
DOCUMENTS OF THE CONFERENCE OF ARAB COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES

A CONFERENCE OF THE COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES OF TUNISIA, JORDAN, LEBANON, SYRIA, MOROCCO, ALGERIA, IRAQ AND THE SUDAN WAS HELD IN JULY 1968

ON THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST AND WORKERS' PARTIES IN MOSCOW IN NOVEMBER 1968

The representatives of the Communist and Workers' parties of Arab countries exchanged views on the present situation in the world Communist and labor movement. They consider that the fight for its stronger unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is becoming the chief task demanding constant and close attention on the part of all Communist and Workers' parties. The representatives of the Arab Communists believe that the international conference of Communist and Workers' parties, to be convened in Moscow on November 25, 1968, will constitute a milestone on this road, a contribution to the further rallying of the Communist, labor and national-liberation movements.

The representatives of our parties, who are actively participating in the preparation of the conference, will continue to work energetically jointly with all the fraternal parties, helping to ensure the success of the Moscow conference. The Arab Communists consider that the participation of representatives of all the Communist and Workers' parties is vitally important; it is a duty dictated by proletarian internationalism. It should be added that the entire preparatory work, the organizational measures, the drafting of the documents, are conducted in the spirit of the broadest democracy, on the basis of complete equality of fraternal parties, big and small alike. This enables every party to make its full contribution to the preparatory work.

The international conference in Moscow is rousing the concern of the imperialists and their henchmen, who are trying more and more actively to hamper the preparation and misrepresent the aims of the conference. But their attempts are doomed to failure. The Communist and Workers' parties the world over see clearly how dangerous a split would be to the world Communist and national-liberation movements; they realize that it would play into

the hands of imperialism, Zionism and reaction. Therefore our parties, loyal to their internationalist duty, will go on strengthening their fraternal ties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. They consider that the conference in Moscow will be an exceptionally useful step along this road.

URGENT TASKS OF THE ARAB NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN ELIMINATING THE AFTERMATH OF THE IMPERIALIST ISRAELI AGGRESSION

After preliminary consultations the representatives of the Arab Communists exchanged opinions on problems of the general situation in their countries resulting from the perfidious imperialist Israeli aggression against the UAR, Syria and Jordan. They consider that the Israeli aggression continues, being coupled with the growing aggressiveness of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, with the escalation of its dirty war against the heroic Vietnamese people whose valiant struggle in defense of their freedom and independence merits respect, admiration and imitation.

Throughout the past year Israel has continued to raid the neighboring Arab countries, especially Jordan. Israel's Zionist rulers resort increasingly to brutal, fascist methods against the Arab population in the occupied territories. They pursue a deliberate policy of driving Arabs from their homes, with a view to resettling the land belonging to Arabs with Jewish immigrants. They more and more frequently advance all kinds of territorial claims, spurning the U.N. and Security Council resolutions, world opinion and international law.

The conference participants consider also that Israel would never have perpetrated its criminal acts without the support of the United States. These acts endanger the Arab national-liberation movement and gravely imperil peace in the area and in the rest of the world. In the opinion of the conference participants, the basic urgent task that these acts pose before all the Arab countries, before the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of the Arab world, before every sincere patriot and upright champion of freedom in the Arab countries, is to eliminate the aftermath of the aggression and compel the invader to return to the line from which he launched his perfidious attack.

Proceeding from this, and being aware of their historical responsibility for the destinies of their peoples and countries, the representatives of the Arab Communists address all the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces in the Arab states, all those who cherish the future of their countries, all those who strive for the complete liberation and progress of these countries, with an appeal to pool their efforts, to act concertedly in carrying out this

task. Its realization will accelerate the solution of the national democratic, progressive problems facing our countries and peoples, and the advance along the road of social progress, towards socialism.

THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND THE SITUATION IN THE ARAB WORLD AT THE TIME OF AGGRESSION. THE CHARACTER AND MOTIVE FORCES OF THE AGGRESSION

The aggression loosed on the Arab countries on June 5, 1967, was neither accidental nor isolated. It took place at a time when imperialism had mounted a series of direct and indirect attacks on the freedom and independence of many Asian, African and Latin American countries, in the wake of the fascist coup in Greece and the stepped up subversive activities against the socialist countries. The Israeli aggressors and their imperialist masters took advantage of the favorable situation, which they had created in collaboration with pro-imperialist Arab reactionaries by provoking internal conflicts and clashes in some Arab countries. In Yemen, for example, they encouraged and provided arms to those trying to overwhelm the Republic and restore the monarchy. In Iraq, they endeavored to complicate the solution of the Kurdish question, advocating a policy of repressions against the Kurds who were fighting for their legitimate national rights, including autonomy within the framework of the Iraqi Republic. By their projects of an Islamic pact they provoked and intimidated the progressive forces, and intrigued against them by inciting differences between them. Also, they made the most of the shortcomings in the Arab countries, the gaps in their fronts and the weaknesses of the progressive regimes.

To justify the aggression in the eyes of the world, the imperialists and the Israeli rulers exploited the unrealistic approach of some nationalist groups to the Palestine problem, the excesses and irresponsible statements of individual leaders and certain Arab information media.

Imperialist and Zionist propaganda has been frantically trying to present the imperialist aggression as a move forced on Israel, whose existence was said to have been endangered. The facts show clearly, however, that the aggression was a deliberate act against the Arab national-liberation movement, prepared and encouraged by U.S. imperialism with the collaboration of West German and British imperialism. As for Israel, it was the tool used in executing it. The aggression was a new dangerous feature in the general pattern of imperialist policy, aimed at subverting the progressive growth of the Arab states and halting the Arab struggle for liberation. It was also a serious manifestation of the increased aggres-

siveness of imperialism, notably that of the United States, and a part of the general strategic line of direct and indirect interventions followed by the United States in recent years.

The Middle East events were, in substance, a collision between the imperialist forces striking at the Arab national-liberation movement, and the Arab forces aspiring to independence, democracy and progress and striving to defend their existence and extend the achievements of their peoples, eliminate the imperialist positions still extant in the Arab countries and regain possession of the sources of wealth that are rightfully theirs.

THE AGGRESSION AND THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The fact that imperialism resorted to arms in the Middle East is indicative of the hatred the imperialists and their servitors in the area have for the Arab national-liberation movement, and of the fear which is roused in them by the victories of this movement and by the broad prospects which have opened up before it, especially in the past decade. Despite the imperialist policy of political and economic pressure and the staging of coups, the Arab national-liberation movement has scored considerable political and economic successes in that period. On the one hand, direct colonial domination has been eliminated and political independence has been established in all the Arab countries with the exception of Bahrein and the Persian Gulf zone, where a heroic struggle for independence is being waged. On the other hand, Egypt and Syria have set out on new paths, striking out against the remnants of feudalism and against big business, and effecting deep-going economic and social reforms which, given the proper subjective and objective conditions, can provide the basis for the transition of these countries to socialism in keeping with the general principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The successes of the Arab national-liberation movement, highlighted by the emergence of progressive regimes in the Arab world, prove irrefutably that the social content of the movement has deepened and that its national and political tasks are interlaced with economic and social tasks of a distinctly anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist complexion. These successes were attained by virtue of the specifics of our time, characterized by the transition from capitalism to socialism. They were attained by virtue of the emergence of the socialist world system, by virtue of its strength, and because it exerts a great power of attraction and serves as an inspiring example to all people of labor. They were attained thanks to the struggle of the working class and its Communist and Workers' parties. They also stem from the fact that the capitalist way cannot resolve the problems of developing countries. It should

be stressed, too, that all the victories were won in an environment of peaceful coexistence.

The emergence and development of progressive regimes in Egypt, Syria and other countries make them allies of the socialist states, notably the Soviet Union. This alliance has by now transcended merely moral relationships and developed into growing political, economic, military, cultural and technical cooperation, a source of still broader and still more effective aid for the Arab national-liberation movement. Furthermore, the alliance has given added weight to the movement in the world revolutionary process as part of the world-wide movement for national liberation. Besides, it has forged the Arab liberation movement into a more effective element in the joint struggle against colonialism and imperialism, for peace, and has redoubled its efforts to resolve the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, the main contradiction in the modern world, in favor of socialism.

These victories, backed by all the forces of freedom, progress and socialism, were among the main reasons that prompted international imperialism in general, and U.S. imperialism in particular, to aid Israel in its aggression.

TRUE AIMS OF THE AGGRESSION

The main concrete purpose which the colonialists and their Zionist agents pursued in committing the June 5 aggression was to overthrow the progressive regimes, because they feared that the prospects for their development and consolidation had become an inspiring example for the masses in all Arab countries, which threatened to undermine the colonialist and neo-colonialist positions and the reactionary pro-imperialist regimes in other Arab states. The routing of the progressive regimes was to have constituted the first step in a total onslaught aimed at strangling the Arab national-liberation movement and organizing counter-revolution, which would strengthen the positions of the imperialist agents, who are materially and morally dependent on the preservation of colonialism in the region. The main reason for the aggression was the desire to regain the positions which imperialism had lost in this strategically vital area, to preserve the remaining positions so as to ensure the future of the oil monopolies and continue the plunder of the tremendous oil wealth belonging to the Arabs.

What the colonialists also aimed at was to undermine Arab-Soviet friendship, always the foremost factor in the growth of the Arab national-liberation movement, both from the viewpoint of the intensification of the struggle for complete political independence, and from the viewpoint of achieving economic independence and advancing along the road of social progress through the realization

of the tasks of the national-democratic revolution.

Along with conforming to the general context of the organic and historical link between Zionism and imperialism, this colonialist plan fitted in with Israel's craving for territorial expansion, for building a Greater Israel at the expense of Jordan, the Gaza strip, the Golan Heights and other neighboring Arab lands and settling the Palestinian problem in Israel's interests, against the interests of the Arabs, particularly those of Palestine. Israel's aggression and its subsequent policy only bear out the aggressive essence of Israel and show that it has been an imperialist tool throughout its history. In 1948, not content with the territory it received under the 1947 U.N. decision, Israel committed aggression, in which it was encouraged by the U.S. and British imperialists, and seized large territories of Palestine, depriving about one million Arabs of their land and homes. The Arabs who remained in their land became victims of oppression and discrimination, being treated as the colored population is treated in South Africa. In 1956, when Egypt realized its legitimate right to the nationalization of the Suez Canal, Israel was the first to launch the tripartite aggression against it, thus gravely endangering world peace.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AGGRESSION. THE COLLAPSE OF THE AGGRESSORS' PLANS

Although the aggression had serious negative consequences for the Arab countries (the seizure of new extensive Arab territories by the invader, the strong blows suffered by the Arab armies, the considerable material and moral damage leading to the emergence of grave economic and social difficulties), the aggressors failed in their ultimate aim—the overthrow of the progressive Arab regimes. What prevented them from succeeding was above all the role played by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Despite all the attempts of the propaganda machinery of imperialism, Zionism and reaction to misrepresent and vilify this role, the Arab masses realized its importance from the very beginning. Equally decisive in preserving the progressive regimes was the powerful upsurge of the struggle against imperialism and Zionism, which blocked the road to reaction, especially in the UAR, where certain circles strove to change the form of government and the internal and foreign policy of the country in the interests of imperialism and its agents.

THE DEFEAT. ITS DIRECT AND INDIRECT CAUSES

There is no doubt that only Israel and the imperialists backing it are fully responsible for the aggression. But the rapidity with

which the aggressors and their masters achieved results, and a number of glaringly negative facts which were manifested in Arab countries, show that the defeat of the progressive regimes was not the result of military mishaps alone. The defeat clearly indicated that the subversive and espionage activity which imperialism and Zionism had been for many years conducting against the Arab countries, the concentration and mobilization of Israel's military potential aided by the U.S. brass-hats, and Israel's technical superiority and ability to use modern weapons, were countered by the Arab side with ignorance of, and disregard for, the enemy's condition, and disdain for its military strength, which was reflected in the absence of strategic and tactical plans, the inability to use the modern weapons which the progressive regimes possessed, the low standard of military leadership, the presence of reactionary, suspicious and treacherous elements. The defeat laid bare considerable shortcomings and deficiencies in the progressive regimes, which, however, does not detract from their importance as a major gain of the Arab national-liberation movement. In addition, the policy of the reactionary rulers of some Arab countries, who act in unison with imperialism, and the policy of conciliation with colonialism conducted by other Arab rulers, had led to the break-up of the front of Arab states, to tension in relations between them, which had made it easier for the enemy to strike the treacherous blow.

These defects and shortcomings manifested themselves in the following:

1. IN THE ARAB COUNTRIES WITH PROGRESSIVE REGIMES

a) The socio-economic measures and deep-going changes, in which the working class was primarily interested, were not backed up with appropriate political steps; as a result, the people, above all the working class, who stood to gain the most, were deprived of the opportunity to participate actively in either political leadership or control of production.

b) Restriction of democratic freedoms, the ban on progressive political organizations, above all the Communist Party, complicated political and social cooperation between these forces in some acceptable form.

c) The machinery of state inherited from the past was not purged thoroughly enough of extreme reactionary and mercenary elements, and of people belonging to the feudal class or the class of big capitalists; this complicated and prejudiced many measures, leading to the growth of bureaucracy and corruption, and encouraging anti-democratic and anti-popular trends. It also affected military affairs, especially in the United Arab Republic, where

plotters hostile to the progressive policy retained important posts. These elements formed the nucleus of the military bureaucracy that played a disgraceful role, displaying weakness and incompetence, some of them behaving treacherously in the June actions and, after the defeat, organizing a reactionary plot against the existing regime.

d) A guarded attitude still remained with relation to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, which support our national-liberation struggle and are the most loyal and sincere friends of the Arabs. Some hesitation was observed in establishing durable and extensive economic, cultural, political and military ties with these countries.

2. IN THE OTHER ARAB COUNTRIES

a) In the past the Arab countries with reactionary regimes, such as Saudi Arabia, coordinated their policy with that of the imperialist states; there was ceaseless plotting against progressive regimes and interference in the affairs of other Arab states, aimed at entangling them in imperialist alliances and plans; that interference sometimes took the form of armed interventions against the national-liberation movement (as in the case of Yemen); all this made the countries in question a factor that facilitated the aggression and the defeat.

b) The pro-imperialist policy of the rulers of Arab countries not directly dominated by imperialism, the policy of persecuting or restricting the progressive national forces, especially the Communists, prevented these countries from mobilizing their potential and fulfilling their role in the common struggle.

Imperialist hostility towards the progressive regimes and the Arab liberation movement in general, the influence exerted by the imperialists on the rulers of Arab states with reactionary regimes, and the intrigues of world Zionism—this, in the aggregate, was the main reason why the differences between Arab countries were acute, hindering Arab solidarity in the fight against the aggression and the aggressors.

AFTER A YEAR: ISRAEL ISOLATED, ARABS RECOVERING

The Israeli rulers and their imperialist masters imagined that their military victory would be followed by victories in other areas. But this illusion was short-lived. The defeat, which brought on bitter disillusionment of the Arab peoples and which the enemies have been exploiting to bring these peoples to desperation, has not only failed to break their will, but has fortified their determination to resist and hold out, to fight till the complete elimination of the aftermath of the aggression.

All the efforts of the Israeli rulers, similar to those of 1948, to effect a forcible emigration of Arab citizens from captured lands and whip up defeatist sentiment, have failed. All their violence and oppression, aimed at preventing popular resistance to conquest and occupation, have equally failed. The resistance is acquiring an increasingly organized character under the leadership of the National Front in which the fraternal Jordanian Communist Party is playing an active role. All attempts to crush this resistance will fall through, for resistance is offered by a people from whom the enemies have taken away their land and who, relying on their legitimate rights and acting in conformity with the demands of objective reality, are using all the means at their disposal to resist the invader and liberate their land.

In Jordan, the object of endless aggression, the tenacity of the people and the growing spirit of resistance prevent the aggressors from achieving their aims, centered on compelling Jordan to bow to the imperialist and Zionist plans.

In other parts of the Arab world, the peoples reaffirm their determination to stand their ground, to prevent a new defeat and to eliminate the consequences of the aggression. They are agreed that the way to achieve this is for the progressive national forces to concert their actions, to learn from past experience, and without delay to tackle the defects, weaknesses and obstacles revealed during the sneak aggression, thus creating the conditions necessary for eliminating its consequences. Although some positive steps have been taken in this direction, first in the UAR and then in Syria, it is necessary to adopt resolutely and promptly many other measures, above all in the various areas of domestic life.

The international situation last year did not develop in favor of the aggressors and their masters. The Security Council repeatedly condemned the Israeli aggression in the Al Karama district of Jordan. It also condemned the military parade the Zionist rulers arranged in the Arab part of Jerusalem. International democratic organizations extensively expressed themselves against the perfidious aggression and in support of the Arab countries that fell victim to it. A number of states in different continents began to come out against the aggression and its perpetrators. Israel has been contributing to its isolation in the world by its brutal methods of dealing with the population in the occupied areas, by its undisguised expansionist aims and by its disregard for the United Nations and Security Council resolutions and international law.

The activities of the representative of the U.N. Secretary-General have shown that Israel and its imperialist masters are fully responsible for the failure to implement the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, especially after the UAR, Jordan and other Arab countries had voiced their agreement with the

resolution. Only Israel and its imperialist masters are to blame for the tension in the region.

The stand of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, of the forces of progress and socialism led by the Communist parties including the Communist Party of Israel, helped to expose Israel's aggressive nature. Israel and its patrons found themselves in a quandary. Also helpful in revealing the truth about the aggression is the flexible realistic policy now adopted by the United Arab Republic. The other Arab countries, despite the differences in their policy lines, should also follow this course and support it.

The developments in the Arab countries, especially after the aggression, confirm the correctness of the objective scientific study of classes and social strata in the Arab countries, their role and the role of the various political organizations. They show the growth of the role which has historically and politically devolved on the working class and its parties in the Arab world as a whole and in each Arab country.

The working class, despite its young age and numerical weakness stemming from the economic backwardness of the Arab countries, has contributed, in the person of its Communist and Workers' parties and in cooperation with the various national progressive forces, to the common fight of the Arabs against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against reaction and Zionism, for national independence and democracy. The independent role of the working class in this fight grows parallel with the growth of the working class and its growing realization of this role, it grows parallel with the consolidation of its Marxist-Leninist parties.

The struggle of the working class and its parties has played an important role in injecting a new social content into the Arab national-liberation movement.

The economic and social achievements and changes attained or underway in some Arab countries, and the events taking place in the world, offer the working class, its Marxist-Leninist parties and its other organizations extensive opportunities for participating on an ever growing scale in resolving the Arab problems, extending the scope of the progressive social measures, and leading their countries forward to socialism. This will broaden and consolidate the role of the other progressive strata.

TWO DANGEROUS TRENDS

The military defeat, which had a staggering effect on many national and all-Arab forces, revealed numerous deficiencies in the Arab progressive regimes and political and organizational weaknesses of some all-Arab progressive organizations, and showed clearly to the broadest Arab masses who is the enemy and who

is the friend of the Arab national-liberation movement. All this made it imperative for these organizations to define anew and specify their political positions, and determine the prospects of their activity with due regard to the experience of the military defeat and of the period that preceded it, in the light of the tasks for the future and the responsibility for it.

The military defeat and its consequences are a new important factor in the political and social differentiation now underway in the Arab world. Two dangerous trends have appeared in this context in the progressive all-Arab movement, and if either of them wins, it will, in effect, emasculate the mass movement and obscure its progressive social and national tasks.

The first is the romantic and reckless course advocated by progressive national patriotic elements of the petty bourgeoisie, horrified by the military defeat, as a result of which, lacking a scientific theory of social development, they have lost their capacity to see the future in clear perspective; their political organizations have fallen apart and their faith in the masses, in their revolutionary activity, has diminished. They have begun to put forward slogans negating the importance of organized mass struggles; as an alternative to broad political action and the use of all forms and methods of struggle, they offer but one method, while some of the extreme reactionary and doubtful elements encourage this adventurous trend materially and morally in the hope of inhibiting the mass struggle. The Mao Tse-tung clique is exerting itself to encourage and nourish this pernicious adventurist trend.

However, despite the patriotic sentiment that impels the vast majority of its exponents, this trend does not take fully into account the designs of imperialism and Israel against the Arab peoples, although it attaches due importance to the Palestine problem. Therefore, from the standpoint of the national and revolutionary movement in the Arab world and from the standpoint of the Palestine problem as well, the call of the exponents of this reckless trend to separate the Palestine issues from the Arab national-liberation movement is entirely incorrect, and, consequently, so is the slogan that Palestinians should fight their battles alone on the lame pretext that the Palestine movements are independent and need no "patronage." Although the Palestine problem concerns chiefly the Arabs of Palestine, it also concerns the peoples of all the Arab countries, because it is part of their common struggle against imperialism and Zionism.

On the other hand, while denying all other forms and concentrating on just one method of struggle, while ignoring the situation and the correlation of forces, especially after the defeat, this trend enables the imperialists, the Israeli rulers and the pro-

imperialist reactionaries to undermine the progressive regimes, to hit out at the entire Arab national-liberation movement, and this after it had stood its ground thanks to the consciousness of the masses, to their struggle, to the concerted effort of the world's progressive forces, to the material and political support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Our experience since June 1967 shows that our various forms and methods of political struggle are anything but outdated, that they have been, and will be, of great use to the Arab national-liberation movement, both as concerns aiding the progressive regimes economically and militarily and mobilizing the people, and isolating Israel and its patrons in the international arena, or marshalling support for the just Arab cause among the broadest possible sections of democratic world opinion.

The second dangerous trend is a rightist defeatist tendency rejecting progressive social reconstruction on the plea of "national survival." In effect, this plea is merely a screen for the class interests of social groups either already affected by progressive social measures or anticipating their detrimental effects for them should the United Arab Republic and Syria continue along the chosen path. Exponents of this trend obscure the fact that national tasks, including that of eliminating the consequences of the aggression, and the social tasks of the modern Arab national-liberation movement are two sides of the same revolutionary process and that any attempt to abandon tasks related to either of the two sides will prejudice the revolutionary process as a whole.

Exponents of this trend are inclined to justify mutual understanding with U.S. imperialism, to come to terms with it on the excuse that the United States holds the key to the Middle East crisis. They are inclined to vindicate the aggressive policy conducted in concert with the United States against the Arab countries by West Germany and Britain, which are rendering material, political and military aid to Israel.

Some rightist elements exaggerate the implications of the stand in the Middle East crisis of the French rulers, who, after all, represent monopoly interests. They impede a proper appreciation of the French position in the context of the growing contradictions between the imperialist powers which the Arab liberation movement can and should utilize to its advantage. They want cooperation with France to prejudice relations between the Arab countries, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and other socialist states, on the other. Some progressive Arab forces fall into the trap set by this political dodge.

Both these trends, the reckless and the defeatist, no matter how far apart their sources may be, are detrimental to the national-

liberation movement and to the social progress of the Arab states.

TASKS IN ELIMINATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AGGRESSION. DEFENDING PROGRESSIVE REGIMES AND DEVELOPING THE ARAB LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The Communist and Workers' parties of the Arab countries consider that, in the light of all the above-stated facts, the immediate and long-range tasks of all the genuine national and progressive forces can be formulated as follows:

Elimination of the aftermath of the aggression makes it necessary:

1. To step up the struggle against imperialism and Zionism in all political and economic areas by eliminating imperialism's economic, political and strategic positions, including the dismantling of military bases and withdrawal of the U.S. Sixth Fleet from the Mediterranean, by exposing and combating the plans and alliances of neo-colonialism. To work for greater solidarity between the Arab national-liberation movement and all peoples fighting against colonialism and imperialism, against direct and indirect aggression, and especially for greater solidarity with the valiant people of Vietnam fighting for the independence of their country and its territorial integrity, against the American aggressors, their allies and henchmen, for an end to the aggressive war waged by the United States against Vietnam.

2. To work for the implementation of the Security Council resolution of November 22, 1967, as an important step towards settling the Middle East conflict and achieving a just peace securing Arab rights in Palestine, including the rights of the refugees.

3. To expose the crimes committed by Israel, encouraged by U.S. imperialism, against the civilian population in occupied Arab territory; to expose the aggressive plans still nursed by the Zionist rulers with the object of continuing their expansionist policy at the expense of the Arab states; to appeal to democratic world opinion in order to strengthen solidarity with the Arab peoples and compel Israel and its masters to retreat and fulfil the U.N. resolution calling for the withdrawal of troops from territories occupied as a result of the June 5 aggression.

5. To enable the masses of people, particularly the workers, to play their part in the struggle; to lift all restrictions on the democratic and trade union rights of the people; to afford all national and progressive forces, without discrimination, the opportunity to pursue political and organizational activities in rallying the people and guiding them in the struggle to eliminate the consequences of the aggression.

In the situation now prevailing in the Arab world, the problem

of granting democratic freedoms to the masses and above all to the working class and its political spokesmen assumes vast national and all-Arab importance. It is intolerable that any national or progressive forces should stick to a negative or indifferent attitude towards this problem. The prime task facing all national and progressive forces, not just Communists, in this connection, is to counteract imperialist and reactionary efforts to carry on the anti-communist policy, the policy of discrediting and slandering the main and the stoutest contingent of the Arab national-liberation movement.

This calls for determined efforts to end the policy of arrests and reprisals against the Communists and other national and progressive forces in Iraq, Algeria, Tunisia, Saudi Arabia and other countries, to secure the release of political prisoners, that is, patriots and progressives, including Communists, so that they can, together with their people, participate in the fight against imperialism, Israel and reaction. Freedom of action by Communist parties is essential to strengthen the anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist movement and to ensure the removal of obstacles hindering the advance of the Arab national-liberation movement along the road of progress.

It also calls for ending the policy of suspicion and hostility towards Communist and other progressive forces in the countries with progressive regimes; ending the policy of keeping Communists and progressive forces out of the national fronts and out of political activity; ending the policy of persecution and ideological quarantine.

This will create favorable conditions for cooperation by all national and progressive forces, for rallying all forces with a stake in national independence and social progress in each Arab country and in the Arab world as a whole.

An objective basis for an alliance of national and progressive forces is provided by the coinciding interests of the classes and social strata from which they come in carrying out the tasks of the national-democratic revolution, that is, in effecting radical reforms, particularly agrarian reform in the interests of poor and middle peasants, with the latter's support and participation, in advancing along the road of social progress.

The Communists of the Arab countries, who have always taken guidance in their policy and practical work in the supreme interests of their respective countries, will continue to act in unison, with still greater vigor and effectiveness, in organizing bilateral and multilateral meetings with other political, national and progressive forces and organizations, to hammer out agreement on the key problems facing our peoples.

5. To invigorate to the maximum political, economic, cultural

and military cooperation with the Soviet Union, which has restored the military potential of the progressive Arab countries by making up for all the losses they suffered. To strengthen friendly ties with the other socialist states which have at all times stood firmly by the Arab peoples and, especially, during times of trial; to recognize the friendly German Democratic Republic, which supports the just Arab cause and plays an important role in the fight for lasting peace and security in Europe and the rest of the world, against the revival of the Nazi peril; to strengthen ties with the world's democratic and peace-seeking organizations, above all with the parties which, by adhering to internationalism, played an outstanding role in mobilizing world opinion in support of the just Arab cause.

6. To support all that has been done in the UAR and Syria to purge the machinery of state of reactionary and corrupt elements, and work for deepening and expediting this process; to remove members of the reactionary classes, saboteurs and bribe-takers in these two countries and in Algeria from posts of leadership in the nationalized enterprises of the state sector, and to replace them by progressives concerned about the growth of these enterprises and their effective contribution to the development of the national economy. The trade unions should be afforded the opportunity to control these enterprises. It is equally essential to modernize and improve legislation, repealing all regulations that impede the free development of national and progressive forces or obstruct progressive political, economic and social growth.

Furthermore, every encouragement should be given to progressive national development in the Syrian Arab Republic, strengthening it and combating all reactionary activity and plotting; it is necessary to strengthen and extend in all spheres and at all levels cooperation between the Baath Party, the ruling party in Syria, and the Syrian Communist Party. Also important is cooperation by all national forces, groups and elements in a broad progressive national front, because, as the facts show, a national front is the best form for securing unity of action and cohesion in the fight against colonialism, imperialism and Zionism, in defending national and popular gains and continuing the advance to social progress.

7. To combat all conservative and reactionary trends, which endeavor to obstruct the progressive regimes in their economic activity and to unify their economic and social gains. The process of building strengthens the progressive regimes, adding to their political, economic and military might as opposed to the designs of world imperialism and Israel. It is essential, therefore, to rely more firmly and extensively on the class forces which are more

than others interested in revolution, particularly the working class, the peasant masses and the revolutionary intelligentsia.

8. To work for full political, economic and military coordination between the UAR and Syria, for stronger Arab solidarity to utilize all possibilities available in the Arab countries for eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

9. To purge the armies in the Arab countries with progressive regimes of reactionary, suspicious and defeatist elements, members of the feudal class and the class of big capitalists; to enhance the military skill and educational level in the armies; to promote political education in a spirit of hostility to imperialism and reaction and a spirit of devoted service to the country and defense of national and social gains.

10. Jordan, by virtue of its geographical position and of the fact that a considerable part of its territory is occupied, and also because it is more closely associated with the Palestine problem and continuously raided with the aim of compelling it to surrender, is especially important in the fight of the Arabs to effectively rebuff the aggression and in eliminating the consequences of this aggression. In Jordan it is essential to work for a government of national unity, whose principal tasks would be to grant democratic rights, arm with Soviet help, and strengthen Arab solidarity against the occupation, imperialism and Zionism. Jordan needs a government which would by its structure and policy stimulate and support the fight of the people in the occupied areas.

11. The Arab Communist and Workers' parties, proceeding from the interests of Iraq's national development, interests of the Arab national-liberation movement, support the stand on the Kurdish problem of the Iraqi Communist Party, which demands an end to the national oppression of Kurds and restoration of their lawful national rights based on autonomy within the Republic. The Arab Communist and Workers' parties call on all progressive and national forces in the Arab world to support this line in order to strengthen the front of national-democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist forces in Iraq, so that its fraternal people may contribute fully to the efforts aimed at eliminating the consequences of the aggression.

12. To continue and step up the fight against the reactionary and dictatorial regimes in the Arab world, for establishment of democratic, national forms of government opposed to imperialism, reaction and Zionism.

13. Rebuff the ideological offensive of neo-colonialism and the reactionary forces allied with it, which utilize the various information media (press, radio, television) and cultural organizations to vilify the progressive regimes and progressive national forces, to slander their policy and undermine their prestige, to falsify the

history, culture and cultural heritage of the Arab peoples, and to propagate resignation, submission and defeatism. To fight for banning such imperialist organizations and for placing education and the information media at the service of Arab national liberation.

While combating in every way this frantic imperialist ideological offensive, the Arab Communist and Workers' parties expose trends which distort Marxist-Leninist theory, both those of the Right opportunist elements and those of adventurous "Left" elements who spread anarchist and neo-Trotskyist views and slander the world Communist movement and the Arab Communist parties.

14. To expose and combat the Zionist movement from scientific positions, in cooperation with all Communist and Workers' parties and all progressive forces, fighting against colonialism and imperialism. This is an urgent task more important than ever. The treacherous imperialist aggression by Israel only proves the immensity of the danger of the Zionist movement which, clothed in the garb of a vehicle of progress and freedom and pretending to be the sufferer, has spread its tentacles.

The Zionist movement, as its history shows, thrives on chauvinism and nationalism, merging thereby with the nazi concepts of racial and national exclusiveness. It strives to divide the labor movement and to separate Jewish workers from workers of other nationalities. It is an organic part of imperialism and serves as a tool of world imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, which directs it, both immediately and by means of its ties with Israel, against the Arab and world national-liberation movement, utilizes it to split the international working-class movement, and resorts to assisting it in subversive and provocative actions and espionage against all socialist countries.

The Arab Communist and Workers' parties, aware of their responsibility to their peoples, to the working class, to the forces of social progress and socialism in their countries, have noted shortcomings and problems and determined, in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, the main tasks which, in their opinion, face the Arab national-liberation movement today. Our parties consider that the problems raised by them can serve as the basis of a common national program for agreement and for joint work with all the national forces and elements. Mindful of the interests of the entire revolutionary movement in the Arab world, they are prepared to work jointly with representatives of many strata on the basis of a more progressive program. They will not spare forces in facilitating rapprochement between all the contingents of the progressive, national Arab movement, in mobilizing all the sound forces for the realization of the principal urgent task of the national movement,

namely, elimination of the consequences of the Israeli imperialist aggression. They will utilize all their fraternal ties with the Communist parties of the world to fulfil this sacred task, to open up before our peoples new vistas on their road to independence, democracy, socialism and peace among nations.
