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The Eastern Arab Christians Between the European Spreading Influence and Ideological Hegemony

Los cristianos árabes orientales entre la influencia europea de difusión y la hegemonía ideológica

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ABSTRACT

The study was divided into three axes: the first is a preliminary entitled "The historical roots to form the issue of minorities" with a summary of its conditions until the stage of its submission to the authority of Islam. The second axis carried the title "Christian denominations in the Ottoman era" and focuses on the Ottoman policy towards Christians. The third axis addressed the development of the conditions of Christians during the beginning of the emergence of Arab countries and the treatments set by the Arab regimes for the state of separation in legal legislation towards them.

Keywords: Arab Christians, Europe, Ideological Hegemony.

RESUMEN

El estudio se dividió en tres ejes: el primero es un preliminar titulado "Las raíces históricas para formar el tema de las minorías" con un resumen de sus condiciones hasta la etapa de su sumisión a la autoridad del Islam. El segundo eje lleva el título de "Denominaciones cristianas en la era otomana" y se centra en la política otomana hacia los cristianos. El tercer eje abordó el desarrollo de las condiciones de los cristianos durante el comienzo de la aparición de los países árabes y los tratamientos establecidos por los regímenes árabes para el estado de separación en la legislación legal hacia ellos.

Palabras clave: Cristianos árabes, Europa, hegemonía ideológica.

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INTRODUCTION

Studies that concern minorities, their historical roots and their conditions have increased in recent decades, and this increase comes to highlight one of the most important obstacles facing the development of a deeper understanding of the nature of human diversity, and to create an environment of peaceful coexistence based on this understanding. This study is an attempt in this context, by highlighting the development of the conditions of Christian minorities in the Arab Mashreq, especially the stage of constitutional framing of the policies of modern states towards them, and the duality that they witnessed between theory and practice, and the confusion in disengaging between the concepts of "religion - ideologies - and citizenship", which generated the inability to interact with the problem of minorities rationally and matured.

The study relied on a large number of Arab and Arab sources, starting with the documents represented in the Archives of the Prime Minister of Istanbul and the Ottoman Sallamnats, and through books that interested in studying minorities in the Arab region, such as George Qurm's book "Pluralism of Religions and Systems of Governance", Burhan Ghalioun. *Sectarianism and the Problem of Minorities* ", and Fadwa Ahmed Mahmoud Nusseirat, who titled " Arab Christians and the Idea of Arab Nationalism in the Levant and Egypt 1840-1918 AD ", as well as the use of government publications in Iraq and Egypt, and Lesham, especially constitutions in successive stages of development, with many foreign books, research and articles As well as the international information network.

HISTORICAL ROOTS OF THE ISSUE OF MINORITIES

Throughout the thousands of years preceding the emergence of Christianity, the Arab region has known the emergence of indigenous human groups in it, and the decline of large groups that came from abroad (1), which has led to exposure of settling ethnic minorities to the Near East region, and permanently to political and cultural pressure from the side of the great empires, in the political field was constantly a victim of the conflict between the Roman and Parthian Empires, then between the Roman and Byzantine and then between Byzantium and the Sasanian Empire of Persia (2), as stated in Greek and Latin sources that adopted the news of travelers and merchants at the time, as well as the news of the warriors (3). On the cultural level, the Hellenistic transformations were not able to completely eliminate the local ancient traditions and cultural traditions, which appeared especially with the advent of Christianity, and it is not by chance that the small peoples of the Near East converted to the Christian religion. It was marked by a great prosperity of national cultures (it was accompanied first of all by the birth of philosophical writings and religious-poetic literatures that are more rich and aesthetic in the Coptic, Syriac and Armenian national languages). It can be said in this context that the process of converting the peoples of the Near East to Christianity came as a form of strong emancipation in Greek and Romanian pressure, and converting to Christianity did not prevent it from adhering to their national languages (pagan) in the daily rituals of the Church (4).

Lebanon and Palestine, and Nestorians in Iraq and Iran sought independence from Bezen fearing that the Persians would be oppressed by them, as they did after Byzantium converted to Christianity when the Persians launched a violent campaign that ended with a great massacre in Iraq and the Ahwazis, most of whom were religious scholars and eastern Christian educators (6).

As for the Copts, historical writings indicate that the Egyptians desire to be freed from the rule of the Romans existed in one way or another before their conversion to Christianity. But the spread of Christianity constituted a new stage in the crystallization and intensification of separatism from Byzantium, and the deepening of the religious thought carried out by the Alexandria School Theological studies, along with the teachings of the monks and their monastic systems that represented the true contribution that Egyptian Christianity made to the Christian world at that time, by bringing the victories of the Egyptian theological church

to the height of power in the Christian world (11), except that turning Egypt into an arena of Byzantine-Persian conflict. And the Egyptians opposition to all the reconciliatory and sectarian compromises that the Byzantines cast to them, and their extreme suspicion of Byzantine maneuvers in matters of belief, forced them to use various methods, including violence and the appointment of loyal clerics to them, to impose their will on the Egyptians, the Copts who did not sympathize with the Byzantines To accept the Islamic conquest (12).

ISLAM AND MINORITIES

When the principle of coercing subjects to embrace the religion of their kings prevailed, the Islamic religion made an important shift for the first time in history when they did not overthrow the powers of the peoples of the Near East region popularly accepted, and recognized the right of their peoples that were subject to its authority to preserve their beliefs, traditions and life style (13), and a process of interactions occurred wide and deep in various fields between Muslims and the population, especially since this stage was marked by the availability of a margin of freedom of belief and thought (14).

Islam did not know the distinction between people on the basis of differences in natural ingredients such as color, gender, or race (15), but rather stipulated equality and freedom Ideology and their commitment are obligated to be composed How much is true for the ruled (16), so Islam is unique in recognizing all laws, boredom, all prophecies and messages, and all other books, newspapers, and tablets that represented the revelation of heaven to all prophets and messengers, with holiness, sanctification, infallibility, and reverence for all messengers and all messages (17), and when the relationships between the authority of the Islamic state began The first - at the time of the Prophet (PBUH) and among the parish of the Christians, and at the height of the ideological debate, the Holy Qur'an praised a significant number of its verses with the Christians (18), and recognized them with books and documented covenants, in writing and testifying, full equality in the rights and duties of citizenship, within the framework of the one nation And the one parish: "to the Lager And her entourage, the vicinity of God and the edema of Muhammad, the Prophet, the Messenger of God, on their wealth, themselves, their religion, their absentees, their witnesses and their clan, and all that is under their hand are few or many ... "(19).

This apparent altruism of the Christians did not last for a long time throughout the history of Islamic civilization. After that, the relationship of Islam with the divine laws in its first form was a relationship of ratification and support, it turned in its last form, after distortion and alteration, a relationship of ratification of what remained of its original parts, and a correction of what came to it from heresies And the strange additions to it according to his vision of it (20), as well as a further departure from it in the subsequent Islamic epochs as a result of the emergence of two important factors, the first being to attract opposition movements and extremist groups to active elites of the loyalists, even if the prominent leaders of the elites were of Arab origins and cultural heritage. The second one is the extreme intolerance of Islam, and against the non-Muslims shown by the Islamists, Jews and Christians (21), as was the presence of the main branch of this minority outside the political borders of the majority that are subject to it, that the life of Christianity in the House of Islam is often more prejudicial than the life Jewish minorities, by virtue of the struggle for influence, which erupted time and time again between Christian and Islamic countries (22), and one of the most important developments influencing later was the fall of the Abbasid Caliphate, which led over time, to the relationship between the two sides taking the nature of hostility and loss of confidence (23).

Islamic experience defined various terms expressing the cultural nature of it to refer to the parish from other religions, such as the people of the book, the dhimmis, the people of religion, meaning that the distinction here is based on a violation of the Islamic religion or differentiation from it (24), and the basics on which it was based were unable Islamic experience (the Qur'an and Sunnah), with its capacity, according to the previous factors and other factors that came later, from dealing with the rapid and ongoing developments in reality, so it was necessary to intervene by humans through ijthad so that the text remains the ruler of reality, and that

by other means through *ijtihad* and measurement And interests sent and approbation The excuses and observance of custom and custom (25), and if Islam as a religion was equated between humans, and did not distinguish one group from another or sect from another except by piety and a metaphysical heavenly balance and not a human earthly balance, then most Muslims did not do this throughout Islamic history, and they were in their position towards the various minorities, they adhere to the values of nervousness and tribalism, and to the values of religion that have been falsified, misrepresented and poorly used (26), causing a setback in freedom of belief and thought, which some western orientalist and researchers have focused on, and taken as a basis for Islam to deal with sects, especially since the application of doctrinal principles and jurisprudence, which the companions of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the great jurists of Shari'a borrowed, remained restricted to the muftis, and as such we can say that the Islamic common law does not depict the Islamic state for us as it is, but rather as it should be (27).

CHRISTIAN DENOMINATIONS IN THE OTTOMAN PERIOD

The Ottomans worked early on in the roles of regional expansion, spreading the Islamic religion among Christians in the areas they controlled by attracting them to Islam without imposing them, especially their higher classes, to leave their religion by offering temptations and in exchange for certain advantages limited to Muslims (28), and it succeeded in The conversion of many to Islam (29). As for its subjects who maintained their religion, and since the principles of Islamic Sharia did not include matters relating to religious minorities, except for those public points, which determined their status in Dar al-Islam (30), the Ottoman Sultanate dealt with them.

On the basis of the system of Ottoman boredom (31), which formed a model, it developed for the coexistence of doctrines, sects, religious groups, Sufi sects and others in the power stage throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (32). So each religious sectarian group subjected to its own legal rules, seized and organized not only spiritual, but also their social life, which prevented complete equality before the law. The Ottomans' dependence on religious subordination was a basis for administrative division, which granted non-Muslim subjects, a special autonomous entity, and granted to the head of every Christian sect the warden of spiritual matters "spiritual matters warden of me" the right to manage his religious affairs himself, and in many cases it provided for Protection and care (33), building its cultural, social and educational institutions (34), and managing its endowments through the Melli Council without direct interference by the Sultanate, as the heads of Christian schools, for example, had recourse to the Ottoman authorities against the administration of the states in case of breaching any of the powers granted to them (35).

This system gave wide independence to local fanaticism and religious boredom, and the relationship between these nervousness and boredom was confined to the central state, within the scope of paying the tax that is levied by local sheikhs, princes, and patriarchs. In return, the local authorities practiced on the basis of different customs, traditions, and religious laws (36), and it was the scope of dealing with Christian denominations, as the Ottomans recognized the Greek Orthodox and Armenian Gregorian Patriarchate, and through them dealt with the rest of the other denominations, Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant, although the Ottoman authorities granted Batar. These denominations are royal patents, approved for them the title of head of a sect, but they did not give them the temporal authority, but rather took refuge in the two aforementioned patriarchs (37). Trade and financial services of the state, and the role of mediator between Europeans and the local population (38).

In the era of the Ottoman occupation, a system of accumulated obligations was formed that curbed the Ottomans in their dealings with the minorities under its authority, particularly Christianity, which was known historically as the Capitulations System (39), which began with 16 articles (40), and included in its early era commercial affairs, exemptions and legacy. With the passage of time, the concessions developed and their validity expanded greatly, so that they are no longer restricted to foreigners but rather include citizens of the

Ottoman Empire who are not Muslims, and their negative results have shifted over time to become a factor of growing weakness in front of European countries (41) European sympathy was The East neighborhood has been exploited by the European consuls and turned into a blatant interference in the internal affairs of the state. So the demand for "Baratelli" certificates for Ottoman subjects of religious minorities has grown, and their number reached thousands per year, until the nineteenth century, which constituted a new trend in changing the Ottoman nationality, as Non-Muslim citizens enjoyed greater rights and privileges than Muslims in one state, and the government gradually lost control of its citizens (42).

After the losing wars that the Ottoman Empire waged on all fronts, it successively lost many of its Balkan and Arab states, and ended in more economic bankruptcy and large loans with obscene benefits (43), and the boredom system turned into a burden on the Ottoman Empire in a weakened stage, and the problem of minorities emerged sharply The nineteenth century after the European states put tight control over the Ottoman Empire and worked to dismantle it and divide its states (44), and despite the reforms that represented in one of their aspects the deprivation of European countries of the pretexts of imposing their protection on the Christians of the Ottoman state, because it affirmed equality among all the subjects of the Sultan before the law, the abolition of the barriers of boredom in order to strengthen the state by strengthening the loyalty of its Muslim and Christian populations and weakening separatist tendencies. At the same time it was aware of the catastrophic consequences of failure to respond to the complaints of the peoples of the empire and of its collapse even without foreign interference (45).

Religious circles in the Ottoman Empire have often considered that the reforms undertaken by the Sultans of Bani Othman were tantamount to overstepping the boundaries of the basic needs of reform and represented exclusively by the military, industrial, economic and administrative organization (46), as it contributed to the fact that Islamic law is the general framework of the state and one of the constants that it cannot be changed, and loyalty towards the ruling family is concentrated, on the one hand, and the state's containment of different nationalities and cultures.

On the other hand, in that the modernization movement is characterized by hesitation and delay (47), as the general view of modernization in the official Ottoman circles was based on the Hanafi concept allow the "consensus" as a basis for religious and juristic views, and in exchange for these jurists adopted the strict views of the Hanbali, and considered that every renewal is not consistent with the objective interpretation of the Qur'an and Sunnah but contradicts Islam (48). So the system of boredom and the articles of organizations contributed to the increase in the sectarian bloc, and that when the clergy granted many powers that enabled them to maintain the concepts of sectarianism, the task of Western penetration of the Ottoman society was facilitated (49), so the self-assertion of the non-Muslim sects took the form of an attack on the Islamic political identity confirmed by the strength of the state since the late nineteenth century, and the secular state emerged reciprocal waiver of self, based on the abolition of the religious character of the Islamic state, and not such as building a new modern and self-nationalism beyond religion (50).

CHRISTIANS AND THE STAGE OF THE RULE OF NATIONAL THOUGHT

The state of awakening of the national consciousness of Arab Christians has taken on a long and continuous character; its features have emerged since the nineteenth century at various levels (51), as a center has emerged in the midst of confrontation with various religious currents, a liberal current emphasizing nationalism as an alternative to succession, and secularism as an alternative to religious authority, and rationality as an alternative. For absolute faith and social liberation as an alternative to traditional tendency, its pioneers emphasized Arab nationalism and worked towards its path to get rid of the Ottoman caliphate, whether by reviving the Arabic language and its literature, or by political action towards establishing unity on the basis of language, territory, and ethnic affiliation, not religion or the Confederacy, or by calling for knowledge and rationality (52), and among the minorities appeared at the beginning of the nineteenth century,

a trend calling for assimilation and integration, especially among the Christian intellectuals who were pioneers of the Arab cultural renaissance, and the refusal of these to Turkish control. Their search for an identity that transcends the narrow sectarian framework has led to the development of Arab ideology (53), so the features of awareness of the concept of the Arab personality became transformed by Arab Christians, and its most prominent features were the remembrance of the greatness of the former Arabs, and the need to be the masters and not the Turks. Then the features of national-national ideas developed, so that they became an integral part from the point of view Painful thinkers the Arabs will live, and this has taken on many aspects, such as the growing interest in the Arabic language and the historical past of the Arab peoples, by talking about the past glories of Arabs and their strong state established with science, money, and justice (54).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, dialogue between Christian and Muslim intellectuals became active around religion, Arabism, the nation, states and science (55), and after the establishment of political entities or states on the basis of screening or the emergence of the nation-state as defined by modern history. Citizenship took on its modern meaning, and the transition from citizenship was the meaning of sharing in affiliation to a homeland and the diverse feelings it generates, to citizenship in the sense of participation in a political society and the rights and duties it generates. It has constituted a qualitative shift in the concept of citizenship, the achievement of which needed all the economic, social, cultural, and political developments that characterized the modern era (56).

Citizenship, which means political and legal equality between citizens, is absent regardless of race, religion, sect, party, tribe, or gender, and the principle remains abandoned in Arab national theory like other concepts and ideas related to democracy, the most important of which is to devote the importance of the individual in facing the group, the founders. Since the beginning of the twentieth century they were concerned with defending an inclusive Arab identity and redefining the individual Arab citizen against other competing identities, Ottoman, Pharaonic, Phoenician and Mediterranean. For example, Sateh Al-Hosari was not concerned with researching individual rights and His duties, which are the content of the principle of citizenship, as much as he cares about defining his Arab identity (57).

Behind the official discourse proclaiming equality there was still a stream of "collective developments, in which a number of minorities can, because of their identity, appear in them as if they have a lower social value, that they informally suffer some forms of discrimination and ostracism," and control - now - a system The values depend on the sources of Arabism and Islam or the Arab ethnic heritage and a specific understanding of Islam, and the reality constantly reveals the strength of these two sources despite the difference in relative proportions according to the ruling authority.

Therefore, minorities are defined and defined according to inequality according to Arabism or Islam, and as a result of these two criteria the social structure of the Islamic Empire It is relatively complex because it is the result of religious, racial and economic coordination based on inequality, and some of them are based on what is based on the distinction between different nationalities or races (58), and nationalists rejected these divisions and pointed out that in civilization in general we cannot say only that there is no contradiction Between Arabism and Islam, but we can say that there is no contradiction between Arab Christianity and Islam and Arabism, whether equally, but what Christianity?

We are among those who believe - the nationalists - that the heritage of Islam is part of the conscience of the Arab Christians and their historical formation, and that the heritage of Arab Christianity is also a source of Islamic culture. Arabism with its Muslims and Christians, and between this Christianity and Islam (59), and they also considered that the protection of minorities in the modern era is a western democratic commodity, and they base their existence, protection, and respect on democracy, and that the diversity of beliefs and philosophies due to democracy and its culture (60).

This harmony and complementarity does not prove when Christianity becomes the Christianity of the cultural conquest and the foreign agency and the nail of Western politician Juha, that there is Christianity that the nationalists want because, according to one of them, they believe in free belief, and there is Christianity

that the West wants a kind of misfortune to infiltrate into the region, as if it is a Trojan horse. This type of Christianity is the source of dangers for Muslim and Christian Arabs, because religious pluralism is not only permissible in the historical political formula of nationalists, but it is an advantage they distinguished over the world. As for cultural and civilizational pluralism, it means political pluralism, separation, fragmentation and freedom of agency Foreign (61).

CONSTITUTIONAL STATUS OF THE CHRISTIANS OF THE ARAB EAST

In their modern history, Arabs faced the tasks of liberation from the arbitrary rule of the Ottoman rule and then from the Western colonial conquest. They also had to face the tasks of uniting society and building a better system (62), except that the politicization of the issue of minorities in the Arab world in general, which is due to the beginnings of Western capitalist expansion In the Ottoman Empire, the imposition of the system of concessions and the principle of "protecting minorities", began to grow after the First World War and the Arab countries subject to direct colonization following the Treaty of Sykes-Picot, and then imbued colonialism, despite everything, involved some of the values of the Western society to which it belongs, in a contradictory process: As it is in a For a time when he stressed the feeling of alienation among non-Muslim minorities, he brought with him some of the achievements of the bourgeois-democratic national revolution, for the colonial constitutions, which imposed human rights (sealed, undoubtedly, by colonial domination) for the first time in Arab societies, raised those minorities to the rank of citizenship (63) .

Although Arab constitutions recognize a set of fundamental rights of critical importance to members of religious minorities such as the right to equality before the law and religious freedom, most of these constitutions state that the state religion is Islam and that Islamic law is one of the sources of legislation or even its main source (64), but As a result of the disappearance of the caliphate and the cessation of armed jihad, the Islamists justified the pursuit of Islamic countries towards achieving equality between the rest of the people without regard to belief and religion, to the absence of both parties to the dhimma contract associated with the proclamation between Muslims and violators, as well as the absence of the motive of their claim to The tribute also associated with not obliging them to defend the countries of Islam, after recruitment became compulsory for everyone, and the association of the people in the state became the nationality of association, just as the election of presidents and governments became the right of Muslim and other nationals as long as the supreme authority does not have a religious character, for the caliphate to disappear (65) In general, minorities have constitutionally passed through several stages:

ESTABLISHMENT PHASE

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the control of the victorious states over most of their property, the Arab countries witnessed the issuance of some legislations to repeal many laws that had been enacted by the Ottoman Empire in the phase of reforms. Personal status to clergy according to the religion of the people whose courts adjudicate their cases and according to their religious doctrinal affiliations, Islamic or any other religion. (66) And after the formation of the Iraqi government, the Iraqi constitution was issued in 1925 AD and article 75 of it divided religious courts into Sharia courts for Muslims The spiritual councils of the Christian and Mosaic sects, Christian denominations - Catholics, the Orthodox Syriac, the Catholic Syriac, the Armenian Orthodox, the Armenian Catholics, and the rest of the other Christian denominations have established spiritual councils to consider their religious affairs, and included the areas of personal material relating to marriage and its offsprings, custody, guardianship, and inheritance, and the trial of men Religion. The spiritual presidencies of the sects refused to conduct inspections by the inspectors of the Ministry of

Justice on the spiritual councils, as well as denounced the idea of distinguishing the decisions of the spiritual councils at the Court of Cassation of Iraq. Religious AD No. 32 of 1947 CE (67).

The Constitution of 1923 in Egypt also granted the right of all citizens to equality with respect to the law without distinction between them on the basis of origin, language, religion, and equal rights and political rights. "The Egyptians are equal before the law, and they are equal in the enjoyment of civil and political rights, in terms of their duties and costs. The general public, do not distinguish between them in that because of the origin, language or religion ... "(68), and when the mixed courts were abolished in Egypt in 1949, the civil courts became the only ordinary courts in Egypt, and with the issuance of new laws and the regulation of civil and mixed courts, the jurisdiction of the courts was limited Legitimacy and provisions of Sharia law issues The personal character of Muslims only, she became on an equal footing with the personal status courts of the Egyptian Christian and Jewish sects, and she enjoyed a capacity of specializing a little from the aforementioned courts, and she took each of these sects to return in matters of personal status to her creed and its own laws (69).

After France established the state of Greater Lebanon, it made itself the inheritor of the traditional Ottoman policy, and although the 1926 constitution inspired by the French constitutional laws of 1875 CE did not show this approach, its doubling of the number of denominations is according to the decision of the High Commissioner No. 60L. R. On March 18, 1936, which institutionalized 18 religious denominations in Syria and Lebanon that enjoy most of the traditional privileges in terms of public law, then a Protestant denomination was added to them, in violation of Article 7 of the 1926 constitution that stated that "all Lebanese are equal before the law", The election law also maintained the sectarian distribution of electoral seats that, in turn, contradicts the spirit of democratic principles (70). Independence is achieved by any new element on the sectarian level, except that it expanded sectarian structures, as the constitutional law issued on November 9, 1943 AD stipulated "temporarily and in pursuit of justice and reconciliation, the sects are fairly represented in public offices and the formation of the ministry without this leading to harm to the interests of the state." (72).

Returning to the provisions of the constitution established by the French Mandate Authority in Syria for the year 1930 AD, and he was not fortunate to apply its provisions, he emphasized in Article 6 that Syrians are in the law whether they are equal in the enjoyment of civil and political rights and their duties and costs and there is no discrimination between them in that Because of religion, sect, origin, or language. "We find it explicitly stipulating that minorities in Syria have the right to establish their own schools, which implies recognition of the minority's right to maintain its language and education through it, as stated in the text of Article 28" Rights of Religious Sects Various sects are guaranteed, and these sects are entitled to a The schools shall be established to teach juveniles in their own language provided that they observe the principles specified in the law. (73) Although these legislations have affirmed the rights of the sects, the convergence of the Islamic majority, mainly due to colonial rape, let alone denouncing the Western Christian minorities, It created a chasm or schism between the consciousness of a coagulated society in its traditionalism, and the democratic nationalist trend in the colonial constitutions, which complicated, or hindered, the process of a merging democratic solution to the issue of minorities (74).

STAGE OF THE RULE OF IDEOLOGIES

After the western tendencies prevailed by the rule of the British and French Mandate authorities over the Arab regions, the constitutional organizations focused on principles relating to the rights and freedoms of individuals, but these trends differed in the stage of the ideologies and their struggle in the region, especially after the spread of the national tide and the assumption of power in most young Arab countries Powers and personalities affiliated with nationalists in Egypt, Iraq and Syria, and their pursuit of policies that are in the interest of achieving Arab unity projects (75), and as a result of these conflicts contradicting with the projects of the Western mandated countries previously, which lost the ability to control leaderships and The views of

the Arab leaderships that came to power over the ruins of western-backed monarchies, the urgent need to seek the help of the socialist camp to face the challenges and obstacles that the West put in front of these regimes, and the latter adopted socialist legal and organizational ways to achieve this goal (76), and a new synthetic Arab political thought emerged that combined the contribution of Islamic thought in approaching the issue of the cultural and civilizational identity of the nation, and between the contribution of the national to the approach to the entity issue and the issue of Arab unity, and between the contribution of Marxist thought in dealing with the issues of independent development and social justice in the distribution of wealth and between the contribution of liberal thought to the approach of the question of democracy, human rights and the national state, so that this group may be composed among them in a new article from the mentioned issues (77).

The legal protection for the followers of Christian minorities in the Arab Mashreq countries stems from the various internal constitutional and legal legislations guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens, especially the principle of non-discrimination and religious freedom, as well as the implementation of the principles of democratic governance and the strengthening of the rule of law, but it is clear the fragility of this protection, which is evident from during the rule of dictatorships over the reins of government, as well as the influence of religion on politics and laws and its subsequent undermining of the principle of citizenship and various violations of the rights of those belonging to these minorities (78), the Arabs considered the Christians as full citizens in the nation, and they respect their religious belief and their sectarian and sectarian affiliations, but as a purely personal issue and a partial issue and not intended for itself. And, as a heritage for all Arabs (79).

Syria's constitution, which was established by the Constituent Assembly for the year 1950 AD, stipulated in its third article that "freedom of belief is safeguarded, and the state respects all divine religions, and guarantees freedom to perform all its rites, provided that this does not violate public order, and that the personal status of religious communities is safeguarded and respected." (80) And in its fourth article on "The Arabic Language is the Official Language" (81), he denied the ethnic minorities the right to education in their own language, and in his twenty-eighth article indicated that "Primary education is compulsory and free in state schools and unified programs ... and that education is compulsory in all stages of each religion according to its beliefs, "Vag The reference to the right of religious minorities to practice their own education in relation to teaching their religious rites in their own schools, as is the case with the Constitution of Syria in 1973 (82), the Syrian constitution was distinguished by its endeavor to mold Syrian society according to its national beliefs, the state of the Iraqi constitution, which subsequently he was subject to the authority of the Baath, and his imposition was to adopt his slogans and goals on the people and the state, and work towards achieving them in a manner inconsistent with the nature of society, whose main feature was pluralism and ethnic, national, social, sectarian, religious, and political diversity. P other (83).

When the July Revolution of 1952, radical changes occurred in the structure of power and the structure of the political system, one of the results of which was an important change in the pattern of the state's relationship with society. The relative independence pattern that prevailed throughout the monarchy was replaced by the style of the authoritarian state (84). 1952 AD in its forty articles: "Citizens are equal before the law, and they are equal in rights and public duties, there is no discrimination among them on the basis of sex, origin, language, religion or belief" (85), except that the first impression that prevailed among the Coptic circles is that the system The new alliance with the Muslim Brotherhood or rule in their name to share with The group is in power, but the July regime followed policies and took measures within the framework of expanding the circle of practicing religious belief and bypassing Gamal Abdel Nasser, who was imposed by the "Hamayouni Line" on building churches, so he authorized the Coptic Church to build twenty-five churches annually, and that this be done under the direction of the patriarch himself to the official authorities (86), and after the revolution in 1952 AD promulgated the constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, it prepared a law to abolish the civil endowment in preparation for the abolition of the special trial, after it created the appropriate climate to achieve that end, and in 1955 CE issued a decision to cancel the Sharia courts of conditions. The character is perfect And its inclusion in the public courts, all laws related to their arrangement and jurisdiction were

abolished, and personal status cases, endowments and guardianship cases were brought to the ordinary judiciary (87), but problems in the post-Nasser era developed problems, the most prominent of which was the distinction between Muslims and Copts in sovereign positions, building and restoring churches, and favoring the excelling In Islamic studies on their peers in Christian studies, as well as the problem of recognizing an accurate census for the preparation of Copts and their percentage in Egyptian society, which showed a clear discrepancy between the statistics of official Egyptian institutions on the one hand, and the estimates of Coptic religious institutions and institutions For international on the other.

The interim constitution was issued in Iraq after the revolution of July 14, 1958 AD, so the first republic that witnessed political instability was established as a result of the military establishment directly controlling political power (88), and in its ninth article indicated that

Citizens are equal before the law in terms of public rights and duties and it is not permissible to distinguish between them In that, because of race, origin, language, religion, or belief, "and in its twelfth article, that" freedom of religions is safeguarded, and the law regulates the performance of its function, provided that it does not violate public order and is not inconsistent with public morals. (89)

As for the interim constitution of 1968, he neglected the existence of other religions as he neglected the reference to the languages of the minorities, which constitute an important part of the Iraqi society's composition, Article 4 stipulates that "Islam is the religion of the state and the basic rule of its constitution and Arabic is its official language" (90), and despite the reference to Article Thirty that "the state maintains freedom of religion and protects the practice of its rites.

This violates public order or contradicts morals. "However, in paragraph 17 of Article 17, it stipulates that" inheritance is a right governed by Islamic law "(91).

CONCLUSIONS

Copts accepted more than 200 years after the arrival of Islam in Egypt, to Arab culture and their privacy as Egyptians, despite the stages of pressure, but most of the periods of coexistence with the Muslim majority were characterized by safety and stability, and in the contemporary history of Egypt, they suffered the effects of sectarian strife that struck between one moment and another.

Despite the obstacles that these obstacles posed to the stability of their situation in Egypt, their conditions differed from what happened to their peers in Iraq and Syria. The Christians of Iraq, like their peers, suffered from the rule of the Ba'athist regime from 1968 onwards, which imposed an ideology that was incompatible with the nature of the multi-community in the first place. There is a summary of the constitutional conditions of Christians in the foregoing; a state of continuity that worsens their conditions in the Arab community clearly emerges even after achieving political independence within its many country frameworks. Rather, the Arab community does not possess awareness and understanding of how to deal with the problem of minorities. To the ancient status of the people of dhimma, and at the same time its failure to achieve a democratic national revolution, you find for the issue of minorities a radical, modern and democratic solution, so the break from the past and the inability to consciously walk into the future has transformed the traditional sectarian situation that I experienced. For centuries, pre-colonial Arab societies, into a sectarian crisis, embody and summarize the general crisis of Arab society.

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