

ONE ARAB NATION WITH AN IMMORTAL MISSION

Arab Baath Socialist Party

THE POLITICAL MANIFESTO
OF

THE TENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
(1-10 MARCH 1970)

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The Resolution passed by the Tenth National Convention of the Arab Baath Socialist Party, which convened in Baghdad during the first half of March, were announced on April 13, 1970. The Political Manifesto of the Convention was broadcast by Comrade Shibly al-Aysami, Assistant Secretary-General of the Party, over the Broadcasting Station of Baghdad, the Broadcasting Station of the Armed Forces and the Baghdad Television Station. Following is the text of the Manifesto:

“Masses of our struggling Arab nation!

“The national conventions of the Arab Baath Socialist Party have been, across the Party’s advance of struggle, major stop-stations where experiences of revolutionary work gather, the incentives of the ideological, political and social development of the Arab Revolution come forward and the features become clear of the scientific visibility of Arab realities and of the laws of their fundamental development within the framework of the progressive revolution of national liberation in the Third World and the socialist revolution as a whole. It was in the light of that consideration that the Tenth National Convention of the Party convened in Baghdad between March 1-10. The Convention stressed the necessity of solving the Kurdish issue

in northern Iraq in a manner conforming with the humane dimension of the Baath Party's nationalist credo as well as with the requirements of the unity of struggle of the Arab and Kurdish masses for the achievement of their nationalist goals of liberation that place them in one line against the imperialistic-Zionist-conspiracy coalition.

"The Tenth National Convention has demarcated the nature of the current stage of Arab conditions in the light of a comprehensive analysis of the political and class conditions in the Arab world. As a result, the Convention came to produce a strategy for Party, political and commando work.

"It was quite natural for the Convention to embark upon its work by addressing greetings to the Party strugglers in the territory of Iraq who, between the Ninth National Convention held in February 1968 and the Tenth National Convention, succeeded in detonating the July 17 Revolution and achieving important victories to Iraq and to the Arab nation. Coming at the top of these victories was the recognition of the German Democratic Republic and the Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam; the crushing of spies and conspiratorial attempts; heroic steadfastness in the face of imperialistic and reactionary pressures and inroads; resistance in the face of the Iranian invasion schemes and imperialistic influence in the Arab Gulf; promptness in supporting the two revolutions of Libya and Sudan; committing the Iraqi armed forces to serve the interests of commando work, offering constant and growing support to it and protecting it against attempts

to encircle or impair it; offering material and moral support to the progressive Arab governments and to national liberation movements; bolstering national liberation movements in all three continents; pursuing a courageous national policy in the fields of the national exploitation of sulphur in cooperation with the People's Republic of Poland and the national and direct exploitation of oil in cooperation with the friendly Soviet Union; pursuing similar steps in the fields of popular work, agrarian reform and social security for workers; maintaining openings to other nationalities and creating positive climates for the settlement of the Kurdish issue. The Tenth National Convention had also to greet the spirit of heroic endurance with which the Arab masses faced the outcome of the nationalist ordeal of June 5 and by which they broke all encirclement attempts.

FIRSTLY — ON RELATIONS BETWEEN IDEOLOGY, STRATEGY AND TACTICS.

“The Convention stemmed from the premise of defining this relationship, and established distinction between the Party's long-term strategy which involves the building of the united democratic socialist Arab society (i.e. the achievement of the goals of unity, liberty and socialism) and the transitional strategies dealing with nationalist issues of destiny which demand actual and direct attitudes within the streamline of the general objectives of the Arab revolution. Among the issues covered in this category is the Palestine issue, the settler-invasion in the Arab Gulf, the creation of set forms of unitary work and the liquidation of the

residues of feudalism, bourgeoisie and backwardness within the framework of the dialectical comprehension of relationships between the nationalist factor and the socialist factor. The Convention pointedly stressed that the Party's political strategy cannot be but an application of its ideology in a phased-out plan marked with set and definitive conditions related to both time and place and taking into consideration the obtaining forms of external and internal strifes and the real weights of the political and social forces.

SECONDLY — THE NECESSITIES OF THE CURRENT STAGE.

“The Convention defined the present stage as one of confrontation with encountered challenges and of preparation for the coming battle with the Zionist-imperialistic aggression. The present stage was also considered a transitional one leading to a new plane of thought, action, planning and implementation characterised with revolutionary maturity and complete cohesion between nationalist liberation strife and class socialist strife. The Convention also affirmed that the stage of catastrophe has made of the rejection of regional fragmentation and of proceeding from the starting point of unity in the strategic sense, an objective need meeting the minimum of the requirements of Arab struggle against the Zionist-imperialistic-reactionary alignment. Further, it was made clear that the present stage is among the most revolutionary in the contemporary life of the Arabs; consequently, it is the stage of doctrinal strategic work and the stage characterised by the presence of revolutionary instruments

capable of absorbing the defeat and of making theoretical planning and practical preparations for the battle in a manner assuring definite victory.

“The Convention, while analysing the contemporary Arab struggle, also emphasized that the nationalist liberation aspect and the class social aspect are two sides of one fact which the Arab Revolution is seeking out. The Convention came to the conclusion that the class analysis of the development of Arab revolutionary work in the pre-1967 catastrophe period has borne out the political analysis and the analysis of ideological and doctrinal currents marking that stage. The net result of the analysis in question was that the 5th of June (1967) spelled out the end of the era of the petit-bourgeoisie’s leadership and marked the beginning of the era of the leadership of the revolutionary masses. This is the era of organised and planned strategic cohesion between these masses believing as they are in the Arab revolutionary ideology and the vanguard revolutionary forces, coherent in their composition and qualified to play, through the nationalist front conceived on a pan-Arab level, the leading role in Arab struggle.

“The Convention further proved that the existing Arab political institutions have no way of gaining the confidence of Arab masses unless these institutions brought themselves to measure up to the new level dictated by the obtaining revolutionary stage and managed to rid themselves of the passive streaks of the preceding era. These streaks are summed up by resignation to the state of fragmentation; the predominance of regional mentality and bureaucratic usages; opposi-

tion to revolutionary party set-up; settling down to outward support of armed struggle without affording it the real opportunity to develop into a true war of national liberation; stopping by the limits of mere verbal support of the working class without assuring to its struggle the conditions of growth and effective participation in leadership and using the scientific rejection of international formulas smacking of capitulation as a veneer to cover up their defeated attitudes.

The Convention also stressed that the predominance of the nationalist mentality and nationalist contents over the regional mentality together with the achievement of the strategy of unity, both represent the main goal of Arab struggle — this being in addition to Party work receptive of frontal formulas and practices; the release of the energies of the toiling masses; the support of commando action and armed struggle and the rejection of all settlements seeking the liquidation of the Palestine issue. The Convention further stressed that the creation of objective conditions for facing up to the imperialistic-Zionist challenge presupposes the realisation of the progressive nationalist front on a pan-Arab level. This is because Arab revolutionary forces will be impotent to lead the masses and ready them up for the battle as long as they remain in their present splintered situation and if they fail to achieve concert between the objective and the subjective within the framework of the current stage.

“The Convention further came to the conclusion that the answer to the regional impulse arising from the state of fragmentation and to the non-unity condi-

tions lies in a revolutionary unity where the nationalist factor becomes welded to its socialist democratic contents — not in a unity with an individualistic character or in a state of domineering or in a unity fraught with contradictions

“The answer to the absence of strategy lies in strategic planning, not in settling down to tactics. Likewise, the answer to domineering impulses lies in a state of interaction between the revolutionary authorities and the masses and in practising popular democracy as distinct from proforma democracy given to serving the interests of the non-revolutionary classes. In the same vein, the answer to auctioneering lies not in biddings but rather in discovering the right equations.

On this basis of analytical processes and definition of the nature of the obtaining stage, the Tenth Nationalist Convention proceeded to lay down the broadlines of the strategy of the stage.

THIRDLY:

On the Party level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — Developing the struggle and class edifice of the party in a manner answering the exigencies of the current revolutionary stage and making of commando action and armed struggle the main axis of the life of its members.

2 — Deepening and consolidating self-criticism for transition to a new level of party work, revolutionary

outlook, and attention to party education with the intent of delivering it from the ideological, political and organisational errors that marked the preceding stage.

3 — Devoting serious attention to Party up-bringing and to the achievement of the conditions of developing Party work in both theory and practice with the object of realising the oneness of the Party personality and enhancing its struggle and ethical character marked with a comprehensive scientific outlook.

4 — Defining the Party's position on any regime it might come to have in any given country by striking a balance between the independent character of the Party on the one hand and taking into consideration the circumstances of such a regime, on the other, with due care to protecting it against conspiracies.

FOURTHLY:

On the pan-Arab (nationalist) level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — Achieving full ties between the political strategy on the one hand and the ideological framework of the Arab revolution on the other and opposing all endeavours to deviate or drop below this level.

2 — Reckoning with the achievement of unity as the effective factor for transition to the stage of serious confrontation with the Zionist-imperialistic aggression. Such unity must, in addition to unifying political, economic and cultural institutions, take care to unify the for-

ces of Arab revolution within a nationalist frontal framework capable of leading the Arab masses in accordance with a political programme defining the requirements of confronting on all levels.

3 — Going back to the people and putting them in the picture about the difficulties that might confront the advance of the struggle for unity and frontal work so that the Arab masses could place their weight behind the Party.

4 — Focusing the Party's endeavours on the Palestine issue and commando action side by side with drawing attention to other problems such as the imperialistic-reactionary schemings in the Arab Gulf. Every effort should be made in the fields of ideology, politics, information and popular work to accentuate those schemings and awaken Arab masses, everywhere in the Arab homeland to this menacing danger side by side with getting ready to encounter and overcome it and prompt the Gulf states and principalities to achieve real unity which answers the minimum of the requirements of confronting the danger in question.

5 — Mobilising the Party's entire energies on a nationalist (pan-Arab) level for shoring up the Party's rule in Iraq and deepening and enriching its experiment.

FIFTHLY:

On the political level, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — Undertaking serious and speedy work to change the features of Arab realities with the object of achieving objective conditions necessary for confronting the Zionist-imperialistic alliance. This is to be had by tireless endeavours for the realisation of unity in its progressive substance. The view on the edifice of Arab conditions is to be totally revised alongwith creating mental and psychological preparedness to link up the Arab life fully with the necessities of long-term confrontation. Economy, politics and every-day life should all be converted into supporting media with the object of directing Arab struggle in the way of the battlefield.

2 — “Lay emphasis on the adoption of the strategy of the national liberation war previously endorsed at the 9th National Convention. The requirements of that strategy (including the creation of the policy of confrontation, the economy of confrontation, the school of confrontation) should be considered as the natural key to the realisation of a full-fledged, drastic and deep revolution in the contemporary Arab life, all in a manner totally removing fragmentation, backwardness and class exploitation.

3 — “Creating objective conditions for uniting Arab revolutionary forces around a comprehensive programme of revolutionary work helpful to releasing the effectiveness of the Arab masses and to placing the reins of the battle in their hands. This is to be achieved by creating the progressive nationalist front on pan-Arab levels.

4 — “Arab masses are considered the instruments as well as the objective of the Revolution and the quarter which has a real stake in liberation. Consequently, the advance should always be in the direction of the masses and of mobilising them for waging the battle, all the more so after the formulas coming down from above have proved their impotence and their utter failure to attain to the minimum levels required for the confrontation and for joint Arab action.

SIXTHLY:

“On the Palestine issue and commando action, the Convention passed resolutions on the following:

1 — “Reckoning with the Palestine Revolution as the main centre of gravity to the Arab Revolution and doing away with all deviationist tendencies arising from local concepts or opportunistic stances aiming at cracking the dialectical unity of the Arab Revolution and the Palestine Revolution.

2 — “Endeavouring to carry out the strategy of the war of national liberation and armed struggle by bolstering the Palestine commando work and popular resistance in the occupied territories and assuring to them all political, material and moral necessities.

3 — “Fostering relations between the Party and commando organisations through the Unified Palestine Leadership and on the basis of comradeship in struggle between Arab revolutionary forces.

4 — “Backing up all endeavours that seek the realisation of the slogan of the unity of commando action under the leadership of revolutionary ideology.

5 — “Turning down all advocacies smacking of capitulation and resighting all attempts to struggle and contain the Palestine Revolution and liquidate the Palestine issue.

6 — “Disseminating comprehension of the nature of the battle fought in Palestine, uncovering the organic association between imperialism and Zionism and fostering the ties of friendship between the Palestine Revolution and progressive movements of liberation the world over.

SEVENTHLY: ON THE IRAQI TERRITORY.

“The Convention has drawn up the broadlines of the advance of the regime in the territory of Iraq in the following manner (with the object of attaining to the new required pattern in the post-June 5 era — i.e. by coverting the territory of Iraq into a revolutionary Arab force and committing the country’s possibilities to serving nationalist strategy):

1 — “Solving the territory’s problems in the light of the strategy of confronting the Zionist-imperialistic-reactionary alliance. The Convention stressed that the proclamation of a peaceful, democratic settlement to the Kurdish issue on the basis of self-rule within the framework of Iraqi unity and in a manner assuring best

conditions of cooperation and solidarity between the Arab and Kurdish nationalities, should be in the forefront of the Party's accomplishments so as to release its armed forces and its economic and human energies for confronting the Zionist danger and undercutting imperialistic and reactionary conspiracies in the region.

2 "Achieving deep revolutionary accomplishments leading to drastic transformations in production relationships alongwith the necessary conditions for embarking upon the socialist transformation stage.

3 "Considering the Palestine revolution as the centre of gravity for the policy of the territory of Iraq and getting the strategy of unity and of popular and regular armed struggle (both in conscience and in practice) to enter every home, factory, school and barrack and shape up the life of the individual, the family, the village and the city in the light of the requirement of confrontation.

4 — "Viewing struggle for unity as setting the road to liberation and looking upon struggle waged across Palestine as the right way to a type of unity correcting all the consequences of the preceding experiment. This is because the road of unity and the road of liberation are inseparable the one from the other.

5 — "Building the progressive national front on both the regional and nationalist levels (local and pan-Arab levels).

6 — "Bringing about an information, cultural and social revolution disburdening Arab life of all residues of fragmentation and prejudices against the human nationalist associations and of all ideas and traditions

disruptive to a scientific and revolutionary confrontation with the enemy.

7 — “Ever taking initiatives on both official and popular levels for creating climates accommodating to unitary work.

8 — “Inviting Arab institutions and Arab popular organisations to a programme of action reviving the hopes of the Arab masses and creating among them confidence in victory once all revolutionary Arab possibilities are pooled under its banner. Such a programme of action would also provide a sharp revolutionary yardstick of criticism.

9 — “Backing up every Arab revolutionary uprising and using all possibilities to protect it against encirclement and assault.

10 — “Uncovering the dangers converging on specific areas, the scenes of imperialistic conspiratorial activities such as the Arab Gulf and northern and Southern Yemen and endeavouring to give them every boost side by side with laying down a strategy for protecting the Gulf against imperialistic conspiracies.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.

On the international level the role of the Party is defined by the courageous, decisive and intelligent confrontation of world attempts to liquidate the Palestine issue under the pretext of resolving the crises emanating from the June 5 War, with a view to realising the political objectives at this stage, namely:

1. Foiling the attempts which would destroy the future of the issue and constitute a form of international compromise at the expense of the interest and destiny of the Arab Nation.

2. Taking the initiative to establish the closest ties with the Socialist Community.

3. Creating an understanding public opinion capable of perceiving the reality of the Arab revolutionary attitude, in defence of the Arab survival and destiny, and in defying a serious danger threatening the destiny of humanity.

4. Calling attention to the schemes of the Zionist-imperialist-reactionary alliance, as well as to the real dimensions of conspiring against the Arab Homeland and to the nature of the strategic alliance between the U.S. and Israel.

5. Acquiring real friends for Arab Revolution capable of comprehending its objectives and appreciating the significance of the role undertaken in the field of world Revolution.

6. Deepening the impact of Arab Resistance on the Palestinian territories, and expanding the framework of international backing and assistance both on the popular and official levels.

7. Reducing the impact of the Zionist propaganda influence, and the scope of the Zionist scheming on world public opinion.

8. Supporting the national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and establishing objective ties therewith.

9. Establishing extensive and organised assimilation of the socialist experiences in the world, interacting with them and utilising such experiences and know-how, especially those who have undergone similar conditions as those of the Arab Nation.

10. Emphasising the presence of the Party, on official and popular levels, at the international domain, by means of expanding and deepening contacts with all progressive forces and regimes, and devoting serious attention to the establishment of organised ties therewith, and also displaying keenness to attend conferences, conduct visits, extend invitations and take the initiative to prepare for the convention of progressive forces.

11. Embarking on dialogues with the socialist parties in the socialist countries, with a view to explain the Party opinion and the objectives of the Arab Revolution, and bringing about an atmosphere of mutual understanding of the outlook to the Arab Question, through the openness which has become characteristic of the attitudes of the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries towards the Party after the July 17 Revolution in Iraq.

12. Devoting attention to the world progressive public opinion, and establishing friendly and acquaintance ties with the progressive parties and organisa-

tions in the West, so as to render such relations an auxiliary instrument for exposing imperialist attitudes of the pro-Zionist governments in the West, before their peoples; exposing Zionist groundless propaganda, and for explaining the Arab right and the dimensions of the Arab issue; curbing the influence of Zionist propaganda on world public opinion in the West; bringing about a positive atmosphere dominated by the objective and human outlook over the passive sentimental attitudes created by the Zionist schemes to serve as an insulator between public opinion in the West on the one hand and the issues of Arab Revolution on the other.

13. Consolidating ties among the Arab vocational labour unions as well as the international organisations, as such ties constitute a significant factor for foiling the Zionist propaganda, and help bring about a mutual understanding of the revolutionary issues the world over, and develop the constructive critical feeling required for dealing with the fallacies and ailments which penetrate into the Arab revolutionary action, before they become too acute.

14. Emphasizing that the policy and attitudes of the Party depend at the current stage on a definite and clear-cut criterion, namely the attitudes of others vis-a-vis the Arab Palestine Issue.

Struggling masses of the Arab Nation,

The Tenth National Convention has adopted several resolutions and recommendations on the fulfilment of the strategy of the Party and political action

embodied in this declaration and also on matters related to organisation in a manner that would guarantee the development of the organisational instrument, with a view to raising it to the level that would qualify it for undertaking the burdens of the stage and to implement the required strategy. The Convention also resulted in the election of a new National Leadership, and concluded its activities to let the Party proceed in its struggle through its resolutions and recommendations, and in the light of the strategy it has adopted.

The Arab Baath Socialist Party, which has spent 30 years in the fields of struggle, and which has managed to by-pass its mistakes and setbacks, to stand fast before the conspiracies and sabotage woven against it, does assure the masses of the Arab Nation that it will stay with them on the thoroughfare of stern and everlasting struggle until unity, liberty and socialism are realised.