

of the ANM during the period in which the U.A.R. was challenging Kassem and his communist-supported regime.

It is interesting to note that although the ANM was establishing itself as a unionist force in the area, it never contemplated the feasibility of any union taking place outside the framework of the U.A.R. for fear that such a union might offset the structure of power in the area to the disfavor of the U.A.R. Thus, it defended the independence of Kuwait in 1961, when the Kassem regime laid claim to the newly independent sheikhdom as an integral part of Iraq.²³

In brief, the ANM has followed, during this phase of its struggle, a program presented by its Executive Committee in 1959. This program included: The concentration on the issue of Arab unity; the struggle against the local communists and the reactionary forces in the Arab World; the emphasis on the policy of positive neutralism; the support for the Algerian Revolution; and last but not least, the support for the U.A.R. internally and externally.

Phase IV (1961-1967). This was the most unpredictable period in the life of the ANM. In order to understand the zig-zag path travelled by the ANM during this period, we have to investigate the internal struggle which inflicted the ANM following the July 1961 socialist decrees.

It was previously indicated that the ANM have found in Abdul Nasser a leader of a new type. From 1955 onwards,

²³ANM, "Nahnu wa azmat al-Kuwayt" [We and the Kuwaiti Crises], July 1961.