

PROCLAMATION

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June 69

The toiling masses of the Arab Gulf are celebrating the fourth anniversary

of the armed revolution which erupted in the Dhufar mountains on July 9th 1965, initiating a new epoch in the history of the Arab Gulf and constituting a landmark in the course of the Arab Revolution.

On this historic occasion, we stress once more the revolutionary potential of the masses of the Gulf in their struggle against British imperialism and its puppet regimes. We are more firm in our belief that armed struggle waged by the most oppressed and destitute classes of society for their right to life, under the guidance of a revolutionary theory, is the genuine historic path towards achieving the essential aims and aspirations of the masses. However, the fourth anniversary of the July 9th revolution comes at a time when the Arab Gulf and the Arab world at large are passing through a delicate phase of their history - a fact that imposes through analysis of all the developments and objective conditions around us.

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The Arab Gulf is such an important strategic oil producing region of the world that world imperialism will not easily withdraw from it, but is bound by its interests to resist by force of arms any revolutionary initiative that threatens its economic and strategic interests. This is what drives U.S. imperialism to replace British imperialism - after the latter declared its intention to withdraw from the Arab Gulf by 1971 - both as economic exploiter and military power. Whether Britain is sincere about its withdrawal or not, the fact remains that it is executing American plans in the Arab Gulf in the same manner as the racist state of Israel executes those of American capitalism. This is the reality of the Anglo-U.S. plan to set up the Gulf Federation: an open manoeuvre which has been violently rejected by the masses despite the fact that it was preceded by a propaganda campaign with the participation of newspapers usually

associated with the progressive Arab states. (P)

This Federation is but an imperialist front designed to consolidate centres of influence and deal severe blows to the national liberation movement. Its declared aim - to preserve the "Arabism" of the Gulf - is but false pretence. For how can world imperialism, the sponsor of this Federation, be keen on preserving the Arabism of the Gulf when it has plotted against that of Palestine and delivered the country to Zionism? The Arab world faces a common danger; the recent developments in Palestine and in the international sphere designed to liquidate the Palestine problem by forcing the implementation of the Security Council resolution (of November 22nd, 1967) and the recognition of the Israeli colonialist structure are but part of an overall plan to subjugate the Arab world to neo-imperialism. The breach through which the imperialists are infiltrating to fulfil their dreams is the incapacity of the Arab bourgeoisie to sustain a consistent anti-imperialist struggle, due to its need to defend and preserve its acquired privileges.

The defeat of June 5th 1967, has concretely proved the failure of the policies of the Arab regimes on both ^{the} ideological and strategic levels. Those policies have now become totally discredited in the eyes of the toiling masses. However, we should not simply dismiss them verbally or by bureaucratic decision, but rather try to understand the objective conditions which led to the emergence of the Palestine Liberation movement, and study the extensive debates among its various organisations and the rigorous self-criticism which finally enabled this movement to entrench itself amongst the Palestinian toiling masses, take the leadership of the Palestinian revolution and ensure its continuity and pro-

(P) reference here is to the Nasserite press which supported the Gulf Federation.
(translator's note)

gress. The military defeat initiated debates within the ranks of the revolutionary forces in the Arab world as it did among those most directly hit by the imperialist Zionist aggression. Those forces submitted themselves to thorough self-criticism, and some petit-bourgeois organisations collapsed under the strain. This debate was bound to reach the Arab Gulf where the Dhufar revolution carried its own self-criticism and decided to extend its activities to all the areas of the Gulf, emphasising that the victory of the Revolution essentially depends on the level of social consciousness achieved by the masses. A congress of all the Front's military and civilian organisation convened on September 1st 1968, to launch the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf which adopted a political line in full accordance with the one formulated by the Arab toiling masses and their revolutionary organisations after the June defeat. In a revolutionary democratic atmosphere, the Front adopted an operational plan for armed struggle; and the toiling masses, guided by their infallible class instinct, identified with our politico-military platform comprising the following revolutionary tasks:

1. Extending the armed struggle against British imperialism to all other regions of the Arab Gulf.
2. Calling upon all the patriotic, anti-imperialist forces in the Gulf to rise against imperialism and reaction.
3. Raising the level of consciousness of the toiling masses on the basis of a comprehensive educational programme.
4. Organising the masses to defend their class interests.
5. Implementing a provisional agrarian reform to reclaim land in the liberated areas which now cover two-thirds of Dhufar's countryside.

(reference here is to the Arab Nationalist Movement. (translator's note))

6. Providing medical services to our citizens who have been suffering from all sorts of diseases all their lives yet have received no such services. The Front has effectively undertaken the task of organising the masses by establishing militia units; by putting into effect an all out war against illiteracy; by forming Administrative Committees to handle problems of everyday life, and by training women to perform their role as organizers and militants. The Front has established strong and effective ties with the revolutionary regime in South Yemen, and seeks to establish close relations with the progressive Arab regimes. A campaign to spread class consciousness on the basis of scientific socialism is under way, and has been meeting great success amongst the impoverished masses which have come to consider scientific socialism as the sole guide for their glorious, historic, revolution.

The revolutionary platform points towards opening up a wide front against the oil interests of the British and American corporations. That is why world imperialism is employ^{ing} reactionary forces in Saudi Arabia and Iran to launch a full scale attack against the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf.

Iran reasserted its fallacious claims over Bahrein which, in themselves, are not the final aim of either Iran or Imperialism, but a mere stepping stone to the other regions of the Gulf. ^{Muscat Sultanate} ~~The~~ ~~Imamate~~, tool of British imperialism, has escalated its military operation against the bases of the Popular Army for Liberation (3) and ~~the~~ civilians, in addition to its constant intrusions into air space of the Popular Republic of South Yemen - the rearguard of Dhufar's Revolution. ^{There is also} ~~This is~~ ~~the~~ ~~first~~ onslaught of the Imamate of Oman, backed by imperialism and reaction. As early as 1956, the Imam of Oman and his gang tried

(3) The military wing of the PFLOAG (translator's note)

to gain control over the Omani Revolution, left the country and established contacts with the Socialist camp and the progressive Arab states, pretending to be the true representatives of the Omani people and its revolution. The fact is that their differences with the Sultan of Muscat were a mere reflection of the differences that arose between the British and American corporations over the oil fields of the Buraimi oasis. This led Saudi Arabia to adopt the Imam of Oman who received arms and ammunition which were to be later used by Saudi reaction against the Yemeni revolution of September 26th 1962. Then this gang of the Imam of Oman started plotting against the July 9th revolution in Dhufar, moved by its class hatred, its concern for its feudal interests and its desires to maintain a paternalistic religious hold over the Omani people. This feudal clique lost any pretence of being "revolutionary" - as it used to call itself - when the masses launched the revolution in Dhufar, outflanking the Imamate and uncovering all its shady plots. The Imamate, in return, started to cast doubts on the revolution and its chances of achieving victory. However, the objective laws which govern all social processes soon moved the Dhufar revolution into becoming the true expression of the aspirations of the ~~trailing~~ ^{trailing} masses in the Arab Gulf and the surest hope of the progressive forces in the region which are presently engaged in frank and clear talks with the revolutionary cadres in the liberated areas of Dhufar's countryside.

The conspiracy of silence against the Dhufar Revolution and all attempts to suppress its political and social perspectives have failed in front of the heroic perseverance of the fighting masses. Echoes of our revolution have now reached the world. Our revolution has become a guide for the revolutionary forces in the other parts of the ~~XXXX~~ Arab Gulf and in the Arab world at large. Alongside the Palestinian revolution which resists the artificial state of Israel, the Dhufar

Revolution is a sure base of struggle against imperialist interests.

The July 9th revolution is well aware that it is presently in a national liberation phase which requires the unity of action of all patriotic forces which have a stake in fighting imperialism and the reactionary forces allied to it. We therefore call upon all sincere forces to understand the crucial circumstances of the Arab Gulf region and to shoulder their historic responsibilities towards the masses.

3 [Proclamation on the fourth anniversary of
The Dhofar revolution, published in the
Beirut left-wing weekly al-Horriyah, no. 470,
June 30, 1969.]

Revolution in a more sense of strategic socialist imperialism.

The July 25th revolution is well known that it is presently in a national

liberation phase which requires the unity of action of all patriotic forces

which have a stake in fighting imperialism and the reactionary forces allied to

it. We therefore call upon all sincere forces to understand the crucial

importance of the Arab Gulf region and to shoulder their historic res-

ponsibilities towards the masses.

[Proclamation on the fourth anniversary of

The Diefenbaker revolution, published in the

Beim left wing weekly al-Horriyah, no. 450

June 30, 1964.]