CHAPTER 3

Zakī al-Arsūzī's Ideology of the Arab *Ba'th*

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Introduction

This chapter presents Zakī al-Arsūzī's ideology[1] of nationalism, which could be summed up the conception of the Arab *ba'th* (resurrection), laying special emphasis on his political ideas, in order to reveal its significance in the politicization of Arab nationalism in the contemporary Arab East.

Section One "Al-Arsūzī's Ideology of *Ummah* and *Qawmīyah*" first offers a general survey of al-Arsūzī's linguo-philosophical theory, which provides the foundation of his nationalist ideology of the Arab *ba'th*. Second, the two key terms in his theory on nationalism are examined: *ummah* and *qawmīyah*, which nearly correspond to the English terms "nation" and "nationalism," respectively.[2] Then a comparison is attempted between al-Arsūzī's nationalism and that of Mīshīl 'Aflaq, who is regarded as the chief ideologue of the Arab Ba'th Party (*ḥizb al-ba'th al-'arabī*) publicly formed on April 7, 1947.

Section Two "Al-Arsūzī's Political Ideas in the Ideology of the Arab *Ba'th*," analyzing al-Arsūzī's ideology of the Arab *ba'th*, focuses first on the definition of the conception of the *ba'th* and its cultural and political tasks. Then, al-Arsūzī's views on the slogan and tripartite principles of the Ba'th Party are examined with special emphasis on the principle of socialism (*ishtirākīyah*), which is said to lack al-Arsūzī's ideas but instead to characterize 'Aflaq's ideology. Finally, al-Arsūzī's idea on democracy (*dīmuqrāṭīyah*, *jumhūrīyah*) and the autocratic tendency of his ideology and activities are reviewed: the former is thought to be the most important issue in his political discourses, and the latter is symbolized in the word *za'īm* (leader).

Al-Arsūzī's Ideology of Ummah and Qawmīyah

1. Linguo-philosophical Theory: Theoretical Foundations

Zakī al-Arsūzī devoted almost all his literary work to establishing his linguo-philosophical theory to bring to light the Arab genius (*'abqarīyah*) which, as he reasserted, is hidden in the Arabic language. His ideology of nationalism is consequently based on his linguo-philosophical theory. Khalīl Aḥmad claims that al-Arsūzī's linguo-philosophical theory is constructed on the following two theses[3]:

(1) The meaning (*ma'nā*), or in other words the deity (*ilāh*), is manifest in life. Life is manifest in the *ummah* (nation). The *ummah* is manifest in the human genius. The Arab genius is manifest in their tongue (*lisān*).

(2) Research on the Arabic language will lead to the *ba'th* of the *ummah*. The *ba'th* of the *ummah* will resurrect life. The resurrected life will advance itself towards the meaning (deity), which is the Almighty.

Al-Arsūzī affirms that the human genius brings the perceptible closer to the reasonable, and reality to ideals. Genius does not remain in nature, where it is formed, but reaches the meaning (deity), surpassing the domain of nature with its imaginative faculties. Therefore, if genius is developed freely, it will enable the human being to embody the meaning (deity) and will provide human life with the foremost goal, which is the orientation towards ideals. Also, he asserts that the genius which embodies the *aṣālah* (authenticity) of the *ummah* will be manifest in the psyches (*nafs*s) of both the individuals and the society through language. In his view, as the Arabic language does contain and express genius in the most vivid manner, research on this language will resurrect genius.[4] Al-Arsūzī says:

> Our language, which is the most articulate manifestation of the genius of our *ummah*, is the reservoir of our cultural heritage.[5]

Also, according to Khalīl Aḥmad, al-Arsūzī's linguistic theory, which is most systematically presented in his earliest work *Al-'Abqarīyah al-'Arabīyah fī Lisān-hā* (The Arab Genius in Its Tongue),[6] is based on the following three aspects, and all his analyses of the consonants, vowels, grammar and styles of the Arabic language are

made to prove them.[7]

(1) The nature in which the Arabs live is linked to the development of the Arabs and their language. In al-Arsūzī's view, all Arabic words, which are derivative in their structure, originate from the visual-sound images; that is, they directly originate from the external nature by imitating the sounds toned in it, or from humanity by explaining its sentiments. Al-Arsūzī thinks that the relationship between the human being and nature has considerable influence on the formation of language in five phases: first, nature has perceptible images; second, the visual sense of the human being perceives the images of nature in a static way; third, the auditory sense of the human being perceives that which is perceived by the visual sight in a dynamic way; fourth, the intuition (ḥads), supporting the visual and auditory senses, forms words; fifth, derivatives originate from words.[8]

(2) As the conception of ṭabī'ah (nature) is related to the conception of ṭab' (disposition) in its derivation, the development of the Arabic language is linked to the psyche. The individual's contact with the external nature inevitably accompanies the emotional expression derived from the psyche. Thus, the Arabic language is inseparable from the psyches of Arab individuals and society, both of which perceive nature and form words.[9] Al-Arsūzī says:

> As the Arab tongue, which sums up the foundations of the *ummah* and is modified by the authentic intellectual orientations of the words, is psychic (*nafsānī*) and social in its development. The vocabulary of the Arab tongue reveals this development, and its grammar indicates it.[10]

(3) As the human psyche is linked to the meaning (deity) which breathes life into it, the Arabic language develops as an explanatory tool to manifest the meaning (deity) through the intuition. Al-Arsūzī says:

> If life adopts its structural elements from destiny (nature), this adoption indicates that life influences destiny and starts taking control over it. Life realizes its youthful passion (ṣabwah) in the human being. It spontaneously creates the destiny

from the human body and releases its meaning in the human body, which provides life with the image of the deity, the Creator of life.[11]

When al-Arsūzī asserts that the Arabic language is primal (*badī'*), he means that it was established at the moment the human psyche was breathed life into. Thus, the Arabic language, reflecting all human experiences in the face of nature, embodies the meaning (deity) which the human psyche is conscientiously seeking.[12]

2. *Ummah*

As is shown in the two theses of his linguo-philosophical theory, Zakī al-Arsūzī regards language as the most important element for the *ummah*. However, this does not mean that language is a mere objective indicator for the *ummah* nor that the Arab *ummah* is a linguistic community whose mother tongue is the Arabic language. It is true that al-Arsūzī often defines the *ummah* in a general sense, such as "the borders of the languages provide the borders of the *ummah*s"[13] or "[the homeland (*waṭan*) of the Arab *ummah* stretches] from the Taurus mountains to central Africa, and from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic Ocean."[14] Nonetheless, his ideology of *ummah* is unique and profound, as Muṣṭafā Dandashlī remarks:

> In fact, many of those who wrote on "the Arab *qawmīyah* (nationalism)," if not all, emphasized that language was the fundamental element in the formation of the *ummah*. However, only al-Arsūzī, as long as we know, continuously sought to prove the significance of this element in a linguistic method and analysis in his books.[15]

Al-Arsūzī comprehends that language is the means to express the *ummah* in the most sublime manner. Arabic, for him, is especially distinguished from other languages in the structure of its words rooted in nature and the derivative process based on the intuition. The Arabic language exemplifies the most vivid process that it is life that creates language.[16]

According to this view on the Arabic language, al-Arsūzī defines the *ummah*, analyzing the intuition contained in the Arabic words. He characterizes the *ummah* in the following four aspects.

(1) The Compassionate Relationship

The *ummah* is based on the compassionate (*raḥmānī*) relationship among its members, *ikhwān* (brethren). Al-Arsūzī defines the *ummah* according to his linguistic methodology as follows:

> The words "*ummah*" and "*umm* (mother)" are derived from a common verbal noun "*amm* (to resort to, to go to)." The "*umm*" is a sensory image of the "*ummah*" in the family of these words. In the Arab intuition, as the children are brought up by and directed towards their "*umm*," whom they see as the source of their lives, so is the "*ummah*" the source of brotherhood (*ukhūwah*) in society and the foremost goal and the object of love and affection which the *ikhwān* seek (…).
>
> Here are some exemplified orientations of the intuition in the word "*amm*": "*umm* (female parent, a source of something)"; "*imam* (somebody who is followed as a model; a vertical line of the construct, something which represents an example, a clear way)"; "*ummah* (a society, a way)." The polarization of these meanings is closely linked to the conscience which manifests the Arab intuition (…). According to this intuition, the *ummah* is the national (*qawmī*) conscience from which ideals are derived and against which the values of things are estimated.[17]

The symmetry between *ummah* and *umm* indicates that the *ummah* is a subject which integrates its members on the basis of the compassionate relationship as does the mother (*umm*) in the family. Al-Arsūzī also compares the members of the *ummah*, *ikhwān*, to the members of the family, *ikhwah* (brothers), to clarify the compassionate relationship within the *ummah*. Emphasizing that the *ummah* is based on love among the *ikhwān*, as is the family based on mutual affection among the *ikhwah*,[18] he explains the *ikhwān* and the *ikhwah* on the basis of his unique linguistic methodology:

> Taking into account its derivation from "*ākh*," that is the natural expression of ache, the word "*akh*" indicates the common sentiment among the *ikhwān*; that is, the cooperation which this sentiment leads to remove the harm. The family provokes the purification of the sentimental feeling to the mother, the feeling to the father in equality and justice, and the feeling of mutual help among the *ikhwah*. In the same way, the *ummah* provokes the members of the society to help each other as the *ikhwān* with the common heritage, for the purpose of overcoming difficulties and attempting to reach ideals.[19]

In al-Arsūzī's view, the prosperity and genius of the *ummah* can be measured by the extent of the compassionate relationship among its members (*ikhwān*) and the *aṣālah* of its organizations.[20]

(2) The *Ummah* as a Creed

The *ummah* is like a creed (*'aqīdah*). The *ummah* is not only an extension of the family centered on the mother but also the entity which leads its members to ideals. Al-Arsūzī says:

> The rise of the *ummah* on the stage of history is much akin to the rise of inspiration in conscience, or like the appearance of primitive animal species on the natural stage. Just as inspiration appears in conscience is caused by reactions to a number of symbols impinged as images on the brain, and just as the species appear in nature as life's reaction to the environmental change, so does the *ummah* appear in human history as a creed. The *ummah* is the compassionate experience, embraced by the people in response to common natural and social circumstances. The depth of this response is the ultimate measure of the *ummah*'s *aṣālah*.[21]

In al-Arsūzī's view, the *ummah* constitutes its public organizations, restricted by nature on one hand and reflecting the circumstantial requisites, on the other. All the public organizations of the *ummah*, such as legislation, religions and arts, are arranged as a harmonious system (*manẓūmah*) owing to its intuition. Thus, the life of *ummah*, facing nature, is directed with the "youthful passion" towards ideals.[22] That is the reason, in al-Arsūzī's view, why the *ummah* appears like a creed which is rooted in nature and directed towards the *mala' a'lā* (the divine and sublime substance):

> We use the word "*'aqīdah* (creed)" in the derivative meaning; that is, the meaning which is inspired by its sensory image "*'aqd al-janīn* (bearing the embryo)" or "*'aqd al-zahr* (bearing the flower)." As the embryo is impregnated with the life to become a living creature gradually transformed to complete the terms of its growth in maturity and old age, so the *ummah* is the beginning of the new life which reveals its meaning by explanatory tool, its language, and by customs, arts, religions and others which were founded on the meanings contained in the words.
>
> Therefore, the *ummah* seems to be a magical tree whose roots are in nature and

whose manifestations are towards the *mala' a'lā*.[23]

(3) Orientation towards Unity

The Arab *ummah* is oriented towards unity. Al-Arsūzī stresses the significance of the myth for the *ummah*, especially for the Arab *ummah*, with a conviction that the myth summarizes the intuition of the *ummah* and expresses its orientation.[24] This thesis is presented in the course of al-Arsūzī's definition of the Arabs:

> The two words "'*urūbah* (Arabism)" and "'*arab* (Arabs)" are the infinitive from which the verb "'*araba*" is derived. The former connotes explanation and expression, whilst the latter connotes the person who expresses and explains. The two meanings appear in "*a'raba*" '*an-hu lisānu-hu* (his language expressed what he meant, he expressed himself well), "*al-'arab*" *al-'urabā'* (the honest and well-spoken Arabs), and "*a'rab-hum*" *ḥasban* (most original of Arabs lineage and ancestry). The word "'*arab*" is an infinitive signifying plurality when personalized.
>
> As "*ta'arraba*" meant being molded by the Arab ethics and the word "*ista'raba*" meant being alien among the Arabs, the Arabs were divided into *'āribah*, *musta'ribah* and *musta'jimah*, on the basis of the explanatory principle contained in the verb "'*arab*," the source of derivation by the form expressing the situations of the instinct. Then, the one who expressed (*yu'arribu*) is among the *'āribah*, and the one who expressed (*yu'arribu*) painstakingly and artificially is among the *musta'ribah*. The Arabs of the *musta'jimah* are the Semitic (*sāmī*) peoples whose explanatory tool deviated from the pure Arabic, that is the *fuṣḥā'*.
>
> When we use the word "*sāmī*" in the etymological sense of the term, we mean *sumūw* (sublimity). It correlates with the myth that we are the sons of the *samā'* (heaven), and the *samā'* here means conscience and compassion. Sublimation and descend can only mean the level of proceeding to, or shrinking away from, the source of life. With the former sense go growth and blooming, and the latter stagnation, drought and aridity.[25]

In al-Arsūzī's view, the Semitic peoples including the Arabs, who believe that they are the sons of heaven in their myth, regard culture as the primary element for constituting the human being. They aim at unity with their cultural conscience, symbolized by heaven, to overcome the territorial or geographical divisions and direct

themselves towards ideals. On the contrary, the Indo-European peoples, who believe that they are the sons of the earth in their myth, regard the relationship derived from the circumstantial requisites as the primary elements for humanity, which causes separation from each other.[26]

The myth of Genesis also provides the ground for the belief that the human beings are one family and that kinship (*qarābah*, *qurbā*) relates the Arabs to each other. Furthermore, when al-Arsūzī affirms that all the Semitic peoples originated from the Arabs, for instance referring to the Koranic verse "And then we made you a central *ummah* (*ka-dhālik jaʿal-nā-kum ummatan wasaṭan*)" (The Koran, 2:143), he regards the Arabs as the eldest sons in the human family. This indicates that the Arab *ummah* is not only oriented towards unity per se, but is also assigned the divine mission (*risālah*) for the whole world.[27] He says:

> The Arab *ummah*, which is the source of all Semitic peoples, that is the world itself, has never disappeared since the appearance of the human being on the stage of history. It purifies, with overflowing in every state, the sins which the peoples commit then leads them to realize their purposes.
>
> The Arab *ummah* is like the nebula, the "original substance of life and existence." Sometimes it condensed, giving birth to cosmic suns; other times it is fragmented, scattering its suns into thin air.
>
> So is the Arab *ummah*. Ever shedding its light on humanity, it might at times seem fragmented and atomized, its sons secluded in a nutshell of egoism. Soon however, a prophet or a *zaʿīm* would rise and shine, resurrecting the Arab *ummah* and spreading the light of its brazing glow as a new twilight and a new beacon guiding the other nations of the world to fulfill their respective national missions.[28]

(4) The *Ummah* as an Authentic Entity

The *ummah* is an authentic entity in the human history. Combined with the myth and belief that the Arabs are like the eldest sons of the human family, al-Arsūzī concludes that the Arabic language was generated at the moment the human being was created, that is at the moment life created the language as an explanatory tool. In his view, the Arabic language, whose words are formed and based on the intuition, has an ability to express the ideals of life essentially symbolized in the myth of Genesis. Thus, the Arab *ummah* is an authentic entity, as it comprehends ideals through its own

language, an explanatory system of the meanings which have been perceived since the Genesis. Also, based on the natural sentiment among the *ikhwān* as well as the family based on the *ukhūwah* (brotherhood), the *ummah* is a pripori and precedes any other intellectual way of thinking related to the development of life.[29]

3. *Qawmīyah*

Zakī al-Arsūzī presents the conception of *qawmīyah* (nationalism) alongside *ummah* to explain the sentiments involved in the social relationships among the members of the *ummah*, *ikhwān*.[30] His definition of *qawmīyah*, as well as that of *ummah*, is based on the linguistic analysis of the intuition contained in the Arabic words:

> According to the linguistic derivation, the word *qawmīyah* means the state of those who are related by kinship (*qurbā*) to defend their common reality, heritage and ideals. Thus, if the *ummah* means the principle of kinship (*qarābah*), based on blood and culture, *qawmīyah* indicates the strong sentiment of this kinship and the practice entailed.[31]

As the *ummah* is regarded as an authentic and a priori entity since the genesis of the human beings, so *qawmīyah* is, in al-Arsūzī's view, the authentic sentiment characterizing humanity. Al-Arsūzī affirms that the Arab *qawmīyah* is traced back to the ancient times, the era of Adam, and has been consistently expressed through the entire historical stages.[32] He says at the outset of his thesis, *Risālatā al-Ummah wa-al-Usrah* (Theses on the Nation and the Family),[33] which deals with the *ummah*, the following:

> Each historical phase has its distinctive characteristic, and the distinguishing characteristic of this particular phase is *qawmīyah*. In this phase, people derive their high ideals from the national conscience; and public laws are established and the socio-political life organized in accordance with public interests.[34]

This means that *qawmīyah*, which is the authentic sentiment for humanity, is to have a peculiar orientation in organizing all the public life of the *ummah* most suitably according to the requisites in each historical stage.[35] He continues:

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So, nationalist thinking – though rooted in human nature and in keeping with it – has never flourished in any particular historical phase as it has done in the current one; so much so to the extent that in the on-going period all aspects of public life – such as language, legislation, arts, philosophy, etc. – have seemed to be nothing but manifestations of the solid reality of the *ummah*.[36]

Taking into account al-Arsūzī's political motivation which reached its climax in the Alexandretta dispute in the latter half of 1930s, it goes without saying that his ideology of *qawmīyah* lays particular emphasis on the modern ages in which he himself lived and carried out his political and intellectual activities. That is the reason why he gives *qawmīyah* such significance in the context of modern civilization.

In al-Arsūzī's view, medieval civilization, which was inspirational in its nature, was characterized by the human relationship based on the common religious belief and also on the view that this world existed for the sake of the next world. On the contrary, modern civilization regards not inspiration but conscience as the principle to distinguish virtue from vice, which prepares the human mind for the comprehension of reality. As the interest in the next world is replaced with the interest in this world, people deepen the knowledge on this world and develop the sciences and industries to subordinate nature to their will. Also, when the relationship based on the religious belief is replaced with kinship, people begin to be aware of *qawmīyah*, which is authentic in humanity. As brotherhood among the *ikhwān* prevails, *qawmīyah* preoccupies the relationship among people. Also, the theological and clerical regime is replaced with the democratic regime in the rise of *qawmīyah*, where people win the rights to equally participate in constructing the state.[37]

Al-Arsūzī asserts that *qawmīyah* is increasingly revealed and conceived in the modern ages, because modern civilization requires people to be related with a kinship based on blood and culture. Thus, the *ummah* can be the source of the whole life and fill its members with hope in modern civilization. In his view, if conscience could touch modernity developing humanity, *qawmīyah* would be awakened and advanced towards the conscious level. It is most important for al-Arsūzī to advance *qawmīyah*, especially the Arab *qawmīyah*, towards the conscious level in modern civilization in order to determine the orientation of his cultural and political ideology of the Arab *ba'th*. Referring to the foundations of *qawmīyah*, which are kinship among the *ikhwān*, and the common welfare and defense, he affirms that the concrete forms of the common welfare and defense among the Arabs must be established in the

conscious process to express the most suitable *qawmīyah* for modern civilization. This is the dynamism of ideology of the Arab *ba'th*. Only by placing *qawmīyah* consciously as the axis of public life, the *ummah* can be harmonious with modernity, which enables it to recognize its indivisibility and manifest its genius in public life.[38]

4. *Qawmīyah* between al-Arsūzī and Mīshīl 'Aflaq

Zakī al-Arsūzī's theory on linguo-philosophy and his ideology of nationalism is difficult to understand, as Anṭūn Maqdisī remarks, being a unique synthesis of Western philosophy and the intellectual accumulations of the Arab classic literature, linguistics and history.[39] This difficulty provides the senior Ba'thi members with a solid criticism of al-Arsūzī and his disciples.[40] Jalāl al-Sayyid, who cooperated with Mīshīl 'Aflaq and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār due to the estrangement from al-Arsūzī, comments on the logical gap in al-Arsūzī's argument:

> Mr. al-Arsūzī is greatly influenced by the famous philosopher Bergson, who was one of his mentors in Paris; an influence which had fed his fascination with metaphysics and inflamed his enthusiasm for the transcendental and the *mala' a'lā*. And he, in turn, had fed his disciples the same stuff. For this reason, this kind of people [al-Arsūzī and his disciples] tends to rush into passing quick groundless judgments on people, regardless of any logical or reliable criteria, as long as these sweeping judgments quench their thirst for stabbing and stigmatizing other people. It is one of their characteristics to connect things together, no matter how distant and irrelevant they may be, assuming a firm affinity between them. Yet, such assumptions soon crumble and reveal their weakness and invalidity on the slightest scrutiny.[41]

It is certain that there are some logical gaps in al-Arsūzī's argument on linguo-philosophy. His conviction that Semitic peoples originated from the Arabs is contrary to the common understanding that the Arabic language linguistically belongs to the Semitic. Some intuitions on the Arabic words, such as an image of culture conjectured on the word *samā'*, are far-fetched. The *aṣālah* of the Arabic language, which he means by the word *badī'* (primal) on the basis of Genesis, does not take into account the fluidity of languages and peculiarity of national languages in the modern ages.

Also, Jalāl al-Sayyid criticizes al-Arsūzī's ideology of *qawmīyah*, indicating that

al-Arsūzī puts too much emphasis on the intellectual aspect of national conscience, as if al-Sayyid's version of *qawmīyah* is driven by emotion, preceding any intellectual sentiment or action. Al-Sayyid says:

> This faction [al-Arsūzī and his disciples] is characterized by a kind of intellectual *'urūbah*, not an emotional one. This faction wanted to be Arabic for logical, political and intellectual reasons, as did al-Arsūzī. None of this faction were driven towards *'urūbah* by an inevitable and profound psychological motivation (…).[42]

Nonetheless, it is also possible to remark that 'Aflaq's ideology of *qawmīyah*, which Jalāl al-Sayyid advocated, avoids dealing with the essentials of national conscience. 'Aflaq questions himself in his earlier work on *qawmīyah* and the *ummah*, as follows:

> I have often had students asking for a definition of this *qawmīyah* of ours: Is it fascistic based on blood, or spiritual deriving from history and mutual culture? Does it reject religion or leave room for it?!
>
> It has often seemed to me that such a reasonable and convincing definition of *qawmīyah* was a prerequisite for their belief in it. The fact is that faith should be prior to any knowledge as much as it renders any definition ridiculous and void of meaning. Moreover, it is faith that feeds knowledge and lights its path.
>
> The *qawmīyah* we call for is love before any thing else; it is the same passion that binds one to his family, for one's homeland is a big house and his *ummah* is a big family. As a whole, *qawmīyah* is a kind of love that fills the hearts with joy and creates hope in us.[43]

As well as al-Arsūzī, 'Aflaq regards *qawmīyah* as an authentic and a priori sentiment, as he defines that *qawmīyah* is love which is directly linked to humanity. However, in contrast to al-Arsūzī's essentialist approach to *qawmīyah*, which puts emphasis on the process to advance it towards the conscious level, 'Aflaq's definition is superficial. 'Aflaq continues:

> He who loves never reasons his love. If asked, he probably will not find a clear-cut reason. At the same time, he who needs a clear reason to justify his love would be burying this love which was already dead.

So, how come that some youths are wondering about reasons to convince them that their love of their Arab *qawmīyah* should (…) surpass and transcend their sectarian, tribal and regional affiliations? How come that they question whether the Arabs have any virtues worthy of their love? He who loves his *ummah* on condition it has no vices or shortcomings whatsoever does not, in fact, knows what true love is. To my mind, the only question these youths should ask themselves and their mentors is this: Since we love our *ummah* with all its vices and virtues, how could we change this love into something useful?[44]

In contrast to al-Arsūzī's essentialist orientation in his linguo-philosophy, 'Aflaq provides his thought with the rationale for political activism. Thus, 'Aflaq does not define the Arabic language nor the *ummah* in detail. He only remarks that the Arabic language is most important for the Arabs; for language is, in general, an indicator to the unification of the ideas, disciplines and ideals among the people. Also, he understands the Arab *ummah* only as a linguistic community or a community with a common destiny, which may appear as a mere imitation of the most typical Western ideology of nationalism.[45]

'Aflaq's ideology of *qawmīyah*, which lacks the bare essentials, is even regarded as a rehash of al-Arsūzī's argument. Wahīb al-Ghānim, al-Arsūzī's eldest disciple, recollects that al-Arsūzī and his disciples criticized 'Aflaq and his groups as lacking in a clear and detailed ideological point of view:

Another movement started to emerge, headed by two teachers of Damascus secondary school: "Ṣalāḥ [al-Dīn] al-Bīṭār and Mīshīl 'Aflaq." It was a vague nationalist movement with no clear ideals or objectives. Just like us, it called for one Arab nation, but it lacked the party constitution and the ideas fit for a political party, something which we did have (…). [A few papers issued by al-Bīṭār and 'Aflaq's group] touched on some ideas (…) that were quite vague and ambiguous (…) to the point that one could never make anything clear out of them, or know what the author actually wanted to say (…).

They talked about leadership, the Arabs and eternity, and they mentioned things about heritage and sacred things, but reached no conclusions of any kind.

The author did not say what he actually wanted of all these things! He did not say: we wanted to achieve this and that, for instance (…). Stuff like this was out of his interest. There was nothing but a vague exposition ornamented with resonant words which said everything and nothing at the same time (…).[46]

Though characterized by some kind of racial supremacy, al-Arsūzī's theory on linguo-philosophy and his ideology of *qawmīyah* can be evaluated as an essentialist attempt to explore the Arab potentials in modern civilization, in comparison with 'Aflaq's thought which means nothing but the rationale of political activism. However, this very lack of an essentialist approach to *qawmīyah* allowed 'Aflaq to reinforce his thought with socialist conceptions, such as *inqilāb* (revolution) mentioned below, which provides ideology of the Arab *ba'th* with political dynamism.

Al-Arsūzī's Political Ideas in the Ideology of the Arab Ba'th

1. Definition of the Conception of the Arab *Ba'th*

Zakī al-Arsūzī's disciples and senior Ba'thi members unanimously assert that al-Arsūzī and his disciples were the first to use the term *ba'th* in the context of *qawmīyah*.[47] For instance, Sulaymān al-'Īsā, one of al-Arsūzī's disciples from Alexandretta, recollects:

> We began to use the word – *ba'th* – at this house [al-Arsūzī's house in al-Sibkī District] before we publicly declared the formation of a party named "the Ba'th Party" (…).[48]

Jalāl al-Sayyid confirms this view of al-'Īsā's, though he adds that al-Arsūzī did not participate in the public formation of the Arab Ba'th Party nor did he have any knowledge of the studies which Mīshīl 'Aflaq, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār and al-Sayyid were pursuing for the purpose of this formation:

> This does not mean that Mr. al-Arsūzī was not chewing and repeating the word "*ba'th*" since he was a teacher in Deir al-Zur [in the middle 1930s], and that he had suggested the foundation of the party under this name which is a transliteration of the French word "renaissance," meaning "rebirth" and expressed by the word "*ba'th.*" Together with the word "*ba'th*" he used also to mention the word "*naḥdah* (renaissance)." All of this was, nonetheless, limited to a kind of abstract theoretical thinking. Al-Arsūzī never took one single practical step towards founding a political party on the model of the later Ba'th Party.[49]

As is shown in al-Arsūzī's ideology of *qawmīyah*, modern civilization, where people conscientiously face nature, transforms the foundations of the human relationship from the common religious belief to kinship based on blood and culture. This transformation awakens and strengthens the national sentiment and leads people to be devoted to their mother tongue and heritage. Thus, people in modern civilization necessitate the *ba'th* of their heritage to manifest the genius of the *ummah* through the intuition contained in their language.[50] He says:

> We mean by the *ba'th* the return to the spring of our national life, to the genius of our *ummah*, the genius which created the phenomena of our life: our language, customs, traditions, literatures, arts and others. The word "*ba'th*" is not a superficial invention (*bid'ah*).[51]

In his research on the conception of the Arab *ba'th*, al-Arsūzī explains that it has been revealed in the two stages of modern civilization. The first stage took place in the European Renaissance in the sixteenth century, which is characterized by the establishment of the principle of freedom. The second stage took place in the nineteenth century characterized by the rise of *qawmīyah*. Modern civilization in the nineteenth century, where people face nature, reveals the genius of the *ummah*, the most sublime phenomenon of human life.[52]

Al-Arsūzī seems to aim at the literary return to the past when he remarks that the *ba'th* of the Arab *ummah* is the return to the *jāhilīyah* (the pre-Islamic era):

> For us, the Arabs, the *ba'th* means the return to the *jāhilīyah*, to the era in which our *ummah* wove the phenomena of our national life unconsciously and spontaneously. For us, the *ba'th* means that we reach the conscious level which our ancestors depended on in creating our culture (…).[53]

However, the return to the *jāhilīyah*, or the return to the spring of national life, is the fundamental step to conceive and embody modern civilization and its values, because the *jāhilīyah* does not mean ignorance but youthful challenges and boldness. Al-Arsūzī continues:

> One of the popular common mistakes is that the word "*jāhilīyah*" means ignorance and

want of knowledge. The truth is that ignorance (*jahl*) is not the opposite of knowledge; rather, it means the lack of meditation and pondering on the consequences. Thus, the word "*jāhilīyah*" means, first of all, the recklessness and rashness of youth and taking risks without any calculations of the consequences (…). Nonetheless, youth is characterized by challenging death and facing dangers in the quest for glory (…).[54]

The Arab *ba'th* has no retrogressive orientation. In al-Arsūzī's view, the retrogressive orientation is similar to senility, in which satisfaction with dreams and pleasure in adolescence and diversion from the present due to adherence to the past prevail. On the other hand, the progressive orientation, which he considers as the orientation of the Arab *ba'th*, is compared to adolescence. It is characterized by flexibility in an attempt to take control over nature and realize the hope and ambition for the future. The *ba'th* is to contemplate the past in order to create harmony between the *ummah* and modernity and to manifest the Arab genius through intuition.[55]

> The *ba'th* is not a retrogressive movement which aims at the revival of the past traditions, but it is the revival of our *aṣālah* hidden inside our psyches. The revival determines for us the standpoint from which we contribute to the human civilization in fulfilling our mission.[56]

Then, al-Arsūzī presents the dual fundamental tasks for the *ba'th* of the Arab *ummah* as follows:

> The *ba'th* has dual fundamental tasks, one of which is cultural and the other political. The cultural task is, first, to manifest the genius of the Arab *ummah* through the phenomena by which the *ummah* expressed its standpoint to life; second, to manifest the elements of modern civilization and to determine the orientation of this civilization, and third to create harmony between the Arab genius and the necessities of civilization which surround us and stuff us with its products (…).
>
> The political task for the Ba'this is to establish a firm Arab state with the flag under which the whole Arabs gather.[57]

Al-Arsūzī's devotion to literary work in his later years indicates that the cultural task is more important for the *ba'th* of the Arab *ummah*. When al-Arsūzī refers to the cultural task, he is self-confident that his literary work does contribute to the cultural

aspect of the *ba'th*. He maintains that his earliest work, *Al-'Abqarīyah al-'Arabīyah fī Lisān-hā*, clarifies the process in which the Arab genius advances its explanatory tool, language, in contact with nature. It analyzes the process in which the Arab genius and language are linked to the whole public life of the *ummah*, such as art, ethics, legislation, and others. Also, it explains the way the Arab great men have developed the public organizations of the *ummah* and relied on intuition in order to establish the Arab culture. His theses on philosophy, ethics, art and *ummah*, *Risālatā al-Falsafah wa-al-Akhlāq* (Two Theses on Philosophy and Morality), *Risālat al-Fann* (Thesis on Art) and *Risālatā al-Ummah wa-al-Usrah*, attempt to comprehend the meanings expressed in the words and the process in which the intuition based on the Arab genius is expressed in the public organizations of the *ummah*. His thesis on civilization, *Risālatā al-Madanīyah wa-al-Thaqāfah* (Two Theses on Civilization and Culture), deals with the elements of modern civilization which provide the Arab *qawmīyah* with its concrete form. Also, his thesis on the state, *Risālat al-Dawlah* (Thesis on the State), clarifies the way to create harmony between the Arab genius and modernity.[58]

In contrast to the cultural task, the political task for the Arab *ba'th* is explained briefly. Al-Arsūzī only affirms that the foremost goal of the political task is to establish the single Arab state, and that it will be realized through two methods easily deduced from the conception of the Arab *ba'th*. The first method is that the Arabs become conscious of their role in establishing the single state through determining their destiny by themselves and overcoming all obstacles. The second method is that they prepare themselves to cooperate in establishing and developing this single state, which forms the foundation of al-Arsūzī's ideas on socialism and democracy.[59] Although these two political methods are quite abstract and ambiguous in comparison with the cultural aspect for the Arab *ba'th*, this does not mean that al-Arsūzī has no detailed political ideas. Therefore, the following deals with his political discourses for the purpose of clarifying his political ideology more comprehensively.

2. Al-Arsūzī's View on the Principles of the Ba'th Party

The Arab Ba'th Party, whose formation Mīshīl 'Aflaq and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār publicly declared on April 7, 1947, adopted the phrase "one Arab *ummah* with an eternal mission (*ummah 'arabīyah wāḥidah dhāt risālah khālidah*) as its slogan, and presented the tripartite phrase "unity, freedom, socialism (*waḥdah, ḥurrīyah,*

ishtirākīyah)" as its fundamental principles. Although al-Arsūzī was the first person that declared the formation of the Ba'th Party at the end of 1940,[60] neither the slogan nor the tripartite phrase was his product. Sulaymān al-'Īsā recalls that the slogan of 'Aflaq's Ba'th Party was formalized when one of its members concluded his speech at a party session after 1947 with the phrase "one Arab *ummah* with an eternal mission."[61] Also, Wahīb al-Ghānim recollects four fundamental principles of al-Arsūzī's Ba'th Party: "the Arabs are one *ummah* (*al-'arab ummah wāḥidah*)," "the Arab homeland is one homeland (*al-waṭan al-'arabī waṭan wāḥid*)," "the Arab is the master of destiny (*al-'arabī sayyid al-qadar*)" and "the leader of the Arab leadership is one Arab (*al-za'āmah za'īm-hā 'arabī wāḥid*)."[62]

Al-Arsūzī reminds himself of the political slogans which he adopted, such as "the Arabs are one *ummah* (*al-'arab ummah wāḥidah*)," "the Arab country is an indivisible homeland (*bilād al-'arab waṭan lā yatajazza'*)" and "'*urūbah* is our national conscience, from which our ideals spring and on which we estimate the values of things (*al-'urūbah wijdān-nā al-qawmī, 'an-hā tanbathiq mathal-nā al-'ulyā, wa-bi-al-nisbah ilay-hā nuqaddir qimāt al-ashyā'*)." He even reaffirms that the slogan "the Arabs are one *ummah*" is more concise in expressing the political orientation of the Ba'th Party towards unity than the slogan "one Arab *ummah* with an eternal mission."[63]

As for the tripartite phrase of the Ba'th Party, "unity, freedom, socialism," al-Arsūzī started to refer to it more often especially after the Ba'th Revolution on March 8, 1963. It seems that the principle of unity is the most important for al-Arsūzī, due to his re-evaluation of the slogan "the Arabs are one *ummah*" and his emphasis on the political unity of the Arab *ummah* as the foremost goal of the political task. However, giving priority to the cultural task in his ideology of the Arab *ba'th*, he connects each of the tripartite principles as follows:

> Freedom is the foremost goal, which the human being aspires to; unity is the guaranty of freedom, and socialism is the means to anchor unity.[64]

The following is al-Arsūzī's detailed standpoint on each of the above tripartite principles of the Ba'th Party in the order of his priority. Then a brief comparison is made with 'Aflaq's ideology, with special emphasis on the principle of socialism, which is said to lack al-Arsūzī's ideas but characterize, instead, 'Aflaq's ideology.

(1) Freedom

Freedom is the most important element for al-Arsūzī, a preference resulting from his unique linguo-philosophy. In his view, freedom is the character which distinguishes the human being from other living things. When a living thing was created, instinct was also created as the foundation of its activities, which cut its links to its destiny. On the other hand, the human being related himself to their destiny, using his hands and language. The human being invented tools with his hands, which enabled him to subordinate nature to his will. Language had an even significance for the human being. It created genius inside humanity, by which the human being liberated himself from destiny and sought ideals. Thus, al-Arsūzī affirms that humanity can be advanced if the human being acts and thinks freely. Freedom, in his view, has to be the foremost goal of the human being and should be given priority over the nationalist interest, for it forms the foundation to develop humanity and manifest genius. In addition, freedom is not only important as a philosophical idea but more importantly as a human right, for it guarantees that people organize their activities and cooperate spontaneously in constructing and developing the state.[65]

As ʻAflaq avoids dealing with the essentials of *qawmīyah*, so he avoids any internal-oriented approach to the principle of freedom in contrast to al-Arsūzī. Although ʻAflaq states that freedom is the foundation, essence and meaning of the *ummah*'s life, he always puts emphasis on facing reality. Freedom is synonymous with liberalization in ʻAflaq's political ideology, which is influenced by his socialist view on class struggle and *inqilāb*. It means the liberalization of the Arab *ummah* from Western imperialism on one hand, and the liberalization of the Arab people (*shaʻb*) from the exploitation of the feudal lords, merchants, bourgeoisie and all those who compromise and cooperate with imperialism.[66] Thus, ʻAflaq, only stressing the alienation of the Arabs from freedom, concludes as follows:

> Freedom is not an article in a constitution or legislative laws, nor is it a mere subject for rhetoric or writing. Freedom is a practice before anything else. It will never be an integral part of our life unless we are prepared to sacrifice our life for it. We will not be able to force the rulers to observe it, or the people to value it and recognize its vitality unless we believe in it and defend it to the point of sacrificing our life for it.[67]

(2) Unity

Although unity is the foremost goal of the political task in al-Arsūzī's ideology of the Arab *ba'th*, it is the premise or foundation to guarantee the freedom of the Arab individuals to explore their genius and seek ideals. As well as the principle of freedom, unity applies not only to the Arab *ummah*, but also to the whole world, which is the most remarkable difference from 'Aflaq's view on unity.[68]

The universal significance of Arab unity is closely linked to al-Arsūzī's view on the conception of mission. As discussed earlier, al-Arsūzī asserts that the Arab *ummah* is oriented towards unity, based on Genesis. In his view, the Arabs, who believe that they are the sons of heaven in their myth, regard culture as the primary element for constituting the human being. They aim at unity with their cultural conscience symbolized by heaven to overcome difficulties and direct themselves towards ideals. Also, as the Arabs are the eldest sons in the human family, and their language has an ability to express ideals, they are assigned to manifest the meaning of life not only for the Arab *ummah* but also for all human beings.[69]

On the other hand, 'Aflaq asserts that the mission, though intended for the whole world, is conditioned by the individuals' belonging to an *ummah*. He maintains that the mission is different from one *ummah* to another, and rejects al-Arsūzī's understanding in which it figures as a manifestation of the meaning of life.[70] He says:

> We have to distinguish between the meaning of life and that of mission (…). Each nation has its meaning, which is drawn from its own life, even if its activities and talents are limited. However, this is not what is intended by the mission.[71]

'Aflaq, comparing the mission to the belief, affirms that one can not prove the mission or do research on it, for it does exist in the depth of the spirit and takes control over the mind. Although he indicates that the humanist values can be embodied only in a sound *ummah*, he puts more emphasis on the fact that the Arabs are to face their own difficult reality. Also, giving priority to *qawmīyah*, he maintains that humanity is synonymous with *qawmīyah* and even that humanity is not so sublime as *qawmīyah* in the logic of the Arab *ba'th*.[72]

(3) Socialism

Al-Arsūzī explains the principle of socialism on the basis of his unique linguistic methodology as follows:

> The word "*ishtirākīyah* (socialism)" means, according to its linguistic derivation, involving (*ishrāk*) all citizens (*muwāṭinūn*) in governing and building the state. In the past time, governing was exclusive to the feudal lords, then wealthy people took over. But today, due to the awareness of people, it has become absolutely necessary to involve all people in the process of running the state and determining their own destiny. Now, *ishtirākīyah* is the means by which people could have a say in making their own destiny. How could one be free if he does not have control over his own life? Or yet, how could one be free if he is subjected to a law not of his making? Human integrity demands *ishtirākīyah*; it necessitates the active involvement (*ishrāk*) of citizens so they could be the masters of their own destiny. Being a master of his own destiny first means that each citizen contributes to building the state and establishing its laws.[73]

Al-Arsūzī's idea on socialism is characterized by two aspects: the first is that socialism is regarded as the principle which guarantees equality and justice; the second is that the most urgent measure is agrarian reform, the liberation of the peasants. In a situation where the majority of the *ummah* suffers poverty, ignorance and disease, the state cannot face internal and external threats nor develop itself. Socialism, in which all the members of the *ummah* can be owners of the outcomes of their labors, is the most effective way to make them participate and cooperate in constructing the state and determine the destiny of the *ummah* at their will. Especially in the case of the Arab *ummah*, al-Arsūzī affirms that it is necessary to liberate the peasants, who make up seventy-five per cent of its population, and guarantee them independent lives free from any exploitation.[74] He observes:

> As for the relation of the Arab *ummah* to socialism, when the Arab *qawmīyah* is based on the principle of kinship (*qarābah*) among the civil *ikhwān* (…), the social organization is decided according to the necessity of *ukhūwah*. The first phenomenon of Arab socialism is agrarian reform, the reform which aims to make the majority of citizens independent in their lives.[75]

However, al-Arsūzī's assumption seems to be narrow-minded and abrupt, when he is absorbed in the idea that only if the *ummah* realizes socialism, its members will enjoy equality and justice, and the state will be automatically strengthened.[76] He does not take into account the political process in which the citizens' self-sufficiency leads to equality and justice on one hand, and to the development of the state on the other in the context of socialism. That respect invites criticism from senior Ba'thi members, as Sāmī al-Jundī says:

> Al-Arsūzī, having an aristocratic orientation, believes in knighthood: for him, socialism is merely equal opportunity: the citizens are equal and free, their property and culture start equally, and everyone gains in proportion to his production.[77]

In the light of Wahīb al-Ghānim's recollection, it is quite understandable that the principle of socialism is introduced to the ideology of the Arab *ba'th* by the "post-al-Arsūzī's" generation, which is represented by 'Aflaq.[78] As a matter of course, when 'Aflaq's socialist thought is reviewed, some similarities can be found with al-Arsūzī's idea. 'Aflaq pictures the socialist system as participatory, when he describes it imitating al-Arsūzī's linguistic methodology as follows:

> *Ishtirākīyah*, in simple terms and as the word itself suggests, means that all citizens should share (*yashtariku*) the wealth and resources of their country in the process of improving their own lives, and consequently developing their *ummah*; for the individual should not think of himself as the sole goal of life.[79]

As well as al-Arsūzī, 'Aflaq draws a clear line between Arab socialism and Marxism which advocates materialism and internationalism. He affirms that in contrast to Western socialism, which develops on the basis of materialism, Arab socialism is derived from and based on idealistic and spiritual aspects, due to the Arab situation being humanistic and the Arab *qawmīyah* having a humanistic orientation. In addition, in criticizing Communism, both al-Arsūzī and 'Aflaq emphasize that Arab socialism does not deny private property as long as monopoly and parasitism, which are the two major vices in the capitalist system, do not prevail.[80]

Thus, 'Aflaq's idealistic and humanistic thought on socialism, as well as al-Arsūzī's idea, stresses equality and justice in the *ummah* on the basis of the common destiny among the *ikhwān*. However, 'Aflaq's socialism is distinguished by

introducing political dynamism to the conception of *qawmīyah*. This attempt is remarkable in 'Aflaq's unique understanding of class struggle and *inqilāb*. Taking into account the situation of the Arab *ummah* threatened by imperialism, 'Aflaq affirms that the Arab *ummah* conceives class distinction by encountering imperialism, before the owners of the means of production exploit the agents of production. Therefore, the Arab people, especially the toiling masses (*kādiḥūn*), are to struggle more fiercely against those who compromise and cooperate with imperialism than the feudal lords, merchants and capitalists. This does not mean that class struggle is based on the hostile relationship within the *ummah*. For, even if class struggle is taking place inside the *ummah*, the foremost goal is to overcome imperialism, which obstructs Arab unity and development.[81]

As for *inqilāb* which characterizes 'Aflaq's socialism, al-Arsūzī does not withhold comments. Referring to the word *thawrah* (revolution) on the occasion of the Ba'th Revolution, he defines that it is the comprehensive alteration (*inqilāb*) in the system of the whole social values. However, al-Arsūzī does not deal with it in such details as 'Aflaq attempts, for he presents the conception of the Arab *ba'th* as the revolutionary process especially in the cultural aspect.[82]

'Aflaq's conception of *inqilāb* means, first of all, the internal-oriented and spiritual alteration and is not limited only to political struggle or reform.[83] He says:

> The realization of expected *inqilāb* for the Arabs depends on the realization of embodying the revolutionary spirit in the personality and mind of the Arab Ba'thi members.[84]

Nonetheless, the nuance of *inqilāb*, which practically expresses struggle (*niḍāl*) in 'Aflaq's view, is more effective in promoting political dynamism in ideology of the Arab *ba'th*. That is the most remarkable difference between 'Aflaq and al-Arsūzī; the former contributes to form ideology of political activism, and the latter puts emphasis on the essentialist aspect of the Arab *ba'th*.[85]

3. Democracy

Although Zakī al-Arsūzī does not present concrete political measures to realize socialism except agrarian reform as mentioned previously, he details its institutional form in the context of democracy. He defines the conception of *dīmuqrāṭīyah*

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(democracy), which is a word of Greek origin and corresponds to the Arabic word *jumhūrīyah*, on the basis of his unique linguistic methodology:

> The word "*jumhūrīyah*" (…) is a compound of two words "*jamm* (multitude)" (…) and "*jahr* (speaking out in public)," and it means the society whose members publicly explain their opinions in administrating public affairs. The word "*jumhūrīyah*" is similar to the word "*dīmuqrāṭīyah*" in its structure and meaning, because the latter is also a compound of two Greek words and means the society which manages its own affairs.[86]

Al-Arsūzī categorizes democracy into two phases: the first is the phase of direct democracy in ancient Athens; the second is that of representative democracy in the modern ages. As he aims at advancing *qawmīyah* consciously in the modern ages, so he focuses on democracy in modern civilization, affirming that it is the principle to create harmony between the necessities of *qawmīyah* and the elements of *fiṭrah* (innateness).[87]

Democracy for al-Arsūzī is, above all, a philosophical principle. In his view, modern civilization has a natural aspect and a human aspect, both of which are derived from the single reality and regarded as perceptible by the human mind. Democracy, philosophically related to *fiṭrah*, expresses the human aspect of modern civilization and is based on the following convictions: first, *fiṭrah*, created to seek virtue, contains mind and emotion; second, mind, equipped for the purpose of realizing the truth conscientiously, prefers virtue to vice; third, all individuals equally have a rational ability to realize virtue; fourth, deviation of emotions has its causes, such as the low level of education, greed and egoism. Democracy in modern civilization, conditioned by all those convictions, directs both the individuals and society towards virtue, liberating them from the causes of deviation.[88]

Then, al-Arsūzī presents the social orientation of democracy in modern civilization. He affirms that democracy, driven by *fiṭrah*, promotes social renovation in the process of exploring human reality, while advancing sciences and industries in the process of exploring natural reality. When the individuals handle their affairs by themselves with both the private and public affairs being complicated, they need to constitute the foundation for public life in order to cooperate with each other according to their abilities. Democracy forms this foundation which integrates the individuals and advances both the individuals and society towards the manifestation of genius and the exploration of ideals.[89]

When picturing democracy as a political idea, al-Arsūzī calls for the establishment of socialist democracy (*dīmuqrāṭīyah ishtirākīyah*), or in other words, popular democracy (*jumhūrīyah sha'bīyah*), based on his idea of socialism. In al-Arsūzī's view, democracy in the West, which he regards as the bourgeois democratic system, presents no concrete method to put it in practice, because the state authority is subordinated to the capital and the bourgeoisie hinder *fiṭrah* from being completely advanced. On the other hand, Socialist or popular democracy, which he considers as an antonym of the presidential system (*niẓām ri'āsah*),[90] guarantees that all the people prepare themselves to cooperate in the construction and development of their own state, dependent on the dual principles: equal opportunity and social justice. Equal opportunity is a principle which guarantees the independence of each individual's life and fills the extant gap between the rich and the poor. Social justice is a principle that distributes jobs and positions according to the individuals' abilities. These two principles, in al-Arsūzī's view, realize not only the individual dignity and success but also social prosperity, if the following conditions are fulfilled: first, absolute freedom; second, the rule of law, which subordinates the administration to legislation; third, participation of the people in the legislation through elections by which they present their opinions; fourth, the enforcement of laws by the elected representatives.[91]

However, when al-Arsūzī details the institutional form of democracy, the representative system, he voices an optimistic view suggesting that the improvement of individual potentials will automatically lead to the development of the society and the state. Moreover, he seems to overestimate the people's commitment to command public affairs positively, once equal opportunity and social justice are established. That may be the reason why he does not hesitate to refer to a hierarchical representative system, which is easily associated with authoritarianism. He notices the risks of tyranny (*istibdād*), both in the hierarchical representative system and in the extant representative systems in the West. Nevertheless, he places too much confidence in the philosophical orientation of the human mind towards virtue, which makes him certain that the individual potentials will be consciously maximized in the society, once freedom is completely guaranteed, and equal opportunity and social justice are established.[92]

4. The Awaited *Za'īm*

Although Zakī al-Arsūzī's ideology of the Arab *ba'th* is colored with a series of humanistic ideas, such as freedom, equal opportunity, social justice and others, he has been frequently blamed for his autocratic tendency in his discourses and activities. The criticism labeled at his autocracy is made in relation to the term *za'īm* used by his disciples and adherents in addressing al-Arsūzī himself.[93]

As a matter of course, the *liwā'īyūn* (Provincials), al-Arsūzī's followers from Alexandretta, generally appraise his leadership in the Alexandretta dispute of the latter half of the 1930s and the activities of the Arab Ba'th Party formed at the end of 1940. Wahīb al-Ghānim, referring to one of the principles of al-Arsūzī's Ba'th Party, "the leader of the Arab leadership is one Arab," which is regarded as the ground for al-Arsūzī's autocracy, observes:

> The single leadership (*al-za'āmah al-wāḥidah*) was not dictatorial in our view. It was of the kind of Zakī al-Arsūzī's leadership; that is, the leadership of the father, who took counsel with the sons and made his decisions accordingly. He took counsel and explained things continuously. Zakī never made any decision by himself (…). He raised topics, discussed them with others, and explored the possibilities. He examined the affairs with all of his disciples and supporters. Then he made his decision.[94]

Thus, al-Ghānim reaffirms that "freedom and responsibility" were the foundations that played primary roles in al-Arsūzī's thought at that time.[95] However, al-Arsūzī's unconciliatory attitude towards the merger between the Arab Iḥyā' Movement (*ḥarakat al-iḥyā' al-'arabī*) and his Ba'th Party casts some doubts on his leadership. Sulaymān al-'Īsā recollects al-Arsūzī's obstinacy at that time which did not conform to "freedom and responsibility":

> [Al-Arsūzī] would not approve of such meetings [for the merger], and his attitude was one of discouragement. He would warn us saying: If you bring these people [the Arab al-Iḥyā' Movement] in, I will quit the party and restrict my activities to promoting its ideals only. These people are not up to such a leading role. As far as we were concerned, we had always regarded al-Arsūzī as a father we never tried to embarrass or question; but at the same time, we were convinced that those people were our comrades and we ought to bring them in to join our party. Wahīb al-Ghānim used to tell us: Leave our

mentor "al-Arsūzī" aside with his sensitivities and let us embark on our work in hope of winning these youths over. Try to talk to them and convince them to join us, and later on we will try to get al-Arsūzī's consent. Each time al-Arsūzī heard anything about this suggested merger, he used to say: "I will definitely quit the party if you ever merge with this group." He used to nag about it like a baby, but we always avoided any confrontation with him.[96]

The truth behind this episode may have been al-Arsūzī's personal aversion to Mīshīl 'Aflaq and Şalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār or his self-defense from any challenge to his party leadership. Also, al-Arsūzī's boycott of 'Aflaq's Ba'th Party can be regarded as a result of the "democratic" process, in which his disciples recognized the exhaustion of his political ideology and activities, and thus distanced him.[97] Nonetheless, some senior Ba'thi members, who were on bad terms with al-Arsūzī or were not so devoted to him as his disciples, harbor suspicion about al-Arsūzī's leadership and his view on *za'īm*. Jalāl al-Sayyid criticizes al-Arsūzī's fascist and aristocratic tendency as follows:

[Al-Arsūzī] is closer to the Nazi, and even the romantic, thinking in dividing people into masters and slaves; for he divides people into two classes: the nobles and the rascals. In addition to this, he finds great difficulty in discipline and organization. Although his national passions are always aflame, he is pretty hard on those who fail to recognize his philosophy on life (…). From the very beginning we looked at people as engendering elements of nobleness and honor, and thought that any negative traits they showed were just casual and due to passing pressures and circumstances (…). Al-Arsūzī, on the other hand, believed that half of the people are bastards, frequently using the French word "lâche (cowards)." All in all, he was of aristocratic orientation, looking at people "from above," while we viewed them from their midst and on the same level, and looked at ourselves as just part of them sharing their virtues and shortcomings.[98]

Although al-Sayyid's criticism may be excessive due to his estrangement from al-Arsūzī, Sāmī al-Jundī also indicates al-Arsūzī's autocratic and aristocratic tendency. When referring to the Arab Nationalist Party (*al-ḥizb al-qawmī al-'arabī*) which al-Arsūzī formed in 1939 for a short period, al-Jundī analyzes its symbol, the tiger, and its principles which were similar to those of al-Arsūzī's Ba'th Party: "the Arabs are one *ummah*," "the Arabs have one single leader who most genuinely

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embodies and expresses the potentials of the Arab *ummah*," "*'urūbah*: our national conscience is the source of sacredness, from which ideals spring and against which the values of things are estimated" and "the Arab is the master of destiny"[99]:

Between the wars, and during the Second World War, political parties tended to choose symbols that would enflame the imagination of youth in accordance with Nazism and Fascism. This is in spite of the fact that pagan symbolism is alien to the Arab; for the Arabs – even in their *jāhilīyah* – were non-totemic, unlike Aryan peoples (…).

Al-Arsūzī did not choose the lion as a symbol, because the lion signifies serenity and quietness; and thus was not revolutionary. The tiger, on the contrary, was more edgy and ready to attack. This brings to mind 'Uqbah bn Nāfi' who chose not the eagle but the vulture.

The Arabs are one *ummah*: Al-Arsūzī did not phrase it as "one Arab *ummah* [with an eternal mission]," because he is a racist who believes in purity and nobility, and of an aristocratic orientation in his thoughts and beliefs (…).

The Arabs have one single *za'īm*: Al-Arsūzī bestows on *za'āmah* (leadership) a *ṣūfī* (mystical) meaning due to his 'Alawi upbringing. The *za'īm* is not just a political leader, but he is some kind of human revelation of the pure virtues of the *ummah*, expressing its potentials and capacities for spiritual and heroic deeds. He is a modern secular image of *imam al-ẓamān* (the ultimate leader) who is emulated in the prayers and obeyed in whatever he orders. In other words, he is the politico-religious leader. The *za'īm* is an innovator of ideas and an inventor of the state.[100]

As Muṣṭafā Dandashlī comments, al-Arsūzī's theory on the *ummah*, which is inspired and influenced by Fichte,[101] is associated with racial supremacy, especially when al-Arsūzī reaffirms that the Arab *ummah* has an ability to manifest the meaning of life (deity), due to the structure of the Arabic language. However, it is not necessarily appropriate to connect al-Arsūzī's philosophical discourses to the supremacy of the Arab *ummah*; for the foremost goal of his linguo-philosophy is directed towards the whole world, not only the Arab *ummah*.

Nonetheless, when al-Arsūzī's idea on *za'īm* reflects his *ṣūfī* conception that the human being embodies the deity, it recollects Nietzsche's idea on charisma, which is undeniably related to the rise of Nazism and Fascism.

Al-Arsūzī's *ṣūfī* idea on *za'īm* is presented when he refers to the concrete methods for Arab unity. He proposes that the most realistic method to achieve Arab

unity under the Ba'th regime, which took power on March 8, 1963, is to make Syria a model for other Arab states to obtain firm position in international politics and pare the way for the Arab *ummah* to achieve unity. At the same time, he presents another method taken by the awaited *za'īm* (*za'īm murtaqab*), who will lead the Arab *ummah* to overcome all internal and external difficulties, to confront the enemy and bear the destiny of the world. Although he admits that this method is unrealistic, he reaffirms that the Arab *ummah* has easily produced a large number of leaders, such as prophets.[102] He writes the following:

> Ever shedding its light on humanity, it [the Arab *ummah*] might at times seem fragmented and atomized, its sons secluded in a nutshell of egoism. Soon however, a prophet or a *za'īm* would rise and shine, resurrecting the Arab *ummah* and spreading the light of its brazing glow as a new twilight and a new beacon guiding the other nations of the world to fulfill their respective national missions.[103]

Al-Arsūzī's *ṣūfī* view on the awaited *za'īm* can not be regarded merely as the unrealistic messianism, taking into consideration, for instance, his fascination with a charismatic leader, Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir of Egypt.[104] Al-Arsūzī can even be suspected of identifying himself with his version of the awaited *za'īm*, embodying the deity. This identification seems to characterize his thought since he began resorting to political activities in the early 1930. Among the most suggestive is the self-inspiring remarks he jotted down on his way to Antakia (Antioch) after finishing his study in Paris in 1930: "Faire une nation ou créer fantômes etre prophète ou artiste, voilà le problème (To forge a nation or to create image, to be a prophet or an artist, that is the question)."[105] Also, the metaphysic revelation in his dream, "Your Lord will inform you of what is better,"[106] which encouraged him to write, indicates that he was self-confident in exploring ideals in contact with the deity. Although it is impossible to judge whether al-Arsūzī's version of the expected *za'īm* is actually autocratic, it its true that the political legitimacy dependent on the deity is one of the most common tricks employed in authoritarianism.

Conclusion

Zakī al-Arsūzī's ideology of the Arab *ba'th* is essentialist in its nature, as the cultural

aspect takes precedence over the political activities. His ideology can be evaluated as intellectual gradualism, but not impatient political activism, which stresses the advancement and renovation of the individual consciousness. However, his profound knowledge of philosophy and orientation towards it, combined with his political experiences as a *zaʿīm* with absolute trust, resulted in the following defects: first, ambiguous discourses of conceptions without references to realistic political measures nor concrete institutional forms; second, opportunistic confidence in the political potentials and positiveness of the individuals, which is not exempted from risks of autocracy and authoritarianism; third, anticipation of the ultimate leader and identification with him. These defects are the limitations of al-Arsūzī's ideology, which prompted Mīshīl ʿAflaq to supplement more realistic and political elements with al-Arsūzī's essentialist ideas and to complete the ideological principles of the Arab Baʿth Party. However, it is difficult to verify the real impact of al-Arsūzī's ideology of the political activities of the Baʿth Party which subsequently took the helm of state affairs in Syria and Iraq. Especially in the case of Syria, though Ṣalāḥ Jadīd and Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, among the most prominent Baʿthis who established authoritarian regime on the basis of ideology of the Arab *baʿth*, are said to be al-Arsūzī's disciples in the later years,[107] it is necessary to examine how they comprehend and even utilize al-Arsūzī's instructions in order to assess the relation between al-Arsūzī's ideology and the autocratic situation under the Baʿth Party today.

Notes

1.   Concepts such as "ideology" and "theory" have been given different meanings to express the systematic body of knowledge in the contexts of various disciplines and schools. This chapter, taking into account familiar usages, uses these terms in the following meanings to comprehend al-Arsūzī's thoughts on various topics: "theory" means the systematic body of ideas on his unique linguo-philosophy; "ideology" is a set of his political and social ideas, based on his linguo-philosophy, such as "*ummah*," "*qawmīyah*," "*ba'th*" and others.

2.   As al-Arsūzī developed his theory and ideology using some key terms such as "*ummah*," "*qawmīyah*" and "*ba'th*" in unique ways, this chapter intentionally avoids using the English translations, for the purpose of comprehending them in the literary meanings which al-Arsūzī himself had intended.

3.   Khalīl Aḥmad, *Zakī al-Arsūzī: Wa-Dawr al-Lisān fī Binā' al-Insān* (Damascus: Dār al-Shabībah lil-Nashr, 1978), pp. 87-88.

4.   Aḥmad, *Zakī al-Arsūzī*, pp. 88-90.

5.   Zakī al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1 (Damascus, Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1972), p. 297. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 57, 221, 230.

6.   This is contained in al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 41-230.

7.   Aḥmad, *Zakī al-Arsūzī*, pp. 100-145ff.

8.   Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 71, 85-105, 133-134, 311-317; Vol. 3 (Damascus: Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1974), pp. 261-262.

9.   Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, p. 305.

10. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, p. 147.

11. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 57-58.

12. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 57-61, 131-132, 215-219.

13. Zakī al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4 (Damascus, Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1974), p. 213.

14. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 215, 216, 299; Vol. 6 (Damascus, Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1976), p. 47.

15. Muṣṭafā Dandashlī (Yūsuf Jabā'ī & Muṣṭafā Dandashlī, trs.), *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī, 1940-1963: Al-Īdiyūlūjiyā wa-al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī*, Vol. 1, (Damascus: n.p., 1979), p. 17.

16. Zakī al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2 (Damascus, Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1973), p. 271, 363-364.

17. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 229-230. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 333-334; Vol. 3, pp. 107, 263; Vol. 6, p. 261.

18. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 341.

19. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 344. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 215.

20. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 362, 380-381.

21. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 241-242. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 351.

22. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 233, 243, 250, 327, 337, 356, 379; Vol. 3, p. 46; Vol. 4, pp. 215-216. As for the public elements of the *ummah* such as language, legislation and religions, see al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 251-255.

23. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 250-251. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 112, 243-244, 276, 328-329, 356-357; Vol. 3, pp. 253, 264; Vol. 4, pp. 199-200.

24. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 268.

25. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 265-266. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 6, p. 129.

26. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 268-269, 329-330, 373-374.

27. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 373-375; Vol. 4, p. 214.

28. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 221-222.

29. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 248, 276-277, 375; Vol. 6, p. 25; Dandashlī, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī*, p. 17.

30. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, p. 107; Vol. 6, p. 123.

31. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, p. 107. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, p. 253.

32. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 214.

33. This thesis is contained in al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, pp. 221-316.

34. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 224.

35. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 320.

36. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 228.

37. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 119-120, 247-249; Vol. 4, p. 350; Vol. 6, p. 105.

38. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 2, p. 236; Vol. 3, pp. 118-120, 123;

Vol. 4, pp. 215-216, 350.

39. Interview with Anṭūn Maqdisī, as quoted in Dandashlī, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī*, p. 16.

40. Fā'iz Ismā'īl, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Ustādh Fā'iz Ismā'īl," Pt. 2, *Al-Munāḍil* (Damascus), No. 102, Oct. 1977, p. 46; 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Naqshbandī, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr al-Rafīq 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Naqshbandī," Pt. 1, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 99, Jul. 1977, p. 11; Dandashlī, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī*, p. 34.

41. Jalāl al-Sayyid, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār lil-Nashr, 1973), p. 35.

42. Al-Sayyid, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī*, p. 35.

43. Mīshīl 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th* (2nd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'ah, 1963), p. 45.

44. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, p. 46.

45. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, pp. 45, 103.

46. Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 2, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 91, Nov. 1976, pp. 11-13.

47. Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 3, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 92, Dec. 1976, p. 7; Dandashlī, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī*, p. 19; Ismā'īl, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, p. 45.

48. Sulaymān al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī fī Ḥayāt al-Shā'ir Sulaymān al-'Īsā wa-Dhākiratu-hu," Pt. 1, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 84, Apr. 1976, p. 58. Also, 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Naqshbandī, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr al-Rafīq 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Naqshbandī," Pt. 2, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 100, Aug. 1977, p. 7 notes: "We heard it [the word "*ba'th*"] at al-Arsūzī's house [in al-Sibkī District]. It is synonymous with the French word résurrection (…) and the word renaissance (…)."

49. Al-Sayyid, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī*, p. 19.

50. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 119-120, 247-249; Vol. 4, p. 350.

51. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 197. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 6, p. 26.

52. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 197-200.

53. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 201.

54. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 311.

55. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 21-23, 109-110; Vol. 4, pp. 202-203, 253, 350-351.

56. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 6, p. 37.

57. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 205, 209.

58. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 205-208; Vol. 6, p. 42. These works except *Risālat al-Dawlah* are contained in al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 41-230; Vol. 2, pp. 1-316.

59. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 209-211; Vol. 6, pp. 42, 59.

60. Salīm Nāṣir Barakāt, *Al-Fikr al-Qawmī: Wa-Ususu-hu al-Falsafīyah 'inda Zakī al-Arsūzī* (3rd ed., Damascus: Dār Dimashq, 1984), pp. 23-24, 30-32; Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 1, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 90, Oct. 1976, p. 46; Sulaymān al-'Īsā, "Al-Bidāyāt," *Al-Ma'rifah*, No. 113, Jul. 1971, p. 23; al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī …," Pt. 1, p. 61; Pt. 2, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 85, May 1976, pp. 27, 31-32; Sāmī al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār lil-Nashr, 1969), pp. 25-26; al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 16-18; Vol. 6, pp. 527-528; Aḥmad, *Zakī al-Arsūzī*, pp. 56, 69-70, 73-75; al-Naqshbandī, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 1, p. 1.

61. Al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī …," Pt. 1, p. 60. Al-Naqshbandī, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, pp. 7-8 notes that the slogan "one Arab nation with an eternal mission" was first heard in 1943 or 1944 then forgotten for a while; that is, until 1947.

62. Al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 1, p. 46.

63. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 303; Vol. 6, pp. 527, 529; al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 1, p. 46; al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī …," Pt. 1, pp. 65, 72; Ismā'īl, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, p. 50.

64. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 255. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 258; Vol. 6, pp. 47-48.

65. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 197-200, 255-257; Vol. 6, pp. 209, 495-496.

66. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, pp. 319-320.

67. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, p. 321. Shiblī al-'Aysamī, *Ḥawla al-Waḥdah al-'Arabīyah* (Damascus: Maṭābi' ibn Zaydūn, 1957), p. 19 also reasserts in this respect that freedom means liberation from the rule of Western imperialism and a tool for socialism and unity.

68. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 258.

69. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 221-222; Vol. 2, pp. 248, 265-266, 268-269, 276-277, 329-330, 373-375; Vol. 4, p. 214; Vol. 6, pp. 25, 129.

70. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, pp. 105, 139.

71. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, p. 139. See also Mīshīl 'Aflaq, et al., *Dirāsāt fī al-Qawmīyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'ah lil-Ṭibā'ah wa-al-Nashr, 1960), p. 32.

72. Mīshīl 'Aflaq, *Ma'rakat al-Maṣīr al-Wāḥid: Fuṣūl Jadīdah 'an Naksat al-Infiṣāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb, 1958), p. 52; 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, pp. 139, 145-146.

73. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 369.

74. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 360, 364, 370; Vol. 6, p. 21.

75. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 352-353.

76. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 156-157; Vol. 4, pp. 258-259, 359, 364.

77. Al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, p. 24. Besides Sāmī al-Jundī, Jalāl al-Sayyid says that al-Arsūzī did not introduce any socialist concepts to his own political philosophy. Al-Sayyid, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī*, p. 19. Also, Wahīb al-Ghānim reflects on al-Arsūzī's ignorance of socialism as follows: "The first time I heard the word 'socialist' in my life was in 1936 in the Alexandretta Province, when Léon Blum was appointed to the premiership of France. He was a socialist (…). Al-Arsūzī talked at that time in the Arabism Club (*nādī al-'urūbah*) of Antakia (…). Then we wanted to ask about the meaning of 'socialist', but Zakī al-Arsūzī postponed this topic to another time. He seemed not to be ready to expand more on the topic of socialism." Al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, pp. 10-11.

78. Al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, p. 10. Although 'Aflaq's ideology is characterized by socialist concepts, it was al-Arsūzī's disciples opposing 'Aflaq who played a leading role in adopting socialism in the principles of the Ba'th Party. In this respect, Wahīb al-Ghānim recalls: "At the beginning of 1947 (…) Aflaq ['Aflaq] and Bitar [al-Bīṭār] came to see me in Latakia to negotiate the fusion of their movement [the Arab Iḥyā' Movement] with that of Zakī al-Arsouzi [Zakī al-Arsūzī] to which I belonged. I professed socialist ideas at the time, influenced by Marxism which I began to study after the Soviet victory of Stalingrad, and I insisted that the unified party be oriented to the left. My two interlocutors, above all Bitar [al-Bīṭār], were firmly opposed to this, arguing that the Ba'th should be an exclusively nationalist formation. After forty hours of discussion, Michel Aflaq [Mīshīl 'Aflaq], who was mainly anxious to unify the two organizations into a single party, yielded. This was what made possible the founding congress of the party in the Luna Park café of Damascus, in April 1947." Eric Rouleau, "The Syrian Enigma: What Is the Ba'th?," in Irene L. Gendier, ed., *A Middle East Reader* (New York: Pegasus, 1969), p. 164. Also see al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 3, pp. 17-18; Pt. 5, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 94, Feb. 1977, p. 19; Pt. 6, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 95, Mar. 1977, pp. 14-15; Pt. 7, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 96, Apr. 1977, pp. 15-22.

79. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, p. 214.

80. 'Aflaq, *Dirāsāt fī al-Qawmīyah*, pp. 26-27; 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, pp. 201, 204, 210-212, 215, 220-223; al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 156-157; Vol. 4, pp. 364-366.

81. 'Aflaq, *Dirāsāt fī al-Qawmīyah*, pp. 26-29, 32-33; 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, pp. 204,

216f., 221, 223-224.

82. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, p. 247. Referring to revolution, al-Arsūzī criticizes the Ba'th Revolution. He asserts that the Ba'th Party, though promoting Arab unity and socialism, does not accompany the practice to realize them. Also, he maintains that revolution, though aiming at freedom and progressiveness does not succeed in dissolving the anxiety and confusion widespread between the people and connive at unjust mediation and petition in the whole domains of the people's life. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 251-254.

83. 'Aflaq, *Dirāsāt fī al-Qawmīyah*, pp. 29-31; 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, pp. 159-160.

84. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, p. 165.

85. 'Aflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Ba'th*, p. 160.

86. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, p. 419. See also al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, p. 268; Vol. 6, p. 217.

87. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 419-421.

88. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, p. 433; Vol. 4, pp. 385-387; Vol. 6, pp. 43-44.

89. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 433-435; Vol. 4, p. 211.

90. The presidential system, which al-Arsūzī designates as a dictatorship, is the system not for the people but the state, not for the legislation but the administration, whose state apparatus is for one individual who can use it arbitrarily. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 268-270.

91. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, pp. 421-428, 441-443, 465; Vol. 4, pp. 271-272, 388-391, Vol. 6, pp. 44, 84, 172-173, 245, 269-275.

92. Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3, p. 422; Vol. 4, p. 271; Vol. 6, pp. 44-45.

93. Al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī …," Pt. 1, pp. 72-73; Pt. 2, pp. 20-21, 29; Ismā'īl, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, p. 51.

94. Al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, p. 6.

95. Al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 1, p. 47.

96. Al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī …," Pt. 2, pp. 31-32.

97. As for views on the reason of al-Arsūzī's withdrawal from the political activities, see Barakāt, *Al-Fikr al-Qawmī*, p. 35; al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat …," Pt. 2, pp. 13-14; Pt. 3, p. 12; al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī …," Pt. 2, pp. 31-32; al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, p. 30.

98. Al-Sayyid, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī*, pp. 18-19.

99. Al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, p. 22.

100.Al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, pp. 22-23. As Sāmī al-Jundī refers to al-Arsūzī's 'Alawi origin, so Jalāl al-Sayyid criticizes this respect more fiercely, noting: "He [al-Arsūzī in Alexandretta] was driven by another profound motive that was neither political nor nationalist. That is the sectarian motive. For, the Turks were known for their violent behavior against the 'Alawi sect, and hatred between the Sunnis and the 'Alawis was deep-rooted. This arbitrary sentiment facilitated al-Arsūzī's task to found the opposing front against the Turks, which made him a popular and remarkable leader in that region [Alexandretta] of the Arab homeland." Also, al-Sayyid says: "this faction [al-Arsūzī and his disciples] seemed to be distant from religion and contemptible of it. In their philosophy, they affirm that Islam was one of arrowheads of the Arab *ummah* and one of directions of its genius and that it was not important if measured by the Arab *ummah*. Also, they regarded the *jāhilīyah* as the golden era of the Arab *ummah* (…). Thus, the general impression of the Ba'th Party as a heretic party is derived from above-mentioned faction (…). The contempt with Islam is a method and an entrance to the contempt with *'urūbah*, because Islam is the greatest Arab product which the Arab *ummah* boasts. Then, if the great product was despised, then the producer would be despised. This is the method of *shu'ūbīyah*." Al-Sayyid, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī*, pp. 20-21, 36.

101.Dandashlī, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī*, pp. 17-18.

102.Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 4, pp. 268, 270-272, 309-312, 361.

103.Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, p. 222. Also, al-Arsūzī says: "It is easy for the Arabs to produce devoted *za'īm*." Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 6, p. 59.

104.Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, pp. 19-21; Aḥmad, *Zakī al-Arsūzī*, p. 76.

105.Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 6, p. 491.

106.Al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1, p. 19.

107.Rouleau, "The Syrian Enigma," p. 159; al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, p. 19.

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