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came to an end. Michel ʿAflaq and Ṣalāḥ Bīṭār, who established the organization in 1947, believed in their motto: "Unity, Liberty, Socialism" (*Waḥdah, ḥurrīyah, ishtirākīyah*), even if this never materialized. Instead, in the words of Kanan Makiya, it gave rise to the "republic of fear." By the end of 2010, and especially in the spring of 2011, young Arabs took to the streets of Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Syria, and elsewhere, as they rejected the lies of the past century. Few looked to Salafīs or any combination of Islamists as answers to intrinsic challenges, especially as they assessed the consequences of the 1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran. Still, many Arab men and women were inspired by the 2009 "Twitter Revolution" in Iran, where the notorious paramilitary Basīj forces beat protesters with impunity. Arab potentates imitated Tehran, but neither Arab nationalism nor the idealized Islamic State appealed to members of the young generation that shed their cloak of fear. From Cairo to Dara, and from Misrātah to Sanaa, Arabs no longer fancied *waḥdah* and *ishtirākīyah*. They simply longed for *ḥurrīyah* from dictators generous with vague ideological promises.

[*See also* Arab League; Congresses; Nasser, Gamal Abdel; *and* Pan-Islam.]

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BAHGAT KORANY
Updated by JOSEPH A. KÉCHICHIAN

ARAB SOCIALISM. The notion of Arab socialism was never articulated precisely, but it can be taken as representing the economic and social aspirations of Nasserism and Bathism, the state

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with that of Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who founded Salafism in the Arabian peninsula.

During Aḥmad Riẓā's lifetime, the Barelwī movement centered on a small core of followers, personally loyal to him. But afterwards his followers, returning to their own towns after receiving *khilāfat* (the right to accept students of their own), carried his vision beyond the confines of learned *'ulamā'* circles into a wider arena. Since Aḥmad Riẓā's death in 1921, "Barelwī" leaders—among them Maulānā Na'īmuddīn Murādābādī (d. 1948), Shāh Aulād-i Rasāl Marharvī (d. 1952), Ẓafaruddīn Bihārī (d. 1950s), Aḥmad Riẓā's son Muṣṭafā Riẓā Khān Barelwī (d. 1981), and Burhānulḥaqq Jabalpūrī (d. 1984)—have led the movement in varying directions in terms of the leading political issues of twentieth-century British India, most importantly that of partition in 1947. A significant feature of the Barelwīs' political views was their staunch support of Jinnah and the Muslim League for the creation of a separate Muslim homeland, Pakistan, in a milieu where the majority of Deobandī *'ulamā'*s were opposing this idea. Although the Barelwī movement has been viewed as largely rural in terms of its following, it is currently in the throes of a resurgence among urban, educated Pakistanis and Indians, as thousands of religious *madrasahs* identifying themselves as "Ahl al-Sunnat wa-al-Jamā'at" or Barelwīs are to be found in big and small cities of South Asia.

[*See also* Deobandīs; India; Pakistan; *and* Sufism.]

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USHA SANYAL
Updated by MUḤAMMAD ATIF KHAN

BA'TH PARTIES. The Arab Socialist Ba'th Party was founded in Syria in the early 1940s by a group led by two Damascene teachers, Michel 'Aflaq (Greek Orthodox by origin) and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Bīṭār (a Sunni Muslim), together with followers of the philosopher Zakī al-Arsūzī.

The party took as its rallying cry the revitalization, reunification, and liberation of "one Arab nation with an eternal mission," an expression inspired by Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Its original ideology rested on the concept of an Arab nation defined not by race but by cultural reality. From the outset, Ba'thist ideologues viewed the role of Islam (and/or any other religious heritage of the Arab nation) as contributing to the totality of the Arab peoples' experience. The party's basically secularist identity was reinforced in successive stages of its existence.

Three elements underlay the notion of a common Arab identity. These included a common history and unity of opposition to enemies, and the Arabic language—the natural language of humanity, according to philosopher al-Arsūzī. Finally there was Islam, which is seen not as a religion, but as a culture and spiritual experience for all Arabs.

A serious political miscalculation came only fifteen years after Syrian independence, when Ba'thist leader al-Bīṭār tried to save the party

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