

**Aflaq, Michel. *Fi Sabil al-Ba'ath*. Beirut: Dar al-Tali'a, 1978 (pp. 201-203).  
Translated by *The Palestinian Revolution*.<sup>1</sup>**

*The Arabs Should Not Await a Miracle: Palestine cannot be saved by governments,  
only by popular endeavour work*

Amongst the Arabs, no one is ignorant of the fact that Palestine is the gravest problem in their national life. But what the majority of Arabs are unaware of is that this cause is treated in a manner that does not accord with correctness or integrity. For if we know that Zionism and the countries that support it possess a political mentality that is highly mature and sophisticated-deploying methods of distortion and temptation that are unfettered by honour and unbound by conscience- we can, on the one hand, assess the danger that results from the superficial manner in which the cause is being handled, and doubt, on the other hand, the intent of those who adopt and promote the current approach to the cause.

This approach can be summarised as having two major dimensions. The first is reducing the problem of Palestine to an impotent emotional issue in which we only see the treason of Western countries towards us, their reneging of the promises they had made to us, and their betrayal of the principles they claim to uphold. By proceeding in this way, we restrict our discourse to exposing ill intentions that are already apparent to all, and barging into doors that are already unlocked. As such, we call upon a people that has always been suspicious of these scheming countries to be wary of them, encouraging it to adopt the stance of the despairing cynic that sees nothing around him except conspiracies and views nothing ahead of him other than the coalition of tyrannical forces that he has no capacity to repel. This is as if the living people are not supposed to take into account the betrayal of enemies and their conspiracies, and as if our responsibility was not always to maintain our rights and win our cause despite the attacks and the schemes it is subjected to.

As to for the second dimension, it entails overindulgence in reassurance and optimism after excessively adopting scepticism and pessimism. Here, we depend on the speeches of leaders and the statements of ministers and the promises of the presidents of Arab states. This takes place despite our knowledge of the means of these politicians and their abilities, the limits to their courage and willingness to sacrifice, and the ease with which they evade

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or contradict their own declarations. As such, we see the danger confronting us but postpone our preparations for it, saturating the soul with illusion on the basis that some leader has threatened and another has promised; awaiting the miracle to manifest itself without seeing a single sign that indicates its future appearance, readily sacrificing reason upon the altar of magic!

Let us confront the following facts with courage and vigour:

If Zionism is, to our countries, a movement of aggression, it is a movement of belief as far as its bearers are concerned. And if Zionism is backed by capitalists who feed it and use it as well as colonial countries that find profit in supporting it and consider it to further their colonialism in Arab lands, this does not prevent Zionism from being- at its core- a popular movement that receives effective backing from all Jews across the world!

We also see that the western countries that support Zionism do not do so by choice, but are forced into that course of action by their own interests; for, they derive from their support greater benefit than the loss they incur from being hostile to the Arabs. Moreover, the strong and developed condition of the Jews turns, in the eyes of the westerners, their falsehood into righteousness, whereas the weak and backward reality of the Arabs almost masks their rights or- at the very least- puts their rights on the same par with Zionist falsehood. Accordingly, although we must insist upon considering Zionism as immoral aggression and expose its assaults to the world, we must also not ignore the concrete doctrine that lies behind it, inspiring the Jewish people to sacrifice and courage, endowing Jewish leaders with solidity, and instilling into the movement as a whole the characteristics of fortitude and seriousness.

The Zionist danger, as such, is not merely an economic invasion moved by money and material greed. It is in the first place a religious invasion paralleled in history only by the crusades! Such an invasion could only be repelled through the awakening of belief in the minds of the Arabs and the manifestation of that belief in an effective practical manner. That is why reliance on politics with its calculations and temporisation was the greatest anaesthetic afflicting the popular spirit of resistance, and the thickest veil preventing the Arabs from seeing the hazard that threatens them. Just as the secret to the success of the Zionist movement is its character as a popular movement, the goals of this criminal movement cannot be thwarted unless Arab resistance becomes truly popular. The Jews, who are dispersed without a land to gather them or a state to represent them, have been able to organise themselves in a rare manifestation of unity, marshalling the resources of great

powers in the service of their aims. Are the Arabs then really incapable- despite being one people that live in a single homeland- of achieving equivalent unity in their organisation and saving their cause from the exploitation of their governments and conflicting classes? Are they really unable to direct their governments and leaders towards the path that benefits the national cause?

The Arabs suffer from a single principal problem, which is none other than their submission to a social class that is built upon finance and exclusivity. This situation causes their internal and external weakness, as it suffocates most of their strength and capabilities, and makes them appear, in the eyes of the world, as a backward people.

If the current situation cannot await addressing the problem from its roots, and does not allow any margin for disunity and discord, then the Arabs have an urgent responsibility for saving Palestine. Carrying this responsibility requires them to leave their governments alone and to bid farewell to their last hope in the effectiveness of official policy; they must turn to popular work and channel all their energies towards it.

As for Arab governments and their League, they have only one path available towards proving that they were not founded to serve the foreigner and to work in accordance with its instructions: they must not put hurdles and obstacles in the face of the people who are thirsting for struggle!

*6 August, 1946*