7. CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THOUGHTS AND REALITIES IN ARAB NATIONALISM

Wahīb al-Ghānim's Contribution to the Development of the Arab Ba'th Movement

Hiroyuki AOYAMA

Preface

The Arab renaissance (*al-nahḍah al-'arabīyah*), which emerged in the latter half of the nineteenth century, aimed at coping with cultural issues involving Arab-Muslim societies, such as balancing modernity and tradition and overcoming stagnation and backwardness. In the face of the dramatic changes that took place both inside and outside the societies with the arrival of the twentieth century, the renaissance was replaced with politicized ideologies and movements, including political Islam (*al-islām al-siyāsī*) and Arab socialism (*al-ishtirākīyah al-'arabīyah*). This transition demoted the heritages of the Arab renaissance to mere tools for legitimating the activities of political groups and organizations.

The aim of the present study is to understand how Arab nationalism, which was one part of the Arab renaissance, linked its thoughts to realities in the process of politicization. The starting point of this study is the following query: Arab nationalism initially stressed the establishment of freedom, justice and democracy as well as national unity. Nonetheless, it resulted in authoritarian, or even dictatorial, regimes. What, then, is the reason for this contradiction between the thoughts and realities of Arab nationalism? Is it an inevitable consequence? If not, what are the alternatives to the present realities of Arab nationalism?

To take a first step toward answering this query, this chapter deals with the development of the Arab Ba'th (renaissance) movement, the most representative politicized movement within Arab nationalism. In particular,

it focuses on one figure who contributed to bridging the thoughts and realities of this movement: Waḥīb al-Ghānim.

Waḥīb al-Ghānim had various faces in the history of the Arab Baʿth movement: the eldest and most beloved disciple of the "spiritual father (*ab rūḥī*)" of the Arab Baʿth, Zakī al-Arsūzī; a physician; one of the founding members of the Arab Socialist Baʿth Party (*ḥizb al-baʿth al-ʿarabī al-ishtirākī*)[1] under the leadership of Mīshīl ʿAflaq; the Secretary of the party's Latakia Branch (*farʿ*); one of the first Baʿthi ministers in Syria; and a political leader who had insights into Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad's "talent." However, previous studies do not deal with Waḥīb al-Ghānim comprehensively, but focus on examining the nationalist thoughts of Zakī al-Arsūzī, Mīshīl ʿAflaq, Yāsīn al-Ḥāfiẓ and Iliyās Murquṣ on the one hand, and the political actions of the militarist-politicians who came into power in Syria (and in Iraq) on the other.[2]

Waḥīb al-Ghānim was distinguished from these ideologues and militarist-politicians in having direct relations with all of them, and hence being engaged in the development of the Arab Baʿth movement from its foundation up to the present. He embodied, and developed, Zakī al-Arsūzī's theory of the Arab Baʿth and influenced Mīshīl ʿAflaq's nationalist ideology. In addition, he gave instructions in nationalist ideology and activism to the younger generation, which directed the Baʿth regime from the 1960s. That means that he contributed to the Arab Baʿth movement as a mediator, adapting its thoughts to the realities.

The first section presents an outline of Waḥīb al-Ghānim's political life in order to provide an understanding of the background of his thoughts and actions. The following section examines the characteristics of his thoughts, and especially of his view of socialism. The last section details the relationship between him and the subsequent generation that completed the politicization of the Arab Baʿth movement.

Waḥīb al-Ghānim's Political Life

Waḥīb al-Ghānim, born in Antakia, Alexandretta Province, in 1919, was active in the political arena from the latter half of the 1930s to the beginning of the 1960s. He first engaged in political activities under the direction of his "mentor (*ustādh*)," Zakī al-Arsūzī, and then participated in the formation, and development, of the Arab Socialist Baʿth Party headed by Mīshīl ʿAflaq.

His political activities began, in 1936, with his appointment as the Secretary of the Arab Student Committee (*lajnat al-ṭullāb al-ʿarab*) at

Antakia's secondary school. Soon he had joined Zakī al-Arsūzī's nationalist opposition in Alexandretta Province, which failed after the stationing of Turkish troops in July 1938, followed by Turkey's annexation of the Province in February 1939.[3]

In July 1938, Wahīb al-Ghānim left Antakia with Zakī al-Arsūzī and some of his intimate disciples, and lived together with them in Damascus. After entering, in 1939, the Syrian University (present Damascus University) to study medicine, he continued his political actions under Zakī al-Arsūzī's direction. Zakī al-Arsūzī's political activities in Damascus reached a climax in November 1940, when he founded the Arab Ba'th Party (ḥizb al-ba'th al-'arabī). Wahīb al-Ghānim was appointed Head of the Organizational Bureau (al-maktab al-tanẓīmī) and formed the Command (qiyādah) along with Zakī al-Arsūzī (za'īm: that is, the party leader), Sulaymān al-'Īsā (Head of the Cultural Bureau <maktab al-thaqāfah>) and Mas'ūd al-Ghānim (Head of the Financial Bureau <al-maktab al-mālī>).[4] In all these political activities, Wahīb al-Ghānim was known as Zakī al-Arsūzī's eldest and most beloved disciple.

After finishing his studies at Syrian University in 1943, Wahīb al-Ghānim moved to Latakia to open a clinic. According to Patrick Seale, "fired by al-Arsūzī's example of self-sacrifice"[5] and anxious about the miserable conditions of the peasants and workers, he soon succeeded in forming a political and intellectual circle with young adherents. Around this period, his political life reached a turning point. When Zakī al-Arsūzī retired from political activities in 1944,[6] Wahīb al-Ghānim took the place of the "mentor"—or more precisely seceded from his "mentor"—and took charge of his colleagues. The greatest concern of Wahīb al-Ghānim—and his colleagues—was to merge with Mīshīl 'Aflaq's nationalist group, which was active in Damascus.[7] Although Zakī al-Arsūzī had an unfavorable opinion of Mīshīl 'Aflaq due to personal differences, the ideological and practical similarities between two groups provided the impetus for a merger into a single party. It was Wahīb al-Ghānim who directed his colleagues in the negotiations with Mīshīl 'Aflaq's group, against the expectations of his "mentor," and agreed, in 1945, to the merger. Finally, the formation of the Arab Ba'th Party was officially declared at its Constituent Conference (al-mu'tamar al-ta'sīsī) held from April 4 to 7, 1947.[8]

In the merged Arab Ba'th Party, Wahīb al-Ghānim, with the support of his colleagues, was appointed to the Executive Office (al-maktab al-tanfīdhī) along with Mīshīl 'Aflaq ('amīd <doyen>: that is, the party leader), Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār and Jalāl al-Sayyid. In addition, he was appointed Secretary of the party's Latakia Branch. He won a parliamentary seat in the

free elections in July 1954,[9] and was appointed, in February 1955, to serve concurrently as Minister of State and Deputy Minister of Health.[10] At the time, he devoted himself to fostering young party cadres in the coastal areas of Syria.

Wahīb al-Ghānim's presence has been overshadowed by the achievements of other major personalities in the Arab Ba'th Party. However, he made the great contribution to the movement in the two aspects. First, by developing Zakī al-Arsūzī's theory of the Arab Ba'th, he played the leading role in theorizing the conception of socialism (ishtirākīyah). Second, he gave instructions in the Arab Ba'th ideology and activism to the younger generation, some of whom contributed to the "leftward shift" of the party, and others who carried out the "Ba'th Revolution" in March 1963.

Wahīb al-Ghānim's Nationalist and Political Thoughts: His View of Socialism

In contrast to the two prominent ideologues of the early Arab Ba'th movement, Zakī al-Arsūzī and Mīshīl 'Aflaq, Wahīb al-Ghānim did not create an original nationalist theory. In fact, his thoughts followed Zakī al-Arsūzī's theory of the Arab Ba'th, which stressed the establishment of freedom and democracy.[11] However, Wahīb al-Ghānim was distinguished from other ideologues in carrying out a comprehensive examination of the conception of socialism.[12]

Socialism in the Arab Ba'th ideology—so-called "Arab socialism"— is generally related to Mīshīl 'Aflaq's view of inqilāb (revolution) and class divisions.[13] However, Wahīb al-Ghānim affirmed, in his memoirs, that he and his colleagues, rather than Mīshīl 'Aflaq, played the leading role in theorizing the conception of socialism in the period between 1944 and 1947—the period he called the "post-al-Arsūzī's phase (marhalah mā ba'da al-arsūzī)."[14]

According to Wahīb al-Ghānim, Zakī al-Arsūzī's political thought could be highly regarded in two respects: first, for its Arab nationalist way of thinking, in which the self-consciousness and expression of 'urūbah (Arabism) were stressed; and second, for its emphasis on democracy and freedom.[15] However, Zakī al-Arsūzī's political principles, and especially the idea of za'āmah (leadership)[16] were questioned among his disciples.[17] While it was cultivated by Zakī al-Arsūzī's "charisma and heroism" shown in his opposition in Alexandretta Province, za'āmah was related to "populism." However, it was not exempt from the "Nazi tendency."[18] It was Zakī al-Arsūzī's retirement from political activities in 1944 that gave Wahīb al-Ghānim and his colleagues the impetus to re-examine the idea of za'āmah,

for the purpose of excluding the possibility of dictatorship from the Arab Ba'th ideology. This re-examination inevitably required to an ideologization of the "populism" embodied in Zakī al-Arsūzī's personality. Socialism was the conception that Wahīb al-Ghānim and his colleagues devised as an alternative to *za'āmah*.[19]

Wahīb al-Ghānim recollected that the conception of socialism had been embraced "spontaneously and naturally" by him and his colleagues due to their "material" conditions, such as class origin and their ways and standards of life. However, "there was no objective, obvious and economic way of thinking about socialist development and the objective conditions of socialism" under Zakī al-Arsūzī's direction.[20] The same was true for Mīshīl 'Aflaq's group; Wahīb al-Ghānim indicated that Mīshīl 'Aflaq's group not only lacked any concrete idea of socialism[21] but also was characterized by "theoretical ambiguity and obscurity."[22]

Wahīb al-Ghānim's view of socialism, as presented in his negotiations with Mīshīl 'Aflaq's group toward the merger, was called "nationalist democratic socialism (*ishtirākīyah qawmīyah dīmuqrāṭīyah*)."[23] It has three characteristics, the first two of whom are thought to be antithetical to Marxism[24] and similar to Mīshīl 'Aflaq's view of socialism, and the third original to Wahīb al-Ghānim.

The first characteristic is the understanding of class divisions based on national unity. Wahīb al-Ghānim regarded class divisions as the cause of the exploitation and repression inside the Arab society. As long as the theory of the Arab Ba'th aimed at freedom and democracy, it had no alternative but to oppose the capitalist system that divided society into the exploiters and the exploited. However, he did not stress hostility between classes but stressed cooperation and harmony in society. He adopted the conception of classes for the purpose of defining the leading actors of the nationalist movement—that is, the dispossessed. According to him, a nationalist movement led by the capitalists and feudalists would remain incomplete, because it would require exploitation and repression, and thereby would be helpless in the face of external threats. Thus, the "nationalist democratic socialism" was given a dual meaning: first, the realization of social justice through the elimination of exploitation and repression; and second, ideological guidance representing the demands of the exploited and dispossessed.[25]

The second characteristic is an idealistic view of socialism. Wahīb al-Ghānim regarded humanity, rather than economic relationships, as the fundamental factor for evaluating political, economic and social systems. He denied historical inevitability and called for raising Arab consciousness toward establishing socialism. He maintained that the "capitalist-feudal system" in the Arab

regions would be overthrown, not because its material conditions required such a transformation, but because this system contradicted humanity, and thereby could not liberate the people or realize freedom and democracy. He asserted that the overthrow of capitalism would not result "inevitably or mechanically" in the establishment of socialism; socialism could easily suffer from social injustice, exploitation and suppression if it did not take critical and discussible attitudes toward the current situations. For him, "nationalist democratic socialism" was a conscious method for realizing freedom and democracy as well as a system that could not exist without them.[26]

The third characteristic, which stands in stark contrast to Mīshīl 'Aflaq's view of socialism, is that Wahīb al-Ghānim presented practical measures to realize socialism. While Mīshīl 'Aflaq persisted in advocating the idealization of "Arab socialism," Wahīb al-Ghānim emphasized the need to carry out the nationalization and the declaration of the national wealth, affirming that it was not enough only to deny social injustice, exploitation and suppression. These measures were obviously inspired by the experiences of the Soviet Union. However, Wahīb al-Ghānim disapproved of the elimination of private ownership, for he regarded it as contradictory to humanity.[27]

In their negotiations with Mīshīl 'Aflaq's group toward the merger, Wahīb al-Ghānim and his colleagues[28] formulated their own party draft, which put special emphasis on the inevitable relationship between socialism and nationalism. They also proposed an alternative to the party's current slogan "a single Arab nation, with an eternal mission (ummah 'arabīyah wāḥidah, dhāt risālah khālidah)," in the form of "a single Arab nation, a single socialist society (ummah 'arabīyah wāḥidah, mujtama' ishtirākī wāḥid)."[29]

Politicization of the Arab Ba'th Movement

Although Wahīb al-Ghānim—and his colleagues—stressed the need to introduce socialist views into the Arab Ba'th ideology, the Constitution of the Arab Ba'th Party (dustūr ḥizb al-ba'th al-'arabī), which was adopted in April 1947, only expressed an "ambiguous and idealistic" view of socialism and did not refer to the practical measures needed to realize it. Article 4 of the Constitution prescribed as follows:

> The party of the Arab Ba'th is a socialist party. It believes that socialism is a necessity which emanates from the depth of Arab nationalism itself. Socialism constitutes, in fact, the ideal social order which will allow the Arab people to realize its possibilities and to enable its

genius to flourish and which will ensure for the nation constant progress in its material and moral output, it makes possible a trustful brotherhood among its members.[30]

This "ambiguity and idealism," which Wahīb al-Ghānim fiercely criticized, would be modified by the subsequent generation in the 1960s, when the activities of the Arab Ba'th Party were thrown into turmoil.

The formation of the U.A.R. from 1958 to 1961 imposed great damage on the activities of the Arab Ba'th Party. Although the party played a leading role in unifying Syria and Egypt in the latter half of the 1950s, it was forced, in 1960, into dissolution under Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir's pressure. After the "Secessionist Coup d'État" of September 1961, several factions seceded from the party, opposing Mīshīl 'Aflaq's leadership, and formed such independent organizations as the Socialist Unionists Party (hizb al-waḥdawīyīn al-ishtirākīyīn) and the Arab Socialists Movement (harakat al-ishtirākīyīn al-'arab). In addition, the young generation, which continued its activities underground during the time of the U.A.R., gained power inside the Arab Ba'th Party and denied the authority of the senior cadres headed by Mīshīl 'Aflaq. Among this young generation, two groups were influential: the Quṭrīyūn (regionalists) and the Military Committee (al-lajnah al-'askarīyah). These two groups were to lead, both ideologically and politically, the Syrian Ba'th regime, which was established in the "Ba'th Revolution" of March 1963.[31]

Wahīb al-Ghānim, who had retired from political activities in the early 1960s, was not directly involved in this intra-party turmoil/transformation. However, this does not mean that he was indifferent to the Ba'th regime in Syria. After all, it was he who had fostered most of the leading figures in both the Quṭrīyūn and the Military Committee: Munīr 'Abd Allāh, Sulaymān al-Khashsh, Ibrāhīm Mākhūs and Sa'd 'Abd Allāh in the former, and Muḥammad 'Umrān, Ṣalāḥ Jadīd and Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad in the latter. They were impressed by Wahīb al-Ghānim's nationalist thoughts, which followed, and were developed from, Zakī al-Arsūzī's theory of the Arab Ba'th. Also, they embodied and carried out political activism, as if to follow the example of the "heroic and brave" opposition of the Arab residents in Alexandretta Province.[32] After coming into power through the "Ba'th Revolution," both the Quṭrīyūn and the Military Committee began completing the politicization of the Arab Ba'th movement, which took the form of the "leftward shift" in the ideology and policies of the Arab Ba'th Party.

The "leftward shift" was initially inspired by Marxist-oriented intellectuals, among whom were Yāsīn al-Ḥāfiẓ, Jamāl al-Atāsī, Iliyās Murquṣ and 'Abd al-Karīm Zuhūr. These intellectuals revised the socialist view of

the Arab Ba'th ideology, and aimed at "the Arabization of Marxism (*ta'rīb al-mārkisīyah*),"[33] as Yāsīn al-Ḥāfiẓ's put it. They attributed the stagnation and turmoil of the Arab Ba'th Party under the U.A.R. and the Secessionist regime (September 1961–March 1963) to its "idealistic and petit-bourgeois" understanding of socialism, which resulted in disengagement from the class struggle and satisfaction with the bourgeois leadership of the party. Inserting "scientific and revolutionary socialism" into the axis of Arab nationalism, they gave top priority not to Arab unity but the establishment of socialism. Then, they stressed "scientific, revolutionary and dialectic" analyses of the problems in the Arab regions and advocated radical and comprehensive socio-economic reform.[34]

In accordance to the ideas of these Marxist-oriented intellectuals, the *Quṭrīyūn* and the Military Committee resolved, at the party's Sixth National Conference (*al-mu'tamar al-qawmī*) in October 1963, "Some Theoretical Starting Points of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party (*ba'ḍ al-munṭalaqāt al-naẓarīyah li-ḥizb al-ba'th al-'arabī al-ishtirākī*)." While they aimed at establishing a "people's democracy" based on "democratic centralism," they set forth a series of state-socialist policies in the social and economic spheres. Among the most representative of these were the nationalization of basic industries and agrarian reform.[35]

These state-socialist policies had been advocated by Wahīb al-Ghānim in the mid-1940s. However, the *Quṭrīyūn* and the Military Committee did not carry out the "leftward shift" on the basis of the socialist views of their "teacher." Rather, the starting point of this "leftward shift" was the denial of the "idealistic nature," which characterized Wahīb al-Ghānim's view as well as Mīshīl 'Aflaq's "Arab socialism." This "deviation" from their predecessors' instructions led to an underestimation of the utmost goals that the Arab Ba'th movement had aimed for at the very beginning—freedom and democracy. The Ba'th regime relied on a series of coercive measures to consolidate its own rule.

Among the major reasons for this "deviation" was a misunderstanding of political activism. For Wahīb al-Ghānim, activism meant the participation of exploited people in managing their own affairs. However, the younger generation of the *Quṭrīyūn* and the Military Committee, who saw activism as meaning resorting to direct means to hold power, had no scruples about fortifying their own rule. In the firm conviction that they were the "vanguard (*talī'ah*)" of the people, they became intolerant of different opinions and prevented the majority from participating in political, economic and social activities. In consequence, the Arab Ba'th ideology was demoted to a mere political tool for legitimating coercion; the Arab Ba'th Party took

advantage of its own thoughts for the purpose of camouflaging its authoritarian nature.

Conclusion

The contradictions between the thoughts and the realities of the Arab Ba'th movement, which became firmly established by the Syrian Ba'th regime in the 1960s, were not dissolved by Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad, the most outstanding adherent of Wahīb al-Ghānim's.[36] After taking full power over Syria in a coup d'état in November 1970, Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad launched the "Corrective Movement (al-ḥarakah al-taṣḥīḥīyah)." As if to follow the instructions of his "teacher," he called for the realization of "pluralism (ta'addudīyah) and democracy" and quickly implemented a series of political and economic reform polices. However, in essence, it was not "pluralism and democracy" but autocracy that Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad relied on to strengthen his rule.[37]

It is ironic for Wahīb al-Ghānim that the Arab Ba'th movement ended up promoting authoritarian regimes in the course of its politicization. Although he devoted himself to excluding the potential of dictatorship from the Arab Ba'th ideology, the subsequent generation, which he fostered, established regimes contradictory to the utmost goals of his thoughts and action—freedom and democracy. He is highly regarded for his intermediate role in bridging the thoughts of the early ideologues and the action of the subsequent generation. Without his contributions, the Arab Ba'th Party would not have been able to grow into one of the most powerful political actors in the Arab regions. However, his contribution to the development of the Arab Ba'th movement was brought to nothing by the "deviation" of his adherents.

Notes:

1 The party was initially named the Arab Ba'th Party (ḥizb al-ba'th al-'arabī), and then given its current name in 1953 on the occasion of the merger with the Arab Socialist Party (al-ḥizb al-'arabī al-ishtirākī) headed by Akram al-Ḥawrānī.

2 For previous studies on the Arab Ba'th movement, see for instance *Iliyās Murquṣ wa-al-Fikr al-Qawmī* (Nadwat Iliyās Murquṣ wa-al-Fikr al-Qawmī, Rabat: Al-Majlis al-Qawmī lil-Thaqāfah al-'Arabīyah, 1993); Kamel S. Abu Jaber, *The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party: History, Ideology, and Organization* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1966); Khalīl Aḥmad, *Zakī al-Arsūzī: Wa-Dawr al-Lisān fī Binā' al-Insān* (Damascus: Dār al-Shabībah lil-Nashr,

1978); Hiroyuki Aoyama, Wafiq Khansa & Maher al-Charif, *Spiritual Father of the Ba'th: The Ideological and Political Significance of Zakī al-Arsūzī in Arab Nationalist Movements* (M.E.S. Series No. 49, Chiba: IDE-JETRO, 2000); Salīm Nāṣir Barakāt, *Al-Fikr al-Qawmī: Wa-Ususuhu al-Falsafīyah 'inda Zakī al-Arsūzī* (3rd ed., Damascus: Dār Dimashq, 1984); John F. Devlin, *The Ba'th Party: A History from its Origins to 1966* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1976); 'Abd al-Razzāq 'Īd, *Yāsīn al-Ḥāfiẓ: Naqd Ḥadāthat al-Ta'akhkhur* (Dirāsāt Fikrīyah 4, Aleppo: Dār al-Ṣadaqah, 1996); Dhūqān Qarqūṭ, *Mīshīl 'Aflaq, al-Kitābāt al-Ūlā: Ma'a Dirāsāt Jadīdah li-Sīrat Ḥayātihi* (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasāt al-'Arabīyah lil-Dirāsāt wa-al-Nashr, 1993); Itamar Rabinovich, *Syria under the Ba'th 1963-66: The Army-Party Symbiosis* (Jerusalem: Israel University Press, 1972); David Roberts, *The Ba'th and the Creation of Modern Syria* (London: Croom Helm, 1987); Patrick Seale, *Asad of Syria: The Struggle for the Middle East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1988).

3 For the details on the so-called Alexandretta dispute, see for instance Philip S. Khoury, *Syria and the French Mandate: The Politics of Arab Nationalism, 1920–1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 494–514; Walīd al-Mu'allim, *Sūrīyah 1916–1946m: Al-Ṭarīq ilā al-Ḥurrīyah* (Damascus: Dār Ṭulās, 1988), pp. 297–321; Muḥammad 'Alī Zarqah, *Qaḍiyat Liwā' al-Iskandarūn: Wathā'iq wa-Shurūḥ*, 3 Vols. (Beirut: Dār al-'Urūbah, 1993, 1994, 1995).

4 On Zakī al-Arsūzī's Arab Ba'th Party, see Zakī al-Arsūzī, *Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 6, (Damascus: Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1976), p. 527; Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 1, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 90, December 1975, pp. 47–49; Wahīb al-Ghānim, *Al-Judhūr al-Wāqi'īyah wa-al-Fikrīyah li-Mabādi' al-Ba'th al-'Arabī* (Damascus: Maṭba'at 'Akramah, 1994), pp. 45–46; Sulaymān al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī fī Ḥayāt al-Shā'ir Sulaymān al-'Īsā wa-Dhākiratuhu," Pt. 1, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 84, April 1976, pp. 62–66; Sāmī al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th* (Beirut: Dār al-Nahār lil-Nahr, 1969), p. 26.

5 Seale, *Asad of Syria*, p. 29.

6 Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 2, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 91, November 1976, pp. 13–14; Sulaymān al-'Īsā, "Bidāyāt al-Ba'th al-'Arabī fī Ḥayāt al-Shā'ir Sulaymān al-'Īsā wa-Dhākiratuhu", Pt. 2, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 85, May 1976, pp. 31–32; al-Ghānim, *Al-Judhūr al-Wāqi'īyah* . . . , pp. 47–48; al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, p. 30.

7 On the political activities of Mīshīl 'Aflaq's group, see *Niḍāl al-Ba'th fī Sabīl al-Waḥdah wa-al-Ḥurrīyah wa-al-Ishtirākīyah*, Vol. 1 (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'ah, 1963), pp. 28–30, 33, 104–105; Mīshīl 'Aflaq, *Ma'rakat al-Maṣīr al-Wāḥid: Fuṣūl Jadīdah 'an Naksat al-Infiṣāl* (Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb, 1958), p. 18; Muṣṭafā Dandashlī, (Yūsuf Jabā'ī & Muṣṭafā Dandashlī, trs.), *Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī, 1940–1963: Al-Īdiyūlūjiya wa-al-Tārīkh al-Siyāsī*, Vol. 1 (Damascus: no publisher, 1979), p. 34; Fā'iz Ismā'īl, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Ustādh Fā'iz Ismā'īl," Pt. 2, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 102, October 1977, pp. 45–46; 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; Muṭa' Ṣafadī, *Ḥizb al-Ba'th, Ma'sāt al-Mawlid, Ma'sāt al-Nihāyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Ādāb,

1964), p. 66; Abu Jaber, *The Arab Baʿth Socialist Party*, pp. 10–13; Barakāt, *Al-Fikr al-Qawmī*, pp. 32–33; Devlin, *The Baʿth Party*, pp. 10, 12–13; al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 2, p. 12; al-Ghānim, *Al-Judhūr al-Wāqiʿīyah . . .* , p. 53; al-ʿĪsā, "Bidāyāt al-Baʿth . . . ," Pt. 2, pp. 29–30; al-Jundī, *Al-Baʿth*, pp. 31, 36; Qarqūṭ, *Mīshīl ʿAflaq*, p. 172–181, 204–206.

8 For the merger between Zakī al-Arsūzī's group and Mīshīl ʿAflaq's group, see ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Naqshbandī, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr al-Rafīq ʿAbd al-Khāliq al-Naqshbandī," Pt. 1, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 99, July 1977, p. 11; Barakāt, *Al-Fikr al-Qawmī*, p. 33; Dandashlī, *Ḥizb al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī al-Ishtirākī, 1940–1963*, p. 34; al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 2, p. 12; Pt. 4, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 93, January 1977, pp. 12–13; al-ʿĪsā, "Bidāyāt al-Baʿth al-ʿArabī . . . ," Pt. 2, pp. 31–32; Ismāʿīl, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 2, p. 46; al-Jundī, *Al-Baʿth*, pp. 31, 33; Rouleau, "The Syrian Enigma," p. 159; Seale, *Asad of Syria*, p. 30.

9 Wahīb al-Ghānim served as a member of Parliament from 1954 to 1958 and 1961 to 1963. See Faḍl ʿAffāsh, *Majlis al-Shaʿb fī Sūrīyah 1928–1988* (Al-Majālis al-Shaʿbīyah wa-al-Niyābīyah fī al-Waṭan al-ʿArabī 1, Damascus: Dār Ibn Hānī', 1988), pp. 65, 76.

10 Muṭiʿ al-Sammān, *Waṭan wa-ʿAskar: Qabla an Tudfan al-Ḥaqīqah fī al-Turāb, Mudhakkirāt 28 Aylūl 1961–8 Ādhār 1963* (Beirut: Bīsān lil-Nashr wa-al-Tawzīʿ, 1995), p. 405.

11 On Zakī al-Arsūzī's theory of the Arab Baʿth, see Zakī al-Arsūzī, *Al-Muʾallafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1 (Damascus: Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Quwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1972), pp. 57–58, 71, 85–105, 131–134, 147, 219, 271, 297, 305, 311–315, 341ff.; Nāṣīf Naṣṣār, *Taṣawwurāt al-Ummah al-Muʿāṣirah: Dirāsah Taḥlīlīyah li-Mafāhīm al-Ummah fī al-Fikr al-Ḥadīth wa-al-Muʿāṣir* (2nd rev. ed., Beirut: Dār Amwāj, 1994), pp. 279–280.

12 Wahīb al-Ghānim wrote: "It is impossible to establish a combative movement in our Arab homeland and to build an integral Arab society, unless this [current] system is linked to the socialist way of thinking; unless it is linked to an economic system that realizes freedom . . . Democracy and freedom are indispensable. Socialism is the sole objective ground upon which human freedom can be established; otherwise, freedom will remain deceptive and forged." See Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 5, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 94, February 1977, p. 14.

13 For Mīshīl ʿAflaq's view of socialism, see Mīshīl ʿAflaq, *Fī Sabīl al-Baʿth* (3rd ed., Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah, 1963), pp 45–46, 103–105, 139, 155–156, 159–160, 162–163, 167, 170, 176–177, 182–183, 186–188, 197–199, 201–204, 210–216, 218, 221–224ff.; Mīshīl ʿAflaq, "Waḍʿ al-Qaḍīyah al-ʿArabīyah fī Fikrah Shāmilah Kān Khaṭwah Ḥāsimah," in Mīshīl ʿAflaq et al., *Dirāsāt fī al-Qawmīyah* (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalīʿah lil-Ṭibīʿah wa-al-Nashr, 1960), p. 32.

14 Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 3, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 92, December 1976, pp. 7–9, 11–12; al-Ghānim, *Al-Judhūr al-Wāqiʿīyah . . .* , p. 47.

15 al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 3, pp. 12–13; al-Ghānim, *Al-Judhūr al-Wāqiʿīyah . . .* , pp. 49–52. For Zakī al-Arsūzī's emphasis on democracy and freedom, see Zakī al-Arsūzī, *Al-Muʾallafāt al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 3,

(Damascus; Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1974), pp. 419, 421–428, 433–435, 441–443, 465; Vol. 4, (Damascus; Al-Idārah al-Siyāsīyah lil-Jaysh wa-al-Qūwāt al-Musallaḥah, 1974), pp. 198–199, 255–258, 268–272, 385–391; Vol. 6, pp. 44, 84, 172–173, 209–210, 245, 269–275.

[16] According to Wahīb al-Ghānim, the constitution of the Arab Ba'th Party, which Zakī al-Arsūzī founded in 1940, contained the following five articles: 1) The Arabs are one nation; 2) The Arab homeland is one homeland; 3) Democracy is the ideal political system; 4) 'Urūbah (our nationalist conscience) is the resource of the values and sacred things; and 5) The Arab za'āmah is one za'āmah; that is, it is owed to one Arab za'īm (leader). See al-Ghānim, Al-Judhūr al-Wāqi'īyah . . . , p. 46. See also al-Arsūzī, Al-Mu'allafāt al-Kāmilah, Vol. 6, p. 527.

[17] Wahīb al-Ghānim wrote: "We [Wahīb al-Ghānim and his colleagues] began feeling that the question of one Arab za'āmah in the Arab homeland contradicted the purpose of the Ba'th itself. Zakī attempted to relieve us from the tension led by this phrase, explaining that one za'āmah was intended to mean a single leadership in the whole Arab homeland, not a single leading person. However, the idea of one za'āmah worried us much and made us uneasy increasingly after 1944." See al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 3, p. 16.

[18] In this respect, Sāmī al-Jundī indicates: "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 . . . He [Zakī al-Arsūzī] is a racist who believes in purity and nobility and he is of an aristocratic orientation in his thoughts and beliefs . . . Al-Arsūzī bestows on za'āmah a mystical (ṣūfī) meaning due to his 'Alawi upbringing. The za'īm is not just a political leader, but is a form of human revelation of the pure virtues of the nation, expressing its potentials and capacities for spiritual and heroic deeds. He is a modern secular image of imām al-zamān (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." See al-Jundī, Al-Ba'th, pp. 22–23.

[19] al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 3, p. 13.

[20] al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 3, pp. 14–15.

[21] Particularly Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār, who did not have "any obvious idea on the subject of socialism," according to Wahīb al-Ghānim, "could not understand socialism even at the level of a joke." See al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 5, pp. 14–15. See also Rouleau, "The Syrian Enigma," p. 164.

[22] See al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 2, pp. 11–13; al-Ghānim, Al-Judhūr al-Wāqi'īyah . . . , pp. 52–53.

[23] Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 7, Al-Munāḍil, No. 96, April 1977, p. 15.

[24] For the impact of Marxism on the thoughts of Wahīb al-Ghānim and Mīshīl 'Aflaq, see The Politics of Social Change in the Middle East and North Africa (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 240; Walter Z. Laqueur, "Syria on the Move," The World Today, Vol. 13, No. 1, January 1957, p. 18; Sylvia G.

Haim, "The Ba'ath in Syria," in Michael Curtis, ed., *People and Politics in the Middle East* (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1971), p. 132; al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 7, pp. 15–17; al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, p. 31; Devlin, *The Ba'th Party*, p. 9.

25 See Wahīb al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat al-Duktūr Wahīb al-Ghānim," Pt. 6, *Al-Munāḍil*, No. 95, March 1977, pp. 14–15; Pt. 3, pp. 16–17.

26 In this respect, Wahīb al-Ghānim wrote: "We did not adopt the processes that the proletarian revolution would pass through . . . Instead, we believed at the beginning that our industrially undeveloped society could not endure injustice, oppression and tyranny, or hold expectations from capitalist development and monopolies . . . We believed that we could sow the seeds of the socialist ideas in the first combative step that our society could take politically or economically, and that we could realize social justice and abolish exploitation . . . without waiting to go through all those processes. In brief, we believed that we had to leap over those processes." See al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 7, p. 18. See also al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 3, pp. 15–17.

27 See al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 6, p. 15.

28 According to Wahīb al-Ghānim, Ṣidqī Ismā'īl, 'Alī Muḥsin Zīfah, Yūsuf Shaqrā, Darwīsh al-Zūnī, 'Umar Ibrāhīm and he drew up the party draft. See al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 5, p. 15.

29 al-Ghānim, "Al-Bidāyāt fī Dhākirat . . . ," Pt. 5, pp. 13–14, 19; al-Ghānim, *Al-Judhūr al-Wāqi'īyah . . .* , p. 11.

30 *Dustūr Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Arabī al-Ishtirākī* (Damascus, 1947). The translation of this article is quoted in Sylvia G. Haim, *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964), pp. 223–241. For the socialist view of the Constitution of the Arab Ba'th Party, see also Articles 5, 6, 13, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40 and 42.

31 They criticized, and rejected, Mīshīl 'Aflaq's "opportunistic and traditionalist" leadership which caused the crucial political failure: the dissolution of the Arab Ba'th Party following the formation of the U.A.R. When the dissolution of all political parties in Syria and the formation of the National Union (*al-ittiḥād al-qawmī*) were decided under the U.A.R., the Syrian Regional Command (*al-qiyādah al-quṭrīyah*) of the Arab Ba'th Party dissolved itself at its conference of February 1958, and the National Command (*al-qiyādah al-qawmīyah*) of the party moved to Beirut. See Abu Jaber, *The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party*, p. 62; al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, p. 76.

32 Hānī al-Fukaykī, *Awkār al-Hazīmah: Tajribatī fī Ḥizb al-Ba'th al-'Irāqī* (2nd ed., Beirut: Riyāḍ al-Rayyis lil-Kutub wa-al-Nashr, 1997), pp. 143–144, 156, 158–159; Rouleau, "The Syrian Enigma," p. 159; Rabinovich, *Syria under the Ba'th 1963–66*, p. 25; Seale, *Asad of Syria*, pp. 28–29, 34.

33 Yāsīn al-Ḥāfiẓ, *Ḥawla Ba'ḍ Qaḍāyā al-Thawrah al-'Arabīyah: Al-A'māl al-Kāmilah*, Vol. 1 (2nd ed., Damascus: Dār al-Ḥaṣād, 1997), pp. 283–293.

34 *Niḍāl al-Ba'th fī Sabīl al-Waḥdah wa-al-Ḥurrīyah wa-al-Ishtirākīyah*, Vol. 6 (Beirut: Dār al-Ṭalī'ah, 1965), pp. 232–291; Abu Jaber, *The Arab Ba'th Socialist Party*, p. 62; al-Fukaykī, *Awkār al-Hazīmah*, pp. 143–144, 156, 158–159; al-Jundī, *Al-Ba'th*, pp. 76, 85; Rabinovich, *Syria under the Ba'th 1963–66*, pp. 39–40, 84–96; Seale, *Asad of Syria*, pp. 28–29, 34.

[35] George M. Haddad, *Revolution and Military Rule in the Middle East*, Vol. 2: The Arab States, Pt. 1: Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Jordan (New York: Robert & Speller Sons Publishers, 1971), pp. 362, 358–389; Ziad Keilany, "Land Reform in Syria," *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3, October 1980, p. 209; Rabinovich, *Syria under the Ba'th 1963–66*, pp. 64, 69, 89, 131, 139–140, 149. Also, "Some Theoretical Starting Points of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party" stressed that the military leadership was needed for drastic reform, which the Marxist-oriented intellectuals denied.

[36] Patrick Seale wrote: "After the founding conference, Dr Wahib al-Ghanim, then aged twenty-seven, set up a local Ba'th party headquarters in his clinic at Latakia and started recruiting in earnest. Asad was among the first boys to join, along with other young men from Qardahah where Ghanim in his role of itinerant physician was already a familiar figure. This was a crucial moment. In this emerging revolutionary vanguard were fused the natural rebelliousness and independent spirit of mountain boys, the class grievances of rural have-nots, and the wider horizons opened by French patronage and education. Ghanim remembered Asad as 'keen, devoted and strong, a useful aide in those difficult years.'" See Seale, *Asad of Syria*, p. 34.

[37] See Hiroyuki Aoyama, *History Does Not Repeat Itself (Or Does It?!): The Political Changes in Syria after Ḥāfiẓ Asad's* Death (M.E.S. Series No. 50, Chiba: IDE-JETRO, 2001), pp. 5–29.

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