

ideological question had to be fought separately, because there would be no contradiction if an Arab nationalist wanted to organize the new Arab society according to the teachings of Islam, or the principles of Marxism. On the other hand, the acceptance of nationalism as a doctrine which represented an attitude towards history and the universe implied the abandoning of liberalism. For a believer in Arab nationalism then, has to explain the difference between his ideology and the ideologies of other nations.<sup>8</sup> In the political arena, the dilemma was to make the inevitable choice between liberal democracy and fascism. It will be observed below that the ideological history of the ANM was a record of the attempts on the part of the Movement to free itself from this dichotomy. The history of the ANM can be divided into three ideological phases: First, Arab nationalism; Second, Arab socialism; and Third, Marxism.

#### ARAB NATIONALISM

Ma'a al-Qawmiyah al-Arabiyah [with Arab Nationalism]<sup>9</sup> was the first attempt by the ANM to formulate its own ideology.

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<sup>8</sup>For a discussion on the different notions of nationalism see David E. Apter, The Politics of Modernization (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1965).

<sup>9</sup>Anonymous, Ma'a al-Qawmiyah al-Arabiyah (Cairo: The Federation of Kuwaiti Missions, 1957).