was a social phenomenon produced by the national bourgeoisie to serve their best interests. ²⁷ On the whole the intewar Arab Marxists could not properly understand and interpret the problems of the Arab national movement. Therefore, they were inclined to apply definitions and generalizations far from being relevant to Arab life.

The failure of the doctrinaire Marxists to present an objective scientific analysis of the concrete problems facing the Arab national movement led to the emergence of a number of socialist circles which disclaimed the uncritical way in which the doctrinaire Marxists applied their doctrines. The most prominent of these circles was the "Ahali" association, a group of Iraqi intellectuals who began their political agitation in the early 1930's. In contrast to the doctrinaire Marxists, they did not admit the existence of class struggle in their society and recognized the institutions of religion and family. However, the Ahali group which opted to follow a different approach from that of the doctrinaire Marxists failed to take an independent stand on the issue of nationalism. Following the footsteps of the Communists the Ahali group repudiated nationalism which they associated with

²⁷ Al-Hakam Darwaza, Al-Shuyu'iyah al-Mahaliyah wa M'arakat al-'Arab al-Qawmiyah [Local Communism and Arab National Struggle], (Beirut: Dar al-Fajr, 1961), pp. 41-42.

²⁸ Majid Khadduri, <u>Independent Iraq: A Study in Iraqi</u>
Politics from 1932-1958 (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 71.