



**PARALLELS BETWEEN THE FOREIGN POLICY TENDENCIES OF ARAB STATES
AND THE CONTENTS OF THEIR NATIONAL ANTHEMS**

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the parallels between the foreign policy aspirations of Arab states and their national anthems by making the content analysis of their lyrics. The lyrics of national anthems, as poetic declarations of the national feelings and the *raison d'état* of independent states, present important clues about the national interest conceptualization and foreign policy orientation. After the content analysis of the national anthems of Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan, this paper finds out that the lyrics of the anthems of Arab republics include more patriotic words and stronger tone than those of the monarchies; and their tones get stronger in times of conflict and war. Unlike republics, Arab monarchies seem to prefer shorter lyrics and use their anthems even without lyrics for a long time. Republics attach specific importance to the anthems in terms of promoting the national values and expressing the feelings of their people about independence, and their anthems are mostly selected by organizing national competitions. For Arab republics it would appear that the changes in their anthems accompany the changes in their foreign policy. Whenever Arab republics involve in more conflictual foreign policy, their anthems accompany with stronger lyrics while their tones get softer in the times of peace.

Keywords: Anthem, Foreign Policy, Arab States, Monarchy, Republic.

**ARAP DEVLETLERİNİN MİLLİ MARŞLARININ İÇERİKLERİYLE DIŐ POLİTİKA
EĞİMLERİNDEKİ PARALELLİKLER**

ÖZ

Bu çalıřma, Arap devletlerinin milli marřlarındaki sözlere yönelik bir içerik analizi yaparak bu devletlerin dıő politika istekleri ile marř sözleri arasındaki paralellikleri arařtırmaktadır. Toplumların milli duygu ve hisleri ile bağımsız devletlerin varlık sebeplerini şiirsel bir anlatımla ortaya koyan milli marřlar, milli çıkarların kavramlařtırılması noktasında ve ülkelerin dıő politika anlayıřları hakkında önemli ipuçları taşımaktadır. Bu çalıřma da, Mısır, Irak, Libya, Suudi Arabistan, Fas ve Ürdün milli marřlarını inceleyerek Arap cumhuriyetlerinin marřlarının Arap monarřilerine nazaran daha güçlü bir ton ve vatanseverlik temalı kelimeler kullandıđını; bu tonun savař ve çatıřma dönemlerinde de daha fazla arttıđını ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca, monarřilerin cumhuriyetlerden farklı olarak daha kısa marř sözleri tercih ettikleri ve hatta bazen hiç söz kullanmadıkları da eklenmektedir. Bu çerçevede, cumhuriyetler marřlara milli deđerleri ve bağımsızlık hususundaki toplumsal hisleri güçlendirme açısından özel önem atfetmekte ve marřların seřimini milli yarışmalar düzenleyerek yapmaktadırlar. Arap cumhuriyetlerine bakıldıđında, marřlarındaki deđiřikliđe paralel olarak dıő politikalarında da deđiřiklik olduđu ortaya konulmaktadır. Arap cumhuriyetleri ne zaman daha çekiřmeli bir dıő politika sürecine girse, marřlarının da daha güçlü sözlerle eşlik ettiđi; barıř zamanlarında ise bunun tersine daha yumuřak bir tona geçtiđi görölmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milli Marř, Dıő Politika, Arap Devletleri, Monarři, Cumhuriyet.

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1. Introduction

Is it possible to extract resourceful information about the foreign policies of some modern states by studying their national anthems? Do national anthems inherently contain important clues about the national interest conceptualization and foreign policy orientation of states? Anthems are generally selected and adopted once they win national competitions, which is why they generally represent the psychology and patriotic feelings of the population. Besides, they are selected by the founding leaders of the states, who are responsible for laying down and building the national interest and foreign policy principles. In this respect, a national anthem could be regarded as a strong indicator of the feelings of a nation or people for independence, either by winning a war against an enemy or, perhaps, a revolution to overthrow an unpopular monarch.

In this paper, the changes in foreign policies and national interests of several Middle Eastern Arab states are evaluated by conducting a historical analysis on their national anthems. Once the lyrics of the previous and recently adopted anthems of those states are compared and contrasted, they are likely to provide important hints about changing domestic and foreign policy orientations. Within this perspective, after giving a brief literature summary on the state formation process of the Middle Eastern Arab states, the past and the recent lyrics of the anthems of Egypt, Iraq, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Jordan will be evaluated, of which the first three transformed from monarchies to republics and the last three retained their monarchies.

Most of the Arab states were administered under the rules of kings after their independence; however, some of those states overthrew their monarchies and turned to republics. Egypt, under the charismatic leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat, Libya, under the leadership of Muammar Al-Qaddafi, and Iraq, under the leadership of Saddam Hussein, raised as the politically prominent states among the Arab republics. In this respect, these three Arab republics are selected as case studies due to their frequent change in national anthems parallel to the ups and downs in their political history. To represent different types of monarchies, on the other hand, this paper analyses Saudi Arabia, the dominant economic and military figure among the monarchies, Jordan as the small linchpin Middle Eastern monarchy, and Morocco as the medium-scale linchpin North African monarchy.¹

2. State Formation and Adoption of Anthems in the Middle Eastern Arab States

The tradition of composing national anthems, which generally started in Europe and in South America in 19th century, spread around the world in 20th century when nation states expanded in number. As a declaration of the unique experience of a nation to the world through symbolic lyrics and melodies which include universal messages about the Nation's identity and leaders' goals, the anthems could also be used as tools for domestic and international control by the political leaders (Cerulo 1989: 76-99). Unlike the tribal or regional loyalties of old monarchies, the leaders of

¹ Herb (1990: 8-11) divides the Arab monarchies as traditional and linchpin monarchies according to their ruling types.

nation states attempt to achieve political legitimacy by convincing a large portion of the population of the nation (Cerulo 1993: 249). In this respect, a national anthem may be seen as one of the most influential bonds, and also as a contract between the citizens and the founding leaders, which has been an important step towards modernization of the state structure. Within this perspective, it would not be wrong to claim that states which are republics attach more importance to national anthems for their legitimacy and citizenship support, when compared to the loyalty and understanding expected by monarchies.

A national anthem expresses the feelings of a nation with its two components. Its melody and musical tone in terms of pace and magnitude, on the one hand, could be regarded as the first part to abreact the main motivation by using universal codes (Cerulo 1989: 85). The lyrics, on the other hand, express the historical and emotional experiences attached to a homeland by using unique words in a poetic harmony. Based on this understanding, national anthems do not change frequently, whether or not the homeland or the regime undergoes a critical change after a milestone event. Here, Cerulo (1989: 88-89) argues that a milestone should be understood within the perspective of international control and domestic control which identify the tone of the melody and the strength of the lyrics. While the international control defines the location of a country in the core, periphery or semi-periphery, the domestic control could be high as in an independence war, moderate as in political and socio-economic transformation, and low as in military coups and civil wars.

Unlike Turkey and Israel, which sustained their national anthems since the formation of their new states, several Middle Eastern Arab states have changed their anthems depending on their changing regimes or ruling types in the process of their state formation. The word "nation" itself could be regarded as a relatively new concept to the Arab world; even the Arabic language does not include the direct translation of the nation, instead of which the word "al-wattania/ لوطانية" is used to refer the homeland and nationalism together (Mustafa 2015: 62). As Hinnebush (2003: 76-89) argues, Arab states passed through traditional, praetorian and neo-patrimonial stages to form today's states as in their consolidated stages. Although their traditional stages had been mostly evolved by the legacies of either the Ottoman Empire's practices or the colonial understanding of the UK and France (Rogan 2009: 22-41); some of these Arab states transformed from a monarchy to a republic and some others preferred to retain their monarchy in the modern period. At this point, Ayalon points out a correlation between the ruling types of those colonising states and state formation of the Middle Eastern Arab countries, where those Arab states preferred either the monarchy or republic in accordance with the monarchical understanding of the United Kingdom (UK) or republican practices of France (Ayalon 2000: 24). Their modern state formation could be understood by analysing their domestic factors such as the social dynamics, historical legacy, the role of the military and the bureaucracy, the existence of natural resources and state-society relations, in addition to external factors, such as foreign financial and military assistance.

When it comes to legitimization of the regimes, Arab states are said to prefer either redistributing the material resources or utilizing non-material values such as religion, ideology and traditions (Schlumberger 2010: 239). Looking from this

perspective, it should be useful to trace back in the lyrics of their anthems in order to understand whether those states utilize religion and traditions or ideology in terms of non-material values. At this point, Halliday (2005: 240) mentions that Arab monarchies mostly used traditions and religion to consolidate the public and legitimize their ruling authority, while authoritarian Arab republics concentrated public attention on Pan-Arabism and made this ideology a common cause against imperialism and/or the former monarchical administrations of their own countries.

In the Middle Eastern Arab states, anthems have been adapted, changed or readapted not only after gaining independence from European Colonial Powers or overthrowing a monarchical family and transforming the regime to republic, but also after a radical change in the ruling regime. As a result, it is important for this paper to carefully analyse the change in the lyrics of the anthems to understand the foreign policy change in those states. In this respect, it could be observed that Egypt and Iraq changed their anthems five times and Libya three times, the most recent of which was a readapted version of its first anthem. In contrast to the republics, the Saudi Arabian, Moroccan and Jordanian monarchies still keep their first royal anthems.

3. National Anthems of Arab Republics

3.1. Egypt

The Royal Anthem "Salute to My King- *Al Salam Al Malaky*", which was composed by Guiseppe Verdi in 1869 but had no lyrics, was used as the anthem of Egypt until its independence from the United Kingdom in 1923.² After independence, however, the monarchy could only survive for 30 years and was overthrown by a revolution in 1953. During the period between 1923-53, the poem of Mustafa Sadeq al Rafeaie "Be Safe, *Egypt-Eslamy Ya Mısr*" was used as the anthem which was composed by Safar Ali. When that revolution of the Free Officers Movement of 1952 opened the gate for the new Egyptian Republic, in 23 July 1952 under the leadership of General Muhammad Naguib, "The Anthem of Liberty-*Nasheed Al Horeya*" was adopted as the new national anthem, which was written by Kamel el Shennawy with musical composition by Mohamed Abdel Wahab.³

1956 could be regarded as a milestone for Egyptian foreign policy, when the new President Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalized the Suez Canal and confronted the aggression of France, the UK and Israel. This popularity of Abdel Nasser of Egypt, combined with the formation of the United Arab Republic (UAR) with Syria in 1958, led Egypt to an authoritarian republic which also paved the way for adoption of a new and more patriotic anthem with the Decree No 143/1960, namely "By God, It is Time for My

² For a chronological list of Egyptian anthems, see the official website of the Presidency of Egypt. <https://www.presidency.eg/en/> Last Accessed on 06/01/2021.; There is a discussion about the official royal anthem of Egypt. According to Peter van Der Meulen, the composition of Guiseppe Pugioli, the "*Salam Affandina*", is argued to be the royal anthem. See <http://www.nationalanthems.info/eg-58.htm> Last Accessed on 07/01/2021.

³<https://www.presidency.eg/en/>; It is also mentioned by Al-Missiri in "Studies in poetry", which was cited in Mustafa (2015: 66).

Weapon-*Wallāh Zamān Yā Silāhī*.⁴ This anthem was composed by Kamal al Taween and the poem was written by Salah Jahin; and became the anthem of the UAR. Although this anthem was used until 1979, it was succeeded by “My homeland- *Bilādī*” with the Decree No: 149/1979, which is still in use.⁵ Inspired by the 1907 speech of Mustapha Kamil Pasha, the Egyptian lawyer (Kamil 1907),⁶ the music of this anthem was previously composed by Sayed Darwish and the lyrics were written by Mohamed Younis al Qadae;⁷ however, it was recomposed by Mohamed Abdel Al Wahab in 1979 at the request of President Anwar Sadat (Danielson 1997: 210).

Eslamy Ya Misr of the independent Kingdom of Egypt during the monarchy could be regarded as a declaration of freedom with precatory words which stressed “sacrifice (*ennani-l-fedaa*), peace (*salaaman*) and being safe-being Muslim (*Eslamy*)”, “protect the country against the whole world”, and repeatedly used metaphoric phrases such as “Against the world's arrogance”, “If the world raised a hand [to hurt you]” and “If the world threw their arrows”. Looking from this perspective, the psychological motivation behind the foreign policy orientation of the Kingdom could be understood as the readiness alert for a fight against all neighbours and foreign Powers in case a threat to Egypt's freedom.

As a reaction to the overthrown monarchy, it could be argued that *Nasheed Al Horeya* abreacted the feeling of liberation in which the lyrics used “oppression and humiliation” to refer the old regime and “revenge, martyrs, and blood” to show the motivation of the people, by also frequently stressing the verses “*I am a dead Egyptian / With my blood, I will protect you / And my blood will fill your throat*” as a reference to the large sacrifice given for independence. Moreover, it would not be wrong to mention that this anthem underlined the unity of Coptic and Muslim Arabs in the Egyptian Republic, by using the verse “*the hope of the Nile united in their blood, the blood of Jesus and Muhammad*” instead of verses of *Eslamy Ya Misr* saying that “Egypt, you are a faith, in addition to my religion”. This could be regarded as an epistemological break from the religious ruling type of the monarchy. Here, Mustafa argues that nationalism was expressed in terms of defence and sacrifice together with the metaphorical analogy between Egypt and the religion in *Eslamy Ya Misr*, which was transformed from religion to freedom in *Nasheed Al Horeya* (Mustafa 2015: 70).

Furthermore, what made President Abdel Nasser to adopt *Wallāh Zamān Yā Silāhī*, which contained very strong and aggressive verses like “the glory built by toil

⁴ <https://www.presidency.eg/en/>; In Mustafa's study (2015: 65) , it is translated as “*Over a long haul, my weapon*”; however, in Danielson's study (1997: 164), it is translated as “*It has been a long time, oh weapon of mine*”.

⁵ In Presidential Decree no 590/1982, it is declared that “*The first article of the decree stipulates that the first verse of Belady, Belady (Homeland) anthem shall be played along with the musical notes in all popular and national celebrations, and that the musical notes of the anthem shall be played only without the lyrics in the case of receiving foreign presidents and delegations and in other cases in which the national anthem of a foreign country is to be played.*”. <https://www.presidency.eg/en/>

⁶ Please note that in the book titled “Encyclopaedia of National Anthems” which is edited by Xing Hang (2003: 201), Mustapha Kamil Pasha is confused with Mustapha Kamal Atatürk, who was the founding father of Turkish Republic.

⁷ <https://www.sis.gov.eg/section/10/9407?lang=en-us> Last Accessed on 08/01/2021.

and pain” and “protecting the homeland with weapons” and words such as “weapon (*Yā Silāhī*), struggle, war (*Ya Harb*), soldiers (*Algunud*), sacrificing lives (*Al-hayat Alkufuf*), enemy (*Al-'adu*), battlefield (*el-midan*), volcanoes of anger and pushing the enemy into their graves”? Interestingly, the famous singer Umm Kulthüm had repeatedly sung this anthem during the Suez Canal crisis even before its adoption as the national anthem to motivate the public against the intervention of the “enemies” of Egypt (Danielson 1997: 164). Although the lyrics of the previous anthem had a strong tone, Egypt adopted its new anthem with an even stronger tone. After the Arab-Israel War in 1956 and the Suez Canal crisis, the escalated tensions in the Middle East could be argued to have provoked the Arab states into increasing their military capacity in case of another war against Israel or the Western powers. Under these circumstances, Nasser, as the hero of the Suez Canal crisis, increased his popularity among the youth of the Arab world. This, in return, could be understood as a necessity for him to hone his legitimacy by also adopting a new anthem in line with the *zeitgeist*, which could express the sentiments of his nation better in terms of their patriotic feelings in military terms. In this respect, parallel to Nasser’s popularity, the attraction of *Wallāh Zamān Yā Silāhī* also increased; that is why the UAR adopted it as the national anthem of the alliance.⁸

After the death of Nasser in 1970, Anwar Sadat focused on diminishing the influence of Nasserism when he became the President of Egypt. Despite his initial military approach such as waging the Yom Kippur War against Israel in 1973, his foreign policy priorities turned to peaceful talks by engaging into negotiations with Israel starting from 1974. Although Sadat was also the former Vice President under Nasser’s presidency, he could be argued to focus on diminishing the influence of Nasserism in his country and in the Arab world. Following the Peace Treaty with Israel in 1979 after the Camp David Accords (Danielson 1997: 243), “My homeland- *Bilādī*” was adopted as the new national anthem which was recomposed but used its original lyrics inspired by Kamil Pasha’s 1907 speech. The content analysis of this anthem reveals that the lyrics were dominated with the feeling of devotion to the homeland by heart and love. In terms of its patriotic tone, this anthem prefers to use freedom, hope, nobility and ambition to save the homeland from the enemy, rather than referring to weapons or swords. Within this perspective, it could be argued that Sadat could have used this new anthem as an instrument parallel to the changing understanding in the foreign policy orientation of Egypt and its relationship with its neighbours.

3.2. Iraq

The monarchical rule of the Hashemite dynasty of Iraq survived as a British Mandate between 1921-1932 and as an independent kingdom between 1932-1958, until it was overthrown by a military coup led by Abd al-Karim Qasim who was inspired by Nasser’s popularity after the Suez Canal crisis. This was also the time when the new Iraq Republic abolished the Royal Salute-*As Salam Al Maliki*, the old royal anthem of Iraq, the music of which was composed by the British military officer Chaffon in

⁸ Iraq also adopted it as its anthem without using the lyrics.

1924, and its instrumental version was played without lyrics.⁹ The new national anthem, My Homeland-*Mawtini*, was in use between 1958-1965; this was composed by Lewis Zanbaka and also had no lyrics.

This *Mawtini* of Zanbaka did not live long because the Ba'ath party started to rule the country and changed the national anthem by adopting *Wallāh Zamān Yā Silāhī*, the anthem of the UAR. Although this anthem was in use without the recitation of its lyrics up until 1981, "Land of the Two Rivers- *Arḍ ul-Furātayn*" was adopted as the new national anthem when Iraq was totally transformed to a radical Ba'ath regime after Saddam Hussein came to power as the authoritarian ruler. This was the first time for Iraq to use lyrics with a national anthem which was written by written by Shafiq al-Kamali and composed by Walid Georges Gholmieh.¹⁰ Other than its intense Ba'athist propaganda, its reference to the ancient kingdoms, important historical figures and geographical beauties dominated the lyrics. Moreover, the patriotic words such as "homeland, fatherland, nation, flag of liberty and Arabian pride" were honed and given a stronger tone by using the words "sword, spears, battlefield and martyrs".

Iraq stopped using *Arḍ ul-Furātayn* as its national anthem after Hussein's removal in 2003; and started to use *Mawtini* as its new national anthem which was officially adopted in 2004. Unrelated to the former *Mawtini* of Iraq, Ibrāhīm Ṭūqān's lyrics and Mohammad Flayfil's composition brought this *Mawtini* into existence in 1934, as the unofficial anthem of Palestine.¹¹ In addition to its lyrics about refraining from the humiliation, a miserable life and the slavery in the hands of enemy, the tone of the anthem earns a peaceful and patriotic spirit by using-words such as "homeland, glory, beauty, pleasure, hope, independence, honourable cause and waving the flag". Even though the new anthem was adopted by the interim government of Iraq under the US occupation, both the transitional and the elected governments continued to use *Mawtini* after the departure of coalition forces.

3.3. Libya

When Muammar Qaddafi overthrew King Idris after his military coup in 1969, he ended the monarchy and declared the Libyan Arab Republic as the new regime, which changed its name to the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in 1977 after the establishment of the new regime. "Libya, Libya, Libya", the national anthem of the United Kingdom of Libya, had its music composed by Mohammed Abdel Wahab in 1951 and was written by Al Bashir Al Arebi;¹² and it was adopted by the Kingdom in 1955, which gained independence from Italy in 1951.¹³ Although it was a strong and patriotic anthem referring to the efforts for independence by using the words "struggle, jihad, sacrifice, driving off enemy, Quran in one hand and weapon in the other hand" together with its heavenly messages, Qaddafi adopted the old Egyptian military anthem

⁹ Muhammad Ihsan Bin Abdul Rahman's information in <http://www.nationalanthems.info/iq-58.htm> Last Accessed 09/01/2021.

¹⁰ <http://www.nationalanthems.info/iq-03.htm>

¹¹ For Amira Farhoud's translation, visit <https://bethbc.edu/blog/2015/11/28/my-homeland-the-youth-will-not-tire-till-your-independence/> Last Accessed on 09/01/2021.

¹² Abdel Wahab also wrote the *Nasheed El Horeya* of Egypt.

¹³ An official translation does not exist. For Dr. Khalid Ben Rahuma's translation, visit https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya,_Libya,_Libya Last Accessed on 10/01/2021.

called “Allah is Greatest-*Allahu Akbar*” in 1969, which had music composed by Abdalla Shams El-Din in 1954 and words written by Mahmoud El-Sherif in 1955 (Hang 2003: 369-370). Other than its three lines about defending the country with weapons and one line about anti-imperialism, the rest of this anthem recited its title “Allah is greatest” repeatedly. After Qaddafi was killed in 2011 during the Civil War in Libya, the new administrative council readopted the old anthem “Libya, Libya, Libya” by changing only its line which was honouring the King Idris to the one honouring Omar Al-Mukhtar instead.¹⁴

What could be the driving force behind the Qaddafi’s decision for switching to *Allahu Akbar* even though the former anthem was patriotic enough in terms of the tone of its lyrics? Other than the desire for effacing the old Kingdom and its institutions together with its anthem, the prominence of Nasser’s Egypt in the Middle Eastern Arab world could be argued to be the main motivation for Libya in choosing the military anthem of Egypt at that time. Having pleased the Western powers by providing military bases to the US and the UK during the monarchical rule of King Idris, it could be argued that Libya’s reputation needed to be restored in the Arab world after its transformation to a republic. As a new rising leader, the Colonel Qaddafi would find it pragmatical to jump on the bandwagon for the down-wind of Egypt so that he could increase his prevalence by getting closer to Nasser. It should also be noted that the youth of Libya was strongly influenced by the propaganda of Nasser, which also made it easier to accept the military coup of Qaddafi and the overthrow of the pro-Western monarchy. Once the influence of Egyptian propaganda and popularity over Libya’s youth is taken into consideration, it could be argued that accepting the military anthem of Egypt as the new national anthem would find a suitable ground, which also articulated their patriotic feelings.

At this point, Libya’s turning into the Jamahiriya in 1977 and the peace talks between Egypt and Israel should be noted as the two major turning points in Qaddafi’s foreign policy understanding, which also could be traced back in his administration’s approach to the national anthem. In contrast to the decreasing popularity of Egypt in the Arab world during Sadat’s administration due to his peace talks with the Western powers and Israel, Qaddafi could be said to have attained an increasing role in that period. The end of the collaborative relations between Egypt and Libya could also be considered within this perspective, when the historical background of *Allahu Akbar* because of its being the military anthem of Egypt started to fade out in Libya after the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.

When the authoritarian administration of Qaddafi was overthrown by the opposition after the Libyan revolution starting from 2011, the new republic ousted the Socialist Jamahiriya from the administration. The new republic could be understood as returning to the basics of the monarchical period as the opposition used the former flag of monarchical rule. The Transitional Council of Libya readopted the old anthem “Libya, Libya, Libya” of the Kingdom by only replacing the name of King Idris with Al Mukhtar, the hero of the resistance against Italian colonisation. Despite its patriotic lyrics

¹⁴ Omar Al-Mukhtar (1858-1931), also called The Lion of the Desert, was a Libyan hero who was the leader of the Libyan resistance against the colonization of Libya by the Italians.

targeting the imperialist powers, the readoption of this anthem could be interpreted as a strong sign for refollowing the peaceful relations with the Western powers as they were in the time of monarchical rule.

4. National Anthems of Arab Monarchies

Despite its relatively older history as an independent monarchical Arab state, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia did not have a state anthem until King Abdulaziz's visit to Egypt in 1950, when Abdul-Raḥman al-Khaṭīb's composition was gifted as its first anthem by King Farouq of monarchical Egypt. Although this anthem, *an-Našīd al-Waṭanī as-Su'ūdī*, was used without lyrics for almost 34 years, it was in 1984 when Ibrāhīm Khafājī was instructed by the King Fahd to write the lyrics.¹⁵ Unlike the anthems of Arab republics, this anthem, like other monarchical anthems, is quite short and contains the lyrics about praising God and flattering the King in addition to its more neutral tone on the homeland, flag and the people compared to the republican anthems.¹⁶ In this short anthem, six out of 12 lines of verses are composed of only one or two words such as "hasten", "my country", "my homeland" and "for the flag".

Likewise, the Royal Anthem of Jordan, *as-Salām al-Malakī al-'Urdunī*, also had only four lines at the beginning which said "*Long live the king. His rank exalted, his flags flying high, in sublimity*". In 1946, Abdul Munim Rifai, a Jordanian poet and Prime Minister in 1969 and 1070, wrote the rest of the lyrics which mentioned the greatness of the King and the Prophet of Islam by also flattering King as the teacher and the inspiration for the nation in perseverance, devotion and guidance.¹⁷

The Cherifian Anthem of Morocco, *an-Našīd aš-Šarīf*, similar to the Saudi Arabian anthem, was used in its instrumental form until Ali al-Skali al-Husayni wrote its lyrics in 1970, when he was instructed by King Hassan II.¹⁸ Although it was composed by a French military officer when Morocco was controlled by France, the newly independent Morocco has continued to use the same melody since 1956. When its lyrics are evaluated, it could be noted that a soft and peaceful tone dominated the anthem with its reference to a perpetual love to the homeland by using the words "glory, grandeur, rising place of lights".

5. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

The content analysis of the national anthems of the Middle Eastern Arab states reveals that their lyrics include key insights about their foreign policy orientations, in which peaceful times in foreign policies also bring the adoption of new anthems with gentler lyrics. For Arab republics it would appear that the changes in their anthems accompany the changes in their foreign policy. Egypt and Iraq changed their anthems five times in accordance with their regime change and/or the radical change in

¹⁵ For the translation of the lyrics, see Hang (2003: 551); Also note that the early lyrics was written by Mohammad Talat in 1950 but they were never recited.

¹⁶ Mesbah (2019: 51-52) notes that the anthems of Arab monarchies give more direct reference to religious salvation than the republics.

¹⁷ For the original Arabic lyrics of the anthem, visit <https://www.maroc.ma/en/content/national-anthem-1> Last Accessed on 08/01/2021; For the official translation of the lyrics, visit <https://kingabdullah.jo/en/page/about-jordan/national-anthem> Last Accessed on 10/01/2021.

¹⁸ For translation of the lyrics, see Hang (2003: 438).

administration style. Libya, following the same path, changed the lyrics of its anthem three times, the last of which involved the readoption of the first one.

The lyrics of the republics' anthem mostly include patriotic words and a stronger tone than those of the monarchies; and their tones get stronger in times of conflict and war. It could be argued that the role of the nation in protecting the homeland has been defined more directly in the anthems of the republics than the ones of the monarchies. While those lyrics of republican anthems give more reference to the flag, homeland, freedom, people, soldiers, struggle, sacrifice and weapons, monarchical anthems prefer to flatter the king and praise Allah by invoking heavenly messages. As may be seen in Libya, Iraq and Egypt, those words about war and weapons fade out when their foreign policies turn to a peaceful orientation. At the times of crises and conflicts, however, patriotic feelings are expressed with stronger words against enemies and imperialist powers.

Unlike republics, Arab monarchies seem to prefer shorter lyrics and use their anthems even without lyrics for a long time.¹⁹ Republics attach specific importance to the anthems in terms of promoting the national values and expressing the feelings of their people about independence, and their anthems are mostly selected by organizing national competitions. In contrast to republics, leaders of the Arab monarchies prefer to give instructions to poets or artists to write or compose their anthems, that is why the lyrics of these anthems tend to downplay the passions and feelings of the people.

Looking at the historical progress of the Arab republics, it may also be noted that their monarchical times show a difference compared with today's monarchies in terms of their choice of lyrics. Both Egypt and Libya used patriotic themes in their royal anthems with strong lyrics including words such as struggle, sacrifice and the fight against imperialism.

National anthems, as poetic declarations of the national feelings and the *raison d'état* of independent states, present important clues about the national interest conceptualization and foreign policy orientation. Although those anthems do not change as quickly as the foreign policies of the states, they could still be instrumentalized to extract some key insights for the paths that will be followed in foreign policies, depending on the type of the regime.

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¹⁹ Meshab (2019: 50-55) mentions the thematic complexity of republican anthems than monarchical anthems.

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APPENDIX- LYRICS OF NATIONAL ANTHEMS

EGYPT: *Al Salam Al Maliki* had no lyrics. The official translations of the lyrics are retrieved from <https://www.presidency.eg/en/>

<i>Eslamy ya Misr</i>	<i>Nasheed Al Horeya</i>	<i>Wallāh Zamān Yā Silāḥī</i>	<i>Bilādī</i>
O Egypt; Be safe, for I will sacrifice my life for you. Here is my hand for you, if the world raised a hand (to hurt you). Never shall you yield, ever! I am hoping for a better	I was forced to remain silent; and unwillingly I had to be patient. Now, speak, bear, and learn how to hate [enemies]. Your precious honour was worthless for the unjust,	It has been a long time O my weapon I long for you in my struggle Speak and say I am awake, O war it has been a long time.	My homeland, my homeland, my homeland You have my love and my heart. My homeland, my homeland, my homeland You have my love and my heart.

<p>tomorrow, I am heartedly determined to strife, And to my heart, my believe in you is as strong as my believe in my religion. May you, Egypt, be safe, And in peace may you flourish my homeland. If the spears of time are thrown at you, I will be shielding you with my chest. And always be safe.</p> <p>I stand as firm in the face of hardships as the pyramids. In my defence and struggle for my homeland, I do not turn away, tire, or yield. May you, Egypt, be safe, And in peace may you flourish my homeland. If the spears of time are thrown at you, I will be shielding you with my chest. And always be safe.</p>	<p>So shame hit both you and him. Your free land was covered by humility and was overwhelmed by tyranny. Sacrifice life for your honour. Defend your homeland with your life. A rage for honour and land is a rage that resurrects our glory. If hardships yell at us, let every man say: I'm here. O Egypt, I sacrifice myself for you, My blood is to protect your soil, and my blood is to colour your soil. I'm a spark, a sheen, a rock, I'm ember, A fire scorched my breath, and my blood is boiling for revenge. O my homeland, I do not deserve to live if I don't sacrifice my present and future for your freedom, I will make your enemies bleed the blood of my fathers and children bled.</p>	<p>It has been a long time for the soldiers, Advancing with thunderous roar, Swearing never to return, Except with the epoch-making victory, Rise and close the ranks, With lives ready to sacrifice, O the horror that the enemy shall suffer, From you in the fire of the battlefield, O glory, O glory, That was built by us, By toil and pain, Never would go in vain, Who shall protect free Egypt? We shall protect it with our weapons, Land of the revolution, Who will sacrifice for its sake? We will, with our souls, The people march like the light, The people stand still like mountains and seas</p>	<p>Egypt! O mother of all countries, You are my hope and my ambition, And above all people, Your Nile has countless graces! Egypt! You are the most precious gem, A blaze on the forehead of time! O my homeland, be forever free, And be safe from every foe! My homeland, my homeland, my homeland You have my love and my heart. O Egypt, land of prosperity, Filled with the ancient glory, My goal is to repel enemies, Only on God I rely. My homeland, my homeland, my homeland You have my love and my heart. Egypt, noble are thy children. Loyal, and guardians of the reins. Be we at war or peace We will sacrifice ourselves for thy sake, my homeland. You will achieve thy aspirations, by their union as well as mine. My homeland, my homeland, my homeland You have my love and my heart.</p>
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IRAQ: *As Salam Al Maliki*, the first *Mawtini* and *Wallāh Zamān Yā Silāhī* were used without lyrics.

Ardh ul-Furatayn

Mawtini

<p>A motherland has extended its wings over the horizon, And wore the glory of civilizations as a garment Blessed be the land of the Euphrates A homeland of glorious determination and tolerance. This homeland is made of flame and splendour And pride unmatched by the highest heaven. [It is] a mountain that rises above the tops of the world And a plain that embodies our pride. Babylon is inherent in us and Assyria is ours, And with us History [itself] radiates with light, We alone, from among mankind, combined [in possession] The anger of the sword and the patience of the prophets. When we ignited the sands of Arabs into a revolution And bore the flag of liberty as an ideology Since al-Muthanna of Horses charged And Saladin covered it with spears! A motherland has extended its wings over the horizon, And wore the glory of civilizations as a garment Blessed be the land of the Euphrates A homeland of glorious determination and tolerance. We pledge by sword and the speech of pride And the neighing of horses when in duty We are the wall of its limitless range And the roaring of people in days of war We inherited the flags of the Prophet from desert And the Arabian nature and pride Glorify well the Land of the Arabs We have risen, oh Sun set The tanned foreheads are filled with laughter and love And firmness that cruised for humans their way O you who is leading his people to supreme elevation Make of the horizons our battlefields Oh company of al-Ba'th, you pride of lions, Oh pinnacle of pride and of inherited glory, Advance, like terror, to a certain victory And resurrect the time of al-Rashid in our land! We are a generation who give all and toil to the utmost. Oh expanse of glory, we have returned anew To a nation that we build with unyielding determination. And each martyr follows the footsteps of a former martyr.</p>	<p>My homeland, my homeland Glory and beauty, sublimity and splendour Are in your hills, are in your hills Life and deliverance, pleasure and hope Are in your air, are in your air Will I see you, will I see you? Safely comforted and victoriously honoured Safely comforted and victoriously honoured Will I see you in your eminence? Reaching to the stars, reaching to the stars My homeland, my homeland My homeland, my homeland The youth will not tire, 'till your independence Or they die, or they die We will drink from death, and will not be to our enemies Like slaves, like slaves We do not want, we do not want An eternal humiliation, nor a miserable life An eternal humiliation, nor a miserable life We do not want, but we will bring back Our storied glory, our storied glory My homeland! My homeland, my homeland, The sword and the pen, not the talk nor the quarrel Are our symbols, are our symbols. Our glory and our covenant, and a faithful duty Moves us, moves us. Our glory, our glory, Is an honourable cause, and a waving flag. Is an honourable cause, and a waving flag. O, behold you, in your eminence, Victorious over your enemies, victorious over your enemies. My homeland, my homeland!</p>
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<p>Our mighty nation is filled with pride and vigour And the comrades build the fortresses of glory. May you remain forever a refuge for all the Arabs, Oh Iraq And be as suns that turn night into day!</p>	
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LIBYA:

<i>Allahu Akbar</i>	<i>Libya, Libya, Libya</i>
<p>Allah is greatest, Allah is greatest Allah is above the plots of the aggressors And He is the best helper of the oppressed With faith and with weapon I shall defend my country And the light of truth will shine in my hand Sing with me! Allah is greatest Allah, Allah, Allah is greatest Allah is above the aggressors O World, look up and listen The enemy's army is coming Wishing to destroy me With truth and with my gun I shall repulse him And should I be killed I would kill him with me Sing with me Woe to the imperialists And Allah is treacherous tyrant Allah is greatest Therefore, glorify him, O my country And seize the forehead of the tyrant And destroy him</p>	<p>O my country, O my country, With my struggle and gladiatorial patience, Drive off all enemies' plots and mishaps Be saved, be saved, be saved, be saved all the way We are your sacrifices Libya, Libya, Libya! O my country, You're the heritage of my ancestors May Allah not bless any hand that tries to harm you Be saved, we are for ever your soldiers No matter the death toll if you've been saved Take from us the most credential oaths, we won't let you down, Libya We will never be enchained again We are free and have freed our homeland Libya, Libya, Libya! Our grandfathers stripped a fine determination when the call for struggle was made They marched carrying Qur'an in one hand, and their weapons by the other hand The universe is then full of faith and purity The world is then a place of goodness and godliness Eternity is for our grandfathers They have honoured this homeland Libya, Libya, Libya! (verse abolished) Extend on Idris the honour, the descendant of the conqueror (new version) Extend on Al Mukhtar the prince of the conqueror He is the symbol of struggle and Jihad He raises our flag high And we follow him, freeing our homeland, He allows praise of his throne</p>

	<p>And raises hope for Libya in heaven, A free flag, Over a rich country, Libya, Libya, Libya.</p> <p>O son of Libya, O son of lions of the wild We're for honour and the honours are for us</p> <p>Since the time of us being honoured, people thanked our generosity and honourableness</p> <p>May Allah bless our Independence</p> <p>O Libyans, seek the dizzy heights as a position in mankind Our cubs, be prepared for the foreseen battles Our youths, to prevail Life is only a struggle for homeland Libya, Libya, Libya!</p>
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SAUDI ARABIA, MOROCCO AND JORDAN

Because there was no official translation in the governmental webpages, translations of the lyrics are retrieved from Hang (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of National Anthems*.

<i>an-Našīd al-Waṭanī as-Su'ūdī</i>	<i>an-Našīd aš-Šarīf</i>	<i>as-Salām al-Malakī al-'Urdunī</i>
<p>Hasten, To glory and supremacy! Glorify the creator of the heavens And raise the green, fluttering flag Carrying the emblem of light Repeat! Allah is greatest Oh my country, my country, may you always live The glory of all Muslims Long live the king, for the flag and the country!</p>	<p>Fountain of freedom, source of light Where sovereignty and safety meet Safety and sovereignty, may you ever combine You have lived among nations with title sublime Filling each heart, sung by each tongue Your champion has risen and answered your call In my mouth and in my blood Your breezes have stirred both light and fire Up! My brethren, strive for the highest We call to the World that we are here ready We salute as our emblem God, homeland and king</p>	<p>Long live the King! Long live the King, His rank exalted, His flags flying high, In sublimity. *** We realised our aspirations, When you regenerated for us A renaissance that motivates us, A renaissance that towers Above the high, rising stars. O King of the Arabs, You are greatly honoured By being a descendent of The best Prophet, A great lineage That all major books spoke of. The glorified youth Are your devoted soldiers. Their resolve will never subside And die away, Because from you, They learn perseverance.</p>

		<p>O King of the Arabs, You are greatly honoured By being a descendent of The best Prophet, A great lineage That all major books spoke of. May you always be A light, a guide And a master among people, Delighted and exalted. And under your flags, The glory of the Arabs Rises high.</p> <p>O King of the Arabs, You are greatly honoured By being a descendent of The best Prophet, A great lineage That all major books spoke of.</p>
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