

2. to recognize and establish diplomatic relations with all countries as long as they respect the independence of Oman and its sovereignty and as long as they will not interfere in its internal affairs.

3. to establish relations of friendship and solidarity with all nations and governments as long as they love freedom, justice and peace in the world.

4. to accept the unconditioned aid from other countries as long as they respect the independence of Oman and according to the principle of equality and mutual interests.

5. to stand firmly by the national liberation movements in the continents of Asia, Africa and Latin America and by all the fighting forces for the fulfilment of justice and social progress for the nations of the world.

carefully in order to fulfil this dearest aspiration of our People by Peaceful means and without interference or foreign existence.

XIV. to put all the capacities of Oman in participating for the protection of the genuity of the Arab Gulf area against the ambitions of the reactionary Persian regime and to stand side by side with the democratic and national forces in this area and to participate actively and to fulfil the unity of Oman with the Arab Gulf as one of the Arab people in this area, and as a step for larger Arab unity.

XV. to stand firmly side by side with the people of Palestine in their armed revolution and to give all support and help for the return of the Palestinians to their own land and to abolish the Zionist regime.

XVI. to strengthen the relations of solidarity between the Arab people in Oman with all the nations of Arab world and to participate actively in the Arab revolutionary movement in order to fulfil its aims in liberty, social progress and unity.

XVII. to follow an independent and neutral foreign policy based on the following principles:

1. to avoid participating in military pacts and to prohibit any country from establishing a military base in the land of Oman or using its land for aggression against other people.

most of the people of Oman by using a programme scheme to destroy this disease.

5. to permit the students to form their own unions which will defend their own rights and develop their roles in the service of the causes of the people and the country.

6. to pay full attention to folkloric art and to preserve cultural heritage of Oman.

IX. to establish a strong national army based on respect and solidarity between soldiers and officers provided with modern arms and good training with national education and highly national spirit. This army should be strongly linked with the causes and interests of the masses of people.

X. to allow all classes of people to play their actual role in defending the country by building an armed militia capable in participation with the army to defend the interests and the sovereignty of the country against all plots and foreign and imperialist ambitions.

XI. to respect all beliefs and religious creeds without distinction in dealing with various doctrines of Islamic sects.

XII. to protect and secure all the rights of minorities and foreign citizens as long as they respect this independence of Oman and the sovereignty of its people.

XIII. to do the utmost order to re-unite the natural territory of Oman from Dhofar to Abu Dhabi. To work

6. to encourage the social movement by abolishing all unfair laws which were put by the imperialists and the treacherous regime about clubs and societies and to permit the citizens in practicing their social activities in complete freedom.

7. to develop the means of transport in all parts of the country including the rural, mountainous, remote areas and deserts.

VIII. to fight against ignorance and imperialist education and to build a national education and for this it is necessary to fulfil the following points:

1. to abolish all the reactionary and submissive curricula in teaching which are adopted at the present time in Oman and to develop a national education stimulated by the history of our people and our glorious nation. To build a progressive curriculum in teaching which aims at creating a patriotic generation educated and devoted to the causes of the people and their struggle and contemplation for a brighter future.

2. to achieve free compulsory education for all citizens in all the stages of education.

3. to establish schools and industrial institutes. To establish a national university containing faculties able to provide a skilful staff to develop our comprehensive plan in raising the standard of the people.

4. to fight against illiteracy which is prevalent among

which will attract the Omanis to return to their home land and provide them with honourable posts which will enable them to participate in the development of the country.

VII. to develop the social conditions of the people in different fields by using the following ways:

1. to abolish all obstacles and tyrannic laws which differentiate between citizens on the bases of tribal, racial, religious or social reasons.

2. to establish equality between men and women, and all political, economical and social rights. To give all kinds of help to the women union in order to raise the standard of women and to participate in building the nation.

3. to care about the condition of youth and to give the permission to establish unions and to hold meetings and to encourage them to guide their own interests in order to use them for the service of the people and nation.

4. to provide health services for the citizens freely and to establish hospitals and health units in all of Oman including the rural areas and the remote places.

5. to give full attention in buiding towns in rural areas and to provide easy means for citizens to build healthy and convenient houses and to abolish all laws which prohibit the citizens from building in some parts of Oman. And to provid the towns, villages and rural areas with runing water and electricty.

exchange between the rural and urban areas and to provide social services to the citizens in the rural and remote places.

VI. to establish laws in order to secure the rights of workers and employees and to raise their standard of living. For this it is necessary to follow these points:

1. to abolish the imperialist law of labour which is enforced by the treacherous regime and replace it with a progressive law of labour which guarantees the rights of workers and employees. It should be made with the participation of their representatives.

2. to permit workers and employees in establishing their own trade unions to defend their rights and to grant them the right of strike.

3. to give the rights to the workers to participate in the administration of companies, establishments and factories by their elected representatives.

4. to establish institutes of skilful trainings and to force contractors and companies to employ the Omanis and to train them for higher posts.

5. to provide health and social security to the workers and employees and their families without distinctions between them on the bases of tribal racial or any other reasons.

6. to fight against unemployment and to provide a prosperous living for all citizens and to create conditions

ness relations and to follow an authentic agricultural policy to raise the standard of living for the peasants and to serve the national economy. For this, it is necessary to follow these points:

1. to put law for agrarian reforms which should be a benefit for all peasants. This slogan should be applied: "the earth belongs to those who plough it", Therefore there should be no difference between the peasants on the bases of tribal, racial or on any other thing.

2. to seize all the agricultural lands which were given to the foreign companies and imperialists and distribute them to the peasants.

3. to reform the fallow lands and distribute them to the peasants as well as to pay attention to the underground water and to develop a system of irrigation in the country and to protect the agricultural lands from floods and natural misfortunes.

4. to encourage collective farms between peasants and to help them with seeds, fertilizers and agricultural tools.

5. to help the peasant to develop the agricultural products by using the modern methods in agriculture and to sell their agricultural products.

6. to liberate peasants from usury and to establish a bank for agricultural loans which lends loans without interest or with symbolic interest only.

7. to encourage and enlarge the scale of trade

1. Nationalization of all oil companies in order to fulfil a complete control of the people on these companies. To abolish all the unfairly priviledges which were signed by the treacherous rulers on these matters and to use these national properties in order to build an independent national economy, and for the service of our people and Arab nation and the humanity away from the protection and misleading of the oil companies from which they gained immense profits on the behalf of our people in their misleading in the world price of the oil.

2. to establish strong national industries by using all the productive natural sources of our land and it should not be left to the foreign oil companies and get the priviledge of exploring and selling these sources for the benefit of foreign monopolies as well as for the benefit of the local treacherous rulers.

3. to establish an official bank for the state and to nationalize all foreign banks which interferes in our national economy, and to nationalize all the foreign insurance companies.

4. to enlarge the scale of trade exchange between Oman and all countries which respect the independence of Oman and the suzerainty of the people of Oman on its territories. This idea depends on the principle of equality and mutual interests.

V. to liberate peasants from feudalists and backwar-

democratic and national forces of the Omani people.

3. establishing a constitutive assembly elected from the people on authentic democratic bases. This assembly should present a progressive constitution for the country. III. to provide all the democratic and political freedom for the people by the means of:

1. releasing all political detainees and liquidating all the British, American and Persian intelligence staff in the country and providing security and safety for the citizens.

2. abolishing martial laws which were enforced on parts of the country as well as abolishing the system of barricades in cities, and allowing the citizens to move in full freedom rural to urban areas and in different parts of the country.

3. allowing the patriots who were sent to exile because of their activities against the occupation and the reactionary regime to come back to their country and giving them their full political rights.

4. securing the freedom of the press and assembly and opinion for all the masses of people in Oman.

IV. to follow an authentic economical policy which will guarantee the control of the people of its properties and its uses to develop the national and local economy, by means of:

Front in the region of Oman under the title of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman.

The National Work Programme for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman:-

The objectives and strategy of the revolution:

The people of Oman fight continuously for a big national front and fight by all means to achieve the following aims:

I. to liberate all the territories of Oman from all sources of occupation and imperialist existence and to achieve independence. Therefore the programme insists on:

1. abolishing all the public and secret treaties and agreements with Britain or other imperialist countries.

2. abolishing all the British American and Persian military bases from all Oman's islands.

3. fighting for the deportation of all British and Persian and mercenary forces and dismissing all the foreign officers and consuls in Oman.

II. to establish a national democratic state:

1. abolishing the sultanate and the bedouin monarchy regime within the family of the treacherous Al-Bu Sa'id.

2. establishing a Popular Democratic Republic which depends on a government with represents all the

scientifically than the previous organization, It withdrew the slogan Bougeois and did not adopt any doctrine putting in priority the national interest of all classes of the people. Therefore, it is expected that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman will have much popular forces from different classes of the people and eventually will have more success than the previous Front. The foundation of this Front cannot be considered as a split in the revolution. It could be considered as a developing point in the revolution since it has no objection to any national forces to join the Front under the national programme issued by the Front, in August 1974.(33)

The second general national conference of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf contains:

1. the complete independence of the organization and branches of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf and their rights to put their own local political programme according to their political conditions.

2. the formation of a new independent organization which contains all the branches of the Popular National

(33) Sawt ath-Thawra, political newspaper issued by the publicity department of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf, 10th August, 1974, pp. 5, 7.

and imperialism, and all sorts of racialist regimes or movements in the world.

3. to stand by the progressive socialist force in the world in its historical struggle against imperialism, capitalism and world capitalism.

V. The foundation of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman

Since the formation of the National Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman in the Arab Gulf, the revolution somehow succeeded in forming scattered revolutionary forces in Oman, Bahrein, Qatar without achieving its national democratic programme which was issued by the constitutive conference. The revolution made few minor military gains but failed to achieve the most important target of the revolution which is to overthrow the reactionary regime and to defeat the imperialist forces. The main obstacles and weakness in the revolution is that the leading command of the Front adopted theoretically the Marxist doctrine and tried to apply the Chinese system of revolution. The second factor of its weakness is that the Front raised its slogan to overthrow the bourgeois class which at the time of the national revolution could be useful since there are numbers of the bourgeois who are anti-imperialist. The following national democratic work programme of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman seems to have studied the political situation more

2. to work in order to achieve unity between the progressive national forces in the Arab world.

3. to achieve an active participation in the Arab revolutionary movement in order to fulfil the stage of national democracy and to build the united Arab socialist society.

4. to establish a trustful relation with the masses in the Arab land as they are considered the fundamental decisive force in the struggle between the masses of Arab people, in one part against the joined force of imperialism, Zionism and Arab reactionaries, on the other part.

5. to reveal the scandalous nature of the reactionary Arab states and the agent states which are linked with imperialism and Zionism.

6. to recognize the unity of the Palestine national forces and to achieve a long lasting popular war against Zionism and international imperialism and their interests in the area as the two main steps in order to liberate Palestine and to eliminate the Zionist state.

III. on the international sphere:

1. to consider the democratic national revolution in Oman and in the Arab Gulf as part of the world democratic revolution.

2. to show solidarity with the struggle of nations in the three continents, Asia, Africa and Latin America in their rightful struggle against the forces of colonialism

13. to abolish all the undeveloped areas in the rural and urban areas.
14. to fight against reactionary and imperialist education and to build a national and revolutionary education.
15. to work in order to liberate women from all sorts of political, social and domestic oppression.
16. to fight against social aggression and to work in order to provide an honourable living to all citizens.
17. to fight against all the factors of moral, administrative and political corruption.
18. to fight against ignorance and illness and all sorts of backwardness in society.
19. to secure the full rights of the minorities and foreign communities.
20. to secure the right to believe and the rights of religious creeds.

II. on the Arab sphere:

1. to strengthen the struggling relations between the revolution of Oman and the Arab Gulf and the revolution of Yemen Democratic Republic. And to achieve harmonious relation between the vanguard organizations of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf and the National Front in order to establish a united broad front starting from the battlefield of Oman and the Arab Gulf to Yemen.

imperialist existence and to achieve complete independence and to destroy all autocratic and feudal regimes in the area.

2. to destroy the partitions between Arab and to fulfil political unity in the Arab Gulf.

3. to destroy all types of feudalism and to distribute the lands to the peasants and to form agricultural corporations and communes.

4. to destroy the state of slavery and to eliminate all the survivals of slavery relations.

5. to build a new democratic and popular regime in the area.

6. to put an end to the control and exploitation of the bourgeois class and the monopolists.

7. to eliminate all sorts of foreign monopolies.

8. to liberate the national market from its relations with the world capitalist market.

9. to build up an independent national economy based on strong industrial and agricultural foundations.

10. to give freedom to the masses with the line of revolution and to encourage the initiative works of the people.

11. to recruit all the capacities of the people militarily and politically.

12. to establish a strong revolutionary army.

democratic work programme" and the interior constitutions.

3. the election of the united command of the popular Front for the liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

The National Democratic Work Programme.

The historical nature of the revolution in Oman and the Arab Gulf till the present time indicates that the enemies of the revolution are the imperialists, the feudalists and the class of bourgeois. Therefore the revolution's nature and objectives are:

1. the revolution must be nationalist in order to defeat imperialists and to fulfil independence.

2. the revolution must be rootly democratic in order to defeat the alliance of imperialists all autocratic and bedouin regimes which are supported by feudalists and capitalists.

Thus the nature of the revolution in Oman and in the Arab Gulf could be defined as nationalist and democratic, and without people democracy the revolution would be unable to continue its patriotic struggle.(32)

The democratic and national obligations of the revolution:

I. on the local sphere:

1. the liberation of the region from all types of

(32) Watha'iq., PP. 24-32.

the woman in not only a domestic person but a great fighter and a leader in the revolution.

IV. The constitutive conference of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf.

From the 9th till the 19th of June 1971, a third conference was held by the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf. The conference issued a Democratic National Programme which seems identical to the national Democratic Work Programme which is issued by the constitutive conference held at the end of the year 1971. The most significant result from the conference is the formation of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf out of the merger of the nationalist and socialist parties. The conference took a decisive resolution inter alia:

1. the merger of the popular Front for the occupied Gulf with the national democratic Front for the liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf one Front entitled "the Popular Front for the liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf".

2. The approval after discussion of "the national

(31) Mawaqif Mu'tamar Himrin ath-Thawra wal-Mar'a, pamphlet issued by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Occupied Arab Gulf, (Aden 1969) pp. 17-24.

as a result they avoided bloodshed by solving the problem peacefully. Consequently, the Front controlled the eastern part of Dhofar again.(30)

One should note the significant achievement of the 9th of June 1965. Within five years, the revolutionary Front freed ninety per cent of the rural areas in Dhofar and they applied socialism in the area by giving the lands to the peasants and by forming collective farms. On the other hand, they increased the number of the revolutionary forces and made many successful attacks in a guerilla fight against British forces. But the most significant achievement of the revolution at this time was to give equal rights to women. The most interesting point about women in Oman is the study which is given to the conference of Himrin showing that the woman has great political and initiative capacities to develop herself in a progressive society. Her immense desire to fight against illiteracy is stronger than in men. She took part in giving food supply and nursing injured men and lastly joined the man in the fight at the front lines.(31)

It was proved through the years of the revolution that

(30) Qiwa ath-Thawra al-Mudada wa Harakat ath-Thani
'Ashar min sibtambar, pamphlet issued by the
Popular Front for the Occupied Arab Gulf, (Aden
1971) PP. 3-22.

is a fertile place for imperialists to interfere.

The programme of the Front emphasized the local affairs so as to support the revolution strongly in the south of Oman (Dhofar) as a first step for complete freedom of the people. Therefore the Democratic National Front for the Liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf utterly supports the leading revolutionary forces in Dhofar under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Occupied Arab Gulf, and works in order to unite as soon as possible the two vanguard fronts.(23)

The revolution of Oman is considered as part of the national liberation Arab movement. It stands with great solidarity with the progressive revolutionary forces and with the Palestinian resistance movement which faces at the present time the most horrible sort of colonialism, the Zionist regime, which is supported by the imperialists of the world.

The programme of the Front also supports the revolution in Eritrea and Arabistan.

On the international field, the Conference considers the revolution of Oman as part of the national revolutionary movement of the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and supports the revolution of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. It demands from the socialist camp

(23) Ibid., pp. 18-20.

revolution:

1. to fight against imperialism and neo-imperialism and their followers and to establish a popular regime.

2. to fight in order to establish a modern popular revolutionary army and to abolish all priviledges and ranks.

3. to introduce technology in order to raise the standard of production and to introduce electricity in the country as well as to build a network of transportation.

4. to build a national economy liberated from the international capitalist market.

5. to build heavy industry as the main way to establish an independent national economy as well as to exploit all natural resources of the country.

6. to establish a democratic society which will end the exploitation of man to man and to achieve in it the freedom of opinion, thought and religious beliefs.

7. to fight against illiteracy, sickness, poverty by means of teaching system, education and the campaign against illiteracy as well as to establish hospitals and give opportunities to all people to work.

8. to consider the woman as half of the society. She has the complete right to take her hole in revolution in building the new society.

9. to end all the tribal wars and struggles because it

ing, was led by the Liberation Front of Dhofar.(21) This revolution continued without clear ideological and national programme until all fighting forces were united in the 12th of June 1970. This date marks a new turning point in the history of the revolution when a national front was founded under the name of the Democratic National Front for the liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf. The Front contains the following organizations:(22)

1. the popular revolutionary movement in Oman and the Arab Gulf.
2. the revolutionary vanguard of the students of Oman and the Arab Gulf.
3. the organization of the patriotic soldiers in Oman, representative of some tribes in Oman.

The National Democratic Front introduced a national programme which contains the following objectives of the

(20) Ibid., P. 30.

(12) the name of the Liberation Front of Dhofar was changed by the name of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Occupied Arab Gulf in a resolution passed in a conference of Himrin in September 1968. The conference also adopted the scientific socialism as its dogma and elected a new revolutionary command. Ibid. pp. 11-13.

(22) Ibid., pp. 13-19.

3. the absence of clear scientific ideology and political programme.

4. the absence at this time of a revolutionary state to support the revolution .

5. the conservative attitude of the leading figures of the revolution.

6. failing to mobilize the people against the imperialist aggression forces.

7. the support of the revolution by the reactionary regime of Saudi Arabia which was not less oppressive and treacherous than the sultanate's of Muscat was.

III. The revolt of the 9th of June 1965

The popular revolution of the 9th of June is a national revolution in its nature aiming first of all to fight against imperialism and to accomplish independence. It is described by the constitutive congress of the Popular Front for the liberation of Oman and the Arab Gulf as a national democratic revolt, its objective being to fight against imperialism and to overthrow all autocratic tribal and bourgeois regimes in the Arab Gulf.(20)

From the beginning the revolt faced a fierce attack from the British forces and the sultan's. But the mountains of Oman were a strong fortress for the revolution to continue with a great support of the people of Oman, especially the working class. The revolution, at the beginn-

Therefore in 1960-1961, the Arab League countries and some other countries succeeded in placing this question before the United Nations General Assembly. But it took three years to take the first steps for this procedure to start. In 1963 a United Nations Commission of enquiry visited Muscat and Oman. Although the Imam's charges of despotic government and unpopularity were refuted, the committee set up to examine the question. In 1965, the Committee reported and the resolution was passed demanding Britain to grant the country complete independence.(18) In the same year a popular armed revolution began in the mountains of Dhofar in the 9th of June. This revolt opened a new face in the history of the liberation movement, not only in Oman but also in the whole Arab Gulf.(19)

The above-mentioned revolt of the Imam failed to reach its objectives because of:

1. the leading elements of the revolution who were from different backgrounds such as the illiterate tribes and few elements of bourgeois who were unable to organize a popular armed revolution.

2. the inability of the revolt to get the support of the revolutionary forces in the neighbouring regions of the Arab Gulf.

(18) Encyclopaedia Britanica, op. cit., loc. cit.

(19) Watha'iq, PP. 9-11.

Buraymi and sealed with him the agreement on the delimitation of their suzerainties in the disputed oasis.(15)

At Riyadh, King Su'ud was furious. Seven weeks after the occupation of Buraymi, the English had just thrown away his last allied, the imam Ghalib. With the ambition and intrigues of Talib, brother of the Imam, the Saudi revenge was prepared. In July 1957 Talib, armed and helped by Su'ud, came back with few hundred men to raise Oman against the sultan of Muscat and his friends. The English replied by sending few planes, and troops from Adan, Sharjaj and Bahrain, as well as the Scottish troops of the mountains, and all the forces of Muscat. The rebels were stopped but the affair had taken an international aspect, also with an active Egyptian political support. The Imam and his brother had disappeared, promising to come back.(16)

By January 1959 Imam Ghalib, Talib ibn-'Ali, Sulayman ibn-Himyar, and other conservative notables had fled to Dammam where they set up a government in exile. In Oman, minings, sniping, and other guerilla activity continued.(17)

The question of Oman took an international scale.

(15) Ibid., loc. cit.

(16) Marlowe, op. cit., p. 197.

(17) Landen, op. cit., 422.

the imamate fought fiercely against the British imperialist forces which is considered by the Arab public opinion as a liberation war, in fact it was a replacement of an imperialist state by another.(13)

On the 15th of December 1955, the British Colonel Waterfield and his officers silently brought the forces of Muscat within the fortified walls of the imam's headquarters at Nazwa. The imam was deposed without fight and allowed to join back his native village. His brother Talib escaped to Saudi Arabia. The sultan, who was waiting nervously at Dhofar for the news of the intervention, left his province then to cross his States which was previously held by the imam he felt for the first time, the allegiance of the tribes, everywhere.(14)

But he avoided to go too far in the mountains where the followers of the imam were mobilizing their forces and instead he went to Nazwa. Before returning to Muscat, the sultan met the shaykh of Abu Dhabi at

(12) *Kayfa Tuhafid al-Impiryaliya 'ala Masalihiha fi al-*

Khalij al-'Arabi, a pamphlet issued by the Popular Front for the Liberation of the Occupied Arab Gulf, (Aden 1969) P. 32.

(13) For the competition between the oil companies, see, Marlowe, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 196, Berreby, *op. cit.*, p. 1861.