus making the Arab



Revolutionary Movement devoid of the essence of its historical power and effectiveness.

Communist and regional parties, progressive and reactionary alike, emphasized in the beginning, the regional aspect without attention to the general national comprehensive frame of the Arab struggle. The stress on the artificial division of the Arab Homeland was accompanied with a Stalinist understanding of internationalism with official satellite-like relationships rather than popular and humane relationships. In both cases, those parties, not only jumped over the national reality and ignored it, but also fought against it in claiming the social aspect as an alternative to the national one. After a long period of trial and error, they gradually started to rid themselves of the effects of Stalinism only to find themselves arriving at the position of awareness of the national aspect where they should have started a long time ago. Arriving late as they did, without proper self-criticism, they were not prone to admit to the fact that the scientific formula for the contemporary Arab struggle must be that which combines dialectically the national and the social and that the Arab Ba'th Socialist Movement was the only movement in the Arab Homeland which had discovered this truth more than a third of a century ago.

The Party fought for the consolidation of this idea which was unjustifiably ignored by others. Conclusions, of class significance, must be drawn out of the ideological stance adopted by the communist parties over this long period of contemporary Arab history. For in ignoring the peasant element in the struggle and overstressing the undersized working class and by forgetting the distinctive features of underdevelopment of Arab society at this stage, the communist parties made their slogans more like a cover without substance, which was used by the *petite bourgeoisie* during the late fifties and sixties to fight the ideology of the Arab socialist-unionist movement which is the scientific expression of the interests of the working class in the Arab Homeland. The communist parties brought this about by placing nationalism and socialism in opposing camps rather than in one trench.

The remnants of the *bourgeoisie* and the feudalists found a gap through which to strike at the first unionist experiment in 1958 and to make anti-unionism a common point of interest for the *petite bourgeoisie* both left and right and a point of meeting for the communist and the reactionary parties to fight the unionist tide and redirect it into regionalism. Ambition for power gained priority over organized popular revolutionary work which made it

possible for the *petite bourgeoisie* to penetrate the unionist movement. The Nasserist Movement and the regional revisionist section in our Party are both examples of the dictatorial and individualistic mentality in spite of the differences and distinguishing features of Nasserism. This is in addition to the adroitness in the use of the bureaucratic and repressive machines instead of harnessing the people's energy. Placing the interest of a single region above the interests of the Nation, and using the slogans in the opposite direction to their meaning, were all introductory to the unionist setback and the deviations of 18th November, 1963 and 23rd February, 1966 and last but not least, the Arab defeat of the 5th June, 1967.

The adoption of the slogans and aims of the Arab Revolutionary Movement by the regimes, and the establishment of the Egyptian-Syrian union of 1958 with all the popular enthusiasm that accompanied it, made optimism, hope and confidence supersede caution, and incapacitated the critical evaluation capacities of those regimes.

Nasserism capitalized on both the special place of Egypt and the personality of Nasser as a cover up for the fact of its regionalism. The glitter of its outward protestations of being unionist did in fact drive attention away from its real nature. It is a

movement that was born in the shadow of authority, sprung out of the cult of individual leadership and had no intellectual or popular base. Such a movement could only be born out of the state of division regardless of its protestations of unionist intentions and goodwill. For the nature of its formation and structure imposes its regional second nature. The Nasserist-unionist brand was never more than the traditional Egyptian policy in continuity which meant, on the Arab level, working within new forms and formulas of competition, power balance and regional expansion under the unionist slogans emptied of their real meaning. Likewise, the regionalism of 23rd February capitalized on the name of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Movement and its historical reputation to cover up for its sectarian and tribalist nature. Sectarianism is a chronic disease of regionalism.

In the last analysis, the political state of the Arab Homeland is part and parcel of the state of the world where, through interaction, new currents and peculiar features emerge.

The Arab Homeland, according to world experts, is the most strategic area in the world. Extending across four thousand miles, controlling commerce between the Far East and Europe, occupying the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean and

containing vast material and human resources, the Arab World is qualified to play a leading role in the life of the modern world if it is given the opportunity to be liberated and unified under a modern progressive system.

In spite of the fact, the ideal of the national union, which characterized the modern Arab struggle, is no stranger to the post Second World War world when calls for greater unions and mergers intensified in Europe, Africa and Latin America. The idea was resisted and opposed by all the contemporary international powers in various degrees and for various reasons and motivations. During the forties and the fifties, while the strategy of Arab struggle was being formed and defined and while the nature of the Arab revolutionary work was mostly ideological, it was the strategy of the imperialist enemy to conspire against the idea of unification. At the same time, the consecration of division in the Arab Homeland was one of the tasks motivating the communist parties in the Arab world. The establishment of Israel formed the meeting ground between the imperialist schemes and the world Zionist plan to prevent unification which is the greatest threat to the future of the imperialist interests in the Arab Homeland. The lack of awareness of this fact, was one of the factors which

led the Socialist Camp away from confronting the conspiracies against unification and solidarity with the Arab revolutionary striving for unity.

Many parties sprouted up during the thirties and forties whose sole mission was to oppose and resist the unification ideal and subvert the strategy of consolidating that ideal. The ideological struggle during those phases had its effect in helping the new phase to mature; the phase of putting the unification ideal into practice and the launching of a strategy for a unified Arab Homeland on a progressive and socialist basis. The imperialist strategy had to intensify its efforts against the growing threat to its interests. The Zionist-imperialist alliance was quick to notice the grave consequences of the unionist struggle which was mostly ideological during the phase previous to the establishment of the 1958 union. The organic unity of Arab struggle during that phase had the role of unmasking the forged and incorrect forms of formal political independence which put the resources of an independent Arab country as a roadblock in the way of unification and never at the service of the Palestine Cause which is the main fulcrum of Arab struggle. Such hollow independence was empty of economic, social and cultural content and was only a superficial transfer of authority from foreign hands

to the hands of the ruling *bourgeoisie* and feudalists. The Zionist-imperialist alliance was also aware of the main role played by the unification struggle in dealing a lethal blow to the imperialist proposed alliances, concluding the Algerian Revolution successfully and in breaking the artificial isolationism of Egypt enabling it to participate in the leadership of the struggle. It was the unification ideal which sparked off revolutions and uprisings in most of the Arab areas, far from the familiar centers of Arab struggle, and led consequently, to the establishment of the Egyptian-Syrian Union of 1958 and the eruption of the Iraqi Revolution of 14th July. The phase of applied unification was accompanied by the emergence of new international developments relating to the elements and factors of struggle in the Arab area.

The U.S.A. had started by the forties to enter directly into the arena of struggle in the area. This became more obvious after the imperialist-Zionist tripartite aggression against Egypt in 1956. The Theory of Vacuum and the Eisenhower Doctrine were declared after the retreat of the British-French influence, only as introductory to American entrenchment. Where the Arab struggle started to gain new positions, American influence was already on the

move under the guise of fighting communism and the communist threat.

The direct advent of the U.S.A. into the area required simply more solidarity and support from the Socialist Camp for the Arab liberation forces and more unity among the progressive forces in the Arab world. But the Arab struggle was faced, in addition to the conspiracies of the enemy, with many negative elements foremost of which was the mutual misunderstanding between the unionist liberation movement on the one hand and the progressive and socialist forces, both nationally and internationally, on the other. This mutual misunderstanding was one of the factors responsible for weakening the Arab revolutionary position and giving the opportunity to the reactionary elements for more opportunism and distortion of the aims of the unionist liberation struggle and more attempts at falsifying and deviation after the failure of the Egyptian-Syrian unionist experiment. This is in addition to all the contradictions that emerged, the factionalism and deviationism which kept reverberating in the revolutions of 23rd July in Egypt, the 14th July and 14th Ramadan in Iraq, the Algerian Revolution and 8th March revolution in Syria until all was very obvious in the June War of 1967.

A sort of a common denominator of contradic-



tions existed between the Arab liberation movement on the one hand and the aggressive Zionist-imperialist strategy and the Soviet strategy on the other. It was not possible to camouflage on the official political level the first contradiction in spite of all the attempts by American policy to cover up for its alliance with the Zionists and make capital out of its attitude toward the 1956 aggression in the Arab world. The second contradiction, that with the Soviet Union, remained surrounded by many features of camouflage on the official level. For the Soviet Union could act as a friend concerning armaments, loans and moral support during acute crises with the imperialists while masking, on the official level, the contradiction between Soviet strategy and the Arab Revolutionary Movement. This contradiction centers mainly on the following :

- 1) The question of unification and the unionist current.
- 2) The Palestine Question and the attitude concerning the Zionist presence in Palestine.
- 3) The support for regionalist regimes of military nature, or verbal revolutionary nature, which repress both unionist trends and the masses.

For all of this, the Arab popular revolutionary unionist socialist struggle has been fighting on more than one front :

- a) The Zionist-imperialist reactionary, alliance front.
- b) Socialist unconcern front.
- c) The front of the regionalist regimes of military nature.
- d) The front of the progressive forces supporting the regionalist regimes.

This many-frontal war and the lack of means to freeze these contradictions, made the disaster of the June War seem a natural consequence of a persistent crisis through which the Arab struggle went during the sixties. The June disaster was accompanied by a chain reaction of setbacks, defeats and disasters which overtook the revolutionary movement throughout the world as a result of the imperialist attack, the Zionist-imperialist alliance and the internal divisions in the Socialist Camp. No doubt, the June disaster was the most painful of all the international conspiracies simply because it came as no surprise to Arab revolutionary thought and was, indeed, to be expected. It came as a result of the divisive practices pursued in the sixties by many and various parties, internal, external, national, foreign, progressive and reactionary.

The disaster did not only wipe out the gains of the Arab revolutionary struggle for a quarter of a century, was not only the out come of an external aggression, but it was also the result of internal sabotage of the struggle which was manipulated together with its consequences to the full by the aggressors. The June catastrophe throws light on the events preceding it just as it illustrates the reality of the political state before and after the disaster. In each of the areas vacated by the imperialists, many contradictions were left behind that make it easier for permanent imperialist presence in the area. Imperialism made a mockery of regional political independence by preserving and promoting the problems of national minorities, sectarianism and other economic, cultural and class problems. Political independence in many Arab countries became a thin cover for the imperialist presence. It was not difficult therefore for the Zionist-imperialist reactionary alliance to make the Zionist presence possible in Palestine in 1948, the first really bitter experience which contemporary Arab life was made to suffer. This evil alliance was able to make common cause and interest with many Arab regimes, as a result of their backwardness and division, and was able to impose without much difficulty the imperialist plan in accordance with its

strategy. The class origins and affiliations of the Arab governments, made it easier for the Zionist-imperialist alliance to use those governments in repressing the masses which reacted strongly to the first Arab defeat. The governments' incapacity to check the popular mass tide which began to show signs of real revolution as a result of increasing adoption of the Arab revolutionary ideology, led the imperialists to resort to military *coups* which came as a reaction to the governments' incapacity to cope with the phase that followed the catastrophe of 1948. The imperialist success, was limited however, because military *coups* enjoy, at best, minimal popular sympathy. Anglo-French imperialism experienced the apex of failure with the abortion of the 1956 tripartite aggression against Egypt and, later the triumph of the Algerian Revolution.

The failure of imperialism led it to make a new appraisal of the situation in the Arab area. For the Arab revolutionary movement had gained new and important positions on the popular level after the slogan of the unity of Arab struggle had become a consolidated fact able to move the masses from the Gulf to the Atlantic. With the failure of the military *coups* which had succumbed to imperialist machinations (those of Husni al-Za'im, Hinnawi

and Adib Shishakli) the Arab revolutionary movement moved from the phase of political struggle, which was more in the nature of extemporaneous popular mass response, to Arab revolutionary ideology, the phase of planned strategic work. Ideological slogans had now to be put into practice.

The new phase of the Arab revolutionary movement started against a backdrop of intense nationalism and an aware desire for democracy and socialism. The slogan for Syrian-Egyptian unification was voiced in 1956 and plans were made to make this slogan a reality imposed by the masses. The idea of a popular national front in the whole Arab Homeland was proposed in 1957. When the Syrian-Egyptian unification came in 1958, it came as a great surprise for the imperialist schemes and as a historical event threatening the Zionist-imperialist and reactionary presence in the area promising to upset all the calculations of the imperialists.

The failure of the old British-French imperialist policy in the area, led to the emergence of the new imperialism with new forces and brand new methods whose main aim was to strike at the foundations of the unification tide, disarm the masses of their new power, falsify and distort the socialist trends and check nationalism by regional socialism. In short,

the enterprise was aimed at spoiling the revolutionary climate of the Arab struggle by new immoral ways and means. The new imperialism, led by the United States in alliance with the old imperialism, was able to forge some new alliances (CENTO) and to make a travesty of the independence of Tunisia and Libya. It was able to send NATO forces to Algeria after 1956, tighten its hold on Saudi Arabia, save the Jordanian throne from collapse under the hammering of the popular movement, intervene directly in Lebanon, encircle the 14th July Revolution in Iraq, fabricate the 17th November *coup* in the Sudan, led by the Abboud military clique, and tighten its hold on the Sudan after the October Revolution of 1964 through the wing of Al-Sadeq Al-Mahdi in the Ummah Party and through the leadership of the National Unionist Party.

Arab reactionaries, as well as the deviations and errors of the communist parties, made it easier for the Zionist-imperialist schemers to strike at the unification current in the Arab Homeland by causing the Syrian-Egyptian union to disintegrate and the revolutionary forces to squabble and drown in negative competition and internal struggle. During that phase, secondary contradictions were made to come to the fore. For ever since the disintegration

of the Union in 1961, the Arab revolutionary movement on both the popular and official levels has been preoccupied by infighting and internal contradictions leaving the enemy at rest and living through a phase of aimlessness and scattering. Disaster was inevitable and was only to be expected.

Like every phase of retreat and defeat, this phase was characterized by degeneration and the recovery of negative phenomena which had been on the wane. Local and regional tendencies came to the fore as well as tribal, sectarian and individualistic tendencies. Even a new type of parasitic verbal revolutionism emerged which was much nearer to revolutionary nihilism than anything else. It had the paradoxical nature of spouting slogans shockingly contradictory to stands, using faulty standards for struggle, giving priority to ambition and authority over the more important concerns of popular struggle, using authority to repress the masses and freedom-fighters and finally putting the survival of the regime above any other national or human consideration. Such a kind of degeneration was common to all Arab progressive regimes prior to the fateful 5th June.

The Arab progressive regimes faced the Zionist-imperialist alliance under such conditions and were

inveigled into battle with the alliance with such infirmities. The shocking defeat which followed revealed the reactionary conspiratorial escalation and the bankruptcy of the mentalities, programmes and methods of the so-called progressive regimes. It was inevitable then that the phase following 1967 should do to the Arab state of things what the first defeat did after 1948, if not more. False revolutionism is to be brutally unmasked to make way for the emergence of higher and better revolutionary work with new dimensions capable of absorbing the defeat and preparing for the next battle. It should also be able to benefit by the experience and transform it into a springboard for victory.

It should be assumed that the 17th July, 1968 revolution in Iraq; the 25th May, 1969 revolutionary movement in the Sudan and the 1st September, 1969 movement in Libya, should carry the possibilities of realizing the required revolutionary conditions. For they have come about as a result of detonated popular resentment and a desire for improved work. There are signs of new common phenomena in the revolutionary outlook and interpretation as there were common phenomena among the so-called Arab progressive regimes prior to the 5th June.

The old phenomena was expressed in the love of



authority and the use of authority as an arbiter for disputes within party organizations, internal sabotage, the widespread use of torture, suppression of freedom-fighters, rejection of front-level work, replacement of strategy by tactics of expediency, intellectual impotency, moral degeneration and demagoguery. The new phenomena, on the other hand, point to a final divorce from all the old wornout patterns and formulas of unwieldy moulds, a break with devisiveness and ascent to a new level of awareness, planning, tactics and determination to make defeat a cause for comprehensive correction in all aspects of Arab life. These common features are imposed by necessity on the new regimes that emerged after the defeat.

The present political map of the Arab Homeland features four main types of political regimes :

- 1 — Reactionary regimes of backward social construction, openly in alliance with imperialism.
- 2 — Reactionary regimes of relatively developed social structure.
- 3 — Progressive regimes representing the pre-1967 era.
- 4 — New progressive regimes born after the June war.

The new model of the political regimes that appeared after the 5th June cannot all be that new, in a revolutionary sense, unless it meets the standard imposed by the new revolutionary phase and unless it avoids the infirmities of the previous phase which for the most part can be summed up as follows :

- a) Prevalence of the regional mentality and submission to the ways and means that take regionalism for granted.
- b) Bureaucrati-Bonapartist mentality which negates the role of the masses and opposes the revolutionary party organization for the masses, or at best tries to use revolutionary thought and revolutionary partisans as tools for authority and never abides by collective leadership.
- c) Isolationism, partisan narrow-mindedness and opposition to front-level activity.
- d) Lack of interest in the armed struggle and delaying its development into a real people's war.
- e) Falsifying the struggle of the peasant and working classes and hindering their real participation in the leadership of the struggle.
- f) Acceptance of the so-called peaceful solution of the Palestine Problem, or superficial rejection

without creating the objective conditions for liberation.

The new Arab political regime must rid itself of the weaknesses peculiar to the *petit bourgeois* mentality in order to be able to rise up to the required standard. The general picture of the new model regime must of necessity be able to impose the national mentality and logic, consider integrationist strategy as the main springboard, and the ideological partisan activity as a steady and stable base for successful political work. It must also harness the popular energy and enlist the help of broad fronts to achieve harmony and unity among the forces of Arab revolution. Broad frontal work must be closely knit to the armed popular struggle. All necessary means must be allowed for the real participation of the working class in the leadership of the Arab struggle. The so-called peaceful solution of the Palestine Problem must be rigorously rejected and all measures taken to put the armed struggle on the proper footing in the face of the Zionist-imperialist challenge as well as to deal blows to Arab reaction and root out all treachery and conspiracy against the Arab revolution. The new regime must do all this to be worthy of the great responsibilities imposed by regeneration.

It follows that the new regimes are faced with the following possibilities :

- a) Succumbing to the projects of the peaceful solution which all converge on one point : the acceptance of Israel, and consequently, putting the Arab area within the sphere of economic and political manipulation making it an easy target for aggression.
- b) Waging an all-out war in the near future which may lead to a new Arab defeat and thus becoming contributors to defeat.
- c) Waging a war of attrition which in itself is full of many possibilities that can be forecast in advance as follows :
  - 1 — An ineffectual war of attrition incapable of hindering or stopping the Israeli schemes in the Arab area or preventing her from reaping the fruits of the 5th June aggression. This kind of war serves the same purposes as the peaceful solution with the sole difference of allowing the Arab regimes to save face.
  - 2 — An effective war of attrition which may push Israel, desiring vengeance, to react strongly and thus expose Arab unpreparedness for confrontation. This could occur, especially if Israel used the Phantoms and other superior weapons supplied by American imperialism.

3 — A war of attrition which might suddenly escalate into a full fledged war, in which case the result is predictable : another defeat for the Arab regimes.

Evidently, the Arab regimes are in a historical impasse. What and where is the way out ?

The conflict with the enemy of the Arab Nation never ceases. The enemy will never give time to the Arab regimes to rearrange their affairs. It is therefore indispensable to produce a struggle strategy which relies on the quantitative weight of the Arab masses in the face of the qualitative superiority of Israel and the imperialist powers. In other words, the strategy of the people's liberation war.

Our Party is the most capable of all the Arab revolutionary forces to realize this strategy, simply because it was a popular mass movement even before the assumption of power. The authority of our Party in Iraq rests upon fully mobilized revolutionary masses with deep traditions of struggle.

Our Party in Iraq needs to adopt such a strategy more than other Arab regime because it faces the double danger of aggressive intentions and expansionist tendencies from both Israel and Iran.

The ability of our Party as a revolutionary authority to adopt the strategy of the people's liberation war is a test of quality distinguishing it from the pre-5th June regimes.

The first three types of political regimes aforementioned are suffering the after-effects of the catastrophe whose contradictions are reaching the point of explosion. Their existence is contrary to the nature of the present phase and they draw the justifications of their existence from the support of internal and external vested interests.

Any progress achieved by the latter type of Arab regime will only make that type more capable of realizing the needs of the phase and hastening the end of the former types in order to open new horizons for the work of the Arab Revolution. If the new type, however, allows the diseases and infirmities of the previous phase to find a way into its body, that will only give the former types a new lease on life and reconfuse the issues in the present phase. The new regime is facing a historical test which it must pass. All revolutionary efforts must help in the process.

On the popular level, the emergence of guerilla action after the 5th June defeat adds a new

factor to the present political state. Guerilla action and the new-type regimes can mutually support one another with the latter helping the former to escape attempts of encirclement and liquidation and also helping it to break out of the narrow limits which isolate it from its wider Arab revolutionary sphere. The new regime can help the guerilla action in achieving its independence, unity and development. This is the field in which the Arab revolutionary forces can prove their worth by recognizing the new revolutionary phase and rising up to meet its requirements.

The political forces are facing an inevitable test. They will never be able to meet the new phase without being able to absorb and digest the errors of the previous one. They must start from a new understanding of themselves, their people and the work of the Arab Revolution. In the present phase a new plan is required from each revolutionary force equal to the task imposed by the national battle.

The political movements that practiced self-criticism after the 5th June by making an appraisal of methods and their states of affairs in the light of the crisis, are few and rare. Few also are those who developed their attitudes toward other political forces, ridding themselves of their previous reactions

and renewing their outlook, strategy and tactics in order to play the grave role and carry the responsibilities of the present revolutionary phase.

If anything, the crisis has indeed broken the barriers between the revolutionary Arab forces. However, the suitable and objective conditions for the positive revolutionary work which transcend the old ugly patterns are still meeting with subjective obstacles that fail to comprehend the new atmosphere and requirements. Prior to the defeat, the dialectic between the subjective factors and the objective ones generally used to end in favour of the former. It was inevitable then that the Arab struggle should deviate from its historical upward movement and suffer a setback. The sixties then were the years when the subjective prevailed over the objective disfiguring many aspects of the Arab struggle, its institutions and tools. The crisis is now destined to turn the tide in favour of the objective.

Grave indeed is the present Arab political situation. It is truly a question of life or death, oblivion or survival. Clearly, in the light of this seriousness, the revolutionary forces in the Arab Homeland are required to come out of their previous positions of isolation, arrogance and ignorance of reality. They are required to shed their moral degradation and



strive to create the conditions necessary for controlling circumstances.

The Arab revolutionary forces in their present state of disarray are incapable of absorbing creatively the defeat, let alone achieving triumph. In this state, they are not only incapable of leading the masses, but also lack the self-confidence to lead. They are not only unable to prepare for the battle with the Zionist-imperialist enemy but also unable to plan for it theoretically. Theoretical planning requiring in the first place a primarily healthy outlook which does not exist at present and cannot come into being without self-confidence and hope in a not too distant victory. This is the required minimum which cannot be attained without striking a harmonious balance between the subjective and the objective by realizing the national front at the Arab Homeland level, meaning the unity of all Arab revolutionary forces in the face of the enemy and the forces of those conspiring against the destiny of the Nation and its cause of unity, freedom and socialism.

## **Defining the Nature of the Present Phase**

The strategy of the Ninth National Congress considered the 5th June defeat as a historical turning point separating two eras : the pre-defeat revolutionism and the new post-defeat revolutionism required by the new phase. It is a phase of rebirth and re-establishment similar to that of the forties when Arab revolutionary ideology was born.

Nothing has been such a slander to the struggle in the previous phase as was the sort of absurd irresponsible revolutionism which deviated from the historical line of Arab revolutionary action, betraying the masses and their revolutionary aspirations, making authority and institutional regionalism the greatest aim, manipulating all the existing backward conditions to cling to authority using the masses, the organs, as tools to be victimized by authority advocating deviation and wrongdoing until it almost destroyed the Arab revolutionary work with distortion and falsification.

Furthermore nothing helped so much to unmask this kind of spurious revolutionism as the 5th June defeat. It is thus necessary to define and identify the nature of this phase in order to perceive the new standard to which Arab revolutionary work must rise after the 5th June defeat.

A critical look at the many analyses made of the present phase by the various political forces reveals a common lack of comprehensive appraisal, prejudiced judgement, narrow horizons and vested interest. The present phase, in the light of the defeat, seems to be a phase of grave confrontation with the Zionist-imperialist enemy, defense of freedom and existence and protecting the destiny of the Nation against the expansionist Zionist plan to impose peace on the Arabs and force them to relinquish their rights and their future. It is a phase of challenge, preparation for the battle of liberation as well as a phase of national rebirth.

Scientific analysis of the Arab condition, on the other hand, reveals other dimensions in the fifties and sixties which led to the defeat. In the forties the Arab revolutionary propulsion was helped by a structure superior to the *bourgeois* and feudalist regimes of those times. The *petite bourgeoisie* of the Arab revolutionary movement soon made a great

political advance and occupied advanced positions on both the official and popular levels after the defeat of 1948. The balance of power between the *petite bourgeoisie*, the feudalists and the *bourgeoisie* in the fifties tipped in the favour of the *petite bourgeoisie*. By the late fifties what happened was that the *petite bourgeoisie* made a greater advance on the official level than on the popular one. This, in turn, led to the emergence of a crisis of betrayal within the Arab revolutionary movement. The *petit bourgeois* class had been helped by the new national awareness in the countryside and the increasing size and organization of the working class in the cities which contributed to the creation of a wide class base, albeit unorganized, for the revolutionary Arab ideology sympathetic to the Arab revolutionary movement (which was mostly *petit bourgeois*). When the phase of the fifties was crowned by the Union of 1958 and the Revolution of the 14th July plus the survival of the Algerian Revolution, the revolutionary Arab masses were filling the street, forming a great struggle force with great historical power throughout the Arab lands, possessing revolutionary standards sufficient to transcend division, to respond to events and declare the start of a new phase with new thought and new methods. The leadership of the *petite bourgeoisie* was unable to rise up to the new

standard, thus making it possible for the other *bourgeois* class and the feudalists to return to the political theatre and deal the Arab struggle a great blow which resulted in the disintegration of the union and the revival of reaction in the Arab world.

This failure revealed to the revolutionary Arab masses the contradictions that were permeating the Arab revolutionary movement in all its parties and factions. The masses found that the need for renewal and reconstruction was absolutely necessary to the new phase. The awareness of the masses thus was met by an internal awareness within those forces which had sown the seeds of correction.

Some sections of the *petite bourgeoisie*, however, made use of the failure of the *bourgeois* class and the secession to occupy new advanced positions in authority thus again thwarting the leadership role of the *bourgeois* class. At the same time they succeeded in encircling the revolutionary movement of the masses, stifling revolutionary initiatives and killing correctionist and rejuvenating trends.

This class analysis of the progress of the Arab revolutionary work before the defeat of 1967 cannot be completely scientific without analysing the poli-

tical and ideological currents of the fifties which were referred to in the past two sections. Both analyses lead to one conclusion, the 5th June denotes the end of the *petit bourgeois* leadership and the beginning of the leadership of the revolutionary masses; the phase of the integrated and planned strategic work of the masses guided by revolutionary Arab ideology.

The present phase is therefore a phase of transition during which a new level of Arab revolution shall be realized. This phase must be equal to a new scientific level, wide popular work, dialectical association between the political and the social aspects and considering union as the minimum requirement for creating the primary conditions of the new level.

The present phase does accept the continuation of the past intellectual, political and social errors, but does not accept regionalism, apologia and demagogism. The present phase rejects all methods that bypass the people, the methods of compromise and bargaining, just as it does bigotry. It is a phase of transition to a new level of revolutionary maturity in thought, action, planning and execution.

In the light of this, we can easily recognize the backwardness of the views and attitudes which have

not attained the characteristics of the new phase by absorbing the defeat and rising to meet its challenge. Any criticism of the past revolutionism which does not provide a new, mature alternative would only serve reaction and its ilk. Again, any nationalist logic considering the social struggle as responsible for the defeat, calling for the negation of any of the laws of social change as expressed in the class struggle is logic of a deviationist backwardness which sees national integration as a grouping of contradictions rather than the resolution of the contradictions. On the other hand, any negation of the nationalist aspect at the expense of the social aspect and vice versa is a degradation of the revolutionary level, a fall to a regional reformism obstructing the march of the revolution.

The dialectic peculiar to the contemporary Arab revolutionary experience is a complete integration of the national and the social. The imbalance of the formula tying them together was responsible for the loss of priorities and putting the secondary contradictions over and above the main contradictions with the resulting acceleration towards defeat.

The wrong answers and solutions to the defects and deviations of the previous phase greatly impede the progress of the Arab struggle. The answer to

regionalism and division must be integration and the placement of unity before everything else. The answer to secession must be revolutionary integration in which the national is imbued with democratic socialist content, and not a unification of an individualistic dictatorial sort or a mere grouping of contradictions.

The answer to revolutionary childishness must be revolutionary and not retreat to the right. The absence of strategy must not be answered by resort to mere tactics. Unwieldy strategy disassociated from tactics must be replaced by well co-ordinated strategy and not nonstrategic tactics. The answer to stupid ambition for authority must be legitimate ambition based on revolutionary objectivity and not false humility and unjustified disinterest.

Dictatorial tendencies must be replaced by people's democracy and mutual response between the authority and the people. We must not be deceived by outward democracy which serves the interest of anti-revolutionary classes. The interests of the regime over the masses and the Homeland cannot be helped by grievances but only by the regime yielding to the interests of the masses and the Homeland. The answer to overbidding is not underbidding but moderation.



The new phase is not only concerned with the discovery of the errors and defects of the past, but also the discovery of which scientific and correct formulas were thrown out of balance in the past phase. Such a discovery will help avoid the past errors and prevent them from creeping into the new phase.

Apologetic experimental tendencies in the past phase which put its faith in practical tactics and experiment, raising hollow ideological slogans and denying the importance of theoretical guidance and ideological struggle were no less injurious than their opposite as expressed in idealistic ideology overruling theoretical slogans, exaggeration in the importance of thought over practice and treating reality as an application of laws and general theories.

The present phase can no longer afford unideological revolutionary work and lip leftism. It looks for sound mature answers derived from the unity of thought and practice. It will not be enough to draw formulas which cannot be operationalised because divergence between world and thought is unacceptable as it was one of the main contradictions of the past phase. Setting of the Arab struggle on the historical road of movement is the aim of this phase. A revolutionary political and scientific strat-

egy is therefore imperative to the realization of such an aim.

The construction of this strategy on a strong launching platform, a platform of national integration, calls for many sacrifices at all levels of the Party, the Arab political and international fronts as well as that of guerilla action.

## The Strategy of the Present Phase

The points made by the Ninth National Congress' strategy as bases for Party work in the post-defeat phase, save that concerning the leading role of the Party, may still be considered as bases that require more clarification, definition and elaboration within the following observations : \*

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\* *The points concerning Party level work in the report on strategy by the Ninth National Congress are the following :*

- 1 — *In building the Party's organizational infrastructure on a revolutionary basis required revolutionary popular bases that not only require from the member acceptance of the Party's idea but complete commitment in addition to political identification, it also requires the renovation of the Party's class structure by stressing party work among workers and peasants which would help build the main revolutionary base of the party in the new phase. Also defining*

*party cadres, stressing quality and careful selection, attention to party education and expansion in the direction of friendly and supporting cadres is important in creating front organizations.*

- 2 — *Considering revolutionary professionalism as the main backbone of the coming phase it was decided that the Party cannot become a real revolutionary party without the permanent revolutionary cells that mature in work and become the leaven of permanent leaderships. Professional revolutionism depends not only on subjective factors and struggle desires but also on the necessary objective requirements to enable it to make use of party talents by applying a sort of social security within the Party.*
- 3 — *In giving the National Leadership real and effective power over the Party rather than moral and symbolic authority it was decided that the expansion of the National Leadership to include most of the great talents, with a political bureau branching out from it and devoted completely to carrying out its missions, is the suitable organizational formula for the coming phase thus overcoming one of the main difficulties experienced by the Party in the previous phase.*
- 4 — *Complete adherence to the five central democratic principles :*
  - a.) *Participation by the Party's wide base, through election and internal criticism, in*

*making the policies and Party plans. For it is through the practice of the right to criticise that the views of the grassroots reach the highest leadership and, through election that the representatives of the base reach the highest Party congress where the policies and plans are made.*

*b) Subordination and discipline.*

*c) Prevalence of the majority view.*

*d) Unconditional adherence to the decisions of the Party Leadership.*

*e) Leadership, at all levels, to report on their work, plans and behaviour and also confess their mistakes.*

*5 — Considering military training as central to Party education and the door through which all comrades must pass in a revolutionary education consonant with the necessities of the present national phase which requires the introduction of the idea of the armed struggle into each popular organization in the Arab Homeland.*

*6 — The realization of a real cultural revolution within the Party which may help wipe out some signs of backwardness and narrowmindedness and help to enlighten the comrades in depth as to the idea of the Party and contemporary currents of thought. Thus our Party will regain*

*its primary intellectual role in creating national consciousness among the Arab Nation as a whole and especially the Arab working class.*

- 7 — *The rejection of the Stalinist way in revolutionary work which calls for a party in authority while the other parties are considered mere satellites. Such a way ignores the nature of the structure of the Party and the objective requirements of Arab revolutionary work and also distorts the national democratic meaning of the Party and encourages regional trends and assumptions, dictatorial logic and bureaucracy.*
- 8 — *The consideration of the armed forces as one of the main fields of activity. Such activity must be directed towards political and intellectual education and the infusion in professional cadres of political and national awareness which helps define the role of this sector and transform it into a complete revolutionary sector away from adventurism, intervention in daily political affairs and ambition. Such activity must also not be factional, distorting the popular struggle nature of the Party.*
- 9 — *Directing the efforts of the Party towards a central point of attention in developing and protecting the Arab Revolution and the provision of a tool capable of realizing clear and definite targets in its many phases.*

The many defections from struggle in the pre-defeat phase were as much moral as they were national retreats; a condition which reveals a general phase of degeneration resulting mainly from sub-standard Arab revolutionary work. The degeneration of the revolutionary work resulted from non-adherence to Unification as an assumption and a start, plus the failure to correct the Unification Experiment and the tide of regional self-sufficiency which used to revive whenever the revolutionary national awareness was about to purify it of its backwardness and isolationism.

Carrying arms against the Party on 18th October and 23rd February, reviving sectarianism, disregard for partisan morals, immoral back-stabbing, terror, scandal, moral liquidation, rejecting the heritage of the Party and its importance, falsifying the facts and gambling away the national destiny and values, all of these were signs of the degeneration which was a natural outcome of taking the opposite road to the upward road of historical Unification.

2 — To get rid of the effects of that phase and move forward to a new standard of revolutionary partisan work, requires first a return from the deviationism and degeneration of the sixties.

That is to say a release from the regional frames of mind, and an adherence to the Unification principle. This requires hard self-criticism and a new standard of Party education.

The phenomena of little self-criticism in most of the forces of Arab Revolution and the absence of it in some of the forces to the degree of self-deception, is a sign of the continuing practice of the pre-defeat mentality and the lack of readiness to enter the new phase. Indeed, the possible contribution of any of the Arab revolutionary battalions is conditional upon their ability to get rid of the intellectual, political and social errors of the past phase, the errors and deviations of regionalism, backwardness, revolutionary nihilism, dictatorial authority over the masses, isolating the national from the social in the struggle, placing the secondary contradictions ahead of the main ones and preferring subjectivism to objectivism, etc.. This cannot be achieved without merciless self-criticism which may help the revolutionary movement out of the stagnation of the past phase and renew its thought and behaviour.

The practice of self-criticism is the primary healthy sign in revolutionary work after the 5th June. It is a sign of power, self-confidence, sincerity



of purpose and readiness to advance abreast with the new revolutionary phase and bear seriously its responsibilities.

Disregard for past errors, and the absence of analysis and deep study with frankness and moral responsibility are more likely to impede the march of the struggle and make it fall away from the revolutionary level of the new phase into demagogism. In spite of the fact that our Party has practiced such self-criticism in its proclamations and stances after the Ninth National Congress, still the leadership role of our Party makes it incumbent upon it to make each of its step a new lesson in the post-defeat revolutionary work for the masses and the other political battalions and forces. This can only be achieved by the deepening of self-criticism and making it institutional.

3 — The leadership role of the Party was and still is required to achieve a primary mission in the new phase, that of realizing popular front work and the establishment of a progressive national popular front both nationally and regionally. For this reason, the Party is required to keep away from any formula that may separate the Arab revolutionary forces.

The failure to carry out this mission inveigled

the Party in the past phase to practice the one-party formula. While the leadership role of the Party made the popular front work necessary for harnessing the energy of the masses, the Party was left with the one-party formula which was inconsistent with the leadership formula. The leading Party formula was thus devoid of its revolutionary popular front content.

The objective conditions of the Party and the Arab situation after the defeat of June make the unity of all Arab revolutionary forces around a unified revolutionary programme inevitable, in order to be able to face the primary contradictions in the present phase. It also calls for the power of the masses to break the shackles of the past phase and recover the natural and real revolutionary climate. Any failure to realize the popular front work will be badly reflected on the relations of the struggling masses with the Party which may lead again to the repetition of the pre-defeat errors.

The achievement of a popular front action by the Party is an expression of its desire to practice the leadership role unencumbered by the obstacles and immature stances of condescension and airs of superiority over other Arab revolutionary forces.

4 — The post-defeat era presents the unity start as

an intellectual axiom and a practical necessity. The first embodiment of such a unity must start from the Party. For the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party must be the party of those who think and behave in a unified way; the party of those who conquered their internal objective contradictions and whose partisan personal differences are suppressed by their party education and discipline. Subjective differences must have no place in the new phase especially among the Party's leading cadres. For while external struggle against the enemy exists, there is no place whatever for internal struggle.

The unity of the leadership is indispensable to the success of revolutionary work. Indeed, this phase makes the unity of leadership the paramount factor in confronting the effects of defeat. Without a climate of intellectual unity, comradeship, and high values provided by the leadership, the primary condition for success cannot be realized. Paradoxically, the central theme of the present phase, had its beginnings in the defeat of 1967. Unity is thus the central condition around which the Party is constructed. The unity of the leadership and its inseparable relationship with the Party grassroots, unity of the Party base with the revolutionary

working masses is the indestructible bond between the Party and the forces of Arab revolution.

5 -- The achievement of this internal unity in its complete form needs continuous development and constant enrichment provided by the Party in the form of revolutionary theory. The Party is required in this phase to renew itself intellectually in order to be able to contribute to the renewal of Arab revolutionary thought and ideology. It needs to renew its class structure in such a way as to make it able to serve the interests of the working classes, and expand its world horizons. To compensate for more than ten years of delay the Party is in need of a leap forward. It needs a cultural and structural revolution to deal with the negative aspects of Party thought, education, discipline, outlook, methods and dealings, which are geared to the in-depth development of the Party. Material and moral requirements for such a change are in order. It must be our main concern in this phase and one of prime concern to the Leadership. For this, a maximum amount of autonomy, non-centralism in financial affairs, presses, modern research tools and full-time researchers must be provided.

6 — The practice of collective leadership as an act of treatment for the residues of individualism in the Party and disregard for objective standards and considerations as well as disregard for the rules of central democracy, it also serves as an act of prevention against all the diseases that result from the practice of authority, such a practice must be subject to the control which provides it with guarantees of collectivism in the makeup of the Leadership and its relationship with the congress which produced it and the practical daily patterns of its work. Laxity in the practice of collective leadership in the Party used to be an inlet for factional disputes, opportunistic differences, personal relations, non-partisan considerations and individualistic roles. The exercise of authority by the Party may encourage the growth of these negative aspects which disfigure the body of the Party and prevent its growth. The practice of collective leadership is therefore a guarantee against the diseases of backwardness, a protection against factionalism and a safety valve for adherence to the principles of central democracy. Without strict adherence to the principle of collective leadership, there will be no Party in the modern and accurate sense of the word.

7 — There is an essential need to raise the standard of the National Leadership and build its machines in order to develop the Party in the new phase. To reach a higher standard of leadership requires a harmonious, highly qualified leadership with machines and bureaus at its disposal equal to the task of quickly developing the national Party, providing the greatest material and moral support, extending further the principle of fulltime work, with social security for fulltimers, the establishment of effective central Party bureaus in the socialist countries, Europe, America and some Arab areas (The Gulf, Maghreb, Yemen) and providing the Party with all the means necessary for development in each stage.

The Party's failure in the past to develop further the ways and means of struggle was mainly responsible for giving free opportunities to other forces inferior in thought and organization, to the Party but in possession of ways and means which gave the impression that these forces were ahead of the Party. The Party faced such a prospect twice at least in its history. In the late fifties, the Nasserist Movement collecting non-partisan and anti-Party elements and plagiarizing the Party's thought took advantage of the temporary stagnation of the Arab

revolutionary movement to submit itself as an alternative to the Party. In the sixties, Fateh collected the same elements and also attempted to usurp the Party's role. It is necessary, therefore, to bridge the gap in the Arab revolutionary movement and equip it with the ways and means used by modern parties for building and developing its machines and improve its operating procedures as well as developing its relations with world progressive movements and parties.

8 — Party education has suffered greatly in our Party. This is in contrast to the particular emphasis that was clearly obvious during the first phases of the life of the Party when the climate, number and ease of control allowed for better preparation of partisans. Now the growth and volume of the Party, and its assumption of authority have contributed to a lessening of the effect of party life on the intellectual, behavioural and general makeup of the individual Party member. Partisan preparation must develop better means equal to its needs.

Partisan preparation is the crucial factor in achieving the theoretical and practical unity of the Party, the integration of partisan character, and consolidation of its striving and moral nature, usually characterized by a civilized outlook, a high level

of awareness and behaviour which are the most salient features of the Ba'thi.

Party preparation is no longer an easy matter, because it is required to deal first with the extraordinary phenomena which have seeped into the Party due to the past failure to conduct effective Party education, in order to be able afterwards to consolidate the positive aspects and virtues and achieve the human dimension required in the character of the Ba'thi.

Revolutionary parties generally glorify their heritage and founders. Each member feels a part of a whole without which he would be worthless. Likewise, each leadership knows that its worth depends on the extent of mutual response with the popular base. The sense of party grows in party members out of respect for the Leadership, confidence in its qualifications and effectiveness and out of almost holy regard for the Party, its thought and organization. Our Party, while careful not to slip into dogmatic stances or adopt attitudes incompatible with the nature of central democracy, has been dragged through these extraordinary circumstances and into degenerate and forbidding situations. This happened because of the lack of party preparation so that each comrade felt that he was the Leader



and each leadership felt itself to be the Party. Thus insubordination, carelessness and the juggling of Party values and standards reached an alltime high of tragic proportions, when arms were taken up against the Party on 18th October and 23rd February. There is a need for extending Party preparation courses as well as the establishment of an institute to provide different and various levels of ideological education and the preparation of Party and State cadres and the creation of a Ba'th personality compatible with the mission of the Party and qualified to carry its flag forward.

9 — The Party in authority is in itself an experience of great responsibilities and a big and difficult test. The assumption of rule after the defeat is, however, a double challenge for the Party and others. In as much as being a challenge for the regimes that ruled before the defeat, it is also a challenge for the Party's capabilities to transcend those regimes. The Party's preservation of its independence, purity and unity are preconditions for leadership in government as well as the preservation of authority. Likewise, the national nature and horizon of the Party is a precondition for regional success and direction of the country in line with the Arab Revolution and its aims.

On this basis, authority must be used to support, protect and develop the Party on the national level. It must be used to consolidate the power of the Party on the regional level and also to effect real revolutionary achievements in the economic, social and cultural spheres, in creating a new revolutionary climate on the popular and official levels and rescuing the Palestine Cause and Arab Revolution from conspiratorial attempts, encirclement, mob mentality, expediency and emotionally superficial outbursts. The Party-in-power must move and mobilize the masses for battle, realize popular-front work and transcend division.

The attitude of the Party towards its own rule in any single country (region) must spring from a balanced outlook between independence and the circumstances of rule on the one hand and the preservation of authority on the other. In other words, the Party must be above authority in the same sense as the people are above the Party. That is to say, that the government must refer to the Party, the Party refers to the people, the leadership refers to the base and the base to the masses. A formula must be sought which successfully allows the Party to assume its responsibilities of government without affecting adversely its popular and organizational activities, which allows it to work on the level of

the region without putting limitations on work at the national level at the same time permitting work on the popular front level without affecting its role of leadership. Such success would enable the Party to face the challenge. This aspiration is central for the Arab Nation; we must work for it and toil to create the conditions necessary for its accomplishment.

10 — Our Party must be the image of its thought. In its structure it must be responsive to the destiny of our Nation. It must be the party of the fighters (Fedayeen). This cannot be achieved unless guerilla training is required for all able-bodied members. The guerilla work must then be properly orientated within the national and global revolutionary horizons. The Party is also required to stress the relation between the Palestinian and Arab revolutions in internal and external education and to further develop the guerilla work in thought, method and standard at the same time striving to effect the unity of the Guerilla Movement on all levels.

## **B — The Strategy of Political Work**

- 1 — The present phase is a phase of confrontation with the Zionist and imperialist powers which are strategically aligned for the purpose of liquidating the positions of the Arab Revolution and the Palestine Cause, and also to crush our will to persevere in the face of aggression, and the will to fight for a unified, free and socialist Arab society.
- 2 The enemy represents, in addition to a military threat, international imperialist strategic and economic interests, a barbaric invasion of a new sort armed with modern technology and attempting with narrow religious national ideology to reverse the general direction of history and stop the historical progress of the Arab Nation.

In addition to being a military and economic

challenge, it actually forms a grave danger to the development of humanity and the existence of the Arab Nation at one and the same time.

3 -- The confrontation with the enemy, without serious and speedy work to change the present Arab situation, will be doomed to failure and will only waste the energies of the Arab people and lead them from defeat to defeat with no real hope of repulsing the Zionist-imperialist alliance. It would be impossible in the shadow of division, backwardness and political and economic dependence. Any talk about the liberation of Palestine and the people's war, apart from the socialist-integrationist struggle, is only a sign of irresponsibility and impotency. It may also be a planned childish revolutionism designed to lead the people astray and distort the Arab struggle.

4 -- The national horizon of the Arab confrontation with the Zionist invasion and the Zionist-imperialist alliance on the other hand, cannot be isolated from its social revolutionary and socialist context which is an essential precondition for deepening the struggle and consolidating its progressive nature. It cannot be separated from its international dimensions as being an integral

part of the world liberation movement and socialist development and an important factor in supporting the world revolution and consolidating its humane values.

5 — Essentially, the Zionist-imperialist conspiracy against liberation, unity and socialism in the Arab Homeland, tries to manipulate all the contradictions in the Arab condition, whether inherited or superficially created. It tries to divert the attention of the Arab from the main contradiction and to block the wellsprings of vitality and enthusiasm of the Arab struggle. The most important of these wellsprings being the idea of Arab unity and the idea of revolution both of which characterize the Arab revolutionary ideology. The struggle against the Zionist-imperialist alliance is therefore ideological in nature as much as being political.

6 — Arab culture and civilization, in spite of the present backwardness, are still the essence and the foundation of the Arab struggle. The previous phase has proved that the neglect of our culture and its ability to absorb progress and foil conspiracies against the culture (after they had started to show their presence in our struggle) was one important factor in the defeat.

It also revealed that the Arab-Zionist struggle is in essence a cultural struggle.

7 — These main facts lead to many conclusions :

- A) The present objective situation necessitates unity and rejects regionalism. It requires dependence on the masses and rejects dicatatorial individualism and bureaucracy. It makes it imperative to put the main contradiction regarding the enemy over and above all other internal contradictions. It asserts the organic relationship between the national and the social struggle and rejects any imbalance in emphasis.
- B) Subjective factors must be put in the service of the objective conditions of the struggle with the enemy by practicing constructive self-criticism in the interest of the necessities of the present phase. Likewise, the objective circumstances must be allowed to refine the subjective features.
- C) The mentality of defeat and backwardness prevailing in our confrontation with the enemy cannot be replaced by the new mentality without understanding the simple facts and requirements for the avoidance of another defeat and any decision to retreat.

- D) The only mentality capable of absorbing the defeat is that which is capable of resisting the direct regional pressures, able to see the whole national picture, and is aware that regionalism would only consolidate defeat and preclude any leap forward.
- E) The modern Arab scientific mentality can be described as the one able to transcend division and see the Arab means and possibilities as a whole in order to harness them for revolution.
- F) Serious confrontation with the enemy makes reliance on a unified strategy by Arab revolutionary forces regionally, nationally, officially and on the popular level, absolutely imperative.
- G) Because of the nature of the struggle against the Zionist-imperialist alliance, we must warn ourselves against the dangers of contracting the fascist, racialist or hate diseases, by emphasising the relationship of the Arab struggle within its the relationship of the Arab struggle with in its historical horizon and human cultural mission, so that our Nation rises above the diseases of its enemy.
- 8 — The revolutionary change of the 17th of July in Iraq has put our Party in the position of



greater responsibility and direct influence in the destiny of the Arab Nation. It also enabled it to discover the points of strength in the present conditions of struggle in the Arab Nation. Acceptance of this challenge is the main justification for the presence of our Party in authority after the 5th June.

- 9 — Government led by our Party is required to realize all the conditions required for the confrontation with the Zionist-imperialist enemy. It is required to take the initiative in achieving decisive integrationist steps such as co-ordination with Egypt, Libya and the Sudan, adoption of a bold social policy, openness to all progressive and patriotic forces and creating a mass Arab revolutionary climate which facilitates psychological and material mobilization of all the Arab energy for the battle with the enemy.
  
- 10 — The battle with the enemy is a long one. It requires, therefore, a complete reappraisal of the present Arab structure, the creation of the mental and practical readiness to tie the whole of Arab life to the requirements of the battle, and the transformation of the economy, politics, edu-

cation and daily life into support systems for the direction of the battle.

11 — The strategy of the people's war of liberation with all its requirements of a particular policy, economy and education, must be the natural door way to achieving a complete grassroots revolution in Arab life to wipe away division, backwardness, class manipulation, and degeneration both, individual and collective.

12 — The Party and the regime in Iraq are required to achieve such a standard for confrontation with the enemy through the following :

A) Taking the idea of unity and the idea of armed struggle out of their old haphazard settings, which lack strategy, by welding them together ideologically and in practice.

B) To consider the Palestinian Revolution as a centre of gravity in the Arab revolution and to kill any deviationist tendency deriving from a regional or opportunistic outlook, which could break the dialectical relationship between the Palestinian and Arab revolutions.

C) To consider the struggle for unification as the only way of achieving liberation and the struggle

through Palestine as the correct way for a unification which would correct all the previous errors. For the roads to unification and to liberation are identical.

13 — The supporting means required from the Party and regime in Iraq to achieve such a standard can be summed up as follows :

A) Realizing the popular front on the regional and national levels.

B) Resolution of the regional problems in the light of the strategy of resistance to the Zionist-imperialist alliance.

C) Introduction of the strategy of unity and armed struggle to every home, school, factory and military camp, and the transformation of the life of the individual, the family, the village and the city in the light of the requirements of the confrontation.

D) To make an informational, cultural and social revolution which wipes away from Arab life all the residues of division and small bigotries, which contradict national and human bonds and which also obstruct the capability to make a

scientific and revolutionary front in the face of the enemy.

- E) To take continuously suitable initiatives on the official and popular levels, which may create suitable climates for integrationist activities.
- F) To invite the Arab regimes and popular Arab organizations to join a work programme which revives the hopes of the masses and instills a feeling of confidence in final victory under the banner of revolution and also to equip the masses with a decisive and critical revolutionary standard.
- G) To support any Arab revolutionary uprising, regardless of its colour, and make every effort to protect it from all counter measures and encirclement.
- H) To warn against the dangers threatening such targets of imperialist conspiracy as the Arab Gulf, and both parts of the Yemen, as well as to prepare a strategy for the protection of the Gulf against imperialist plots.
- I) To unmask and publicize all international plans aiming at liquidating the Palestine Cause in the interests of Zionism.

- J) To make deep revolutionary changes which would fundamentally change the relations of production, thus preparing the way for the socialist transformation.
  - K) To maintain an on-the-spot presence in both the areas of strength (revolutionary areas) and areas of weaknesses (the Arab Gulf).
  - L) To pay constant attention to Arab public opinion and acquire all the necessary media required for communication and interaction with it, to enlighten it and protect it against falsehoods and distortions.
  - M) To make clear and well defined formulas for the relationship of the Party to the government, the Party to the army and the Party to all other parties and forces.
- 14 — The role of Party rule at the regional level is concentrated on realizing the new model required after the 5th June. That is to say, transforming the country into a new Arab revolutionary force and putting all of its resources at the service of national strategy, dispensing with all the symbols and peculiarities of regionalism even in the handling of the daily affairs of government, work, employment and projects.

- 15 — The Party must give top priority to finding the quickest possible solution to the Kurdish problem, within the territorial unity and integrity of Iraq, thus providing the best possible conditions for Arab-Kurdish solidarity and co-operation. This will enable the regime to employ fully its forces against the Zionist danger and put a limit to the absurd and inhuman waste in the north of Iraq cutting short the reactionary and imperialist conspiracies in the area.
- 16 — The Party rule must be able to absorb the necessary formula for the present phase of confrontation with the enemy, the formula of popular front work which can mobilise the forces of the country, weld together the progressive elements to assist the Party in exercising its leadership role and avoid slipping into dictatorship and the repression of popular progressive energies. The popular front work must include all public activities. Its formula must be revolutionary, assuring the consolidation of the authority of the Party in the main direct positions, to protect the revolution and define the role of each force within the popular front.
- 17 — Party rule is distinguished from other types of rule by its ability to move the masses, harness

their energies, encourage their revolutionary initiatives and participation in each revolutionary step, and by the protection of revolutionary achievements and preparation for the battle with the enemy. It must be able to wage the biggest massive campaign of national and socialist education to prepare the masses ideologically and psychologically for their role in the present phase at both the regional and national levels.

18 — Party rule is required to tie all of its economic, policy, educational, and other activities, to the requirements of the battle, and make preparations to face the dangers and lay the foundations for transforming the country into the biggest defensive and offensive front for the Arab Revolution.

19 — The revolutionary step taken under the rule of the Party to execute spies must preserve its seriousness and not be affected by the counter-campaigns of distortion and propaganda. This stance must be completed by an awareness of the importance of guiding regional and national public opinion in the steps of the revolution. Similarly, the Party must undertake responsi-

bility for keeping world public opinion aware of the real motives and aims of the revolution.

20 — The enmity of the Zionist-imperialist and reactionary forces and their conspiracies against the new revolutionary model will increase with each new round of achievements on the road of unity, liberty and socialism. When the external means fail, attempts at internal encirclement will materialize in the form of rightist, individualistic or dictatorial tendencies which try to neglect the role of the Party or manipulate it or even discredit it. Such or similar ways and means must be clearly noted by the Party and all attempts to infiltrate the revolution must be cut short.

21 — Attacking the positions of imperialism and reaction is the best way of defending the revolution against conspiracies. Party strategy is therefore required in this phase to consider all the possibilities for striking at the schemes of the Zionist-imperialist and reactionary alliances, particularly with regard to the possibilities of change in each Arab country and anticipating events so as to give them direction and acceleration or eradicate them as the case may require.



22 — The method of achieving change must always consider the necessity of ensuring the widest mass participation in preparation, support and direction after success. The necessity of popular front work must be observed as well as the diversification of its means. The change must be in the direction of the battle of destiny with the aim of liberating the country from all the obstacles and obstructions which stand in the way of total confrontation with the enemy.

23 — The Party rule is required to provide the Guerilla Movement with bigger and better kinds of assistance than that provided until now, making Baghdad a second Hanoi in terms of support and inspiration for the Movement.

24 — On the national level, the role of the Party in the present phase is defined as follows :

**First :** Complete integration of the political strategy with the ideological frame of the Arab revolution and the blocking of all attempts to deviate from the line or degrade the level.

**Second :** Considering Arab unity as the standard for moving into the phase of serious confrontation with the Zionist-imperialist enemy. This

unity must mean, in addition to the unification of the regimes politically, economically and culturally, the unity of the forces of Arab revolution within a popular front frame led by the Arab masses in accordance with a political programme which refines the requirements of confrontation on all levels and also unifies the Guerilla Movement.

**Third :** Reference always to the people with frank exposition of the difficulties that face the unity and popular front work struggle so that the Arab masses may throw their weight behind the Party and achieve mutual response and confidence, so that the public self-criticism of the Party may better motivate the masses to carry their responsibilities and role. These are the signs of practical interaction which form the precondition for maintaining a healthy revolutionary climate.

**Fourth :** Continuous attention to articles 7-11 of the Ninth National Congress' strategy dealing with the missions of class struggle in the present phase which are as follows :

A.) Emphasis on the main contradiction with Zionism and imperialism, must have a logical conclusion at the Arab level, and that is to pre-

vent the emergence of a crisis between this main contradiction and the other main contradictions such as class struggle.

- B) It must be clearly and finally admitted that the party of the working class and its interests decides the priority of struggle with Zionism and imperialism in this phase.
- C) The introduction of the element of balance between national struggle and class struggle is vital in the present circumstances, when the destiny of the Nation is in the balance. The aim of such a balance must be to save the energies of the Nation for use against the main enemy in this phase. But this balance must always be in the interest of the working class in the Arab world.
- D) Class struggle in this phase must concentrate on immobilizing the big bourgeoisie and the the semi-feudal classes whose vested interests are tied up directly with new imperialism. It must safeguard the socialist gains and progressive steps achieved by the popular struggle. It must develop such gains in such a way as to help make a national profit which in itself would help the national liberation struggle and help achieve

new socialist gains which do not affect the principle of balance referred to in paragraph 9-C.

- E) The strategy of the Party at the Arab level in this phase must stress the struggle for unity to compensate for confining the class struggle within its previously mentioned limits. The Party must strongly emphasize the slogans for unity, release of the masses' energies and the public liberties. Such emphasis must not be confined to appeals and writings, but the Party must make contacts and take initiatives in submitting integrationist projects which may push the struggle forward under steady revolutionary formulas which are free from emotionalism and haphazardness.

Fifty : Adherence to the seventh article of the strategy of the Ninth National Congress concerning the forces that must be dropped from the proposed popular front work and which says : «The big bourgeoisie whose interests are strongly tied to the new imperialism and the semi-feudals are social groups in decline and eclipse because of their ties with imperialism and division and therefore they shall be dropped completely from the popular front forces».

Sixth : Insistence on the Arab people's right to

know all the facts that are still hidden from the masses about the June War, and keeping the memory of that war alive as a source of inspiration for thought and behaviour until the causes of defeat have been overcome.

**Seventh :** Concentration of the Party's efforts on the Palestine Cause and the Palestine Guerilla Movement and awareness of the related problems such as the Iranian scheme in the Arab Gulf. All efforts must be made to draw public attention throughout the Arab world to this danger in order to combat it. The states and emirates of the Gulf must be encouraged to achieve unity which is the minimum requirement for facing this danger.

**Eighth :** The Party must open the battle of Arab oil taking a stance against the diversion of oil wealth to any aim but the battle of destiny. An Arab formula must be reached whereby the oil wealth will be made to serve the cause of the Arab revolution in order to neutralize the effects of the large assistance which the enemy enjoys. Oil must be raised to its proper position as a weapon of economic and political confrontation with the West.

**Ninth :** Serious effort must be made to achieve the Iraqi-Syrian unification in the shortest time

possible in order to put the resources of the country to their proper use. This mustn't mean the neglect of the lessons learnt by the 23rd February experience or relinquishment of the popular revolutionary work or stopping the rejection of elitist methods and tribal alliances which are against both the Party's principles and strategy. Party work and the growth of the Party in Syria within the framework of a clear working strategy is the only way to achieve change and unification. The Iraqi-Syrian Unity must then be opened to allow any progressive Arab regime to join.

**Tenth : Adherence to the strategy of the Ninth National Congress concerning communist parties and the Nasserist Movement which is as follows:**

- A) The establishment of positive relations with the communist parties whatever their currents and flanks, Chinese or Soviet, so as to emphasize the positive nature of the relationship of the Party and the Arab Revolution with these two world revolutionary forces.**
  
- B) The Party is required to strengthen its friendly relations with all the progressive and socialist parties throughout the world, in order to explain**

and make clear the stances and identity of the Party and its role in the Arab situation.

- C) The new phase requires correction of the relations between the forces of the Arab Revolution on the one hand (Ba'th, Nasserist Movement, Arab Nationalists, Algerian Liberation Front, National Union of Popular Forces in Maghreb, National Front... etc.) and on the other with progressive forces representing the international left. The negative effects on the relations remaining from the previous phase must be expunged by concentrating on the common national targets without allowing any diversion of the struggle from the main contradiction which unites the forces of the Arab Revolution against the Zionist-imperialist danger.

Eleventh : Enlisting all the talents and energies of the Party from all Arab countries to support the Party rule in Iraq and enrich its experience.

25 — On the international level, the role of the Party is defined by its confrontation of all attempts to liquidate the Palestine Cause under the pretext of «solving the crisis arising from the June

War» The confrontation in this phase must be bold, decisive and intelligent to allow the achievement of many political aims which are as follows :

- A) To abort all projects which may affect the future of the Cause and which may derive from a sort of international bargaining at the expense of the Arab Nation and its future.
- B) To mould world public opinion to the point where it understands and supports the motives of the Arab Revolutionary Movement in its struggle to defend the existence of the Arab Nation and avert the danger threatening its future.
- C) To draw attention to the schemes of the Zionist-imperialist alliance and the real dimensions of complicity against the Arab Homeland.
- D) To gain real friends for the Arab Revolution who understand its aims and appreciate the importance of its role in the field of world revolution.
- E) To minimize the effects of Zionist propaganda and Zionist conspiracies on world public opinion.



F) To publicise the Arab resistance in Palestine and expand the range of international support for the resistance on both the official and popular levels.

26 — The American stance and its complete alliance with Zionism and its schemes cannot be dealt with successfully by hesitant and ambiguous attitudes which accept some political considerations already proven false. The American-Zionist alliance is strategic, not merely tactical and it must be dealt with as such.

27 — Any interpretation of positive neutrality which neglects the strategic nature of the American-Zionist alliance and allows a hesitant stance toward the policy of the United States, must be considered as a stance against the interest of the Arab Revolution.

28 — Any attitude which does not distinguish between the stance of the Soviet Union and that of the United States despite some common points of agreement in dealing with the aggression of the 5th June, is an unobjective attitude disregarding essential assumptions about the Soviet Union and the United States.

29 — The weak point for which counter propaganda may be needed is the fact that the Soviet-Arab alliance hasn't yet reached the degree of strategic alliance which preserves at the same time the independence of the Arab Revolution.

The non-emergence of a Soviet-Arab strategic alliance or a strategic alliance with the Socialist Camp, derives from the fact that Arab-Soviet relations haven't yet completely matured. The responsibility for this doesn't fall on the Soviet Union alone nor on the Socialist Camp, but on many objective circumstances relating to the condition of the Arab Nation and the Soviet Union which did not allow the development of relations to the level of a strategic alliance. These relations, however, have undergone in the last few years, especially after the 5th June, some development which has permitted a deepening of the Arab revolutionary-Soviet alliance. This must be considered as an essential centre for our international attention.

30 — The Arab Revolution's desire to forge a strategic alliance with all socialist forces makes it incumbent upon all regimes and revolutionary movements to establish the deepest possible relations with the socialist countries so as to

close the door in the face of Zionist-imperialist infiltration. The Arab revolutionary-socialist alliance must represent the other face of humanity, that of progress, justice and civilization as opposed to brutal manipulation, aggression and the new barbarism represented by the Zionist-imperialist alliance.

- 31 — We must establish close relations with China, Vietnam, Democratic Korea and Cuba because their experiences have been so similar to our own (division, under development and historical subjugation) and as such may be of invaluable assistance to the Arab struggle in overcoming the obstacles which lie in the path of its historical march. The elevation of relations between the Arab and Chinese revolutions is a main requirement of the new phase of our struggle with the Zionist-imperialist forces. A further requirement being the establishment of a popular national front throughout the Arab world.

The establishment of close relations with China must not be at the expense of good relations with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, it must be a factor in drawing the two world

revolutionary forces closer together, that is as a positive element in the Chinese-Soviet dispute.

- 32 — The Party must also direct its attention to the revolutionary work being carried out in North and South America. Direct relations must be established between the Arab Revolution and the revolutionary organizations of Latin America which embody the style and method of the late Guevara.

## **C — The Strategy of Confrontation with Zionism and Imperialism**

The Tenth National Congress has adopted the strategy of confrontation in its final form with Zionism and imperialism. It also adopted as an introduction to that strategy the talk given by comrade Michael Aflaq in a meeting of the chief command of the Arab Liberation Front in which he said :

«We must look at matters very frankly. The basis of revolutionary work is : frankness, clear vision and objectivity. What does the Party want from the Front ? What does it want from the popular armed struggle ? And the Guerilla Movement ? Does it want to compensate for something which it lacked ? Or does it want to keep abreast of other movements and organizations ? Why did the Party of the Arab Revolution lack the ability to understand this important aspect while other organizations

responded to this need before the Party. The Party which used usually to be ahead of all other Arab movements in awareness, revolutionary outlook, struggle and comprehension of the nature of the nationalist phase.»

«The logical conclusion is that the Party is not only lacking in one aspect, that of the armed struggle, and by forming the Front will fill this gap, but the Party has been lagging behind for a long time in all aspects and this was what made it unable to see the essential need for armed struggle and the importance of the battle of Palestine. It was preoccupied with secondary matters, secondary in relation to the battle.»

«The Party, by taking the initiative to form the Front and work on the field of battle not only fills a certain need but actually seeks recovery from all of its diseases, complete renewal and healthy rebirth in thought and struggle.»

«This outlook must be clear, because the Front, in relation to the Party, is not a part of its work. It is not the military part, the fighting part or the Palestinian one, but it is the Party whose will is in rebirth and deep and complete correction. You know and you refer many times to the heritage of the

Party. You quote old writings of 20 or 25 years ago. The Party was in good condition and therefore it could see clearly the correct way and put its finger on the basic need of the Nation in the phase of revolution. Ever since ten years ago and even until now, we have been witnessing instead of progress and depth in revolutionary theory and practice, a departure from it. The revolutionary outlook looks pale now, like a memory in the minds of the partisans instead of being a live reality for the Party. These are the symptoms and features of the diseases which overtook the Party.»

«What is required, therefore, is liberation from all of the artificial obstructions which brought all the falsification and stagnation into the Party. This must be done through the utmost of revolutionary struggle which has all the fire that is capable of unfreezing the deep ice and burning all the chronic diseases. But let us be frank and clear and let us admit that such a process requires time, practice, intellectual and organizational efforts and deep involvement in struggle until we arrive at the new state of mind. Formal movement from this Party when we have admitted its sickness to the Front will not change the minds and souls and will not make miracles. This is a superficial transition. Preconditions for rebirth must be completed :

deep change and avoidance of self-deception and deceiving the people.»

«If we carry with us the old mentality into the Front, then the promised new thing will not emerge. Of course, we are not despairing of the Party and we must not succumb to despair. The Party has not lost every possibility and every talent. It has many possibilities and good souls and struggle readiness. History is full of proofs of the liveliness of the Party and its ability to renew itself.»

«The trial of the 23rd of February proved that the Party has very valuable residues of perseverance, struggle spirit and revolutionary thought. The perseverance of our comrades in Iraq is another sign of the vitality of the Party. The emergence of new struggle forces in many countries and areas Tunisia, for instance, is another sign of the genuineness of the Party. We must not exaggerate in this also. We must be able to make a decisive attempt to renew the Party through the battle for Palestine and the popular armed struggle. This is to say that the Party has residual elements of struggle, revolutionary thought and continuity and hope for the future. Continuity which is expressed in new fighters who are the promised foundation for the rebirth of the Party.»



«Those who look at the Front as a sector, a part or an aspect of work can be justified only if the Party were in a healthy condition. (The Party no doubt is more comprehensive than just armed fighting. The Party of Arab revolution has many missions which cover all aspects of Arab life in politics, culture, economics education, social life and war etc...)»

«To go back to our introductory observations, the Front in comparison to what the Party has been plagued with through many years of falsification and stagnation, cannot be just another aspect of the Party's activities but the door to complete and deep renewal of the Party. In other words, work in the Front must lead to the renewal of the Party's thought. The Party's thought must be reborn in the Arab Liberation Front.»

«The Party organization will be reborn in the Front. We will discover all the needs of the Party through work in the popular armed work. For the Party, in its present form, organizations and regions, lacks life. A form almost worn out and unsuccessful.»

«What is the proof of the vitality of a party, any revolutionary party ? The incoming of the young is the first proof. The thronging of the work-

ing masses is the second proof. In truth, the old form of the Party no longer appeals to the young except a few of them neither does it move the masses.»

«The Arab working masses are the Arab Nation itself in its aspiration to a new and better life. The old form no longer meets this ambition. The only thing that can now reach the hearts and souls of the masses is the call for the battle of liberation which deepened the relation of the masses to the Party.»

«What can come out of this development of the front and the rebirth of the Party through the front ? Simply that the advance elements which before any other elements felt the need for the front as a requirement for the Party and consequently for the Nation and the decisive national battle, these elements are now called upon to rebuild the Party with the same revolutionary genuine spirit that builds all revolutions... with full devotion and complete sincerity... with release from all old outlooks and habits of bureaucracy, routine and traditional politicking which unfortunately entered the Party.»

«The Front as a whole is a revolution in itself.»

Its leadership, the quality and capability of the leadership to live the new experiment with devotion and enthusiasm, will give its life meaning and reveal the true meaning of the Party, its idea and aims.»

«Other organizations with no party affiliations were born in the last few years just before the national defeat or shortly afterwards. Such organizations are not asked to do what the Arab Liberation Front is asked to do. Those organizations came out unburdened by the past. On the other hand they were deprived of the revolutionary and struggle heritage enjoyed by the Ba'thists. As the masses do not expect much of them, they gave them only their limited and conditional confidence.»

«The mission of the Front is different. On the one hand it is burdened with negative aspects of the Party which cannot be escaped even by the leadership of the Front. On the other hand the Front must consider its positive side as being born out of the thought and struggle of the Party. As such, it can call for a power that is not available for other organizations. The Arab masses expect more of it than they expect from the other organizations.»

«We can deduce from this that the Front is the Party's form of renewal. The Front cannot depend on authority even if this authority belongs

to the Party. In such matters, no compromises or short cuts are possible. Either we have a revolutionary Front whose main source of power is the people and their confidence or we have a front for authority which will be deadlocked. This is well known to us all. It did not prevent us in the beginning from reliance on assistance from the authority of the Party in Iraq. But we clearly understood that that was temporary and must not be prolonged or continual or else the purpose of the Front will have been lost. Because, we did not mean to add a new guerilla organization to the organizations already in existence. Otherwise, the partisans could have worked within the ranks of other organizations. We wanted the Front to be the real organization through which the Party will be renewed. When the Party is renewed, the Arab Revolution will be renewed also. It is incumbent that the partisans in the leadership of the Front shall be the leaders of the Party.»

«The leadership of the Front is the leadership of the Party. It is the highest leadership in the Party. It is the national leadership. But, as I said at the beginning of this talk, we must be farsighted, sincere and serious in revolutionary work because the life of the nation is dependent upon the sincerity of this work. This is a target for us to aim at, that the leadership of the Front shall become the

leadership of the Party by worth, qualification, practice and complete devotion and not by formalities or superficial transition or change of place and name. There is a distance between what we are and what we want to do, distance, stages and real conditions which cannot be preconceived or put on paper as much as being revealed through the experience itself. We are required to go through the experience in earnest.»

### *THE STRATEGY OF CONFRONTATION WITH ZIONISM AND IMPERIALISM*

Any attempt to analyse the nature of the present phase and strategy of the Party must take into consideration the main contradiction between the Arab masses and Zionism and imperialism. The Party must also define its outlook on the Palestinian Cause and the Guerilla Movement as well as the role of the Arab Liberation Front in the Guerilla Movement in view of the theoretical and practical stances that are imposed by such affairs which are closely connected with the future of the Arab Nation and the struggle characteristics of the Party strategically and tactically in :

1 — The nature of the Zionist-imperialist challenge:

There is no doubt that the Arab Nation is involved in a decisive battle of destiny with Zionism and imperialism :

- A) On the Palestinian level : By the nature of its being a racist, religious, imperialist and colonial movement which aimed from the beginning at the establishment of a purely Jewish State and the expulsion of the people of Palestine from their homes and land Zionism forms a constant aggression against the human rights of the people of Palestine. Zionism negates the existence of the people and forms a continuous threat to the people as individuals and as a society. The Zionist society, built on aggression and expropriation, is a repressive and unjust society, collectively unworthy of class considerations. The Zionist farmer had come to replace the Palestinian farmer and take his land. The Zionist worker has always worked through the Histadrut (The Federation of Israeli Workers) to cancel the Arab worker's opportunities of work by pressuring, boycotting and terrorizing any Jew who tries to employ Arab workers. The massacres of Deir Yasin and Kafr Qasem showed how the Zionists tried to exterminate the people of Palestine after depriving them of their ele-

mental human rights in their own land. The Palestinian Arab People's battle is therefore a peculiar national liberation battle. For it aims at recovering their land and identity by destroying all of the existing racist, imperialist, political, economic and social institutions in Palestine which will be replaced by institutions that take into consideration the right of the Palestinian people in its homeland and to self-determination.

- B) On the Arab level : The Zionist aggression in Palestine is not and cannot be confined to a limited geographical area or the Arab people of Palestine alone. For the adoption of Zionism by the British Empire first and then by American imperialism was motivated in the first place by the desire to strike at any movement for liberation and progressive socialist unity in the Arab Nation. Such unity would threaten directly the imperialist interests and foreign influence in this strategic area of the world.

Israel was prepared from the beginning to be a barrier separating the Arab East from the Arab West and to be an advance imperialist base guarding the imperialist interests and keeping the Arab Homeland in backwardness and division by attrition and threatening any

movement for liberation or integration in any of the Arab countries. The occupation by Israel of the Arab territories neighbouring Palestine in 1967 has shown beyond any shadow of doubt the expansionist nature of Zionism and shown at the same time the Arab national dimension of the Palestine case. It has become incumbent upon the Arab Homeland to act on the basis of liberation from occupation and not just the threat of occupation as is the case now. The answer to the imperialist conspiracy to stike Arab unity and progress can only be achieved by an attacking unity which can mobilize the energies of the Arab Nation to destroy Zionism and the state of division at one and the same time. The defeat of the 5th June has shown the impotency of Arab armies when unsupported by the revolutionary Arab masses. It also showed the impotency of the regional mentality and the state of division in the face of the Zionist-imperialist enemy in Palestine.

- C) On the world level : By the nature of its being a racialist reactionary movement (retarding the world to the age of religious wars) and a colonialist embodiment of neo-imperialism and its advance base, Zionism forms a real threat to the peoples of Asia and Africa and a link in



the imperialist chain against the aspirations of peoples to liberation, progress and socialism. It is no accident that the friends of Israel in Africa are confined to the racialists of South Africa and Rhodesia and the client regimes of Britain and America such as that of Haile Selassie in Ethiopia, while in Asia the friends of Israel are people like General Ky and the Shah of Iran and other obvious agents. The case of Palestine is in the forefront of those struggling for liberation from imperialism. The Arab struggle for its liberation is an important and integral part of the people's battles for liberation from imperialism in the modern age.

2 — The basic principles for facing the Zionist danger :

Study of the nature of the Zionist challenge and the relationship between Zionism and world imperialism will clearly identify the friends and enemies in the Arab-Zionist confrontation. A general look at the inherent factors of strength in Israel and the factors of strength acquired by the Zionist-imperialist association will show the only possible strategy available to the Arab people in the decisive battle for Palestine. To face the scientific and technological superiority of the Zionists and Americans, we must,

as an underdeveloped nation, rely on the strategy of the prolonged people's war of liberation with self-dependence and the mobilization of all the energies of the Arab Nation for the battle.

The history of confrontation in Palestine shows that imperialism had always insured the defeat of the Arabs by isolating the Arab masses from the battle. During the British Mandate in Palestine, the Arab masses were kept away in view of their subjection to both British and French imperialism in addition to the factors emanating from the state of political division which emerged after the First World War. In 1948, the Arab masses were deprived of participation by the client Arab governments which yielded to imperialism and suppressed the masses and prevented their arming or mobilization to rescue Palestine from the Zionist danger.

The participation of the Arab League governments in the war of 1948 was nothing but an imperialist trick the expression of a selfish race for areas of influence and the remaining parts of Palestine as expressed in the Partition Plan. It was also natural that the governments and armies taking part in the war of 1967 should meet with disaster because of the inability to reform regionalism and achieve Arab

unity as well as the immobilization of the masses for liberation. These governments made their people think that their professional armies were able to liberate Palestine without the people's participation. This was because the governments were afraid of the people. Here, as a historical revolutionary party, we must assert a fact which has always been proven true by struggling peoples.

Professional armies lacking patriotic political leadership, real popular base and identification with the aspirations of the people, are usually elitist and impotent. Only the popular armed revolutions relying on the masses can liberate and build the needed liberation army.

As the defeat in Palestine came as a result of backwardness, division, imperialist influence and betrayal by the ruling classes, so the solution can only come through vigilance, organization and popular mobilization and imposition of will. The talk of these governments about the so-called one hundred million Arabs, used to be only for false assurance to cover up for incapacity and criminal collusion. For the Arab millions will never be a decisive factor unless they are led by the popular forces with our Party at the fore taking the initiative in the mobilization and arming of the people. Otherwise, the disas-

ter of the 5th June, when our enemy had numerical in addition to technological superiority, will be repeated. Popular armed struggle alone will be able to adequately prepare the people and lead them into the real battle. It alone can develop the mass awareness, organize the people and take the initiative in protecting the revolution from its enemies.

Talking about the protection of the revolution within the strategy of the prolonged people's liberation war, leads to talk about the national unity and the stance towards the Arab reactionaries.

Arab reactionaries and ruling classes in the countries under imperialist and foreign influence are automatically and objectively in the camp of the enemies of the Palestine Revolution. For imperialism which protects these classes, their privileges and influence, holds in its hands the final decision in all essential matters especially the Palestine case which forms the field of confrontation for imperialism with the Arab Nation and all the peoples bordering the Arab Homeland. The ruling reactionary classes conspired against the 1936 revolution in Palestine and aborted it. They also colluded with imperialism in 1948 and facilitated the emergence of the Zionist State. They still plot to contain

the Palestinian Revolution to divert it from its correct popular, national and progressive road. The right national unity for the war of national liberation in Palestine must permit all patriotic and honest classes and factions which believe in the armed struggle to participate. This definition makes it necessary to exclude all the defeatists and other elements tied to imperialism by economic or political interest. The masses will achieve the struggle for unity through the unity of struggle and practicality, a process which will isolate the elements conspiring to contain the Palestine Revolution within regionalism, to isolate it from its vital blood line and only insurance for victory. National unity in the smelter of the national war of liberation in Palestine, means by necessity, the unity of all the adherents to the struggle line within a national liberation front, as it also means that the advance revolutionary guard of the working masses should lead and direct the revolution.

Reactionaries, regionalists, bureaucrats and opportunistic elements cannot lead a national war of liberation relying on the masses and adhering to protracted attrition. There are many questions that present themselves in the strategy of the people's war of liberation which must be answered in order to see clearly the form of liberation work.

The first question is : Would the national Arab nature of the struggle in Palestine negate the role of Palestinian Guerilla work in the strategy of confrontation ? If the answer is no, what is the role of the Palestinian guerilla Movement in this plan ? And what is the role of the Party in the Arab Liberation Front ? And what is the formula for the popular political work to support the Front and mobilize the forces of the Arab Nation for the war of liberation ? To answer the first question, it must be said that the Palestinian guerilla work is heroic and pioneering. It is a continuation of the struggle of the people of Palestine to resist Zionism and imperialism. The armed Palestinian resistance is a natural reaction and a great escalation of the struggle against the Zionist occupation. There is no doubt that the perseverance of the Palestinian Guerillas in the battle of Karameh had the effect of preventing the Arab governments from continued appeasement. It also showed how it was possible for the people to rise and check the invasion, recovering self-confidence and showing the way of victory through sacrifice and the will to victory. The Palestinian Resistance has revived the Palestinian character and the Palestinian fighting role, thus rejecting the overlordship of the other Arab regimes. There is no sick regionalism in the independence of the Palestinian struggle from Arab regimes, for

the Arabs of Palestine are in the forefront, geographically and demographically of the confrontation with Zionism. The Arab people of Palestine are the people most sensitive to the injustices of Zionism. The avant-gardism of the Palestinian guerilla work is patriotic and acceptable. It is also a social struggle. In as much as it showed the correct way to fight Zionism and imperialism by armed struggle, it was the true spark of the new phase of the Arab revolution, the phase of the people's war of liberation on the national level. Still, the revolution of Palestine remains vulnerable theoretically, practically and historically if it is not joined together with the Arab Revolution with all the human, economic and geographic resources at its command, which are able to give it support and assistance. The Palestinian Revolution will be exposed to imperialist plots and defeatist conspiracies and the appeasement of the defeated governments, which will be weak in the face of the liquidationary solutions proposed by the Security Council and the imperialist governments. This means that, while the masses welcome the independence of the Palestine Revolution, they are at the same time anxious for it to join completely the Arab Revolution to avoid the source of danger to the future of the armed Palestinian struggle. The nature of this phase makes us look with complete respect and fraternity to the Palestinian

Resistance on the basis of its being the spearhead of the general Arab resistance to Zionism and imperialism.

To answer the second question, it must be said that the relationship between the Party and the Front is a direct organic one. It would be impossible to define exactly this organic relationship in an accurate and scientific way without clarification of the new general principles. The essential revolutionary dimensions of this relationship, born out of daily reality, will not emerge before the Party goes into this experiment with sincere struggle for a sufficient duration which will be enough to show the practical aspects of this relationship in details especially on the organizational level. The aspects of this relationship can be summed up under the following general principles :

First : The Party is the leading organization within the Front and is its spine. Theoretically, the Front has no separate ideology from the Party. The Front's thought emanates from the Arab revolutionary ideology whose banner was carried aloft and fought for by our Party for more than a quarter of a century. Any intellectual outcome produced by the Front will be only an interpretation of the Party's thought on Palestine.



The making of the Front's liberation strategy and phased policies will be done by the Party's thought. Such interaction between the Party's thought and the Front's work will enrich the Party and develop further the Front in the future, especially when the interaction takes on a correct and progressive nature.

On the organizational level, the final pattern of leadership for the Front assumes the representation of the Party in the Front's general command and down to the other levels. The phased patterns within the frame of the final pattern are supposed to avail the Front of the Party's constant control and leadership on the national level. The Party leaderships in the various countries and areas will direct the activities of the Front in those areas. Thus, the first principle of the Party, that of being the leading organization in the Front will be achieved.

Second : The Party's direction of the Front cannot be dogmatic or mechanical, but it will be born out of the Party's leadership role in the Front. The Front does not belong automatically to the Party just because it was born out of its thought and organization, but it belongs to the Party in as much as the Party is willing to

work in it and give it of its youth and struggle.

The Front is not the Party's fighting machine in Palestine and the occupied territories neither is it a collection of Party fighting groups, but it is the Party's formula for this progressive national struggle against occupation and manipulation. This formula will not assume its real significance unless the Party knows that what is required of it will be much more than what is required from the rest of the Front's members.

This new revolutionary situation in the Party cannot be dealt with in the old traditional manner. It will require the Party to make basic changes in its methods of struggle and standards which can be summed up in the following :

- 1 — Adoption of the principle of revolutionary professionalism for the Party and Front leaderships.
- 2 — Leadership in the Front and the Party will be measured by the variety and importance of missions for each member, and flexible standards must be adopted. This is to say that the number of missions and their danger will increase in relation to rank and not downwards. The leader-

ships will not only plan and supervise, but they will participate and lead.

- 3 — Preparing to transform the Party from a struggle party indistinguishable from other political organizations, into a revolutionary iron-principled organization in the full sense of the word.

**Third :** The whole party must fight in the Front. For if the Front is required to be the real organization through which the Party will be renewed and consequently the Arab revolution reborn, it would be only logical that the whole Party should be involved in the work within the Front because it is the formula that translates the call of liberation both organizationally and popularly. In order for the Party to be in touch with the pulse of the phase and its laws, to be active in direction and leadership of the organizations, it is also logical that each Party member should have a role to play within the Front especially in the countries neighbouring Palestine and later everywhere. This is not to say that the Party will melt into the Front. The Party organization will remain and gain in strength by its daily contact with the reality of the struggle.

**Fourth :** The real participation of other organiza-

tions and individuals in the Front is a Party duty which has been repeatedly emphasized to the effect that no single revolutionary battalion can alone bear all the burdens of struggle in this phase and consequently it would be necessary to adopt a popular front formula provided that a progressive national programme is adopted which must emanate from the principles of modern Arab revolution relying on the armed popular struggle as the only way for the liberation of the Arab land its inhabitants.

This means that the Party must understand the popular front formula in order to educate its members accordingly and in order to be able to liberate the working classes and release their energies in the direction of the Revolution. The essential condition for the success of the Front is the success of the Party within it to develop the resources of its members for the revolutionary machine. A Party member has the right and duty to participate in the affairs of the Front. But such participation may make negative reflections if it is not properly channelled and organized in such a way as to take into consideration the circumstances of the birth and relative youth and sensitivities of the Front.

The answer to the third question emanates from

our unequivocal faith in the Arab working masses and their progressive movements. We believe that those masses are the real source of support for the Guerilla Movement everywhere in the Arab world. Because they have the real interest in striking at the Zionist-imperialist alliance and weeding out the roots of the imperialist interests and its agents in the Arab lands.

This faith impels us to close ranks with all the resistance organizations and progressive forces in all of the Arab countries for the sake of safeguarding the Guerilla Movement against the liquidationary conspiracies and defeat and, to further develop its national and progressive outlooks in a more concrete way. For such closing of ranks would give the progressive liberation movement in the Arab countries greater momentum and hitch them organically and decisively to the battle for one Arab destiny.

On this basis, our work in this field will be on two levels :

- 1 — The level of building the popular organizations associated with the Arab Liberation Front in all Arab countries and to absorb Party members and all other individuals and organizations which

are committed to the strategy of the Front and its outlook. Such organizations can mobilize the energies of the Arab masses and ensure their participation in the battle of liberation. They can ensure the continued flow of revolutionary manpower to the armed revolution in Palestine.

2 — The level of finding the suitable formulas for achieving the real closing of ranks between the Resistance Movement and all other progressive forces in all the Arab countries to ensure the support for and the safeguarding of the Guerilla Movement. The Party has thus to work on the following levels :

- A) To provide financial support and arms for Palestinian guerilla activities and popular resistance in the occupied west Bank and Gaza.
- B) To provide all possible facilities for the Arab people of Palestine (mobilization, training and support) for their active and effective participation in Palestinian guerilla work.
- C) To break the siege mounted by Arab regimes and oil wealth on the Palestinian guerilla work by ensuring sufficient resources for training, arming and financing the Palestinian guerilla work.

- D) To encourage all efforts aiming at the unity of the guerillas under the leadership of revolutionary thought.
- E) To strengthen and develop further the relationship between the Party and the main resistance organizations through the leadership of the Arab Liberation Front on the basis of mutual considerations among the revolutionary forces.
- F) To develop further the guerilla work and provide it with all possible resources to enable it to keep up with the enemy's fast development of means to neutralize guerilla activity.

2 -- On the Arab level :

- A) The Party is active in implementing the strategy of the people's war of liberation and armed struggle against Zionism and imperialism through helping the Arab Liberation Front to build a political and military cadre which will be able to lead the Front and expand its formations so that it may become a frontal formation composed of the best struggle elements in the Arab countries and all the formations that led the fight against imperialism. The Party also provides the Front with material and political support.

- B) To work towards building popular organizations affiliated to the Arab Liberation Front to ensure the mobilization, organization and participation of all Arab masses in the battle of liberation. And to work also towards finding the suitable formulas for achieving the closure of ranks with all patriotic forces and movements in all Arab countries for supporting and safeguarding the guerilla work.
  
- C) To spread the education regarding the nature of the battle for Palestine and the organic relationship between Zionism and imperialism through pamphlets, publications, educational syllabuses and public meetings.
  
- D) The Party's rejection of all tendencies of surrender and appeasement and the unmasking of all attempts to stifle and contain the Arab revolution in Palestine.
  
- E) The Party assumes responsibility for relations with the Palestinian resistance organizations and all progressive organizations and popular formations inside and outside the Arab Homeland in the light of the battle for liberation.

3 — On the world level :



- A) The Party works on the development of fraternal and friendly relations in the world on the understanding that the battle for Palestine, with the solidarity of all national liberation movements with the people of the occupied territories, is but a battle of national liberation for the Arab people and on the basis of the community of interests of all peoples fighting against the common enemy : imperialism.
  
- B) To establish solid relations between the Arab Liberation Front and all progressive and socialist forces and parties in the world through the explanation of our outlook regarding the Palestine Question and the relation of the liberation struggle in Palestine to the future of the Arab people and its relations with other peoples.
  
- C) To send missions to Vietnam and People's China for the purpose of seeing, learning and training.

Finally it must be said that our Party «The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party» carries a great historical responsibility for translating the slogan of the phase... the people's war of liberation against Zionism and imperialism... into a mass mobilization as a wide comprehensive Arab fighting organization, based on self-reliance,

protracted war, faithful leadership and the aspirations of the poor and working masses. Our Party is the only Arab party which joins together the integrationist and ideological logic with a unified national organization which fights for the liberation of the Homeland from occupation and the liberation of the people from injustices and oppression. In Palestine, the Arabs are fighting all the enemies of their progress and existence. Consequently, the armed struggle in Palestine with its wide and armed popular base is strongly related to the battle of the Arab Nation against imperialism and the achievement of the Nation's aspirations. The revolutionary road of unity, freedom and socialism passes through Palestine.