

they suggested an interlocking relationship between the two phases where the first phase would permit the national movement to strive for economic and social reforms while still emphasizing the political struggles.³⁹ They went one step further following the formation of the union between Egypt and Syria. They approved Nasser's preoccupation with the economic and social transformation of the United Arab Republic on the understanding that the Egyptian-Syrian union was to be the nucleus of the future unified Arab state and as such the new society of the U.A.R. should evolve to appeal to the Arab people everywhere for its positive attractions. The ANM was to remain faithful to its two-phase program elsewhere where the main characteristics of struggle would still be political.⁴⁰ However, it repudiated that program altogether after the setback of September 1961, when Syria broke away from the U.A.R. with the encouragement of the bourgeoisie whom the Arab Nationalists did not want to alienate in the first phase of their political program.⁴¹

The founding leaders of the incipient movement had the good fortune to find a number of the American University

³⁹ANM, "al-Marhalah al-Qawmiyah al-Hadhirah wa Ahdafuha" [The Present National Phase and its Objectives], pp. 1-4.

⁴⁰ANM, "Al-Marhaliyah 'ala Dhou' al-Tatawirat al-akhirah Fi al-Bilad al-Arabiyyah", [The Two-Phase Program in the Light of the Latest Development in the Arab Countries], pp. 1-4.

⁴¹The Political Bureau, ANM, "Al-Taqrir al-Siyasi", [The Political Report], 1961, pp. 1-10.