

**PAN – ARAB NATIONALISM AND STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION**

**By**

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**ABSTRACT**

*The 21<sup>st</sup> century Arab world has no doubt, been characterized by calamitous misadventures, challenges and harsh realities. In the Arab world, so many ups and downs, which opened up Pandora's Box of different woes and tragedies are seen. The subsequent perplexity and circumstantial situation, as far as the Arab common people are concerned, is the US- 'Middle East Plan' proposal. From national mischievous attitudes to regional mistrust and internationally cross borders conspiracies, as political movement, Pan-Arabism falls a victim of unconscious stupor. This study aims at examining the causes of prolonging intra-Arabism crises and abyss of individualism between amongst Arab nations, which perhaps force many of them struggle; groping for allies in the outside world. The study concludes that the recent normalization of relations between Israel and some individual Arab states on the account of diplomatic, defence and strategic importance will mean a lot for West-Arab connections. Simultaneously, the Israel-Arab-US pyramid closeness must have a direct impact and implication on Pan-Arabism; a mirage that has no chance of being achieved yet. However, Saudi Arabia (the Kingdom that maintains the status of motherhood), too tons down its rhetoric, considering normalizing ties with the State of Israel.*

**Keywords:** *Arabization, US-MENA, Israel, Scouring for recognition, Arab League, Middle East and the world*

**BACKGROUND**

Since 9/11 attacks on American soil, Arab and Muslim nations see it obligatory to recast their foreign policies especially toward Western World and their allies. Iraq's mission to occupy Kuwait during Saddam Hussein in the 1990s and the recent five years' Saudi led coalition against *Huthis* in Yemen and Qatari diplomatic isolation instigate an obvious question whether collective mission of Arabization do exists. In the post-revolt Middle East, many Arab-Muslim nations feel no confidence with the fellow Arabs due to the palpable scary of non-Arab regional powers.

In scouring for opportunity to promote national interests, Saudi Arabia in the first instance, seeks to ally with the United States and other western powers to invade Yemen to fight what Saudi *Ulama'a* consider 'Shi'ite imposed threat' in the region.

Over the incidence of delving into the real picture of the situation, Morocco soon moved to declare its eagerness to join the economic sub-regional body of fifteen ECOWAS member countries in West Africa. Ever before, Libya during Gaddafi, in different occasions, tried to take part as Africa's power instead of Arabness alone. Arabism as a phenomena, never react against Western imperialists collectively. The unity found itself only in critique of Ottoman Empire rather than the other dominant Christendom countries those that saddle at the South of the Mediterranean.

The current situation in Syria and statesmanlike gravitas of Russia, despite lack of concerns by almost the entire Arab neighbouring states, remain a tacit indication that Arabism is no more than alphabetical letters on banner or sentences on reading materials. The new model of alliance in Middle East especially during the recently political turmoil or social malaises and civil strife is virtually fixed with Christian non-Arabs while conspiracy and mistrust are commonly practiced between among Arab-Muslims themselves.

A decade now since Arab springs – and of course, the boiling come to pass – but legacies and influences seem to remain for many generations to come. Not just because it was unique in its kind, but also because liberalism break the silence. Solidarity in demanding basic human rights and democracy, and not in promoting Arabism.

The Syrians are devastated by their own government under the leadership of typical Syrian, and a tyrant Bashar al-Asad. Millions of refugees fled across the borders seeking asylum in Europe: Czech Republic, Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Hungary, Romania, Slovenia, Finland and elsewhere. Applications for asylum engendered crises in the EU that led to establishment of Dublin Regulation to determine which country out of the member states should be responsible for testifying applications for asylum submitted by applicants seeking international protection.

Notwithstanding religious and traditional differences, Syrians largely decide to take refuse from European countries than nearly Arab-Muslim neighbouring states, including those that have historical lineage such as Saudi Arabia. Compared to that those favoured to seek a protection in Europe, minimal number of Syrian refugees fled to Jordan, Lebanon and to some extent Egypt. Perhaps, the reason behind this sudden decamping can be classified into two main important points. First, the revolt that

transformed to civil war in Syria, affects the entire Arab countries at once. Second, the uprisings that took place in the region were due to the tyrant leadership that never set good governance and better citizens its priority.

### **STATEMENT OF THE STUDY**

Islam is the religion that uplifts the status of Arabs throughout history. In the pre-Islamic era, belligerently Arabs were so much engaged in tribal and semi-tribal wars. These wars often turn into a full-blown county conflagration. The power hungry attitude and the lack of centrally sincere focus to achieve a vision of unity, *Arabization* remains an utmost issue to address by Middle East and North African community. For many centuries ago, especially after Islam spread to the expanded areas of Africa, Asia and Europe; wrangling for power started shaping its presence in the Muslim leading body. Hence, Muslim *Wali* (governor), Arabs and non-Arabs in the means of struggle for survival, allied the then western leaderships to support them remain in power; independently from a Sultan, Ameer or Caliph. History confirms that in Muslim Spain, the *Molook al-Tawa'ef* (chiefs of principalities) when Muslim leaders became name without central Caliphate. This remained among the factors brought about the down fall of the Islamic 'Golden Age', the period when Muslims carried their advance into vast learning, public libraries, colleges, and mosques. Simultaneously, this new circumstantial condition led to the final tarnishing the reign of the Spanish *Umayyad*

Significantly, the Arab countries' striving efforts to engage western countries further, changes in the leaderships, relations and economic setting of the region. This condition however, poses a lot of questions including: *why* majority of the Arabian authorities seem to have zero concern regarding the ongoing strife as well as poor intra-state relations, emphasizing on largely normalization with the West in the means of correcting, and ties reconsideration with the Jewish State of Israel? Due to the lack of motivation and negligence by the government, the rights of people are constantly being violated, especially in border related issues. Yemen-Saudi Arabia, Saudi Arabia-Qatar, etc. this risen tension leads to high rate of inhumanity. Finding answers to *why* Arabs seek recognition from outside world, particularly the Western world in various alternatives could be an emphatic victory over the forces behind prolonging aggressive behaviours against one another in the region-wide. This is part of the gap that this study proposes to cover as afresh information

## **METHODOLOGY**

This study relied on analytical and descriptive approaches. Various books, journals and research reports were consulted as source of information. Current political events in Tunisia, Egypt and other Arab-Muslim countries have been followed in various websites and the data collected were examined, clarified and analysed them by theme. I am fluent in Arabic and thus, was able to follow up past and current events in the Gulf Arab countries and collected data from un-translated Arabic sources including books, journals and websites. This research depended on the existing sources and much clarification of up to date publications that too helped in gauging which theories carry more weight and support my hypotheses or reject them. Senior scholars on Islam and politics were consulted on constant basis that helped, too in shaping the hypotheses and explanations.

## **ISLAM IN WEST ASIA AND NORTH AFRICA**

Islam began in the Arabian Peninsula, in the city of Mecca, now a state in modern Saudi Arabia, where Prophet Muhammad was born circa 570 B.C. Because of the *Ka'aba* and the holy Mosque of *Haram*, which surrounds *Ka'aba*, Mecca has become one of the top sacred places for Muslims. The historical and sacred places in Saudi Arabia include *Medina* or city, a place where Prophet Muhammad migrated during the first time of Islam, *Tabuk*, *Uhud*, *Najd*, and *Tha'efah* among others. It was the time when Arab engaged deeply in inter-regional trade, across the western side of Red Sea via Byzantine and Indian Ocean.

These travels in the course of trade linked Arab and non-Arab territories, from the Middle East to North, East, and West Africa. The Indian Ocean used as a means of transportation in which camel caravans transferred to the northwards. In pre-Islamic era, Mecca had benefited a lot from those trades but it also had advantage that is the Shrine called *Ka'aba*. It turned Mecca into an abstemious ground where commerce being conducted, immune from the raiding and tribal warfare of the surrounding desert, and the pilgrimage brought more wealth. Although Islam, does not come to the region through typical way as how the case was in neighbouring countries, i.e., Syria or *Sham* on which Syrians and other communities met with their caravans at Mecca through which they secretly learnt about Islam and conveyed its messages to their people back home. Rather, Islam expanded to North Africa through the means of so-

called quasi-migration, and to the rest of the continent through caravans and trade voyages (Pennell, 2003).

In the other side, Islam and its empire centred in Arabia, had lingered its motion to North Africa until when it sparsely surrounded Arabian Peninsula, the Gulf and *Hijaaz* or barrier. The Muslim armies crossed the deserts of Cyrenaica, and around 647 BC they won a great victory over Byzantine forces at Sbeitler, before they withdrew. In 662 *Uqba bin Nafi* led attack in those areas (Maghreb), after twelve years of the attack, he founded a new basement in *Kairouan* (nowadays-southern central Tunisia). This perhaps was the first newly Islamic city in north-western Africa and its first role was as a military camp; it also became a great centre of learning as well, and its fortress-like great mosque is still a symbol of this dual role.

Arab Muslims reached this area in the early *Umayyad* dynasty's rule. The Berber Muslims such as *al-Mohads*, *al-Murabitun*, etc. established different kingdoms based on the tribal lines and clans that were in existing during those days; resulting in swift spread of Islam and Jihad. This contributed a lot towards development of trans-Sahara trade, through which also Islam expanded to West and East of Sub-Saharan Africa.

Meanwhile, the early Muslim accounts talk of two great Berber groups, the *Branis* and *Butr*. This *Butr* includes *Zanata*, centred in Cyrenaica and eastern Algeria, while *Branis* composes *Sanhaja*, the tribe who inhabited *Ifriqiya* (or Africa) with branches in what are now northern Morocco and the *Oued Draa* in the far south, and the *Masmuda*, who dominated most of the High Atlas, the Souse, the Rif and the Atlantic plains. These territories seem to have been cultural regions rather than political units.

The leaders of Berber tribes could attach themselves as clients of Arab tribes, and later they could absorb individual Arabs who came among them preaching Islam. In this way, many Berber joined the Muslims willingly. They formed the backbone of Musa bin *Nusayr*'s army as it advanced across North Africa, garrisoning the countryside on the way. Musa put *Tariq bin Ziyad*, one of the most important clients, in charge of Tangier who led a largely Berber army across the Spain in 711 (Pennell, 2003).

The *Idriss bin Abdullah* who claimed his descent from *Ali bin Abi Talib* and *Fatima*, through their son *Hassan bin Ali bin Abi Talib*, and through which the modern and present Moroccan monarchy claims bloodline relationship with the Prophet Muhammad, arrived Morocco in 788 from the Arabian Peninsula. They were rebels

and refugees during the Caliph *Harun al-Rashid*, a powerful Caliph, one of famous *Caliph* in *Abbasside* dynasty. Three years later, one of the *Harun's* agents assassinated *Idriss* that chanced his immediate son *Idriss II* to build up the city of Fez or *Fass* and established orthodox Islam. During his life, *Idriss II* fought wars and maintained diplomacies through which he had been able to bring about dynasty, which accordingly controlled the entire northern part of Morocco. This dynasty ruled until 923 (Gauldie, 2008). The Kingdom has a hereditary monarchic system. This system prolongs and legalizes one family-ruling style hundreds of years ago.

*Fatimid* and *Umayyad* gained control of the country in early 10<sup>th</sup> century, from 921 through 1061, even though the original indigenous Berber resisted against the invasion, but they could not be able to stop it. In his recent work, Daadaoui tried to sketch the characteristics of Muslims' expansionism throughout their invasions.

The Arab-Muslim conquerors had found Berber, the indigenous population in the area, mixed with them and shared many of their traditions together following which the Berber converted to Islam. Prior to their conversion, Berbers have had the common generic perception that Arabs-Muslims were arrogant and they went down there with the core - goal of collecting and generating taxes. From the 800s through 1300s, different dynasties came to power in Morocco including the *Idrissids*, the *Almoravids* and *Almohads*, none of these dynasties were in support of Berber leaders (Bob, 2000).

Maghreb sub-region, believed to be one of the oldest places ever inhabited by humankind in the Middle East and North Africa region. In terms of human history, culture, and intellectual, these countries had played unforgettable roles in both pre and post-Islamic periods. Notwithstanding this is an area of different civilizations, traditions and cultures. Historical events had eventually germinated through the Berber tribes.

The indigenous Berber, who collectively called themselves *Amaziah* or *Imazigham*, which means Freemen in their language, belongs to the broad Afro-Asiatic-Speaking people. They entered the area (Maghreb, the name was given to the sub-region after the invasion of the Arabs), around the Rif and Atlas Mountains early in the second millennium B.C. when the Neolithic invaders met Bafots, a dark-skinned people, and the remnants of the earlier Savannah people who occupied the surrounding oasis, (Chijioke 2006).

### 1. PAN-ARABISM: A TRIBAL BOND WITH LARGE CLEAVAGE

Pan-Arabism, Arabism, or Arab Nationalism is a cultural and political unity intends to bond Arab States upon the wider increase in literacy with sense of matured intellectuality among Arab-Muslim countries. Pan-Arabism is often used to explain some interchangeable phrases and words such as *al-Wataniya al-Arabiyya* (Arab Patriotism), *al-Qaumiyya al-Arabiyya* (Arab Nationalism), *al-Wuhda al-Arabiyya* (Arab Unity), *al-Ittihad al-Arabiyya* (Arab Union), and *Uruba* (Arabhood), appeared anew terminology for political discussions, Muhamedou Oulad (2018).

Amongst the popular pan-Arabists was Jurji Zaydan. Although he had strongly criticized the classical version of Qur'anic dialect to be the world-wide recognized written Arabic dialect instead of many local dialects used in different Arabic speaking countries, but underpinned constituting Arab countries into single body dislodging religion, race or boundaries that demarcate them. Accordingly, the pre-Islamic as well as Islamic history are yet claimed by both Muslim and non-Muslim Arabs. Not meant, but this is a latent obstacle by majority Arabs of the region. Similarly, the Jordan King Abdallah I attempted with seriousness to unite Palestine, Jordan and Syria so to be the Greater Syria. The United Kingdom, which was in total control of Palestine then, enthralled mistrust among the leaders of the region of that time that the Abdallah's mission was not sincere. Perhaps, this mistrust led a Palestinian nationalist to assassinate the King Abdallah I somewhere in 1951 (Philipp, 2010).

Like many regional groups in the world, Pan-Arabism was a title given to a movement wanted to establish itself based on a patriotic nationalism between among Arab communities. These communities are found in the West Asia sub-region and Northern part of Africa. Even though many North African countries Arabized during the post-Muslim conquering era in the first century after *Hijra*. Countries like Algeria, Morocco, Libya, and Tunisia share a predominant history. Scholars with expertise on North African politics such as Bader al-Saif, Thomas Carothers, Nathan Brown, etc. adduce that the *Maghreb* sub-region was a dominantly occupied by Berber indigenous tribe centuries ago.

The expansion of Islam as early as 7<sup>th</sup> Century, modified Maghreb into fully Islamic states with semi-full Arabs communities. Perhaps, this was another factor that has always been a point of weakness against collective measures within the very circle of pan-Arab movement. Throughout al-Gaddafi's reign, Libya's foreign policy was centrally focusing

on Africa. The ‘United States of Africa’, an afterthought proposed by al-Gaddafi after his emergence as the Chairman of the African Union in 2009. Such commitment seen by al-Gaddafi served as a palpable indication that the Libya of al-Gaddafi was more of Africa than of Arabs.

In searching for further allies from countries other than Arab ones in 2017, the Kingdom of Morocco showed interest to join the economic group of West African states, ECOWAS. The Kingdom stressed that the real reason why the country wanted to join the body was to build a reliably strong South-South agenda so to deal with social and economic challenges of the time. During the 52<sup>nd</sup> ECOWAS summit at Abuja, the 15 member countries failed to reach a positive agreement whether or not the Kingdom of Morocco’s bid could be proceeded further for next step of consideration (Koundouno, 2018).

Earlier before, in 1987, the Kingdom however, presented her documents questing for the EU (European Communities at the time of application) membership, which has been turned down by the Commission barely two years later. The rejection was based on the geographic criterion, which means Morocco was never to be considered a European state as enshrined in the Copenhagen criteria. The Article 49 of the Treaty of European Union (TEU) categorically provides that any country located within the continent of the European borders can apply for the body’s membership. The article 49 or Article ‘O’ as formerly known, reads as follow:

*“Any European State which respects the values referred to in Article 2 (Respect and commit to promote values including human dignity, freedom, democracy, the rule of law, human rights (specifically minority rights), pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality) and committed to promote them, may apply to become a member of the union. The European Parliament and national parliaments shall be notified of this application. The application should unanimously be approved by both the Council of the EU and majority vote of the European Parliament” (TEU, 2008)*

Palpably, efforts have been showing by different Arab countries in order to host themselves in non-Arab groups. These moves could however, be seen as a step of seeking wider recognition by non-Arab groups as well as individual nations. It simultaneously rises a question whether or not the Arab nationalism that yearned to underpin solidarity and traditional Arab unity failed. Perhaps, the failure (should it be the case) activates the



amenable eagerness of Arab countries to reformulate policy, maximizing their flexibility in order to embrace modernity and therefore, attract larger acceptability by global governments.

From Yemen-Oman borders with Saudi Arabia in the Southeast Arabia, to Morocco in the Northwest Africa, speak Arabic with dominant Sunni-Muslim population. Arab League, the only inter-regional organization that comprises West Asia, North and East (Horn of) Africa with unilingual body of memberships, suffers lack of consensus, even on a serious matter that could threaten their existence as a region. Arab region witnessed repositioning of identities and a great deal during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Gelvin, 1999), and the 21<sup>st</sup> century is yet, witnessing another wave of sarcastic transformation that results in Arab-Israel normalization.

### **1.1. Arab-Israel Conflict**

The disagreement between Arabs and Israelis in modern days Middle East started in 1940s and 1950s, whilst the genesis of the Arab-Israel fluctuation could be traced back to the Prophet Muhammad emergence as a Messenger sent by Allah. He was the first Prophet in the *Jazeerat al-Arab* from the descent of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. Notably, Jews were expecting the last Prophet to be from among themselves. Thus, the disagreement soon turn to be enmity and hatred, resulting in killings, plots and casuistries. The Qur'an says:

*“You will surely find the most intense of the people in animosity toward the believers [Muslims] to be the Jews and those who associate others with Allah...” (Qur'an, 5:82);*

*“And never will the Jews and the Christians approve of you until you follow their religion. Say, indeed, the guidance of Allah is the [only] guidance. If you were follow their desires after what has come to you of knowledge, you would have against Allah no protector or helper” (Qur'an, 2:120)*

Tension and twitchy over differences and fiercest ideology bring about many issues between the two grandchildren of Abraham: Isaac's children, the Jews in one hand, and the Ishmael's children, the Arabs in the other. The true tale is already mentioned by three sacred texts: Qur'an, Gospel and Torah. Scholars like Gregory and Alden try to avoid religious intermediation in analysing Arab-Israel, and perhaps the Middle East risen issues. Even though the case such as Arab-Israel, can't be understood through a mere modern political interpretation. Because history says many about the origin of a claim without which one can't originate or validate their bequest. In the Qur'an, Allah, the Almighty says:

*“...We covenanted with Abraham and Ishmael, that they should sanctify My House for those who compass it round, or use it as a retreat, or bow, or prostrate themselves” (Qur’an, 2:125)*

And in the New-Testament, Bible cites that:

*“And as for Ishmael, I have heard thee; behold, I have blessed him, and will make him fruitful, and will multiply him exceedingly; twelve princes shall he beget, and I will make him a great nation. But My covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah shall bear unto thee at this set time in the next year” (Genesis, 17:20–21)*

The aforementioned texts originate the validity of the importunate claim of the two mainstream tribes, Arabs and Jews over the Holy places including West Bank and Gaza strip. This is among so many factors that make it difficult task for the two parties to reach cohesion with mutual recognition. Jerusalem, another disputing area, is the site of the Temple Mount where *al-Aqsa* Mosque (the third holiest place for Muslims), and the Rock of the Dome including the Wailing Wall, which stands as the holiest site in the world for Jews. This means that agreements and treaties could not necessarily be able to ensure peace accord take place, but sacrifices, deeper understanding are also cornerstones to bringing lasting solution to a perplexed and complicated situation as such.

From 1948 to 2001, 2006 and 2021, Israel government has actively legalized anti-humanity in Palestine in order to take back what according to the claim, belongs to her. In 2001, Ariel Sharon won majority, and emerged the Israeli Prime Minister. Upon winning the election, Sharon promised to focus his concentration on security issue, especially with Palestine. Within a short period of not more than twelve months or so, his administration kicked up to expand the construction of a ‘Security Wall’ with Palestinian, striving to terminate the series of suicide attacks persisted by Palestinians in Israeli territory. regrettably, this Wall divided significant number of Palestinian families from each other, employees from their jobs, children from their schools, and farmers from their land, (Mahler, 2010).

The Arab-Israeli similarities as far as religion and origin are concerned are given in the Qur’an: *“Ye People of the Scripture! Why will ye argue about Abraham, when the Torah and the Gospel were not revealed till after him” (Qur’an, 3:65)*. That the two peoples are not that very different. It is an obvious fact that both come from the same roots. Differences are there, but are manageable and diminutive compared to the size of the outcomes of the series of conflicts that have so far engaged the disputing areas.

## **1.2. Arab-Israel Normalization**

In August, 2020 the United Arab Emirates normalized the ties with Israel followed by Bahrain in September, and North Sudan in October. Egypt and Jordan already have official relations with Israel since 1979 and 1994, respectively. “The Abraham Accords” under which these relations are formalized between the Arab countries and Israel stands for a regionally historic link to develop economic and social cohesion on what could be seen as “back to the basic” formula. The popular claim by the both sides is that these ties serve as a new beginning with full of hope for regional peace and stability, mutual gaining and economic development. In this regard the former U.S. President, Donald, J. Trump said:

*“Together these agreements will serve as the foundation for a comprehensive peace across the entire region, something which nobody thought was possible, certainly not in this day and age...these agreements prove that the nations of the region are breaking free from failed approaches of the past. Today's signing sets history on a new course and there will be other countries very soon that will follow these great leaders”* (CNN, 2020).

Benjamin Netanyahu, the Israel Prime Minister commended the progress as “pivot of history and new dawn to peace (CNN, 2020).” In their side, the Arab leaders that join the agreement categorically, idealize that the Abraham Accords stand as an agenda to put Israel annexation of Palestinian land into halt. The Crown Prince of Dubai, Sheikh Muhammad al-Nahyan said:

*“During a call with President Trump, and Prime Minister Netanyahu, an agreement was reached to stop further Israel annexation of Palestinian territory..., the UAE and Israel also agreed to cooperation and setting a roadmap towards establishing a bilateral relationship”*(Arab News, 2020).

Other similar and important agendas including security, trade and investments, diplomacy as well as tourism were part of the normalization agreement. Obviously, such kind of events always must to have some alternative translations, views and perspectives, especially from within the Arab and Muslim communities both in the Middle East and in the Muslim world. In other words, what have been identified by the engaged Arab countries as logical reasons behind normalization of Arab-Israel ties, can’t anyway, be seen same by the rest of the remaining Arab nations including Palestinian territories. Even though important countries like Saudi Arabia not yet signed the agreement, but show up no clear indication of any grudge against the deal.

Authors such as El Kurdi those define ‘*Normalization*’ as pursuing some policies at the governments’ level and or actions at the level of individuals as well as groups that lead to treating Israel and Zionist movement as a normal part of the Middle East, ignoring the key

role playing by Israeli state and Israeli citizens in the ethnic cleansing and displacement of Palestinians over decades. However, Normalization would seek to move forward with connections to Israelis without holding them accountable for ongoing crimes against the Palestinian people (El Kurdi, 2017). These are some of the obvious arguments and views surround reconnection with the Israel state. As a matter of general expectation, Arab-Israel normalization seldom welcome by the region. That because of the cause of history, religion and tribal lineage. That what makes long-standing conflict between the Jew State of Israel and Palestinian Arab territory.

In one way round, the international community and mediating groups including the United Nations Security Council, observe the Israel-Arab normalization as another advanced step towards resolving prolonging stand-still and improving peace and mutual coexistence between the two sides. To them, it “presents an opportunity and chance to re-engage both Palestine and Israel to negotiations and agreements to propose an equitable long lasting solution for a two-State process” (UNSC, 2020). Accordingly, these recent developments would definitely encourage the leaderships of the two hostile parties to reach meaningful agreements through normalization process.

## 2. CONCLUSION

The nationalism and Arabization are natural feelings of affinity and unionism in the minds of Arabs. So many obstacles of which were dominantly artificial come across to challenge this attribute of unity including religion, sectarianism and to some extent, social differences from within. Competition between Arab leaders; who to lead the union remains a prime factor towards declining the struggle. Potentiality to promote pan-Islamism was another contributing factor as many countries in the region, such as Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Palestine, and Yemen have significant number of non-Muslim population. The non-Muslim population in the region can't be mouldering away. Secondly, the sectarian sentiment among Muslims is another challenging factor as *Ulama* notice a contradiction in what many assume are ambiguous words interchanging Pan-Arabism with Pan-Islamism, which according to them can't be derived from a single philosophy. It is censured because Pan-Arabism can be maintained separately from Islam. Arabism can't justify Islamism. The two are not necessarily from the same calibre. Countries like Syria and Lebanon can be well-accommodated only if the unity would adopt secular system of organization. Likewise, countries like Saudi Arabia from the Sunni Islamic theology will still maintain disagreement with secular as well as Shi'ite types of government. Quest for unity proposed brought about

the afterthought Pan-Arabism, and upon its declining owing to some causal factors force individual Arab nations formulate their foreign policies to extend diplomatic, trade and investments, and security to other non-Arab nations in the world. As Arab nationalism in the form of a strong bond was never seen through.

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