

looked upon as an alien ideology.³ The objective conditions of the Arab countries, as emphasized in the first chapter, were decisive in creating an ideology whose roots were in European liberalism and nationalism.

Both the Ba'th and the ANM grew out of the mainstream of liberal ideology. Hence, there is a sharp and historical difference between them on one hand and the Muslim Brotherhood and the Communists on the other hand. They neither articulated their thoughts along the lines of the nation's traditions as the former did, nor did they inject a comprehensive theory like the latter. Instead, they portrayed the aspirations, disenchantments, interests, and illusions of the rising middle class. They also reflected the impact of the continuing spread of mass education in the Arab countries. It is important to note in passing, that one should differentiate between the meaning of the middle class as used in the European sense, and its meaning in the economic and social context of the Arab countries. In the Arab countries where capitalism has not yet developed into a system where social classes are neatly formed, the middle class, or what came to be called in Arabic political jargon "petty bourgeoisie" play an increasing political role. Lawyers, teachers, government employees, and students are the human elements from which political and ideological

³For an illuminating discussion of the experience of the Communist parties in the Middle East, see Walter Laqueur, Communism and Nationalism in the Middle East (New York: Praeger, 1956).