

3. The Leadership in the Midst of Members: The ANM does not approve of leaders who think and plan in ivory towers. The Movement demands of its leaders to live and work with the rank and file, for after all the members are not to be asked to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their leaders but for the common objective.

The above organizational principles befitted the first generation or the "community of believers"<sup>38</sup> when that community was still small in number, but as the organization grew in size and its cells spread in several Arab states it was deemed necessary to review the above organizational principles in the light of the new situation. Late comers to the ANM, especially those who have had some experience in political organizations, began to raise doubts about certain aspects of the party machine. They questioned in the first place the feasibility of the above organizational principles in the absence of inner-party democracy. They asked: "Who is to judge whether a member is qualified for a leading post in the party hierarchy or not?"<sup>39</sup> They also complained that the principle of "democratic centralism" is incommensurate with the "delegate system" where all party posts are filled by delegates from above. That may be very

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<sup>38</sup>This expression which best defines the ANM in its early years was first used sarcastically by the Ba'thists students at the A. U. B., statement by Monah al-Sulh, personal interview, December 28, 1968.

<sup>39</sup>Statement by al-Hakam Darwaza, personal interview, December 29, 1968.