

The new movement had neither sufficient ideological preparation before its foundation nor adequate time after its foundation for theoretical study as it immediately plunged itself into the organization of mass struggles. As such the new movement and its leadership have run into many difficulties in their work, and have taken quite a few unnecessary detours. In the first place, the founding leaders, under the pressure of circumstances, hastily formulated a political program divided into two phases. The first phase was that of the political struggle which would eliminate Zionism and imperialism from the Arab World and create a united Arab state embracing the Arab people from the Persian Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean. The second phase would be that of a socio-economic struggle which would usher in "Arab socialism" and democracy.³⁵ This simplistic program failed to appease the prevalent craving for an "Arab ideology", and demonstrated the immaturity and weakness of the new movement.³⁶ The Ba'thists among others were especially critical about having the struggle divided into distinct phases one leading to the other. They insisted that the political and social objectives could not be achieved apart from each other, and as such the fight should be carried at the same time on two fronts externally, against Zionism and imperialism, and internally,

³⁵ Al-Hakam Darwaza and Hamed al-Jibouri, Ma'a al-Qawmiyah al-Arabiyah, [With Arab Nationalism], (Beirut: Dar al-Fajr al-Jadid, 1960), pp. 178-186.

³⁶ Rejwan, op. cit., p. 157.