

**MALEK BENNABI AND HIS
MODERN ISLAMIC THOUGHT**

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A thesis presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at the University of Salford,

Department of Politics

1991 / 1992

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge profound indebtedness to my supervisor, Dr. Y.N. Awad without whose kind help and advice this work would not have come to fruition. My gratitude also goes to Dr. Bakr Ba Qader, whose remarks were of great value during the preparation of this thesis.

I am also grateful to the University Library staff for their kind assistance and cooperation. To you all, thank you and God bless you.

ABSTRACT

For a long time, Arab and Muslim writers and intellectuals have not been able to agree on clearly defined causes of "al-Takhalluf" (social, cultural and economic retardation) in their societies. One group attributed it to ignorance and illiteracy, while another lay the blame on the lack of technological know-how or colonialism etc. Every effort to get rid of "al-Takhalluf" was frustrated due to the fact that, rather than being directed to an analysis of the problem, such efforts usually focused on the symptoms and consequences. As a result, the Arab and Muslim world is still suffering from economic, technological and cultural retardation. However, the issue of development continued as a major preoccupation of a large section of Arab and Muslim intellectuals.

Malek Bennabi is ranked among the very few who have profoundly and systematically contributed to the debate concerning the issue of development. This thesis is intended to discuss Malek Bennabi's singular ideas on "al-Takhalluf", development and social transformation. Compared to other Arab and Muslim writers and intellectuals who have dealt with the subject and achieved a consensus on its vitality, Malek Bennabi's thought singularly provides a realistic perspective based on a more comprehensive methodology. In the discourse

of this thesis, Malek Bennabi's ideas will be compared to those expressed by geographers, economists, sociologists, and management scientists as well as to those specifically advocated by Arab and Muslim intellectuals, with a view to delineate the comprehensiveness of Malek Bennabi's approach vis-a-vis his predecessors and contemporaries.

The study comprises an introduction, three chapters and the conclusion.

Chapter One deals with the atmosphere prevailing in Malek Bennabi's country of origin and his own intellectual, cultural and educational itinerary both in Algeria and in France. It will also discuss the intellectual elements that have influenced his thoughts and are reflected in his works.

Chapter Two is an elaborate account of Malek Bennabi's ideas on "al-Takhalluf" (retardation), development and social change in the Arab and Muslim world, and his analysis of the causes rather than symptoms of social and economic retardation as outlined in his nineteen books.

Chapter Three is an assessment of Malek Bennabi's ideas on "al-Takhalluf" (retardation), development and social change in comparison to theories formulated by other experts in the field. It demonstrates the singularity, comprehensiveness and profundity of his thought and the success he achieved in

diagnosing the phenomenon of "al- Takhalluf" as "deprivation of civilization" rather than a consequence of colonialism, ignorance or poverty.

The conclusion sums up Malek Bennabi's ideas on "al-Takhalluf" and social change. It also includes recommendations towards a greater consideration of his work in order to reveal its more substantial aspects. This is followed by two appendices containing:

(a) The various theories of backwardness, development and social change as propounded by selected geographers, economists and management scientists, and

(b) The various ideas proffered by Arabs and Muslims on "al-Takhalluf" as well as their proposals to eliminate this malady from the Arab and Muslim world.

A comprehensive bibliography of references used in the thesis follows the conclusion.

INTRODUCTION

Most Arab and Muslim countries were under foreign rule before the Second World War. Consequently the question of planning for development was not a main consideration. This, however, does not imply a complete negligence of the matter; for that was impossible, under the increasingly exorbitant financial obligations placed on a modern administration.

It must however be observed that the attention of most of these countries was rather focused on development in some areas, such as building modern sectors around existing cities, for the sole purpose of generating additional local and foreign income needed to solve social and administrative problems. One consequence of this approach was a kind of unbalanced development, with many modern cities arising in rural or nomadic environments which were predominantly backward and illiterate. Another consequence of this approach was the emergence of a new elite class which sought to tackle the problems of socio-economic development with solutions alien to the realities and traditions of these societies.

Situation after independence was no better than before. The absence of relevant models of development and the estrangement of the new ruling class from social realities

were responsible for a gloomy situation. A serious crisis soon developed and produced two clear trends in the managerial system of these countries [1].

A - The Political Approach

According to this approach, the problem of development is no more than a political crisis, caused by the domination of the potentialities of a country by traditional forces. Therefore, only the replacement of the old structure with a new one could effect the required transformation and help solve the problem of development. Remarkably enough, one consequence of this approach has been the frequent military take-overs in many under-developed countries. Likewise, the emergence of radical political parties, usually with leftist or nationalist ideologies, has only aggravated the situation.

The new forms of bureaucracy introduced by these parties, and the administrative and social corruption caused by the dominance of a small clique over the affairs of the state, coupled with the absence of administrative accountability and rule of the law, also complicated the situation. The failure of this purely political theory to solve the problems of development has been devastating. This is because, contrary to expectations, it led to a vicious

circle of selfish struggle for power by various individuals and groups which goes on unabated in many countries.

B -The Economic Approach

This approach views the issue of development as of a purely economic nature. Hence, its attention has been focused mainly on bureaucratic methods of organization and management, as if the aim was to establish and operate a business. But, since most economists in the developing countries had their training in the developed world and were familiar only with theories that succeeded in that world, their endeavors to perceive and analyze indigenous problems and to find appropriate solutions have been quite disappointing. Moreover, a quick glance into most of the economic viewpoints prevailing in the Arab and Muslim countries will reveal that these countries have opted for the three-way division of the economy prevalent in the developed world i.e.:

- a) The Agricultural Sector,
- b) The Industrial Sector and
- c) The Services Sector [2].

There is, of course, no harm in dividing the economy into these sectors. What is not defensible is to give such a division a philosophical rationale and to assume that all

human societies progress from the agricultural stage to the industrial one, and then to the development of the services sector. Most Arab countries viewed industrialization as the main objective of development and focused all their attention on developing the industrial sector and totally neglected the agricultural one. They ignored the fact that many developed countries had first developed the agricultural sector and then later on embarked upon industrialization.

Furthermore, because of lack of capital and skilled professional and technical manpower, this new situation only caused most Arab countries to plunge into a number of financial and economic crises. To add to their difficulties, they had to import capital as well as technical expertise at high costs which subsequently turned these countries into insolvent entities. The new industries also became a financial burden because of the lack of ability to compete with the industrialized world in so far as quality of the products and economics of prices were concerned.

The United Nations, and in particular "UNESCO", tried to intervene by introducing the idea of a new world economic order as a way out of the crises faced by the poor countries and a means of improving economic fair play among member states [3]. But, this idea, which subsequently developed into the North South dialogue, would soon encounter insurmountable

obstacles, the most notable being reluctance on the part of the rich countries to forego their traditional markets or gamble with their funds in trying to meet the costs of backwardness and maladministration of the poor countries.

In this unprecedented world environment, most poor countries began to review their economic and social policies in the light of new concepts and experiences. The work of the famous Algerian thinker Malek Bennabi has been in the forefront of contemporary Arab thinking [4]. But, before we examine Malek Bennabi's thought, let us follow the course of contemporary Arab thinking, since mid-19th century in order to determine the paramount significance of Malek Bennabi's thought throughout this era.

Evolution of Contemporary Arab Thinking

The period between the fall of Baghdad in 656/1258 C.E. and the French expedition to Egypt of 1798 had been relatively a period of intellectual stagnation, as compared to the Abbasid era which saw great advancement of science through Arab contacts with Greek and other contemporary cultures. A few modern Arab thinkers hold the view that the canons of the French artillery fire which devastated the port of Alexandria Egypt in 1798, also awakened the Arabs from their long slumber. Equally, the French expedition preceded the

reopening of contacts between the East and the West. At this time, incidentally, the Muhammad Ali dynasty was consolidating itself at the top of the political hierarchy. From the very beginning, Muhammad Ali, a staunch admirer of western civilization, sent envoys and students to the western world. The positive role of these missions notwithstanding, the new values and outlook they brought into the life of the Arabs created a convulsion of the impact of which can be felt even today.

Meanwhile, one of the first Egyptians to arrive in France was Riffa Rafi al-Tahtawi (1801-1873). Having seen the changes effected in the society by the French Revolution, he returned to the Arab world, and began to spread western concepts through the school of languages he established in Cairo. His book "Takhlis Al Ibriz Ila Talkhis Bariz" was an expression of his deep admiration of the western civilization. In this book, he asserted that the advancement of western world was due to the prevalence of an atmosphere of freedom and respect of the individual. However, Tahtawi's approach was somewhat radical, and he failed to explain how the Arab world was to keep a balance between European and Islamic concepts.

Generally however, it must be observed that, the majority of the intellectuals of that epoch were

characterized by a kind of liberalism. However, Al-Afghani soon grasped the idea that Egypt is the epicentre of the Muslim world, and that Islam would improve elsewhere if it progressed in Egypt. So, he left his country and proceeded to Egypt to propagate his cause. [5] In this respect, Sheikh Jamal Al-din Al Afghani, who ignited at the beginning of the century, and groomed a whole generation of revolutionaries like Sa'd Zaghlool, Muhammad Abduh and others, is to be regarded as one of those thinkers who adopted a radical stand in their political views. For, according to Al-Afghani, the basic problem facing the Arab and Islamic worlds was politics itself. Hence his attacks were not directed only against the colonialist, for he was also involved in a bitter conflict with the national authorities, such as the Khedive as well as the sublime port of Turkey.

Meanwhile, although Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) had been an ardent disciple of Jamal al-din Al Afghani, he nevertheless adopted a different approach in diffusing his ideas. Sheikh Abduh, who was a teacher connected with Al-Azhar, held the opinion that, the Arab world was in dire need of reform - a reform that could not materialise without combining western technology with Islamic values. [6]

But, despite the many positive aspects of Sheikh Muhammad Abduh's trend of thought, most radical currents of the

contemporary Arab thinking at that initial stage, had their beginning among the disciples of Sheikh Abduh. Most notable among these radical disciples was Sheikh Ali Abdal Raziq who raised the question of Khilafat (Caliphate) in Islam. His views circled around the notion that, Islam never created a political system or a system of Khilafat. [7] His intention by this, was to initiate a political system that conforms with the spirit of the times, and serves the interest of Muslims.

A. Lutfi Al-Sayyid, another disciple of Sheikh Abduh, was even more radical than Sheikh Ali Abdal Raziq. According to him, Islam is not one of the basic factors of Egyptian life. He even went further to attribute the Egyptians' proclivity towards imitation, to their assimilation to the Islamic faith and Arab values, all of which are at variance with the Pharaonic heritage. [8]

Another writer of the same radical trend was Qasim Amin, who, in his "Tahrir Al-Maraa" saw the beginning of a new era, in the emancipation of women - an era in which the whole society will take the course of Secularism. [9]

Yet, all those radical trends were incomparable with the crisis gushed-out by Taha Husayn (1889-1990), a prominent and influential figure in the Arabic literary world. His first

bombshell came through his "Fil-adab al-Jahili" which was skeptical of many aspects of Islamic tenets. The second outburst came through his "Mustaqbal Al-Thaqafah Fi Misr". In this book, Taha Husayn declared that, Egypt belongs more to the civilization of the Mediterranean sea, than to Islamic or Far-Eastern civilization. [10] In so doing, Taha Husayn undoubtedly ignored deliberately the Arab and Islamic presence in Egypt.

Moreover, those radical trends no doubt, paved the way for the emergence of the various Secularist inclinations, advocated by certain Lebanese and Syrian writers who had settled in Egypt and initiated newspapers and magazines there. But, because they belonged to Christianity, the basis of their proclivity was Arab nationalism. Be it was it may, this first phase of contemporary Arab thinking, with Egypt as its centre of gravity, was characterized in the main by moderation, in spite of the presence on the scene, of those radical trends. By moderation in this respect, we mean that there had been a balance between the traditional trends and foreign or alien trends.

The year 1967 had been a decisive one in the annals of modern Arab thinking [11]. It was a year that saw the defeat of the Arabs in the six day war and led to the decline of all the philosophical, nationalistic and ideological theories.

However, the self-directed inquiry into how the defeat occurred was the beginning of reformation of Arab thinking in various aspects:-

(a) The defeat was attributed by many thinkers to lack of technological advancement in the Arab world, compared to other advanced nations. These thinkers therefore demanded the acquisition of western technology. But their demand came to a headlong collision with the problem of improving the system of education in order to train competent cadres who will be able to deal with modern technology. [12]

(b) Another section of thinkers attributed the defeat to lack of religion, and held atheism responsible for the set-back. They went further to demand for the reassessment of Islam's position vis-a-vis life and society. [13]

(c) A third opinion held the conviction that, the Arab world is surrounded by an atmosphere of dictatorship that stifles individual creativity, and consolidates the domination of the elite. According to this opinion, the best way to improvement is the return of freedom, followed by initiation of development on proper basis, i.e. Soil-time-Man. [14]

Meanwhile, the set-back has led to temporary decline of many of the nationalist tendencies and leftist ideologies

leaving the vacuum to be filled-up by Islamic currents through the many books that called for the Islamization of knowledge, thought, education and society etc. At this juncture, the ideas of Abul Aala Al-Mawdoudi having been translated into the Arabic language became the basis of most of the theories of contemporary Islamic thinking. Individuals began to reach out for the works of the late Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb and others who have become preoccupied with intellectual life from the Islamic point of view. Malek Bennabi who treated the whole question from an Islamic perspective different from all the others was foremost among these writers.

Generally it may be noted that the new Islamic thought restricted itself to stirring emotions towards the remote past, rather than presenting a well contrived alternative to what already exists. Moreover, although this Islamic tendency did put forward certain significant and fundamental perspectives, its collision with the social reality has been both noteworthy and counter productive. Sayyid and Muhammad Qutb's assertion that, the present Arab society is a Jahili society has in many political regimes against the prevailing Islamic tendencies. That assertion also kept some people completely preoccupied and obstructed the search for an alternative and thus, allowing the erstwhile atheistic trends to surface once again using the Arab Maghrib as a spring-board.

During 1952-1960, Malek was able to publish most of his books in Arabic, giving readers the opportunity to be acquainted with his important thoughts. A new trend of thought began to emerge before the death of Malek. Because this trend was absolutely different from Malek's, it is useful to elaborate on its nature which was entirely alien to the majority of Arab readers. The writers of this trend who lived in France, failed to convince their compatriots to accept their ideas, thus leaving Malek's trend of thought to gain predominance both in the east and the west of the Arab world.

**The Atheistic trend of thought in the Arab
Maghrib (West), and its counterpart in the
Arab Mashriq (East)**

Muhammad Arkoun deemed it fit to replace the word of "Thought" with the word "Discourse" which was an expression that appeared in the 1960's as a linguistic term introduced by "Sinclair".

Arkoun's views could be seen revolving around the following points:-

- (1) The Holy Quran is a discourse with a mythological structure.
- (2) Islamic discourse is divided into two categories:-

(a) Things that can be subjected to thinking. That is, things that Islam permits the individual to subject to his thinking.

(b) Things that cannot be subjected to thinking. That is, things that cannot be subjected to human thinking. This category Arkoun says, is responsible for the backward state of the Arab world. He does not tell us what are the areas in which we are forbidden to think.

(3) There are four competitive discourses in the Muslim world:-

(a) The present Islamic discourse which seems to dominate over all the other discourses by the force of the overall political excitability it enjoys, both sociologically and psychologically. This discourse falls within the scope of the psychological dimension of the heritage, and at the same time, teaches us - unconsciously though - the religious purport of this particular heritage.

(b) The traditional or classic Islamic discourse which reveals the heritage at its formative stage, and inculcates it inside groups of authentic or correct texts.

(c) The eradiative discourse, which applies to the formative or constituent stage, or to the stage of confirmation of the methodology of philological and historical criticism, which

leans more towards historicism and positivism of the 19th century.

(d) The discourse of the humanitarian and social sciences which aims at revising the previous three discourses, in order to reveal the indistinct questions that they contain and which has been thrown into the scope of things that are impossible to be subjected to thinking, as well as the scope of things that cannot be subjected to thinking. This purpose in itself, paves the way for the retrieval of contemporary mode of criticism for the problem of heritage or the problem of heritage in Islam.

Furthermore, in his demand for a critical revision of Quranic text, Arkoun said that, any critical revision of the Quranic text requires first of all writing a story to give the text a new form altogether. That is, to subject the formal story of the structure by the traditional heritage, to a radical criticism. Like the Bibles, he says that, the Holy Quran contains nothing but high figures of speech, which speaks about the condition of mankind. These figures of speech can never become a crystal clear law, despite the great self-deception that man holds to the contrary.

Furthermore, Arkoun adopts the methodology of social and dialectic sciences to penetrate into Islam, and to make

believe that, Islam could be regarded as a pure social phenomena, not a religious one. With this framework, Arkoun resorts to dissectionism which has its basis in the theory of reading to recognize or perceive the basic elements of Islam. Moreover, Arkoun believes that the basis of the mode of Islam are subject to the unqualified denial or refutation by reality and modern scientific criticism. (15)

Another Arab writer Abdallah al-Arawy, in an article entitled "Marxism towards the Islamic Ideology" referred Islam to a positive and man-made ideology, and not only heralded Marxism but demanded its application. [16]

In the same context, Sadiq Jalal al-Azm in his book "Naqd Al-Fikr Al-Dini" writes a whole chapter on what he calls "The Tragedy of Satan". Satan, he elaborates

has suffered an injustice unparalleled in history. Furthermore, Azm demanded that, imagination should replace science. Religion he said, claims for itself and its beliefs a kind of truism no imaginary substitute could have. Therefore, the attempts being made to obliterate the features of the conflict between religion and science, are but desperate attempts to defend religion, whenever it is forced to abandon one of its traditional positions. [17]

Hisham Jaeit had no qualms in demanding complete emancipation from the Islamic religion which, according to him, is nothing but a primitive phenomenon incompatible with modern thinking. Furthermore, Jaeit describes the Shariah (Islamic law) and its penalties as unsuitable and cruel. Hence, he advises developing countries, to follow the steps of the developed countries in as much as legislation is concerned, and to cease enforcing the cruel and incompatible laws which even the Omayad Caliphate had abandoned thirteen centuries ago. The penal code he said, must be based on the universally accepted principles of our age, without ignoring the social and mental circumstances surrounding the society. The laws of personal status which is still burdened by antiquity and Quranic classifications should especially be freed from the so-called laws of inheritance, marriage and sex. Jaeit however contradicts himself, when he wonders whether the Arab world has any choice in taking recourse to religious spiritualism vis-a-vis an atheist communist world and a west that has abandoned its Christianity.[18]

Ghali Shukri calls for Secularism, since any other religious tendency would only lead to a form of social autocracy. Therefore, the only way to progress is to imitate Europe, by separating religion from society. Secularism according to Shukri would help achieve the following:-

- a- Confirmation that science is the only thing that can help emancipate man from the shackles of metaphysical philosophies.
- b- Separation of cosmic values from metaphysical values.
- c- Development of uniform basis for all the propensities in the society.
- d- Development of a legal basis for all the sectors of society.[21]

Thus, from this multitude of ideas and views whether Islamic reformism, or liberal secularism or Marxist Socialism which represent the basis of contemporary Islamic thought, Malek Bennabi, with his reformist ideas based on a mixture of principles of Islamic and European thoughts, will be surveyed in this thesis. Through this mixture, Malek can be seen as a distinct intellectual personality, and hence dedication of this work as a spotlight on his ideas regarding backwardness, development and change. More so, Malek is considered as:-

- The first in both the Arab and Muslim worlds to write on what is known today as development, and among the very few who had insisted there is a third road to renaissance apart from Socialism and Capitalism.[22]

This is an extraordinary view. But it still shows how important malek and his thoughts appeared to some Arab

writers.

- He was the most prominent among Arab intellectuals concerned with cultural thought since Ibn Khaldun.[23]

- Malek presented Islam in its capacity as the source of respected values, capable of retrieving the role of human being without, the burden of imperial culture. According to him Islam must not be presented to the world as a book, but rather as a social reality that contributes to shaping the destiny of mankind.[24]

Malek was quite different from many preachers, intellectuals and writers in that, he was a pedigree philosopher with the insight of a meticulous social scientist. His mixture of French and Arabic cultures, allowed him to combine Arab science and thought, derived from the Quran and Sunnah as well as from the philosophy and substantial Arabic and Islamic heritage, with western science and ideas derived from the Greek, Roman and Christian heritage [25]

By examining this list of previous works on Malek, we can see that all are in Arabic and more than half of them are news paper articles, while the rest concentrate on a limited aspect of Malek's life and work.

The encyclopedia of Islam does not even mention his name. Another important writer such as A. Hourani in his "Arab Thought In The Liberal Age" did not deal with Malek even in later editions of the book. Any study of modern arab thought, would certainly be incomplete without dealing with such an important figure as Malek, whose ideas now prevail in the Arab East and West. I trust that my study will fill this important gap.

The methodology of the research

In view of the nature of this study, the researcher has adopted the method of comparison between the views and thought of Malek on the one hand, and the scholastic debate on backwardness, development and social change, as well as the ideas of Arab and Muslim intellectuals and literary figures on the other.

Previous Studies

These vary between scholastic dissertations, newspaper article, books and chapters contained in certain books arranged as follows according to the year of publication:-

1. "Qadiyyat Al-Tanmiyah" (The case of development) by Dr. Mahmud Muhammad Safar - Vol. 4 in Saudi Arabian book series - 1st edition 1980 - Tihama Publications - Jeddah - chapter

on "Subjectivism of Development" page 19 and the chapter on "Scientific and technological development" page 47.

2. A dissertation for M.A degree under the title "Usus Al-Tarbawiyah Lil Taghyir Al-Ijtimai Ind Malek Bennabi" (The Educational basis of social change according to Malek Bennabi) by Ali Hasan Ali Qurayishi the faculty of education - Ain Shams University - Egypt - supervised by Dr. Saeed Ismail Ali - 1983.

3. A thesis for Ph. D entitled "Malek Bennabi Mufakkiran Islahiyyan" prepared by As'ad Sahmarani of the department of Islamic studies at Imam Auzaei's college of Islamic studies - Beirut - Lebanon - 1983. The thesis was published in book form in the year 1404 - 1984 after omission of some chapters and amendment of others by the candidate. It was published by Dar AL-Nafaes - Beirut.

4. A book entitled "Mushkilat Al-Hadarah Ind Malek Bennabi" (The problems of culture in Malek Bennabi's view) by Muhammad Abdus Salam Jaafiri. Published in 1984 by Darul Arabia lil Kitab - Tripoli - Libya.

5. A book entitled "Hawl Fikr Malek Bennabi" (On Malek Bennabi's thought) by Omar Kamil Miskawi - published by Darul Fikr - Beirut - Lebanon 1985.

6. "Al- Manzur Al-Hadari Lil Takhalluf" (The cultural perspective of backwardness) by Dr. Yusuf Noor Awad - published in 1985 by as-Safa press in Holy Makkah - Chapter three on "The cultural vision in Malek Bennabi's thought" page 49.

7. A treatise for M.A. degree submitted in 1985 by Abdallah Hamad Ouisi of Imam Muhammad bin Saud University under the title of "Malek Bennabi hayatuhu wa Fikruhu" (Malek Bennabi, his life and thought).

8. "Al-Sira al-hadari Fil Alam Al-Islami" (The cultural struggle in the Muslim world), an analytical study of the Philosophy of civilization according to Malek Bennabi by Shaayif Okashah - published in 1986 by Darul Fikr - Beirut - Lebanon.

9. "Al-Fikr Al-Islami Al-Muasir" (The Modern Islamic thought), by Ghazi Tawba - published in 1977 by Darul Qalam Beirut - Lebanon - chapter on "The reformation school" Page 75.

10. "Usus Al-Taqaddum Ind Muffakkri Al-Islam Fil Al-Alam Al-Arabi Al-Hadith" (The basis of progress according to Muslim intellectuals of the contemporary Arab world) by Dr. Fahmi Jadan. Published in 1979 by Muassasah Al-Arabiyyah lil

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11. "Al-Shakhsiat Al-Islamiah Al-Muasirah" (Contemporary Islamic personages), by Ibrahim Ba'thy. Published in 1972 by Darul shaab - Cairo - Egypt - Vol. 2 page 29.

12. "Falsafat Al-Istishraq" (The philosophy of orientalism) by Dr. Ahmad Ismailovitch - published in 1980 by Darul Maarif - Cairo - Egypt - page 693.

13. "Al-Islam Ghadan" (Islam Tomorrow) and "Al-Islam Bayn Al-Dawah Wal Dawlah", (Islam between preaching and the state) by Abdus Salam Yasin - published in 1983 by an Najah press - Casablanca - Morocco - page 349.

14. Articles entitled "Qiraat Fi Fikr Malek Bennabi" (Readings in Malek Bennabi's thought" by Muhammad Abduh - published in al-Bayan Magazine of Al-Muntada al Islami, London - Britain Vo,. 14, 15, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23 between October 1983 and Dec. 1989.

15. "Al-Taghyir Al-Ijtimai Ind Malek Bennabi" (Social change in Malek's view), by Dr. Ali Qurayishi. Published in 1989 by az-Zahra lil Ealam al-Arabi - Cairo - Egypt.

My study on the other hand, deals more comprehensively

with Malek thought on an academic level concentrated more on development, social change, and backwardness which have not been dealt with before. Moreover no study has been conducted in the English language on Malek in a comprehensive manner.

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CHAPTER ONE

Malek Bennabi's Country, Life and Character

This chapter will deal with the atmosphere prevailing in Algeria before the birth of Malek Bennabi as well as the economic, political, administrative, educational and cultural aspects dominant in the country in his lifetime. The inquiry into the background of Malek Bennabi's culture and thought as well as his journey to France in quest of knowledge will also be responded to.

ALGERIA BEFORE AND DURING FRENCH OCCUPATION

From the Economic political, educational and cultural point of view:

Before the arrival of the French in 1830 Algeria was an exporter of Wheat. The army of the French revolution and empire fed out. The Algerian wheat sent by the "Dai" who was so chevalier and generous as not to demand payment for the wheat even after the year 1816. A few years later nevertheless, the Dai was compelled to expel the French Consul Mr. Duval as a reprisal against French refusal to pay off its debt. The French responded by military intervention, imposing the cultivation of vine grove on an Islamic country

whose religion forbids any form of dealing with any kind of alcoholic beverage. Algeria's previous economic system was thus liquidated, it was made to import wheat instead of exporting it despite the fact that its previous economic system was so sound as to enable her give loans and other financial grants to France, totalling 7,000,000 French Francs in 1798.[1]

Algeria was under the superiority of the Sultans of the Ottoman empire. However the "Walis" have always enjoyed considerable autonomy in the administration of their country, maintaining only tacit relations of goodwill and protection towards the Sultan. In fact, the relationship between Algeria and the Sultan was such that, the "Walis" could pursue foreign policies quite contrary to those adopted by the Sultan. [2]

Algeria on the other hand had experienced a remarkable educational and cultural development, to the extent that, almost every Algerian was able to read and write, thanks to the freedom enjoyed by education from state control. The inhabitants of every village could organize their own institutions for teaching the Holy Quran, Hadith (Traditions of the Holy Prophet) and sciences of the Arabic language and Islamic religion, through self efforts.[3]

Under these circumstances and exactly in 1827 a bitter

conflict took place between Husayn Pasha Dai of Algeria and Monsieur Duval the French Consul ending in the Dai slapping the consul in the face. Following this incident, the French sent in a huge army escorted by the navy to occupy the port of Algiers on the 5th of July 1830. The rest of the country was subsequently subjugated under French rule which lasted for a hundred and thirty (130) years. [4]

In view of the scorched earth policy adopted by the French colonial rulers, the Algerian economy deteriorated. The agro-economy which was based on the cultivation of wheat was transformed to the cultivation of vine yards for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The doors of Algeria were opened widely in front of European immigration, and the Europeans came in from all nationalities to exploit the resources of the country and its natural and human potentialities. By 1896, the number of French inhabitants in Algeria was three hundred and eighty thousand (380,000), while the total number of foreigners was estimated at two hundred and twelve thousand (212,000) and about one hundred and thirty thousand (130,000) Jews all of them enjoying equal rights with the French. They had their own enclaves, cafes, shops, restaurants, banks, electricity and stores with beautiful facades, while the Algerians were isolated in their poor and narrow alleys [5]

Algerians in the rural areas were forced into migration to major cities such as Consantine and Tlemcen heading towards western Tripoli, as did the grandfather of Malek Bennabi. The first wave of such migration began around 1908. [6]

Administratively and politically however, the most conspicuous feature was the declaration in the constitution of 1848 that, Algeria is an integral part of France and would therefore be subject to the laws prevailing in the motherland. The policy of divide and rule was vigorously pursued and so was the policy of assimilation. Ethnic differences in the Algerian society were maliciously exploited, with attempts to convince the Berbers that, they are of a European stock with a distinct language which should not be given-up for the Arabic language. [7]

In the spheres of education and culture it could be remarkably noted that, the Shotan law of 1938 declared the Arabic language as a foreign language. No Algerian - under this law - could be granted permission to establish a school without fulfilling the following stipulations:-

- 1- That teaching will be restricted to the Holy Quran.
- 2- Exegesis of the verses of Jihad, liberation and repulsion

of injustice and despotism should not be taught under any circumstances.

3- The history of Algeria as well as Islamic and Arab history and the geography of Algeria and other Arab countries should be laminated.

4- Arabic literature in all its forms must be alienated.[8]

Under these circumstances of poverty and want, there was wide spread out breaks of disease and epidemics. A rapid comparison of the number of infant mortality in both France and Algeria reveals that while the number in the former was thirty nine (39) in every thousand, it was one hundred and seventy (170) in the later. [9]

Also, the French did not persecute the Algerians who were inside Algeria alone. They also persecuted Algerians who have migrated to France either for studies or work. In fact Algerian workers in France were only considered as a surplus of the French labour market fit only for filthy or, seasonal and hard labour in consideration of meager wages. [10] This then was the situation in which Malek Bennabi found himself during his first migration to France at the age of twenty. He was employed as a labourer and had to carry bags of cement on a scaffold four or five meters high, each bag weighing about

fifty kilograms. Despite this bitter and inhospitable situation, an advisor in the Paris Municipality found it appropriate to suggest the creation of a protection belt around Paris against the invasion of the people coming from the colonies; and the right wing media carried-out violent campaigns against the so called "New invaders".

In Lyon, Malek recalls, he and his companion did everything they possibly could to find a job but to no avail, while their other travel companions were immediately employed. Algerian students in French institutes were subjected to intimidation and discrimination. Their leaders were always under the surveillance and horse of French detectives as was the case of Malek during his second migration to France when the French authorities refused to admit him to the institute of oriental studies because of his political views. He was also denied the right to continue teaching in a school established by Algerian emigrants in Marseilles, and was compelled to return to Algeria where again his application to join the artillery engineers squadron of the French Ministry of Defence was turned down.

[11]

Just two years after the occupation of Algeria by French forces in 1830, the colonial masters began encountering the Algerian resistance. The first encounter occurred during a

revolt led by Prince Abdal Qadir al-Jazairy (1807 - 1883) who was proclaimed an Amir in 1832. Al-Jazairy spearheaded several campaigns against the French and engaged with them in a number of battles until 1842 when the revolt was crushed and al-Jazairy was sent into exile in France 1847.

MALEK BENNABI LIFE AND CHARACTER

Malek Bennabi was born in 1905 - twenty four years after the last revolt of the children of Sidy Sheikh which occurred in 1881 and had damaging effects on the Algerian economy and weakened many families. Malek was thus brought forth in a family living in abject poverty. His father was compelled to work as a butler in a government office in Tibseh. His grandfather had immigrated to west Tripoli and his mother now worked as a seamstress and kept the always empty family purse. Following the death of his uncle in Consantine, he was returned to his family in Tibseh at the age of six.

He was sent to a Quranic school where he had to report himself at eight in the morning and as soon as lessons are over, speed up to the only French school in Tibseh where he was enrolled in grade three and could sit together with European children for the first time in his life. After four years in the Quranic school where he had to pay monthly fees from the already inadequate family income, he was able to

convince his father to let him attend the French school only. He continued however to attend the French school only. He continued however to attend the mosque especially during holidays. According to Malek, Tibseh was a kind of a cultural centre where the past meets the future. Hence, his perception was influenced by two currents namely:-

1- Lessons given by the Imam of the mosque after Esha (evening) prayers.

2- Stories of the Arabian nights (thousand and one nights) as well as the biography of Bani Hilal, told by story tellers in the cafes.

At the out break of the first world war on the 14th of August 1914, Malek's grandfather returned to Consantine following the occupation of Tripoli by the Italians. His father decided to send him back to Consantine where he was spoiled by the excess attention of both his uncle's wife and his grandfather and could not do well at school as a consequence. However, due to his increasing misbehaviour, the poor woman had no choice but to return him to his parents asking them to send him back to Tibseh. In Tibseh he saw things from a simple and natural angle, while in Consantine he had began to perceive things from the concepts of society and civilization placing a western and at the same time a

European context to these two words.

Malek remained in Tibseh for another four years during which he completed primary school with a credit. This allowed him to be given a stipend of thirty francs a month during his studies at Sidy Jally Elementary School in Consantine. This school which teaches students to specialize in the fields of the judiciary, education and auxiliary medicine was the same school where Malek's father had studied.

In Consantine, Malek stayed with his uncle Mahmood. Malek's family wanted him to work in the Islamic legal profession, so he attended Sheikh Abdal Majid's special lessons in grammar and Shariah which began at seven o'clock every morning in the mosque. In fact it was Sheikh aid Majid and Monsieur Martin who created two distinct lines which later on shaped his way of thinking. Sheikh aid Majid was distinctly antagonistic to certain traditions in the Muslim society such as sufism and was against the excesses of the French rulers, while Monsieur Martin inculcated in Malek's mind a taste for reading. Every saturday evening Mr. Martin would lend his books to the students. As a result, Malek was able to read all the works of Jules Verne and some novels like "The cloak and the Dagger".

In 1920 Malek passed the entry examination to the

boarding secondary school. As he was older than his classmates in the first year, Malek found it difficult to adjust himself to the atmosphere. Hence, at the beginning of academic year 1921-1922 Malek was already reading Pierre Loti and Claude Farrere. He was also influenced by the ideas of Sheikh Maulood bin Mauhoob his teacher - the Mufti of Consantine who had maintained the opinions of Sheikh Abdal Qadir al-Majawy. Sheikh Maulood drew the attention of his students to the trend of that old traditional movement which found in their souls new elements that were added to its structure. This implies to the two renovation and reformation movements beginning from Ibn Taimiyah in the Eight Century Hijra to Sheikhs Muhammad bin Abdal Wahab and Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh as well as Ibn Mohanna and al-Majauy who raised the banner of reformation in Consantine at the end of the last century. Simultaneously, the French teachers were imbibing the minds of the young student with descartian concepts which cleared the fog of mythological mentality in sympathy with Algerian superstitions. [12]

Though Malek was equally influenced by the instructions of Monsieur Bobreiter, his teacher of ancient history and French literature with regard to books that he should read, the lessons he received at the hands of Sheikh Maulood in Monotheism and the life history of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) as well as the lessons of Sheikh bin Abid in

Islamic Jurisprudence were able to return his thinking to the right path. Malek also read "Al_Iflas Al-Akhalaqi Lil Siyasat Al-Gharbiah Fil Sharq" (The Moral Bankruptcy of Western Politics in the Orient), by Ahmad Riza which was undated with numerous evidences of the resplendence of the Muslim community at the height of its civilization and could serve as the right criteria for comparison with its present miserable state. He also read the "Risalat Al-Tawhid" (Message of Monotheism), by Sheikh Muhammad ibn Abdal Wahab whose illustration of the wealth of Islamic thought during the centuries, gave him the right to judge its deplorable poverty of today. These reading did well to constitute another force of attention in the field of thinking. It prevented him from drifting in the romanticism that was common among that generation of Algerian intellectuals. [13]

Moreover, Muhammad bin Saeed had tremendous influence on Malek, because of his unique method of directing Quranic verses to give social interpretation of the present state of the Muslim society. However, Malek acknowledges his lack of flexibility, which is a basic trait in his psyche and character. Now, because of Malek's enthusiasm for debate in scientific as well as religious subjects, he frequently visited an Anglican missionary out post where he saw the Bible for the first time in his life. There, the debate has always revolved around the immortality of Jesus. It was there

also that he first met with some students of Sheikh Abdal Hamid bin Badis who used to come to the mission for the purpose of defending Islam. He felt that he and those young men share a common trend of thought which made him realise that, they all belong to one and the same family of thought which was to be named later - on in Algeria as "The Reformist Movement." [14]

Furthermore, Malek described "Ummul Qura" by Abdal Rahman al-Kawakibi as having introduced him to an Islam which has begun to organize its ranks in order to defend itself and carry-out a new movement of resurrection. [15]

Moreover, it was at this stage that Malek discovered Rajendernath Taghur the renowned Indian poet. This literature, coming from a distant place had an impact on him, as it added new dimensions in the world of his thought i.e. Frable, Victor Hugo, Imruo'l Qais and Hafiz Ibrahim. All those, together gave the world of his thought the dimensions of the French and Arabic languages. His acquaintance with the works of Taghur had added a third dimension to this thinking and that was "Des Vedas". Taghur somehow freed Malek from his Africanism and released his mind from restrictions imposed by colonialism. [16]

Malek completed his fourth year at Sidy al-Jaly School in

Consantine in June 1925. Thereafter, he and his colleague Kawaw decided to go to France and never return to Tibseh. They sold their worldly belongings in order to purchase tickets on a boat. There, they found employment in a cement factory where they had to carry cement bags weighing (50) fifty kilograms each up scaffolds four to five meters high. Since this was too hard for Malek to bear, he was assigned to carry pieces of roof tiles weighing fifty (50) pounds from one place to another. Nor could Malek bear this shift, so, with the help of a friend in Paris he travelled to Paris where he worked in a beer factory. After one week in the beer factory, Malek decided to return to Algeria and asked his family to send him an amount of money for this purpose. Back in Tibseh, Malek failed to get employment in the court of justice because he was then under twenty two years of age. But through the help of a friend he was assigned as a voluntary assistant accompanying members of the court to the rural areas to execute court orders. This assignment which was without pay, enabled Malek to come into direct contact with nature and the common man. At this juncture, Sheikh al-Arabi was beginning to emerge as a celebrity. He had a circle where Muslim scholars gather to listen to reformist opinions which had began yielding fruits as the dancing circles began to be empty and the populace was able to hang up a list containing the names of individuals who drank alcohol during the fasting month of Ramadan at the doors of

the Mosque. [17]

Meanwhile, Malek continued to write to the attorney general's office for a job until finally in March 1927 he was given a job at the court in Avlou, south of Oran for sixty francs a month. In Avlou, a simple pastoral society, Malek diffused the idea of ownership of the pasteurs and the fields among the inhabitants, warning them that otherwise, the colonialist would occupy their lands and force them into departure, since according to the French law they will not be the owners of their land .[18]

After one year in Avlou, Malek returned to Tibseh in 1928. And for the first time, he met Sheikh bin Badis who published "as-Shihab" daily which projects reformist ideas that are quite in harmony with Malek's ideas. After the summer vacation, Malek went back to Avlou and found that his previous application for transfer had been approved and that, he had been appointed to work at the courts in "Shaloom el-Eid" or Chatteaudun as the French called it. Malek could not persevere in his assignment, especially after having quarrelled with the Corsican clerk of the court of settlements. He tendered in his resignation and returned to Tibseh and joined his brother-in-law in establishing a grind mill together with a third party. [19]

One morning in September 1930 Malek arrived at the Lyon station in Paris with a renewed determination. He however failed to pass the entrance examination to the Institute of Oriental Studies where the criteria for admission with regard to an Algerian Muslim is not scientific but political. Nevertheless, Malek succeeded in enrolling in a telecommunications school to study electrical engineering. It was this school that changed the trend of his thinking fundamentally. It settled the demon of science in his soul and ushered him into a new world. A world where everything is subject to the minute criteria of quantity and quality and characterises the individual with the characteristics of discipline and observation. This way, he was entering the western civilization through yet another door, having previously entered it through the doors of the Parisienne Christian Youth Unit.[20]

Later-on Malek moved to Paris's latin quarters where he joined the North-African Muslim students centre with a view to acting as a link between the centre and the Christian Youth Unit and pave the way for his people to learn the lessons of effectiveness and style or in short the lessons of civilization.

However, Malek was quick to observe that, Muslim elite has fallen into the grips of the splendor of political ranking.

They had neglected the major problems facing the Muslim world of the time, and rather involved themselves with struggles to become leaders and champions of election campaigns. At the Latin quarters Malek advocated for reform, Wahabism and the unity of al-Maghrib (Arab states of North Africa) i.e. different slogans with one implication - Islam. [21]

Malek began to lean more, towards philosophy, sociology and history than the subjects of the telecommunications school, and started thinking of how to safeguard himself from the temptations of life in Paris. So, he got married to a French woman who converted to Islam and assumed the name of Khadija in 1931.

Moreover, Malek took advantage of the summer vacation of 1932 and enrolled at the electricity and mechanical school and then returned to Algeria together with his wife. Where he got acquainted with one of the leaders of the Algerian Reformist Movement named Sheikh Attayib al-Aqaby. He subsequently returned to Paris, and soon became the uncrowned leader of the students coming from the colonies in China and indo-China.

Malek decided upon his return to Paris, to combine his normal schooling with evening classes at the museum of arts and industry in applied chemistry.[22]

Malek remained in France for the next seventeen years, where he wrote some of his books in the French language.

In 1956, Malek arrived alone in Cairo where he was warmly received by the Egyptian Government of President Gamal Abdal Nasir and was given a monthly stipend. This enabled Malek to concentrate all his time on intellectual activities, and to translate his works from French into Arabic. The Egyptian Ministry of Information published his book "The Afro-Asia idea" in French language.

Malek's sojourn in Cairo, gave him the golden opportunity to master the Arabic language. Soon, his house in Cairo had become a cultural club where Arab and Muslims came to discuss Malek's reformist views and numerous experiences in the fields of working, studies, teaching and writing. Subsequently he was appointed as one of the advisors of the Cairo based Islamic Conference. Being without his wife and without children, Malek married for the second time. This time to one of his relatives who gave birth to female twins in 1961.

After seven years in Cairo, during which he frequently visited Syria and Lebanon to conduct symposia and deliver lectures, Malek returned to his now sovereign homeland in 1963. He was appointed to the post of the Director General of

Higher Education. After four years in this office, he decided to resign his official post and turn his attention to intellectual activities, and consequently published several works. He passed away in Algeria on the 31st October, 1973. The list below shows a complete schedule of Malek's works:

So far, it has been made clear who Malek Bennabi is, and what was the economical, political administrative, educational and cultural atmosphere prevailing in Algeria before Malek's birth as well as before and after French occupation. How these have influenced the formation of Malek's intellectual personality and capability both in Algeria and in France, and was reflected in his numerous works. In the next chapter the pivotal points in Malek's works will be discussed followed by a review his ideas on al-Takhalluf, development and social change.

The list below shows a complete schedule of Malek's works:

Sr. No.	Title of the book	Pub. ed.in	Translated from French to Arabic by:	No. of pages
1.	The Quranic Phenomenon.	1946	Abdal Sabour Shahin	289
2.	Here I am (the only novel)	1947	Untranslated	205
3.	Conditions for Renaissance.	1948	Abdal Sabour Shahin	159
4.	Director of the Muslim World.	1954	Abdal Sabour Shahin	173
5.	The Afro-Asian Idea.	1956	Abdal Sabour Shahin	266
6.	A Talk on the New Construction.	1959	Unmentioned	117
7.	The Problem of Culture.	1959	Abdal Sabour Shahin	152
8.	Intellectual Struggle in the colonies.	1960	Originally written in Arabic	127
9.	The Idea of an Islamic commwealth.	1960	Unmentioned	126
10.	Reflections on the	1961	Unmentioned	94

	Arab Society.			
11.	Birth of a Society.	1962	Abdal Sabour Shahin	107
12.	Algerian Horizons	1964	Unmentioned	180
13.	Diary of A Land- mark of the Cent- ury (Part One)	1965	Dr.Abdal Majeed Al-Naanaay	196
14.	Produce of Orienta- list Impact on Contemporary Islamic Thought.	1969	Unmentioned	62
15.	Dairy of a Landmark of the Century (Part Two)	1970	Written originally in Arabic	257
16.	The Problem of Ideas in the Muslim World.	1971	Muhammad Abdal Azim Ali	221
17.	The Muslim in the World of Economics.	1972	Unmentioned	110
18.	The role of the Muslim in the last on third of the 20th century.	1972	(Two lectures)	56
19.	Between Guidance and going Astray	1978	Malek Bennabi	176

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CHAPTER TWO

The Focal Point of Malek's Thought:

It was intended by the researcher to present a summary of each of Malek's nineteen books, but following the comprehensive survey of these books, it was discovered that Malek's thought revolves around two principle and central themes, i.e. culture and civilization in their religious as well as ideological contexts.

Through these, Malek was able to tackle other relevant ideas on development, social change and education. The researcher therefore deemed it fit to discuss Malek's views, not through the review of each one of his nineteen books, which would have been boring anyhow, but rather by tracking Malek's major ideas and views in order to come out with the two pivotal points in Malek's thought. Thus these two pivotal points in Malek's thought i.e. culture and civilization will be dealt with in this chapter within the religious and ideological framework of both. Moreover, Malek's views on al-Takhalluf, development and social change will be reviewed with a view responding to the following two questions:

1- What in general are the pivotal points of Malek Bennabi's ideas and thought?

2- What are his views on "al-Takhalluf", development and social change?

A- Culture:

Bennabi sees culture as a social reality, and hence could be defined as a "set of moral qualities and social values that influence the individual right from birth, and becomes subconsciously, the symbol of the link between his behaviour and the life style of the circle where he was born.

[1] It could also be defined as "The general atmosphere that typifies the life style of a specific society and the behaviour of the individual in that society in a manner that distinguishes it from the life style of any other society.

[2]

Spheres of Culture:

Malek has several spheres of culture:-

1- The sphere of persons.

2- The sphere of thought.

3- The sphere of things.

4- Natural elements and phenomena.

The cultural value of these elements depends upon personal link and the type of such link, whether effective or not. For, it is through the link between these spheres that the cultural world emerges and develops in the annals of history. The foremost among those elements however, is without doubt, the sphere of persons, for the simple reason that, the problem of culture concerns man alone on the one hand, and because the sphere of persons constitutes the social environment of the individual on the other hand, to the extent that it influences his behaviour and distinguishes him culturally. [3]

Elements of Culture:

Malek Bennabi believes there are four elements of culture:-

1- The Moral Principle:

Since the general condition for the furtherance of a cultural scheme requires existence links among persons in

the first place, it follows then that, every culture is by necessity a composition as well as a formation of the world of persons. The moral principle therefore should be judged from the point of view of its ability to realise social cohesiveness and constitute the historical unity of a given society. [4]

2- The Aesthetic Taste.

The form of relations is determined by aesthetic taste. It gives social intercourse a peculiar character which in turn paints things with an image that conforms with public sensitivities and taste, as far as colours and shapes are concerned, and by so doing discover yet another distinction between culture and science. For, while the task of science ends at the formation and comprehension of objects, culture perseveres in beautifying and improving them. (5)

3- The Practical Logic (Logical Thinking).

This implies to the way an action is linked to its means and objectives, so that nothing is regarded neither difficult nor easy without a standard of judgement which derives its criteria from the social environment and its potentialities. Moreover, practical logic implies extraction of maximum advantage from specific means. It is also concerned with the

aspects of activity and mobility in the society, and without it, activities would be devoid of efficacy and orderliness. The loss of efficacy however, can be observed when the lifestyle of a society or the behaviour of individuals lack practical logic and no advantage is taken of available potentialities. (6)

4- Industry

Industry here is not designed to denote the narrow sense of the term. The aim is to tackle the concept on a wider scale so that it includes all arts, occupations, capabilities and scientific applications. Therefore, industry in this sense pertains to the progress of theoretical principles as well as physical means for the purpose of fulfilling an action, because, the lifestyle and efficacy of a society depend to a greater extent on the world of objects - as a direct result of various technical and industrial factors. For the technical factor implicit includes the sphere of objects. Science without objects there will be no fulfillment. Moreover, the loss of technical elements renders action impossible or difficult. The two things therefore are completely correlative as well as essential for the fulfillment and efficacy of activity. Hence, this must be included within the framework of education and its elements. [7].

Moreover, when Malek tackled the term industry he found that it has two aspects:

(a) The individual aspect, that is when industry represents a means of livelihood.

(b) The social aspect where industry is regarded as a means of keeping the entity and sustaining its growth. It is also within this context that Malek redefined the term culture when he said: "Culture, is the overall constitution of four minor composites i.e. Morality, Beauty, Practical logic and industry". [8]

B- The Second pivotal point in Malek's thought:

Al-Hadarah, i.e. civilization:

To a great extent, Al-Hadarah (civilization) can be regarded as the focal point in almost all the works of Malek, published under the main title of "The problem of civilization" it has been Malek's major preoccupation. For he was utterly convinced that, the core of the problems facing the Muslim world lies in hadarah. He therefore stated clearly that "The problem of culture in essence the problem of all peoples", [9] and emphasised that "All my books under the various titles have been placed under a general title "The problem of hadarah". For, any crisis a Muslim society

suffers, actually comes from a single problem i.e. the problem of its hadarah in one of its formative phases be it commensurate with the requirements of life or not. Where there is harmony, civilization flourishes and society is seen as a healthy mind that dwells in a healthy body. Lack of harmony at any phase of hadarah brings about all kinds of calamities on the society call it what you may, e.g. colonialism, ignorance, poverty etc. all of which represent as a matter of fact the symptoms of one single malady...deprivation of hadarah. My books therefore are designed on the one hand to identify the symptoms of this malady and to determine the means of remedy. [10]

What then in Malek's view is Hadarah?

Hadahrah according to Malek comprises substance, principle, element, function and their relation to their products:

(1) Hadarah as a substance:

According to Malek, hadarah is a "set of accomplished cultural values". Culture therefore is the substance of civilization. For every social reality is in its origin a cultural value that has come to light. Hence the substance of

the former by necessity is the substance of the latter. [11]

(2) Hadarah as a principle:

In principle, hadarah represents "the production of a living idea, stamped on a given society at the pre-culture stage i.e. the force that drives it into history. Then society shapes its intellectual system in accordance with the ideal it has chosen, and in this way its roots will be firmly established in an authentic cultural environment that controls in its turn, all the characteristics that distinguish it from other cultures and civilization. [12]

(3) Hadarah as elements:

In Malek's view, "Hadarah is composed of three elements, which are: Man-Soil-Time". [13] Moreover "Every hadarah requires rudimentary capital made up of Man-Soil and Time". But such a composition must come through the moral factor without which the whole process would crumble into a deformed debris, volatile and unable to take a direction or keep it or find an alternative. [14].

(4) Hadarah as a function:

Hadarah represent a "set of moral as well as material

elements which allows a society to provide every individual with all the social guarantees required for its progress". [15]

Also, hadarah can be viewed as the "set of ethical and physical conditions which enable a given society to provide its members with necessary assistance at every stage of existence or development i.e. from childhood to old age". [16]

(5) Hadarah and its relation to its products:

Hadahrah and its relation with its products represents "A totality i.e. a group of harmonious objects and ideas with all the relations benefit, nomenclatures and specific positions entailed". [17]. Also, hadarah means "A group of relations that exist between the vital space (Biological) (where its structure begins and gets stronger) and the intellectual space where it is given birth and where its spirit grows". [18]

Therefore, the general yardstick in the process of hadarah is that "hadarah begets its own products - it would be definitely both foolish and ironic to try to reverse this rule when we desire to develop a hadarah from its own products", for purchasing a hadarah is only an acquisition of

its structure and body....not its spirit. [19]. "For, it is impossible to portray hadarah as a mere cramming together. Rather, hadarah signifies a structure and architecture embodying an idea and an ideal". [20]

The Elements of Hadarah

The basic elements of civilization to quote Malek, are:
Man + Soil + Time.

(1) Man

According to Malek Man is composed of two equations:

- Natural, i.e. the shape in which he was created by God almighty which is eternally unalterable.

- Social, which could be subject to changes and alterations according to which his position in history differs as far as efficacy or lack of efficacy is concerned. Whenever Malek spoke about Man in his capacity as the premier element of hadarah, he was alluding to this social equation, since it is man who directs objects and makes civilization; and without him the other elements lose their value because their effectiveness depends upon the efficacy of Man.[21] But Man himself as a composite of two equations, is also

characterised by two values in his capacity as a premier factor of culture:

(a) The First Value : Either Raw or Natural Values:

It is available within the biological constitution of every human being and is manifest in his natural disposition to use his ingenuity, soil and time.

(b) The Second Value: Is either manufactured or social:

It is acquired from within the social environment and is manifested in the means as well as in the driving forces available for the individual to elevate his personality, develop and improve his talents. [22] In this light, Malek hopes to prove that, problems facing Man differ from one environment to another and from one historical stage to the other, and the solution, lies in how to direct those aspects through which Man influences the composition of history i.e. the aspects of thought, endeavour and finance.

The question of Man depends upon how he is guided towards three aspects; but before we proceed to elucidate these aspects, let us first of all look into Malek's idea of guidance. Hence, according to him, guidance represents strong foundation, harmony of movement, and unity of purpose. As the

Muslim world had wasted numerous energies and forces, because it was ignorant of how to pool all these resources together to further its goals, it follows that guidance in this context means to avoid wasting the efforts and time of millions of Muslim workers and intellectuals.

(a) Guidance of Culture.

Cultural guidance means expurgation of customs and traditions as well as elimination of lethal elements and other disadvantageous decadence from the moral and social framework, with a view to clearing the atmosphere for live and life inducing elements.

(b) Guidance of Action.

Action in Malek's view is the second aspect of Man's problem. "It is responsible for streaking the fate of objects in the social framework. Though, unlike Man, soil and time, action is not regarded as a basic element, it is nevertheless engendered by these three elements, and by guiding it, efforts could be joined together to effect a change in Man's condition, and create a new environment in which necessary guarantees of life are provided.[23]

(c) Guidance of capital:

Capital appears as a social instrument that prompts progress. However, capital in Malek's view does not signify wealth. For capital in essence, is a mobile fund, its social range expands in virtue of its mobility and growth in an environment larger than that of the individual. It is more than the measure determined by the individual's personal needs. Furthermore, it is determined qualitatively rather than quantitatively i.e. it is judged by its mobility rather than by its quantity. It is therefore significant to guide capital in order to set every piece of money - no matter how little - into motion, so that it may stir-up thought and action in life. Though methodology must be taken into consideration when planning for mobility of money, so that the entire society benefits from it rather than only a small group. [24]

(2) Soil

In Malek's view, soil is an element of Hadarah as far as its social value is concerned. Moreover, in order to avoid any confusion when the term is used in chapters dealing with morality, science and philosophy, Malek eschewed using the term matter to denote the element of soil. He explains thus:

"We deliberately avoided using the term "Matter" in this equation i.e. Man+Soil+Time and have preferred the term "Soil" in order to eliminate any ambiguity. For, the term "Matter" in the domain of Morality is the opposite of the term "Spirit" while in the domain of science it is the opposite of "energy" and in philosophy it is the opposite of "Idealism". In contrast however, the term "Soil" has experienced only minimal development; and vocabulary wise, maintained a simplicity that has made it suitable to imply more specifically to this social topic. Though, simplicity not withstanding, it has incorporated a legal outlook pertaining to land legislation in any country, as well as a technical manifestation with regard to methods by which it is used. These two manifestations are in essence, the problem of soil".

The problem of soil has therefore been divided by Malek into two sections:

(a) The Legal Aspect i.e. from the point of view that legislation governing soil ownership in the society legislation no doubt has its impact on the society, since it provides the individual with social guarantees, to the extent that it furthers the public interest.

(b) The Technical Aspect i.e. from the point of view of

using soil technically and in terms of exploiting it according to technical conditions with a view to further the interest of the society. [26].

In general terms however, it could be safely stated that the term soil, in Malek's view includes everything on the surface and in the bottom of the earth, such as: raw material, and natural resources.

(3) Time

This element is also viewed by Malek from the social point of view. That is with regard to formation of thought and activity, meaning and objects. Making use of time he said, goes hand in hand with a society's historical stage. In a given stage of its history, a society tends to give due regard to time, while in another, time is equal only to nothingness. [27] But due to importance of time, Malek holds the opinion that, it is imperative to adopt time and transform it into a social time, by incorporating it in all the industrial economical and cultural process, since it is regarded as the main-stay of the consecutiveness of all these processes. [28]

However, it may at first appear as if perhaps by time, Malek was thinking of the individuals's life span, but this

is not so. For, time in Malek's opinion, is more comprehensive because it is involved in the succesiveness of culture and its products, including man as one of those products.

Hadarah and Society:

Society as a social phenomenon is divided by Malek into:

(a) The natural or primitive society: That is a society which has not been able to alter in a tangible way, the characteristic traits required renew its personality from the beginning of its existence. It is the living example of a dormant society characterised by fixed traits, such as the societies of ants and bees, the pre-colonial African tribes and the Arab tribes of the Jahili (pre-Islamic) period.

(b) The post historic society i.e. the society that was given birth under primitive circumstances, but was able to alter its characteristic traits in conformity with the law of evolution. It is indeed a model of the mobile society that submits to the laws of transformation and fundamentally amends its traits. Hence, the emergence of the post historic society cannot be seen as an accidental occurrence, since indeed it is the outcome of a sustained process of change, involving both the borrowing and the lending societies, in conformity with a general theoretical plan.

Naturally, since the historic model of societies is bound to be exposed to variation due to historical circumstances stemming from its birth, it follows therefore that, there are two kinds of societies:-

(a) The historical society: Whose birth comes in response to a discretion imposed by natural circumstances pertaining to the environment of its birth, whether this environment had been exposed to a sudden variation, or its constituting elements had had to face the circumstance of a new natural environment; and this, is the geographical model to which the American society belongs; and which in turn is the fruit of European immigration that has been compelled to adapt to new natural circumstances in the new continent.

(b) The historical society: Which comes to light in response to an idea; and that, is the model of the ideological society to which the Muslim world as well as the European societies belong. [29]

Every society - either contemporary or extinct- is a historical society that assumes a specific position on a pivot depicting all the phases of evolution defined by history in three phases:-

(a) The Pre-Civilization or the Primitive Society

As far as its world of culture is concerned the most prominent feature of the primitive society is dormancy, i.e. the absence of mobility in the world of culture, especially from the ideological point of view, which signifies rotation around objects instead of ideas.[30]

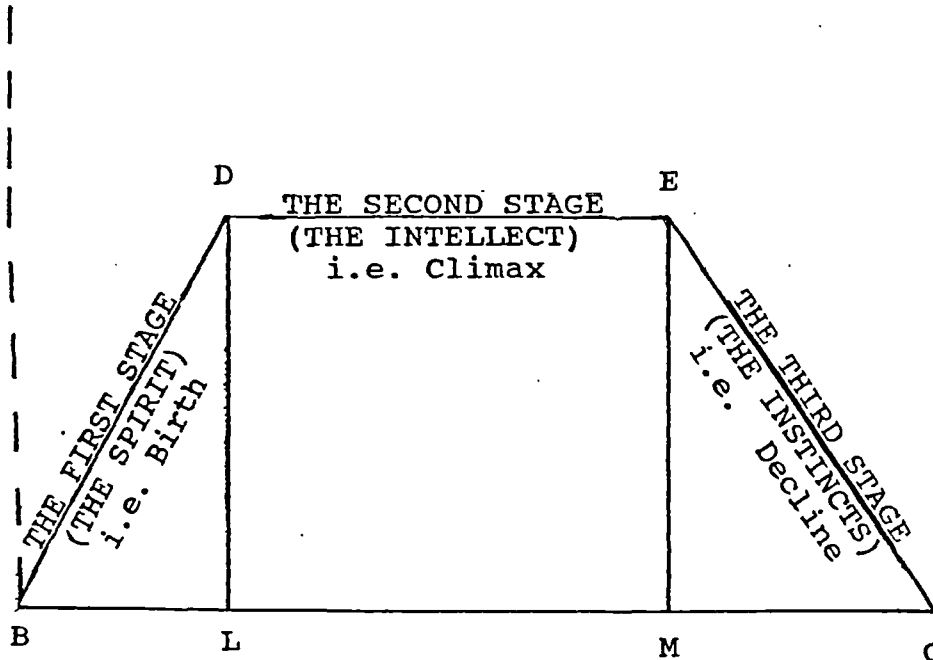
(b) The Civilized Society Stage

The society enters this phase with the advent of religion bringing with it the structure of a new civilization. Here also, the society passes through three stages, each characterised by peculiarities that distinguishes it from its predecessor. These stages, known as the historical cycle are:-

- Renaissance
- Climax
- Decline

Naturally, every civilization falls between two margins i.e. rise and decline. At the first margin hadarah tends to ascend while at the second it begins to descend. However, a certain balance exists between these two stages by necessity i.e. the climax stage-the stage which witness the spread and

expansion of civilization according to the figure below.



(a) According to the above figure, the first stage of civilization begins at the stage of the spirit (renaissance or birth). It begins at the zero point marked (B) and coincides with the emergence of religion in the society and the beginning of the structuring of civilization. Here, instincts are tamed in accordance with a special system that restrains them. Because spirit dominates over society's evolution and guides it, as is manifest in the substantial capability to adjust or adapt the vital energies of the

society in order to enable it perform its historical duties.

[32]

b) The second stage is that of the intellect i.e. climax. It begins at point (D - Civilization enters this stage by the force of the societies expansion and completeness. For, in order to be able to respond to new basic requirement, it has to follow a new course i.e. the course of the intellect which is quite different from the spirit. But, since the intellect lacks the type of control the spirit exerts over instincts, these instincts will soon begin to unshackled, and the spirit will lose its power gradually, and the society will cease to exert pressure on the individual. It is moreover undisputable that, instincts do not get loose in one stroke, but rather gradually, and according to the sluggishness of the power of the spirit. This stage is however characterised by the tendency to adapt matter or the tendency towards mechanisation instead of adaptation of vital energy as was the case in the stage of the spirit. The society also tends at this stage to remove the quality of reverence from its basic principles as it progresses technically in what the economists term advancement, while history philosophers see it as backwardness since it symbolises the beginning of the curve or more precisely, the senility of society. [33]

(c) The post-civilization society stage: The third phase of civilization begins at point (E) (instincts) or (decline) heading towards point (C). At this juncture in the civilization of a society, instincts would have reached the peak of emancipation and become dominant force in the society. Spirit loses its hegemony and hadarah completes its cycle. [34]

But later on, Malek made amendments to his theory of the inevitability of the cycles of civilization "The everlasting cycle" as he named it in his "conditions of renaissance" published in 1948 and his "The direction of the Muslim world" published in 1954. In his "The concept of Afro-Asian idea in the light of the Bandung Conference" published in 1956 Malek wrote "But when by virtue of its industrial might the west achieved spatial extension of civilization, it changed the historical nature of it, so much so that it does no more seem to be subject to the law of cycles as it used to be during the time of Ibn Khaldun. The western civilization has ceased to be evanescent because its scope has been changed and it has become universal and hence, eternal. [35]

Thus, the law of civilization has seen a sudden change. The promotion and valuation of western civilization due to industrialization and colonialism, has changed the idea of civilization restricted within the scope of a given society

or civilization. The fruit of a certain ingenuity has given culture a universal scope to the extent that, all ingenuities are now involved in the making and sustenance of civilization. Such expansion in the scope of civilization has definitely changed its historical nature to the extent that it is no more subject to the law of cycles. Civilization can only be subject to the law of cycles when it is restricted to the scope of a certain society and a particular ingenuity. In this case, the society may soon lose its creativity and causing the decline civilization consequently. In this age however, there is no way of thinking about evanescence of civilization, because making and sustenance of civilization has become the concern of all peoples. When it dwindles in one place, it flourishes in another, in confirmation of the presumption that, after the present evolution, the end of human civilization could come only as a result of a total and final eclipse. [36]

Civilization and Man.

So far, we have learned that Malek regards Man as the primary and basic element in the civilized equation. He also believes that, being one of the elements of hadarah, Man is also one of its problems. Moreover, Man's relation with civilization could only be in one of the following three positions:-

(a) Man in pre-civilization stage.

(b) Man during civilization.

(c) Man in post-civilization stage.

The position of Man as an individual varies from one stage to another. However, the difference between the first and the second stages unlike the difference between the first and the third, is quite clear. According to Malek, it is rather imperative to distinguish between the human being who has made exit from civilization and the human being who has not yet entered it. Naturally, the former would still bear some residues and be a great cause of hardships than the latter. For in order to reenter into hadarah, he must undergo a psychological transformation stemming from his fundamental roots in complete contrast with the latter. [37]

Civilization and its Efficacy

As far as hadarah and culture are concerned, the efficacy of individuals as well as that of societies differs according to the historical stage the society is passing through. However, during my discussion of Malek's view with regard to Man as the first element of civilization, it has

been mentioned that Malek regards Man as a being composed of two equations i.e. natural and social. According to this natural and social equation, Man's activity or lack of activity fluctuates in time and space. But regards Man's activity from the point of view of the social equation which is but a reflections of the impact of the society on Man's formation and activity, he said "the life of a person rather than being related to his 'self' and his personal talent, is above all related to his relation with a specific society". [38]

Hence, society and not constitution, is responsible for the obstacles that meet the individual. For, in the civilized society individual guarantees are provided to every individual no matter what his worth, while in the uncivilized society, there are no individual grantees, because the society cannot afford to provide them. Consequently, it can be said that Man's activity differs according to the stage of time the society is passing through. [39]

With regard to society however, Malek rejects the idea of one human element possessing superior activity to another. The sophistication of social products in a given society as well as the rise in its activities, he said, are subject to the law that says "Activities grow gradually as interests get complicated i.e. social products improve as far as individual

activity is directed towards catering for an individual needs e.g. directed toward the public interest. [40]

But, as interest explains the category of activity, the inquiry arises as to what are the influencing factors that vary according to the variation of interest in various periods or various societies?

According to Malek, there is a certain divergence of opinion regarding the concept of interest within the scope of present day societies. This divergence suits the conditions of every society - advanced or backward.

The Hand the Heart and the Intellect

"The advanced society is defined as that which provides the individual with social guarantees to a certain limit. That is, the energy of every individual in the society is directly or indirectly devoted to the public interest. So the society must provide the individual with social securities at various stages of his life". [41] But how could this criterion be used to draw the difference of activity between the capitalist and the socialist societies? According to Malek, the capitalist societies interpret such securities by virtue of their sources, and regards individual competition and struggle as the vehicle of social energies, while the

socialist societies interpret social securities by virtue of the goal they plan to achieve i.e. the public interest. [42]

But, despite this obvious contradiction between the two systems, the causes and the psychological motives in the two systems are very similar. Therefore, the whole question of social energies must be reviewed within the context of its concept in the sphere of social reality.

Hence following his analysis of social energies, Malek concluded that, they are confined to three elements, i.e. The hand - The heart - The intellect; and went on to say that: "since all social energies as well as the social process itself ensue from these three elements, i.e. the hand, the heart and the intellect, it follows that all social energies ultimately emanate from motives in the heart, justifications and directions of the intellect and mobility of the organs. Every social activity therefore is made-up of these three elements. Hence, activity is more profound in the environment that produces the strongest motives, the most righteous directions and most energetic mobility". [43]

But what does it mean for the heart, the hand and the intellect to be the basis of activity with regard to backward societies?

Malek attributes the immediate and remote justified motives and causes that generate effective activity, to a peculiar state he called: Tension. To explain this he said, the heart, the intellect and the hand do not all produce the same effect under all circumstances. The hand for example is inclined to violence and assault when it comes under tension. But when we observe the activity of the intellect and the heart in different circumstances, we will find that, the influence of each of them on the mobility of the hand creates miracles in certain circumstances that express tension. [44] Moreover, as tension differs from one society to another, so it does from one hand to another within the same society. Hence Malek concludes by saying: "If we come to agreement that, justifications are responsible for the mobility of social energies and direct them towards standards higher than those of the isolated animal; and prop them towards the level of the interest of others, then the idea of effectiveness which affects the social reality in all circumstances to the extent that it becomes the moving force behind the actions and behaviour of every society. Tension is but a socio-psychological state which has been proven by history to develop under certain circumstances and disappear in other circumstances. For, justifications are responsible for the constitution of human motivations that drive activity to the highest peak". [45]

Naturally, since religion is regarded a source of justifications, the cause of civilization and the motivator of activity according to Malek , it follows that activities are in their peak when the society reaches the verge of embodying its principles in to the double axis of culture and civilization. [46]

Religion and Ideology as the Framework or the Orbit of the Double Axis of Culture and Civilization in Malek's View:

Religion and Hadarah

Malek believes that, divine religion either directly or indirectly is the formative basis of civilizations. [47]

Moreover, religion, like natural laws and other cosmic norms is both a code of life and it decisive factor in the rise of civilizations. [48] Also, according to Malek, religion forms a vehicle of efficacy both within the soul and the society. He went on to state that "The social role of religion is confined to the act of "Constitution" it carries out with a view to shaping certain values that shift from a state of normalcy to a psychological cum time status applicable to a certain stage of hadarah". (Shrout Al-Nahdah, p. 14)

Therefore, religion is the (structure) of social values. It plays this role during its formative state; the state of proliferation and mobility when it expresses a social idea. [49]

Ideology according to Malek "collects or combines the activity of individuals and pours it into a common activity through causal motives which gives it effectiveness and tension and a methodology that unites energies and determines the historical course of those energies.[50]

The relation between religion and ideology

In order to determine the relation between religion and ideology, Malek takes the course of determining the scope of ideology which according to the previous definition comes under the world of ideas which is two sided:

(a) Basic thoughts or Archetype

These thoughts which are passed by one generation to another have the quality of nourishing the generations and shaping society's cultural basis. They depict the morality of the generation at given stages, and these are the qualities of the pre-civilization society regarding its primitive activities which emanate from its mean culture.

(b) Practical Thoughts:

These are manifested by a group of technical methodologies, and have the ability to direct the activities of the society. Each generation naturally amends these thoughts to suit its historical conditions and to make its activities more perfect and faster. However, as the society proceeds towards the next stage and begins a period of hadarah, it undergoes certain changes which completely match with a cultural revolution, leaving a limited impact on its technical methodology. But with regard to its morality however, it turns it upside down. As for the technical methodology directed towards objects, it experiences no change until the second stage of civilization. [51]

Moreover, through moral motivation, archetypes mold the individual and organise his vital energy in accordance with the new methodology that changes the world of ideals, while practical ideas mold the society and determine new relations in it. However, the cause of all this is none other than religion, and civilization is then produced by archetypes and practical ideas. Moreover, besides archetypes, culture is responsible for directing the individual's energy while ideology along with practical ideas takes charge of directing the energies of the society. Hence, the merger between the

action of the individual and the collective action comes through ideology within the context of an organizational planning in order to produce hadarah. [52]

From the foregoing, it is clear that ideology compliments culture in the making of civilization. Hence, the absence of ideology is bound to hinder construction and deprive the individual's activity of the tension that facilitate his involvement in common action.

Thus, having reviewed the two main axes of Malek's thought with regard to culture and hadarah in their religious as well as ideological orbit, it is imperative to define Malek's view of the society in which these three elements rise i.e. culture, civilization and ideology, as well as the condition under which the Arab and Muslim societies existed from the advent of Islam until the present; and also, the condition of the society in which Malek himself lived.

According to Malek, the Arab society of the Jahili period (pre-Islamic period) was dormant and primitive. [53] Its world of persons did not transcend the fact that it was both a tribal and a tiny society, living a limited cultural life. Religious conviction was based on idol worship, and the objects in the society were lacking and did not exceed the basic means a person needs to survive. The most prominent

intellectual pursuit was poetry, and there were no civilized standards to restrain or adopt vital energy except for certain customary rules such as sheltering the destitute etc...etc... [54]

Then Islam came to shift and transform this primitive society into a historical society. A world of culture emerged with the revelation of the Quran, and Islam was able to subject the vital energy of the Jahili society to the requirements of a civilized society. In Malek's view, there is no other interpretation that could be relied upon to justify the adaptation or harmony , between the revelation of the Quran and the rise of hadarah culture in the manner that led to organization of biological forces and placing them at the service of history. [55]

Moreover, according to Malek, Islam has produced a culture based on moral virtues which are projected in reality by:

- (a) The contact between faith and labour.
- (b) Twinning between al-Ansar and Muhajireen
- (c) Establishment of a network of social relations through the observance of the Quranic thought, not as concepts that could be taught and learned at the hands of the

jurists of Shariah but as a practical and influencing fact which directly embodies in its system every act of the individual. [56]

These are Malek's views on the emergence of Islamic culture and the birth of its historical society. But what about the present condition of this society?

According to Malek, having experienced the cycles of hadarah, both the Arab and the Muslim worlds entered the stage of decline at the fall of Almohades State in 668 H(1269 A.D.). These cycles according to Malek's theory are:-

(1) The Spiritual Stage:

This stage of Islamic civilization continued from the emergence of Islam until the year 38 H (657 A.D.).

(2) The Intellectual Stage:

This extended from the year 38 H till 668H (from 657-1269 A.D.). i.e. from the end of the battle of Siffin in which Moawiyah, according to Malek crushed the equilibrium between matter and spirit, causing an imbalance in the society in spite of the individual's commitment to the creed. This stage was characterised by the appearance of the early

signs of industrial thinking due mainly to the intellectual supremacy in this respect.

(3) The Stage of the Instinct:

This stage saw the end of the social function of religion when the spirit and the mind became empty and instincts were aroused leaving a reflection on the behaviour of the society, its members and its civilization. The civilization itself has began to suffer from rigidity and decadence and as a result, factors which are capable of moving the society upwards ceased to function and the society's hadarah lost its justifications. Gradually, the zeal that props the conscience, the hand and the intellect was lost leading to:

(a) Deterioration of the Conflict between the Intellect and the Conscience: At this stage knowledge turns into motivations i.e. opportunistic, and loses its humanitarian and social content while the gulf between knowledge and conscience widens gradually.

(b) Culture becomes Rigid; and is dominated by verbosity, langor, rigidity, negativeness and disposition towards colonialism.

(c) Loss of efficacy in the Behaviour of Both the Individual and the Society.

(d) Negative Psychological Elements are stored in the sub-consciousness so long as the influence of the spirit the intellect continue to diminish leading to the dominance of instincts over behaviour. [57]

Thus, Malek attributes the present state of backwardness, rigidity, decadence and stagnation in both the Arab and Muslim worlds to what he called "The Problem of Civilization" and stressed that "The many problems which are disposed to call 'backwardness' represent in reality varying expressions denoting one problem facing all backward countries i.e. "The Problem of Civilization". [58] The Muslim society in Malek's view actually suffers from one single malady namely, lack of civilization. It is therefore appropriate that he made attempts at diagnosing the disease in quest of a remedy. However, it must be pointed out that, expressions such as backwardness, development and social change are synonymous with the much repeated terms of "Renaissance", "Reawakening", "Evolution", "Growth", "Reform", "Progress" which were in common use by the contemporary Arab and Muslim stalwarts in the field of thinking and reform, and were intended to denote either development or voluntary formulae of change.

The Beginning of Islamic Renaissance

But when exactly did the movement for renaissance, change and development in the Muslim world began?

According to Malek, the beginning came with Jamal al-din al-Afghani's attempts in 1858. [59] He said clarifying the meaning of renaissance, that it came as a result of the reaction of Muslim peoples towards colonialism "when we review the history of the 19th century we definitely will find that renaissance was a general phenomenon in the various colonies, and that the new psychological, economical and political conditions brought about by the colonial masters are directly responsible for renaissance". [60]

Now, for the sake of clarification, Malek compares renaissance in the Muslim world with renaissance in other colonized countries such as Japan which, thanks to colonialism woke-up in 1868, and by 1905 was able to stand up in the face of Russian colonialism. During these forty years, the Japanese worked like a bee hive, and through scientific thinking and technical planning, became a developed society able to defend itself and proceed confidently towards civilization. Malek went on to establish similarities between attempts to revive the idea of renaissance in the Muslim

world and the efforts of a physician who treats the symptoms rather than the disease, and said "All the records of that period show that, efforts made towards renaissance in the Muslim world were directed towards the symptom rather than the malady. The result was very much the same as that of a physician who treats tuberculosis with sedatives rather than the antibiotics that could get rid of the bacterium itself, leaving the patient to the mercy of the pharmacist whenever the symptom appears. Likewise, the Muslim world rather than finding out what its disease was and how cure it, sufficed itself with the western pharmacy which gives only sedatives". [61] It is not strange therefore that the Muslim society is still unable to structure its own civilization. All it has so far achieved is nothing more than what Malek calls "The beginning of civilization" or the stage where all social efforts in the Muslim world are directed towards the making of civilization, though societies such as Japan and China which began the march towards renaissance at approximately the same time as the Muslim world have already achieved the desired goal. [62]

However, the reasons why efforts made by thinkers to develop the Muslim world failed to yield fruitful dividends are classified by Malek as follows:-

Reasons of Failure

(1) The Psychological Aspect:

This is represented in the personality equation of the post Mohades individual (1269) who was besmeared by the residue of that past, and carried the bacterium of takhalluf that hindered all attempts towards renaissance. The difficulties facing present attempts at renaissance can be attributed to that miserable and backward image still alive in our present generation, in the shape of the meek and innocent appearance of our peasant or our nomadic shepherd, austere but hospitable. [63]

(2) The Aspect of Thinking:

From this aspect, the failure of the Islamic renaissance can be attributed to three factors:

(a) Lack of clear diagnosis of the objectives of renaissance:

Malek's assumption here is based on the philosophy that, the destiny of any movement that loses its goal or fails to clearly define it is to wander off the path, loss of devises

and mistake the target, and be subject to the law of coincidence. This is exactly what happened to the Islamic renaissance movement which indeed failed to determine its objectives, direction and timing, in contrast to the situation in other parts of the world. To explain, Malek compared between the average annual per capita income of the individual in the United States of America and the Republic of Liberia. The average in the former in 1955 was \$ 1850 while it was \$ 38 only in the latter. The average between the two figures, economically not numerically is according to Malek the annual per capita income in Japan + \$ 200. He then went on to divide the world geographically into two parts, the one enjoying an average per capita income above \$ 200 and the other enjoying less than this figure. The first represents the area of western civilization, extending from San Francisco through Washington and Tokyo, while the second extends from Tangier to Jakarta, and is known as the pre-civilization area. The first geographical area is marked by what Malek called existence of prerequisites that provide the individual with his share in life. These are at the same time are the pre-conditions of civilization upon which the destiny of the individual hangs. His future sustenance is ensured when these are realised and is lost when they are destroyed. Malek further went on to capitalise on a statistic of per capita Coal consumption in the world. He found out that, in the United States for example the figure per capita

is eight tons against only one hundred and ten kilo grams per capita in India, a fact that consecrates the geographical division designed by Malek. One continent is characterised by prosperity because its hadarah culture maintains the individual's life and provides him with all the social securities, while the other is dominated by privation, because its social life is below the stage of civilization. Reading the chart of electricity consumption in the two cases leads to the same conclusion. It is therefore imperative in Malek's view that, Islamic renaissance should determine its goal as a movement in history, and then as a social process, regard civilization as its objective, so as to be able to overcome the obstacles. [64]

(b) Lack of proper diagnosis of social difficulties:

This according to Malek is, due to the fact that the Muslim individual still thinks on the basis of wrong intellectual habits rather than the nature of things. The applied without any reservation, in which case it has a negative and hindering role as axioms. [65]

(c) Lack of specification of means to achieve desired goals and potentialities:

Having failed to achieve development in the Arab world

because it has failed as a historical movement to determine its objectives, the Islamic renaissance movement has also failed - as a social process - to define its methods. Failure to define objectives no doubt leads to error in defining the means and resources, and is revealed in reversing the law of civilization. While this law presupposes that civilization produces its own products, its purport was reversed by an Islamic world that proceeded to build civilization by means of western products contrary to Japan which regarded things it imported from the west as being only devices for the construction of a purely Japanese civilization. [66]

Furthermore, Malek is certain that, the structuring of civilization by using its produce is an impossible task, looking at it from two aspects:-

(1) Qualitative aspect:

Civilization may sell its produce but not its spirit.

(2) Quantitative and financial aspect:

Say in the instance where the society fails in advance to draw a list of the things it must import. Besides, such a process is endless due to the growing number of the produce of civilization day by day. But then, even if this is

achieved, the Muslim society would still find itself up against another impossibility linked with financing the project, because the budget required for implementation supersedes the potentialities of any newly established society, and proves difficult even with regard to an advanced society with enough experience. [67] The best civilized societies that could offer Muslims authentic models of development in the twentieth century are:-

(a) The western model where civilization was shaped by centuries upon centuries and which is undebted to time in its ancient colour especially in England and France.

(b) The Japanese model that shaped a civilization under the guidance of its methodological intellect.

(c) The Russian model which has developed a society through its own devices, depending only on its industrial intellect. [68]

Nevertheless, the Muslim world has so far not chosen the model or the methodology, though Malek had expected that, because of its proximity to the mediterranean, the Muslim world would direct its attention to the west and use its originality in amending or even subjecting the western model for its own development, though in doing so it must take into

consideration its own backwardness on the one hand, and the methodologies of accelerating the motion of history on other hand.

Thus, these are the three aspects (psychological, intellectual and model) of the failure of the efforts exerted towards the development of the Muslim world and in order to usher it into the dawn of civilization. This failure moreover, is responsible for keeping the Muslim world under the shackles of backwardness until today.

But what is Malek's view about backwardness (Al-Takhalluf) and its features in the Muslim society?

What is Malek's definition of Al-Takhalluf? According to Malek it is the sum total of multiple individual ineffectiveness. In fact it is the lack of activity at the level of a given society. It can also be defined as the social state of the pre-civilization human being whose problems are limited only in things. [69]

Moreover, Malek connects between growth and Takhalluf as two contradicting states at the level of the society, and between efficacy and lack of efficacy at the level of the individual. [70]

Thus, lack of individual efficacy leads to backwardness at the level of the entire society, while individual efficacy on the contrary leads the society into growth. According to Malek, backwardness has its own geographical as well as historical positions. Its geography covers approximately the southern hemisphere. [71] Historically however, it can be said that, there are two forms of Takhalluf:-

(1) A form which can be attributed to accidental factors:

Such as the retrogression of a previously developing society which is now suffering or had suffered before, as was the case of the Muslim society until the fall of the Mohades state.

(2) A form attributable to perpetual and chronic factors of stagnation:

As in the case of these factors that have affected the life of the population of what is known as primitive societies.

(3) In addition colonialism can be a probable factor of either stagnation or retrogression. [72]

According to Malek, takhalluf from the economic point of

view is but one of the many manifestations of the problem of the human being who never learned how to use his primary devices i.e. soil and time, in an effective manner, or has forgotten his lessons in this regard, though it must be noted that, it is the efficacy of the human being in particular that defines all the other factors. Therefore any decrease in the individual's lack of efficacy means a decrease in the amount of backwardness in the society. [73]

With regard to the problem of the human being however, Malek holds the opinion that, development and change can never be materialised without changing the human being himself. Moreover, man's ignorance with regard to how he uses his primary devices was due to the separation that occurred between thought and conscience, after the battle of Siffin in the year 38/658. From that period, Islamic civilization took a different turn that distanced it from the spirit of the Quran, marking according to Malek, the beginning of disorder and languor in the Islamic civilization. The rays of the spirit had ceased and the Islamic civilization began a cycle of instincts and decline, and when the internal contradicting factors reached their climax, the post-civilization society appeared. It ended as destined, by tearing a languid world apart. A new society emerged with peculiar features, characteristics and directions manifest in what Malek called the stage of "degeneration". [74] Here, culture and

civilization begin declining and the condition, requires reflection in order to reveal the main features or the distinctive marks of the epidemic diseases of the social environment, and their negative repercussions on the social atmosphere. [75]

THE MAIN FEATURES OF BACKWARDNESS

1. Takhalluf (Retardation) in Thought and Culture.

1.1 Degeneration of relations among members of the society:

Because the worlds of persons, thoughts and things do not operate separately, rather, they conform to perform a common action in accordance with ideological models from the "sphere of thought" implemented with devices from the "sphere of things" in order to achieve a goal set by "The sphere of persons". [76]

The dissolution of the social network resulted in:

(a) Fragmentation or atomism of thought:

This atomism is, according to Malek, responsible for shaping Muslim thinking during the age backwardness with:-

- (a) Lack of accuracy in thinking.
- (b) Lack of applied thinking due to separation between theory and practice.
- (c) Immunity or ignorance of the method of intellectual struggle.

But on the psychological and social plains however, atomism has contributed towards such phenomena:-

- (a) Rupture between word and action.
- (b) Degeneration of intentions, attempts and devices.
- (c) Inferiority complex.
- (d) Isolationism.
- (e) The Muslim world is apathetic towards presenting itself to others and the Muslim intellectuals failed to transmit Muslim values to other languages of culture in the world, thus missing the opportunity to contribute towards the world spiritual heritage of our time. [77]

1.2 Rigidity

Rigidity due to moral, social, philosophical and political decadence as a consequence of fragmentation and atomism of thinking. [78]

1.3 Lack of a controlling devise:

Which could link between things and their means on the one hand, and between things and their goals on the other. Our policies in Malek's view are ignorant of their means, while our culture lacks the knowledge of its ideals, and our thought does not know the act of verification. All this is frequently manifest in every action we undertake as well as in every step we take. [79]

1.4 The Muslim society began to face a cultural crisis when it did away with the restrictions of social pressure, which prevent individual deviation in behaviour, and abandoned the principle of criticism embodied in the saying of the Holy apostle "whoever amongst you sees an abomination should correct it with his hands, if he finds himself unable to use his hands in changing it, then let him use his tongue to do so, and if not then let him do so in his heart and that represents the lowest ebb of faith." [80]

1.5 Moral crisis within the Muslim society:

This state of affairs makes the Muslim society in general unable to provide the necessary conditions for the immunity as well as the efficacy of thoughts. Thus thoughts are exposed to interpolation either because of a surrounding moral weakness or due to an intellectual weakness. [81]

1.6 Idol Worship:

During the age of decadence i.e. the post-civilization period, society begins to return to idol worshipping due to absence of thought. For absence of the world of thought restricts the society within the scope of just two worlds i.e. the world of persons and the world of things. The society begins to revolve either around, persons or around things in a kind of idol worshipping. The post-culture society or better still, the post-Mohade Society is a bi dimensional society i.e. the dimension of the person and the dimension of something. The dimension of thought is lost and ignorance which in reality is heathenism appears. God almighty has named idolatry a Jahilia and it takes any of the following forms:-

(a) Reverence and exaggeration; manifested in instances such

as "The single thing" and "The only man" the saviour. Malek emphasises thus:- "Whereas in 1936 we were unable to place our hopes in (a single thing) we have now placed it in the (Sole man) who alone can realise happiness and prosperity for the people. This kind of idolatrous conviction in the reverence of persons is still rampant in the Muslim world. [82]

(b) Blind imitation. [83]

(c) Lack of sense of responsibility. [84]

(d) Romancism. [85]

2. TAKHALLUF IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMY

To begin with, economic retardation has a special definition in Malek's opinion. It signifies "shortage of devices in the economic sphere.[86] Economic retardation also denotes literally a distressful situation of the social reality. "The term distressful situation depicts the social reality which is expressed in the term backward".[87] Within the context of figures representing average annual income however, retardation signifies the "social condition of the pre-civilization individual whose problems do not exceed the limits of things. [88] Accordingly, one may

assume safely that, Malek holds the conviction that, backwardness correlates with negative psychological aspect, social reality, problems pertaining to somethings, human and moral aspects and abuse of devices.

Hence, this part of the study will concentrate on elucidating these various elements and correlations as well as on the positive and negative linkages that bind them together. From the outset therefore, the Muslim individual during the colonial period was a mere instrument of sustained labour. He lacked both economic consciousness and experience in the strange world of economics and its concepts, structure and interests. Thus having lost his economic consciousness, the Muslim was reduced to imitating "needs" rather than "elements" thinking that this was economic development. His development in this regard took the following course:

Stage One:

During this period Muslims imitate as much as possible these "needs" that have been secreted by the life of others. But they did not care to devise means of satisfying those needs.

Stage Two:

Following political independence, the Muslim individual began to imitate foreign needs and imported products rampantly even at the risk of jeopardizing national sovereignty. Accordingly, he became - at least theoretically an emulator of ideas or thoughts fashioned by experiments and experiences of others. The educated elite either took to Adam Smith's liberalism or Marx's materialism as if these were the only answers to economic problems. Past achievements or failures of both liberalism and materialism are not given any consideration. Though according to Malek, the question was and still is, how to engraft the Muslim society with a culture that can enable it to use its mental as well as physical potentialities in a general manner, to activate the individual according to a social equation that will teach him to make any economic scheme successful. Moreover, the educated elite in the Muslim world were further divided into two groups:

- (a) The progressive Marxists - indifferent to religion.
- (b) The liberals opposed to materialism and atheism on religious grounds. [89]

Moreover, while the economy in the west is regarded as

the mainstay of social life and a substantial rule that regulates social life, the East according to Malek had on the contrary remained at the stage of the natural and unsystematic economy. The result was that, even the Stages theory that expounded the impact of economic factors on history i.e. Ibn Khaldun's theory, remained inactive in Islamic culture until the end of the last century. Even so the oriental society failed to come out with an economic theory dictated by the impact of its internal needs, as was the case in the west where both capitalism and communism were brought to light. Malek finds justification for this failure in the peculiar and centuries old oriental disposition towards ascetic life as an ideal. Thus an economic theory whose concepts and plans are inspired by ascetism, cannot naturally express, in identical scientific accuracy, the (utilitarian) idea of capitalism or the Marxist idea of (need). For the fact is, utilitarianism asceticism and need represent three facts that cannot be reconciled in one and the same social framework or one and the same economic reality. Added to this psychological factor, is, the idea of time which is very fundamental for the regulation of labour in the modern world according to Taylor's theory (studying labour and time) which has dominated the concepts of productive capabilities. The Chronometer for example is used both to compute seconds and to price produce. Therefore the English dictum "Time is money" rather than being an empty

jargon is, in Malek's view a precise expression of the material reality from the English point of view. Moreover, all kinds of activities in the industrial society are bound to material time, and are estimated by working hours. In backward countries however, where such a concept has not been experienced, various activities traditionally grow, within the confines of Metaphysical time i.e. within the scope of eternity. These activities are not inspired by the aim of building an edifice of "strength" and do not apply principles which vary with the psychological conditions. [90]

PROBLEMS OF THE BACKWARD ISLAMIC ECONOMY

These are enumerated by Malek as follows:

- 1- Improvised agricultural devices and tools.
- 2- Defective agricultural ownership system and absence of agricultural organization.
- 3- Harsh natural conditions emanating from the presence of vast desert land in the Muslim world (arid and semi arid lands).
- 4- Lack of surplus agricultural product that will allow the country to shift to industrialization.

5- Most Muslim countries have to export their produce of raw material, since they do not possess the means of transforming and manufacturing them locally, due to :-

A- Lack of economic consciousness, which in the end represents - according to Malek - a problem of cultural guidance.

B- Lack of technical specialization, due to lack of social framework that can provide such training in the Muslim world.

6- Economic dependence on the west, despite political independence.

7- Lack of sufficient technical cadres; as a result of widespread illiteracy and tendencies debilitating against technical and manual labour.

8- Pressure of population increase.

9- Problems of marketing and fixing the price of raw materials. [91]

The prices of raw material in these instances are not fixed - according to Malek - by the laws of demand and

supply. Rather, the prices of commodities are determined by political, financial and strategic considerations manifested in the trust meetings by what Malek calls, the will of the importer. Hence prices are fixed by the trusts according to proportions that suits both the trusts and the European businessman who exports the raw material with one hand, have it transformed by his other hand, into manufactured goods, to be sold at exorbitant price in the backward country. It is not strange therefore that Malek should propose emancipation of raw material from a relationship that holds it hostage to the mercy of market conditions. No currency can be allowed to assume the task of fixing the prices of commodities single handedly either on "barter" basis or on the basis of exchanging raw material for industrial machinery - according to the following relationship:

RAW MATERIAL - LABOUR

Within this context, the Muslim world finds itself among what Malek described as "The raw material block" or "the raw material bank" vis-a-vis "the monetary block" of the advanced Washington - Tokyo axis. This situation will require institution of discrete organization with the sole purpose of marketing raw materials through out Muslim countries, according again to what Malek termed as, the principle of a

uniformed economy commensurate with the fundamental moral principle of the Islamic idea of "world peace". In that case, the Islamic economy could draw the monetary block into a kind of competition characterised by co-existence, and avoid explosive situation. Co-existence could accordingly, realise the wish expressed by French writer Alfred Sauvy when he noticed that there could be a meeting point between the two in the wretched south. [92]

From the onset, it may be assumed that, in its attempts to find solutions to economic problems, modern Islamic thinking tends to depend heavily upon itself, in response to certain implicitly indisputable facts. These may be enumerated as follows:-

1- The starting point of the modern Islamic thought is that, the existing economic approach is the best that can be found.

2- That economic activity is impossible without the involvement of money, either in the shape of investment organized and supervised by private sectors, or in the form of state investment i.e. the public sector.

This then is the point where Islamic thought began stumbling. With the first indisputable it must choose to go,

either the Capitalist or the Communist way, and thus find itself confronted by a host of technical or, ideological or at least moral problems. For, going the Capitalist way would soon bring it into collusion! with the Capitalist permissiveness based on the principle of laissez faire-laissez passez. But following a century and a half of application, Adam Smith's principle has produced social disorder and cultural perversion within the Capitalist society as a necessary repercussion to excessiveness both in production and in distribution. This state of affairs paved the way for the emergence of Marxism, and through Communist revolution things are once again brought back to normal in the world of economics. [93]

Another point of collusion lies in the conditions of Capitalism or in certain of its conditions. Capitalism promotes investment of money as the only means of keeping the economy in motion. Which explains why it therefore accumulates and concentrates money in institutions such as banks, for distribution and investment in various production sectors, on the basis of interest. [94]

It follows then, that, those in the Muslim world who opt for Capitalism would find themselves preoccupied with attempts to rid Capitalism of the principle of interest which is prohibited in Islam. They would seem from the technical

point of view, to be trying to rid a body of its soul, hoping to still keep that body alive and functioning.

But with the frustration emanating from the Capitalist approach, an alternative is sought for in the Communist system of economy. However, no sooner is this done than another collusion occurs between certain aspects of Communist economic planning and Islamic jurisprudence with regard to restriction or even abolition of private property. The fundamental contradiction between materialism and Islam, which is even deeper than the contradiction with liberalism or usury. Moreover, whenever recourse is taken in certain independent opinions derived from Islam in this regard, it is severely and harshly criticized by certain sections of the clergy, and the economic thought is crippled and its growth frozen. [95]

Nevertheless, under such intellectual and economic dilemma, a cultural basis must be found for the world of Islamic economy. But what are the ingredients of this cultural basis? This we are going to find out forthwith.

THE CULTURAL BASIS OF THE WORLD OF ECONOMY

From the very beginning, Malek holds the opinion that, whatever its ideological inclination, economy is an

embodiment of civilization, in the sense that it represents a set of material as well as moral conditions which allows a given society to provide its members with all social guarantees. However, this functional definition of hadarah reveals two of its aspects:-

1- The aspect that contains moral conditions in the shape of a "will" that sets the society in motion, towards first, determining its social tasks and second, toward fulfilling those tasks.

2- The aspect that contains material conditions in the form of "potentiality" i.e. placing at the society's disposal, the essential devices that would enable it discharge its duties e.g. civilized function.

Malek thus concludes that, hadarah is more or less, the will and the potentiality. Therefore it could be said that, economy is more or less the palpable illustration of will and potentiality in a specific field - the field of economy. Moreover, the figures of average annual per capita income could be taken as clear expression of either hadarah potentiality or social guarantees. [96]

Now, let us find out about the relative relations between the hadarah will and the hadarah potentiality, in the

light of the objective and realistic circumstances that confront a society from the out.

For an easy clue, Malek gives an example of two experiments:

First: During the era of the apostle (peace be upon him), the Arab nation began from the zero point in as far as potentiality is concerned. It had nothing to count on in carrying out its enormous tasks on the social, political and military plans fields. Nevertheless, it was able to fulfil those tasks without neglect or postponement until its simple potentiality was completed. It was able to implement all its plans in all spheres, as if coefficient had intervened in the efficacy of the simple devices at its disposal to make them sufficient in carrying out the tasks.

Second: In the wake of the second world war, war devastated Germany also departed from the zero point, to rebuild itself without any significant potentiality with regard to what is actually achieved, thanks to the intervention of coefficient.

Thus, coefficient represents hadarah will without which potentiality, whatever its material size, would be idle. Therefore, the relation between hadarah potentiality and

hadarah will is a causal relation. So, looking at the world of economy in the light of these considerations, would reveal that it as a world of quantities and figures that comes in second place i.e. only after the hadarah will has reinstalled life and movement in it. Furthermore hadarah will cannot guarantee economic success without a psychological or spiritual factor that boosts it up. Provided however, the psychological or spiritual factor is projected as an embodiment of that hadarah will emitted by the individual. For the individual, according to Malek, is the foremost economic value when his will comes as a spark extracted from a "hadarah will". [97]

Accordingly, the best way to a successful economic development in the Muslim world would lies, in the utilization of the individual, land and time. For example, in a motivated plan, a hadarah will that does not falter in the face of difficulties and is not given to conceit in the form of haughtiness towards the simple devices in the possession of Muslims; and does not require a shot of hard currency or any plan such as the Marshal plan. For the fact is, the problem in the Muslim world is not one of financial capabilities. Economic miracles do not depend on financial injection. Otherwise the Japanese would not have achieved developmental renaissance, since it never received any injection of the caliber of the Marshal plan. Also, economic

miracles know no racial barriers such as was promoted by Rosenberg in the book he published during the reign of Hitler, in an attempt to link German supremacy to German blood. Ethnically, the Japanese are not Aryans, but they did achieve economic miracle because, the whole question according to Malek hinges rather on the hadarah will that was responsible for Japan's transformation into a giant industrialised country. [98]

Therefore, Malek assumes that the economic conditions of the Muslim world can only change when the Muslim world is able to implement a development plan that will rip its psychological dimensions open, and relieve it from the post-Mohades heritage including its superstitions, complexities and imaginary indisputable facts. The new economic renaissance should, moreover, incorporate an educational aspect that will be capable of making the individual - the foremost economic value - or real instrument of implementing the economic plan, and a meeting point of all the principal outlines of the desired programme. [99]

With regard to investment programmes in Muslim countries however, Malek notes that:-

- 1- These programmes are still far away from being able to promote the individual as a means, whose efficacy changes

according to changes occurring within the scope of economic growth.

2- The essential feature of economic development plans in the impoverished Muslim countries is the very money that they do not have. Hence, projects are carried out at a very slow pace, and they eventually stop to the will of the Capitalist in order to secure loans with conditions attached. Consequently, the initiative of determining the nature of an economic development plan is subjected to the will of foreign experts who have no emotional attachment to the destiny of the country they plan for. [100]

As was previously cited elsewhere as an example, Germany was able to rebuild its devastated cities, industries and all aspects of economic activity, depending not on the power of money but rather on what was left of the simple devices which Malek describes as "social capability", which determines the fate of peoples and societies as well as states. [101] Yet another example is found in what Malek terms "The social investment" which is the economic manifestation of the principle of "self reliance" in development plans. This principle was astutely pursued by China in all aspects of its modern development. The burden of development was borne by the people. By so doing non-existing mechanical energy was substituted by the existing vital energy of the people i.e.

social capability substituted for financial capability. [102]

But can social capability and social investment suffice in carrying out a successful economic development plan?

According to Malek, economic dynamism must be added to social capability and social investment to achieve a successful development plan. Moreover, economic dynamism is defined by Malek as the interaction between producers and consumers within the scope of the process of distribution, which in turn determines the purpose of production on the one hand, and the volume of consumption on the other. [103] Thus, by determining those needs that must be satisfied by production, the nature of distribution and the volume of its network would have been determined. However, from the economic point of view, there are two kinds of needs according to Malek:

First: Needs that money could cater for.

Second: Needs that only a hadarah cultural will could cater for such as for example the will that imposed the obligatory alms giving (Zakat) in favour of the poor, the needy and the wayfarer who have no money to cater for their daily needs.

[104]

However, an economic approach is determined on the basis of needs either because the nature of money requires special regulations for limited distribution, dictated by financial resources, or due to a hadarah will that imposes a whole network of distribution that covers from the very beginning, the entire population. But choosing, this latter brand of catering for needs without subjecting it to financial capability, makes it possible then to lay down the conditions of economic dynamism in the shape of two indisputable facts:

First: Every mouth has the right to daily bread.

Second: Labour is a duty upon every shoulder or hand.

While the first fact is imposed by the choice of a particular principle by the society and enshrined in its constitution, the second is not optional. It is rather a necessity imposed by the first fact, to insure continued interaction between production and consumption in a dialectic way that could be formulated logically this way:

No production without consumption.

No consumption without production.

Production and consumption cannot be reconciled without

absorbing the entire psychological and technical conditions required for the take off process (Decollage) in countries suffering from long depression of social energy. [105] However, the take off process has its own conditions:-

1- Farming in the country.

2- Available raw material in the country.

3- Expected labour which may be transformed into real labour counted in hours. [106] But, in Malek's view, this requires the following:-

1- The release of those depressed energies without additional conditions, other than the two indisputable facts mentioned previously. Nevertheless certain impoverished Muslim countries have not been able to implement the first fact not because of paucity of resources, but because of laxity in political action and planning which Malek describes as intellectual depression that must be remedied through motivating the inoperative energies.

2- Departure from what Malek describes as "unrestrained economy" which either functions haphazardly or in accordance with a scheme that neglects some social energies, to an economy that is able to mobilize all available energies. The

latter economy may however require certain technical processes that may lead to first of all, changing the population chart of the country, in order to bring harmony between the requirements of supply and labour. [107]

THE MORAL BASIS OF PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Malek employs the two moral concepts of "obligation" and "right" in a determinist relation on which the entire social life is based. In this manner, should "obligation" be the *only thing the individual could offer the society* and "right" *is what he gets from the society*, when the two represent at the pivot of determinist values - two values of varying relation on the two extremes of the zero it would be possible then to mold a relationship between them in a balancing manner thus:

$$\text{Obligation} + \text{Right} = 0$$

There is frequency of this fatalist cum moral relation when applied to economics, in the sense that "Production" represents what the individual could offer the society, and that "Consumption" is what he gets from the society. In that case, the fatalist relation would contain these two economic values in a preponderant manner with the following three

probabilities:

$$\text{Production} + \text{Consumption} = 0 \text{ [108]}$$

Malek uses this probability to prove the linkage between economic values and moral values in Islam. For example, when once a pauper begged the apostle (peace be upon him) for a "morsel of bread" to which he anyway had "right" by authority of the Quranic verse that made Zakat obligatory, instead of fulfilling the beggars wish, the prophet advised him to work as a wood cutter and earn his living by his own efforts. The point of attention here, is that, the problem was solved by the prophet within the scope of "obligation" i.e. "production", and prophet said (peace be upon him), "The higher (gives) is better than the lower (received) hand" i.e. a hand that could give is better than the hand that receives. So, in the light of the concept of obligation or the concept of right, Malek created an economic equation as follows:

- 1- Positive: When there is a surplus of production rather than consumption.
- 2- Equalised: When the rate of production equals the rate of consumption.
- 3- Negative: When consumption exceeds the rate of

production. [109]

Hence, in the first instance, the society could invest the surplus produce in other operations and future budgets, and in this case be regarded as a developing society. While in the second instance when the balance is equal, the society is said to be stagnant. In the third instance however, the society is described as crumbling.

However, Malek recognizes the difficulty of shifting attention from "Right" to "Obligation". It doesn't occur spontaneously, or accidentally. It involves changes in habits and traits which are in harmony with man's natural disposition towards easiness supported by demagoguery of the twentieth century. [111]

The Muslim world according to Malek, is in a "state of salvation" or to put it militarily, a "state of emergency" which requires that, it adopt severe decisions on the economic plane. [112] That is because, backwardness is due to the existence of an economy still in its primary stage. Hence, in order to enter the stage of industrialization, Muslim countries have to depend upon agriculture on the one hand, and on raw material on the other hand. For these are the sinews of the Islamic economy as well as the means of its revival. [113] Malek also notes that, whatever the degree

of complexity of economic factors, they represent in the first place the consequences of basic humanitarian factors; and that, in order to create an economy in a given country, at such a stage, therefore, we may estimate the economic values with the human values as follows:

No.	Human values	Economic values
1-	The hand and time	Means of production
2-	Brains	Technical frameworks
3-	Labour concentration	Capital concentration

[114]

Through this chart, Malek purports to clarify that, the economic values in the second column, including concentration of capital are the source of the human values mentioned in the first column. The chart also reveals why economic ventures based solely on technical considerations that disregard the human factor are sluggish. [115]

With regard to money - the sinew of economy - it is necessary to elaborate on Malek's views pertaining to difference between "wealth" and "capital". Wealth according to Malek, represents a person's immobile gains that are excluded from the economic cycle. These gains are localised and settled either in its owner's farm or his house. They have no independent action as a monetary force involved in building and financing industries or in export-import business. [116]

Capital however is in essence a "Movable Money" with a social scope that expands according to its movement and growth in a larger environment than the individual's and a maximum capacity that exceeds the amount determined by the private needs of the individual. [117]

THIRD: POLITICAL RETARDATION

According to Malek, politics signifies an action carried out by an organized group. It acquires its potency only through a complete structure "the state" with a constitution or deep-rooted traditions to determine its functions. [118] Politics in this sense has not altogether fulfilled its conditions with regard to the reality of political practice in the Arab and Muslim worlds. For in Malek's view, the

existing regimes in these two worlds are still being tested in a workshop. There are no political formulas backed by historical traditions. Moreover despite the fact that Arab and Muslim societies possess the group or the community concept, they are still nevertheless at the formative and apprenticeship stage with regard to political organization.

Moreover, in Malek's view, the making of politics signifies the making of culture in the end, where the individual as well as the society are trained in a way that motivates them to contribute towards the process of reconstruction. Also, at the same time that, the citizen's faith offers justifications for political behaviour, it also offers necessary tension for construction, and lays down necessary unity between the action of the individual and that of the state. [119]

However, in as much as government is concerned, Malek does not presuppose a specific form i.e. Caliphate, republic monarchy. He rather focuses on the need for Islamic principles in regulating the relation between the governing and the governed such as:

1- Morality; an essential element without which politics would only spell ruin. [120]

- 2- Democratic values; a fundamental condition for the consistency of the state's efforts to motivate resources. [121]

Furthermore, it is imperative to draw a line between the body-politic and the political activity which finds its basis on a methodology that links between politics to society's cultural stage. For, in order to form an applied social world rather than a mere chaotic activity, political action must be dealt with within the context of the structural society. However, this must be based on two principles:-

- 1- To adopt a policy that matches our devices.
- 2- To create our own political devices.

Two consecutive stages of political activity stems from those two principles:-

- 1- A stage where policy agrees with the primary devices of the human being, soil and time, even if supplementary potentialities which may cause coincident are to be preserved of necessity, the outcome of this stage would eventually be, the abrogation of colonisability.

2- The stage of gradual change of the devices at the disposal of the society, where environmental conditions are changed step by step, even though this requires the abrogation of all forms of open or veiled colonialism.

Whatever the pretexts therefore, colonialism in Malek's view is one of the causes of takhalluf, degeneration and languor which have befallen the Muslim world.

The term colonialism according to Malek, has two aspects:

1- The colonial coefficient and its close connection with the retardation of the Arab and Muslim countries. The colonial coefficient according to Malek denotes the negative factor of depreciating the value of people under colonial rule as well as crushing their potentialities and deviating the individual's equation through numerous obstacles. [123]

2- The coefficient of the disposition to colonialism - an inner coefficient which signifies the disposition to colonialism stemming from the mood, tastes, thought and idle habits of the people, as well as other factors of self-restraint which spreads behaviourwise, in the personal

ability of individuals, even when the force of colonialism has subsided. [124]

Notwithstanding all this, Malek stands distinctly from the other Arab and Muslim thinkers by viewing colonialism as a positive rather than negative factor; and poses the following questions: "What was it that awoken the Muslim world up from its century old slumber? "Who woke it up approximately fifty years ago?" "Who demanded of it to get up!!!" It was, he said emphatically, colonialism. We must recognize this fact, he added. [125]

MALEK'S VIEW ON SOCIAL CHANGE

As previously mentioned, backwardness is - from the economic point of view - but one aspect of the problem of the individual who has not learned, or who has forgotten how to use his primary devices i.e. soil and time effectively. It has also been pointed out that the more efficacious the individual, the greater his chances of gradually doing away with backwardness.

But how is the individual's efficacy upgraded? It is realised according to Malek, through social change, because

"the first thing to do in the process of social transformation, is to change the individual from being an individual to being a person. This can only be achieved, by changing the primitive peculiarities that bound him as a specie, to social propensities that link him with the society. [126] The individual's real affinity to the society is based only on common grounds. Hence, the coming together of persons, under whatever circumstances, anywhere, is only the visualized expression of relations in a particular field of social activity. All manners and forms of such a coming together be in the shape of a demonstration or in the army, is an expression of the network of these relations in various forms. Therefore, any deterioration in the consistency of the network would curtail the society's motion, and hence, the birth of a society could only materialise by way of social change stipulated by the completion of the network of social relations. [127]

It is these three elements that are apt to transform the community into a society, in the logical sense of the word. Nevertheless, mobility must comply with an idea which has two values: "The development of the community is bound to lead it either to a sophisticated form of life, or on the contrary to a backward condition....the human community acquires the status of "society" when it sets in motion i.e. when it

begins to change itself so that it could realise its objectives". [129]

It follows therefore, that, since the birth of a society requires an educational molding rather than descriptive molding of the western society, the individual and the society both share equal responsibility of being subjugated to change. [130].

Malek has drawn a new formula for the historical origin of the mobility that gave birth to the Muslim society and its aims. The cause of this mobility or change he said, could be found in the psychological factors which motivated the spiritual force of this society and the conditions of its historical motion over the centuries. This is because, the Holy Quran has placed the conscience of the Muslim between two margins: i.e. Promise and Threats. "Threats represent the minimum without which there can be no effective endeavor, while promise represents the maximum beyond which effort becomes impossible. That is, in the instance when the cruelty of challenge subdues the spiritual power that has been bestowed upon mankind....between these two margins, stands the spiritual power proportionately, with the effective effort exerted by the society in conformity with the commandments of the message. [131]

Nevertheless, since history is nothing but a mere recording of the changes the individual is exposed to, it follows that, the making of history itself is the result of the influence of three social denominations:

- 1- The influence of the sphere of persons.
- 2- The influence of the sphere of thoughts.
- 3- The influence of the sphere of things.
- 4- The network of social relations which is but the "initial historic function of the society during the hour of its birth....it is the first action undertaken by the society in the course of changing itself". [132]

Hence, the first action, "change" undertaken by the Muslim society, was the writing of the covenant that brought the Ansar (Partisans) and the Muhajireen (Migrants) together. But the Hijra, as the initial action of the Muslim society, was the point of beginning in the history of Islam. That is, even before the three social worlds of its network of social relations have been clearly formed. [133]

Moreover, contrary to Marxists theories, changes in the

network of social relations according to Malek are responsible for social transformation, not economic circumstances.

Type of social change according to Malek:

Voluntary Psychological Change:

This represents the necessary psychic condition in every social change. It forms a system of reflexes that changes the behaviour of the individual. Once again Malek resorts to the Quranic verse "Verily never will God change the condition of a people until they change themselves" (Al-Ra'ad II) to substantiate his statement. For anything that changes the psyche, changes the society. But the greatest and profoundest changes that ever occurred in history, came during the flourish of a religious idea. [134]

The Limits of Change:

Malek holds the belief that, "the religious idea is capable of causing change, even in the manners and outlook of the individual. In this case, the methodology of social education could be influential in beautifying the features of the individual. [135] But then, what is social education?

According to Malek, social education means, the transformation of the peculiar qualities of the individual into social qualities that define the characteristics of a person. In other words, the changing of the vital force let loose by instincts, into a social force subject to being controlled by the reflective system the individual has accumulated by virtue of his adaptation. [136]

The subject of social education in Malek's view is, the creation of a network of social relations which is capable of uniting those energies the instincts have let loose, into a form of common activity, to be carried out by a society whose function is to gather all those individual energies for the sake of its interest. [137]

According to Malek, social education contains a religious element. This element is responsible for the formation of the reflective system in the individual, similar to Pavlov's conditional reflection. It is also responsible for the formation of the network of social relations which facilitates the performance of the common activity of the society. [138]

The two pivotal points in Malek's thought regarding the religious and ideological framework of culture and

civilization has been reviewed, with an elaborated analysis of his ideas regarding:

- 1- Al-Takhalluf.
- 2- Development.
- 3- Hadarah (Civilization).

However, for a more integrated and comprehensive review of Malek's views on al-Takhalluf - Development and social change, there is a need to compare these views with those held by:-

- 1- Experts in Geography, Economics, Politics and Administration (appendix 1).
- 2- Scholars, intellectuals and literary figures in both the Arab and Muslim worlds (appendix 2).

It is envisaged that, this process will help project points of agreement and divergence between the two and facilitate estimation of Malek's ability to go by-pass prevalent approaches of solving the problem of al-Takhalluf and to deal effectively with the core of the problem in a

manner that distinguishes him from other Arab and Muslim intellectuals.

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CHAPTER THREE

An assessment of Malek's Thoughts and opinions

A comparative analysis

In Chapter Two, there has been a review of the pivotal points of Malek's thought as well as his point of view regarding the questions of backwardness, development and social change in quest of giving answers to the following:

- (a) What are the meeting points between the scholastic debate and malek concerning the problems of backwardness, development and social change?
- (b) what are the points of divergence in this regard?
- (c) What are the points of agreement between the ideas of literary personages and ulema (Islamic scholars) on the one hand, and the ideas of Malek on the other hand?
- (d) and where are the points of departure in their ideas?

This chapter has been specifically earmarked to provide answers to the foregoing questions, as an attempt to establish an assessment to Malek's thought and opinions.

A- SIMILARITIES BETWEEN THE SCHOLASTIC DEBATE AND
Malek'S VIEWS REGARDING (retardation).

1- The meanings of retardation:

Malek coincides with the renowned economist Simon Kuznets that, the following could be counted among the connotations of backwardness:

1-1 Productive possibilities facilitated by modern technological and technical methods are not used.[1]

Though productive possibilities in Malek's view are represented in what he called "the soil" i.e. the second element in the fabric of civilization.[2]

But, while Kuznets blames this fact on the strong resistance by social institutions, Malek attributes it to the individual, who as the primary element in the fabric of

civilization, has not been able to make proper use of the resources of his land and its wealth, either due to illiteracy, or due to lack of hadarah efficacy caused by the separation between the intellect and the conscience beginning from the year 38 H/657 A.D.

1-2 Poor economic performance in the backward countries as compared to their advanced counterparts.[3]

Though according to Malek, poor performance is nothing but the consequence of numerous factors. These include lack of economic consciousness, lack of experiment and experience, in an economic world so strange to the Muslim, because of centuries of psychological inclination towards ascetism as an ideal opposed to "utilitarianism". Time as a decisive psychological factor was ignored; and augmenting an effective economic performance that could put an end to the state of takhalluf in the Muslim society was frustrated. Under the circumstance, economic performance was reduced to a process of pure emulation of foreign structures.[4]

1-3 Poverty in the backward country. Both Kuznets and Malek coincide that, the cause of takhalluf is the state of

poverty that deprives a backward country of the ability to insure minimum material well-being for the vast majority of its population. [5]

Though Malek went further, to attribute material well-being to the kind of efficacy that marks the advanced societies with what he calls "the social equation". It is this equation that is responsible for providing a child born within the Washington-Tokyo axis with opportunities for health care, education and employment at the rate of 90% or above, in sharp contrast to a child born within the scope of the Tangier - Jakarta axis whose opportunities do not exceed 40% or even less. [6]

2- THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ECONOMIC RETARDATION

2-1 The annual per capita income and per capita energy consumption indicator:-

This is an indicator Malek applies as a proof of economic retardation. For example, the average per capita income in the U.S. in 1958 was recorded at one thousand eight hundred and fifty (\$ 1850) dollars, compared to only thirty eight (\$ 38) dollars in the republic of Liberia. Malek used

this gaping gulf between these two per capita incomes, to prove the intellectual failure of the Muslim world to clearly diagnose the aim and objective of development. Consequently, this lack of vision and sense of direction have helped trap the Muslim world within the scope of the pre-civilization geographical area that extends between Tangier and Jakarta instead of the Washington - Tokyo axis where prosperity is abundant, because the hadarah provides for the individual and gives him all the necessary social guarantees. Malek also applies the per capita consumption of energy - whether coal or electricity - within the two civilizations (Washington -Tokyo and Tangier - Jakarta axis) to consecrate the geographical division between the advanced countries (Washington -Tokyo axis) and the backward countries (Tangier -Jakarta axis), between prosperity and privation, and between material well being and social securities on the one hand, and lack of basic necessities of life on the other. The cause of such discrepancy according to Malek, can be found inbeded in the failure of the countries of the poverty axis to adopt the concept of culture, in its own right, as an objective. [7]

The average annual income in the U.S.A.

U.S. \$ 3020 (1967) according to UN statistics

*London

*Moscow

*Berlin

*Paris

*Washington

*Tokyo

*Rome

(The northern (rich) economic continent)

\$ 520/- in Greece-----Latitude 35-----

*Kabul

*Tehran

*Tangier

*Damascus

*Tehran

*Cairo

*Jakarta

(The southern (poor) Economic Continent)

\$ 70/- in Indonesia

Ref. The Muslim in the world of economics - by Malek Bennabi

2-2 Economic dependence on external forces through the following indicators:

2-2-1 The economic exposition indicator = exports + imports gross national product.

2-2-2 Concentration on commodity export indicator = export of two major commodities.

2-2-3 Geographical concentration of exports indicator = exports to two major partners.Total exports.

2-2-4 External debts of the developing countries indicator.

2-2-5 Technological dependence.[8]

According to Malek, these five indicators correspond with the following principles:-

(a) The principle of uniform economy and barter.

(b) Freeing raw material from the relation that exposes it to the prevailing circumstances of the market, according to the following relation:

Raw Material - Labour

- (c) The principle of the raw material block versus "the monetary block".

By uniformed economy, Malek implies to step by step economic integration among a specific number of Muslim countries, bound by either bilateral or tripartite agreements in the fields of agriculture and industry, with a view to safeguarding the signatories from the pressures of international trade and exposure of their economies.

Moreover, Malek's principle of barter, when applied would transcend the barriers of external determination of the value of raw material, and facilitate bartering one raw material for another, or one raw material for industrial equipment. This could eliminate any excess in concentration on the export of one or two commodities; and avoid any acute fluctuation of prices that may occur.

With regard to the external debts of developing countries however, Malek places great emphasis on the significance of relying on local resources and wealth in accordance to his formula of social capabilities and social

investment, and substitution of money based investment with social investment. [9]

With regard to technological dependence as a factor of dependence on external forces, Malek holds a special vision. He recognizes in the first place, the inability of development countries to adapt, subdue and develop imported technology to suit local circumstances. As a result, they eventually fall prey to technological dependence, and accordingly, economic dependence on foreign forces, despite the dangers as well as the economic burden and unemployment involved. Hence, from the very onset, Malek warns against confusion between importation, viewed as development or culture, and what he described as "the general measure" of the process of civilization. For civilization begets its products. [10]

3-THE CHARACTERISTICS OF TECHNOLOGICAL RETARDATION

It has been mentioned earlier that the premier sector (agricultural + mining) in the developing countries is divided into two sub sections, namely:-

3-1 The export sector established by the foreign investor, with a view of exporting to foreign markets. The main

features of this sector are seen obviously in high technology and large capital (petroleum export sector).

3-2 Local consumption and self-sufficiency sector, dependent on primitive technology. [11]

Malek sees the first sector as responsible for the problems arising from marketing of raw materials. The foreign investor exports those raw materials, only to have them transformed into manufactured items to be sold at exorbitant prices in the backward country. [12]

4-THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RETARDATION:

4-1 Acute shortage of entrepreneurs and qualified administrators, and the dominance of certain moral values that hinder development. In this regard, Joseph Schumpeter had lamented the shortage of entrepreneurs in the developing countries, despite the fact that, the entrepreneur, like, land, labour and capital is considered a factor of production. [13]

Now, with regard to Malek's equation pertaining to civilization, it has already been seen that, the mainstay of this equation includes, the human being, soil and time, within the framework of an intellectual and religious system.

The human being in this equation, is akin to Schumpeter's "entrepreneur" and the "soil", is akin to Schumpeter's "land", while Malek's "guidance of labour" meets Schumpeter's "labour" and his "guidance of capital" corresponds to Schumpeter's "capital". Nevertheless, the equation of civilization according to Malek stems from the three elements of the human being, soil and time, while according to Schumpeter, the entrepreneur, land, labour and capital are the real factors of production which in the end are capable of creating a distinct civilization. [14]

4-2 Over population in most developing countries drains the already strained resources. There is of course a tendency of putting the blame of over population, squarely at the doors of the vast improvements in the fields of medical care, combatting of famine and the drastic fall in the rates of child mortality, in addition to misdistribution of population density and migration from the rural areas into the cities.[15]

Naturally Malek views the population explosion in most developing Muslim countries, as one of the debilitating factors in the already backward economies of these countries.[16]

Therefore, he suggests that, while shifting from haphazardly planned economy to an economy which is capable of mobilizing all resources, efforts must be made to alter the population chart of the country, in order to reconcile the requirements of supply and labour. [17]

4-3 High rate of illiteracy hinders the progress of the process of development. Though according to Malek, there are two types of illiteracy:-

4-3-1 Ignorance of reading and writing, which is essentially, the responsibility of the individual. But the solution to this nevertheless, lies not in stuffing the brain with information, but rather in the transformation of the psychological dimensions of the unlettered individual, so as to turn him into an instrument of social change. Malek himself had helped in teaching illiterate Algerian migrant workers in Marseille. [18]

4-3-2 The ignorance of the literates who hold prominent posts or augment their earnings by virtue of the education they have acquired, without however dedicating their knowledge towards the common good. These are more dangerous in the society than

ordinary illiterates, because their cultural ignorance is worst than ignorance of the alphabet. However, the best remedy for "cultural ignorance" lies not in increasing the number of schools, but rather, in the reformation of education and culture, in the shape of two educational processes which aim at creating a human being more attached to the objectives of his society.[19]

5- THE CAUSES OF TAKHALLUF

The total or non economic theories.

5-1 Schumpeter's absence of entrepreneur theory. It has similarities between Schumpeter's elements of production namely; the entrepreneur, land, labour and capital, and Malek's equation of civilization i.e. the human being, soil and time, though Schumpeter's approach is purely economic and differs from the moral, cultural and social content of Malek's equation. Nevertheless, this does not rule out their coincidence in the end that, it is imperative that, developing countries create relevant social and cultural climate which could induce new ideas and inventions, which in turn could create incentives for the emergence of entrepreneurs, to shoulder the

responsibility of transformation to fruitful developmental activities.[20]

B. Higgins criticised Schumpeter's theory for lack of clarity, as to how and when the atmosphere is considered suitable. [21]

Therefore, Malek took this into consideration when analysing the disintegration of the network of social relations caused by severance of relations between culture and its other universes, and the consequent inability of the human being to use the devices at his disposal i.e. soil and time.[22]

5-2 David Mc Clelland's psychological theory:

The achievement motive. Though this theory is based on Schumpeter's definition of the entrepreneur, it contains however a new concept. This concept is what Mc Clelland called, the achievement motive, which is a variable that could be placed under observation and analogy, in order to prove the existence of a causal relationship between the variable of achievement motive and the variable of economic development; and also between the variable of achievement and the abundance or shortage of dynamic entrepreneurs who

normally belong-in the affluent countries - to the middle class. This is in contrast to the situation in the developing countries, where a new climate of education both at home and the school must be induced, with a view to strengthening the ambitions and achievement motives of children.[23]

Moreover, in Malek's literature, the corresponding concept to Mc Clelland's concept of achievement motive is what Malek calls the coefficient or the cultural will. That is, the part that contains the moral stipulations of culture and spurs the society towards defining and fulfilling its objectives.[24]

5-3 The theory of social change:

Through this theory Everett Hagen concentrates on the cultural, psychological and social factors that go hand in hand with social change in the rural community. According to Hagen, the rural community is never ready for economic development because of its rotation within the vicious circle of takhalluf. Economic development in such community is not an easy task, nor could it be spontaneous. Indeed it is an uphill process that requires:

5-3-1 Changing man's view of himself and others.

5-3-2 Changing social institutions and the surroundings.

All these through Schumpeter's entrepreneurs who are of course not available in the rural community.[25]

Even Malek in his appeals for change, lays emphasis on the need for the individual to change by means of social and religious education. For these (religious and social education) are the most effective means of changing the human being, and teaching him how to coexist with his peers in order to form together with them, the group of forces that are always capable of changing the conditions of existence towards the better.[26]

5-4 Colonialism as a cause of takhalluf.

5-4-1 The theory of the role of colonialism: According to Paul Baran, there are two types of dependence:

External: i.e. the dependence of a backward economy on an advanced economy. Under such relations, the advanced economy is able to expand and grow at the expense of the retarded economy.[27]

Internal: i.e. the sum total factors and conditions which had brought about - during a previous period - a cultural, social and political disintegration that had paved the way for foreign invasion and colonialism.[28]

Malek of course coincides to this causal relationship between colonialism and the backward conditions prevailing in the Muslim world. He came out with two terminologies:

The colonial coefficient, which is manifested in the depreciation of the worthiness of the colonised peoples; crushing their strength, exploitation of their wealth and last but not least, depriving them of the right to education, health care and job opportunities. The other type of dependence i.e. the internal dependence, corresponds to what Malek calls "the coefficient of colonizability" which shapes the mood, tastes, ideas and idle habits of the people, and behaviourally flows within the individual's personality even after the decline of colonialism. But none other than social education, could eliminate this phenomenon from the minds and hearts. Hence, in order to be free from the impact of colonialism, its "cause" must first of all be eliminated i.e. receptivity to colonialism. [29]

Nevertheless it must be borne in mind that, Malek on the other hand views colonialism as a positive factor, in that,

it awoke the Muslim world from its deep slumber.

6- DEVELOPMENT

Nowhere in Malek's works is development tackled with an independent definition. Rather, he mentions development only while dealing with the topics of takhalluf and change, as a natural outcome of change on the one hand, and as an opposite result of takhalluf (growth) on the other. Moreover, development in Malek's view means activity in the various intellectual, cultural and social as well as political and economical spheres. These are tied to social resources (the hand, the brain and the heart) and directed towards the public interest. Public interest in this context, is responsible for providing both the individual and the society at large with social securities at various stages of life, according to justifications and tensions which stir those resources and direct their activities to a climax when the society is nearing the stage of embodying its religious principles in the world of reality. [30]

Hence, the society from this point of departure, regains its activity and growth and ascends the ladder of development and change on the way to a distinct civilization. Therefore, it could be said of Malek that, he does not view development from a purely economic perspective. For development in his

view is nothing but a composite mixture of economics, politics and socialization. Thus, at this juncture, his views match with the modern concept of economic development which transcends the world of pure economics to real political economy, and further proceeds to intermingle with other social sciences. That is, unless the existing political, social and cultural structure in most developing countries are subjected to a drastic change, no economic goals could be realised. [31]

7- THE THEORIES CONCERNING THE STAGES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT:

Following the fashion of Ibn Khaldun, Malek divides the process of development into three stages. For example, Ibn Khaldun's first stage in the development of societies (Bedouin life) corresponds with Malek's spiritual stage where the religious idea begins to radiate and subdue the instincts. The first stage (Bedouin life) of Ibn Khaldun however, depends on an economic production that never transcends the limits of self-sufficiency, and is politically dominated by tribalism and tribal prejudice. The stage of civilization - according to Ibn Khaldun's theory - during which monarchy is adopted as a political system, with diversified economic and industrial activities, increased

well being and more population, corresponds to Malek's climax stage, where the mind dominates and instincts are enticed towards gradual emancipation. There is economic and technical progress at this stage coupled with the dominance of the mind over the various human activities. But signs of langor, deviation and senility soon begin to show. Similarly, Ibn Khaldun's decrepit stage matches Malek's instincts stage in that both are characterized by decline.[32]

Moreover, though Malek does not coincide with Friedrich List's classification of development into five stages i.e primitive, pastoral, agricultural, industrial and commercial. He however agrees with him as far as comparison between the life span of the society and the life span of the human being is concerned, as follows:[33]

Stage	List	Malek (Ta'amulat,p.50)
Childhood	Hunting and Pastoral	Dominance of things - the mentality of somethings.
Adolescence	Pastoral + Agricultural	Dominance of persons - the universe of persons.
Manhood	Agricultural + Industry - Commercial	Dominance of thoughts - Universe of thoughts.

8- THE INDISPENSABLE CONDITIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF DEVELOPMENT:

Malek coincides with the advocates of:

8-1 Non dependence on foreign loans and technology.[34]

8-2 The need for a more equitable distribution of income to all those who have contributed towards development.[35]

8-3 Absorption of most of the abilities of the work force and giving top priority to raising the standard of the labour force.[36] due to the shortage of technical as well as professional cadres in the Muslim world.[37]

9- SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

In the midst of concentration on economic development, the significance of social development as a formula of balance between the production of goods and the production of service, production in general and the distribution of the fruits of production has gained prominence. Hence the definition of social development as the sustained improvement

of the standard of living and the well being of the population. [38]

However, Malek has always distinguished between progress and social securities. The industrialised society is based on the principle of public interest, and therefore provides the individual with social securities. No wonder therefore, that, the resources of every individual in this society are dedicated - either directly or indirectly - to the public interest. On the contrary, the backward society is unable to provide such social securities in view of the inadequacy of its social products. [39]

B- POINTS OF DIVERGENCE BETWEEN THE SCHOLASTIC DEBATE
AND Malek.

According to Jacob Viner backwardness reflects the state of those countries in which the rates of income are much less than what the natural as well as human resources could provide were they mobilized and put into better use.[40]

But in Malek's view, takhalluf is only the result of misuse or negligence of natural and human resources in the society, due to lack of activity. For whatever the volume and the impetus of the natural and human resources, they could

change the society from the state of backwardness and inactivity, to the stage of growth and activity. Thus, Malek goes on to define economic takhalluf as: shortage of devices borne economically - from the psychological point of view-by a new and negative aspect which is misapplication of devices.[41]

1- THE TRAITS OF ECONOMIC RETARDATION:

1-1 The rise of the rate of disguised unemployment, in developing countries in contrast to open and cyclical unemployment in advanced countries to achieve optimum employment of the productive power.[42]

However, disguised unemployment is described by Malek as "stagnant resources", that must be put into use according to the principle of bread for every mouth and a job for every individual in order to prepare the society for economic De'collage. [43]

1-2 Paucity of available capital, that is both sections of capital i.e. material and human. Material capital in turn is divided into, productive and social.[44]

But Malek however views money from two angles:

(a) Wealth, represented in a person's immovable gains outside the economic cycle.

(b) Capital, which signifies movable money which can extend its social scope according to its mobility and growth in an environment larger than that of the individual, and further than the amount determined by the individual's private needs. When properly guided, it (the capital) could become a social rather than a political instrument for material progress. [45]

2- THE CAUSES OF BACKWARDNESS:

Global Theories

2-1 The Geographical Theory:

Backwardness is the result of hot climate and paucity of resources. [46]

Malek disagreed with the idea that, warm and humid climate have negative effect on the productivity of either

the human being, animal or agricultural land. The main cause of takhalluf, he insisted is the degree of activity. Moreover, most developing countries lack the natural resources required for economic development. [47]

2-2 The bisocial theory: According to J.H. Boeke, oriental societies are characterized by dualism, to an extent that it is hard to apply western economic theories in those societies. However, the behaviour of oriental societies can be explained through the following three theories:

2-2-1 The theory of the pre-capitalism social system.

2-2-2 The theory of western capitalism.

2-2-3 A theory structured within the framework of reciprocal relations created by the collusion of the two previous systems in the oriental societies i.e. dualistic economics.[48]

Malek however distinguishes between the economies of the developing countries and those of the advanced countries in the following manner.

2-2-A The economy of the developing countries (Muslim countries) is a natural and disorganized economy which has for centuries derived its principles from a peculiar mood of ascetism as an ideal. Hence it could not formulate such economic theories as capitalism and communism as was the case in the west - a fatal wastage of time.

2-2-B The economies of the advanced countries however are considered as both the mainstay of social life and an essential law that organizes social life. Therefore, it is not strange that, the capitalist principle of utilitarianism and the communist concept of "need" in addition to respect for time and appreciation of its significance could have emerged in these societies.[49]

Moreover, although Malek disagrees with Boeke's assumption of dual economy in Muslim countries, it would seem from first appearance that, his view of the mentality of Islamic ascetism - from the economic angle - agrees with

Boeke's insistence that, the needs and desires of the oriental societies, unlike those of the western societies, are limited. This implies that, a tiny or little action could satisfy those needs which in essence are social rather than individual in contrast to western societies. But, Malek's ascetism has religious attachment, and is certainly not what Boeke meant by limited needs and desires of the oriental society which normally have connection with docility emanating from the assumption by westerners of the ethnic inferiority of the oriental people.

2-3 The theory of stages of economic growth.

According to Walter Rostow, economic growth has to come through five different stages, including the take-off stage. A comparative review of the ideas of both Rostow and Malek with regard to the take-off stage would reveal that, in Rostow's view, the take-off stage lasts for about two to three decades, during which both the society and the economy could effect decisive transformations that will make economic growth a spontaneous process.[50]

While the take-off stage has quite a different outlook according to Malek. In order to arrive at this stage he says, the following must first be realised:

Hadarah will that can force the implementation of the two stipulations of economic dynamism namely:-

*The right to daily bread for every mouth.

*Labour is an obligation upon every able bodied person.

*Unconditional release of stagnant social resources (unemployment).

*Transition from the stage of unconfined happy go lucky economy that does not exploit social resources, to the stage of technologically mobilized economy, even if the population chart has to be changed.[52]

The nation must at the zero hour have an economic asset composed of:

- (a) Agriculture which increases and decreases according to the degree of the primitiveness of devices.
- (b) The raw materials it has in the market.
- (c) Envisaged labour that could be translated into actual labour counted by hours.[52]

3- THE CAUSES OF BACKWARDNESS:

Economic Theories

In appendix I, the following economic theories were discussed:-

- 3-1 The vicious circle of poverty theory: which was introduced by Ragnar Nurske in an attempt to use the logic of circular causation to establish a link between the manifestations of takhalluf.[53]

- 3-2 The cheap labour policy theory: which supposes that, since the productivity of the worker in the developing countries is very low, the rate of wages should equally be low especially that, the work force in those countries is accustomed to low living conditions and limited needs and desires.[54]

- 3-3 The theory of the low level equilibrium trap or the critical minimum effort: This was introduced by R. Nelson and H. Leibenstein to explain that, whenever the individual income rises above the subsistence level, an equal rise in population occurs. The

individual income then falls back once again to the subsistence level. Also that, the higher the average individual income, the higher the rate of growth in the national income.[55]

3-4 The theory of circular causation, backwash effects and spread effects of international trade:

Through this theory, Gunnar Myrdal attempts to suppose that, in a backward country, the backwash efforts created by the forces of free market appear stronger than the spread efforts. Inequality between areas heightens and prevents economic development. This theory also attempts to prove that practices of international trade between the advanced countries and the backward states tend to work in favour of the advanced countries. This is because the process of economic development is disposed to gratify the more advanced and deprive the more backward. Therefore, economic development in the backward countries could not be realised through international trade, but rather through efforts to raise productivity and living standards of the peasantry.[56]

By comparing between these purely economic theories and Malek's literature, one easily detects the divergence between the two. For Malek's view in this regard have purely moral, social and cultural content, though in dealing with the

causes of economic retardation in the Muslim countries, he did focus on the following points:-

- A- Lack of economic consciousness has led to imitating western needs and imported devices before and after political independence. Consequently, Muslim countries found themselves confused between Adam Smith's liberalism and Karl Marx's materialism, and though alien ideas are also now being imitated, the economies of Muslim countries remained within the stage of natural disorganized economy based on the mentality of ascetism rather than on capitalism's "utilitarianism" and Marxism's "needs" plus a fatal neglect of time.

- B- The human being as the basic economic value, has always been neglected in the investment programmes of Muslim countries. Naturally therefore, economic projects that are planned on technical considerations alone are destined to be weak due to the absence of the human factor.

- C- Economic plans in Muslim countries are unwittingly based upon an important factor (funds) which is

non-existing, and by so doing submitting their fate to the will of the others.

D- Muslims have failed to establish a link the moral and economic Principles. Hence, production, distribution and consumption are practiced without regard to the moral principle which in Islam links between economic and moral values in the following manner. Obligation + Right = 0 Production + Consumption = 0

E- Muslim countries have failed to depend upon their devices of the human being, soil and time, even though those devices may be limited or even simple (the social capability). They have also neglected the principle of social investment which is tantamount to self-reliance according to Malek's formula of:-

- * The right of every mouth to daily bread.
- * Labour is obligatory, and the resultant elimination of unemployment on the one hand and transition from unconfined happy go lucky economy, to a technologically based and

mobilized economy.[57]

Thus, Malek's dealing with the economics of takhalluf in exponents of Muslim countries has a general content, simply because unlike the economic theories based on purely economic considerations, he is not an economist.

Nevertheless, Myrdal's statement concerning international trade as conducted between the advanced and the backward countries, tallies with Malek's appeal for the establishment of a raw material block or bank to counter the influence of the monetary block (advanced countries) so that raw material would be marketed according to the principle of uniformed economy which agrees with the basic Islamic moral principle of "World Peace" which transforms competition between the two blocks into coexistence rather confrontation.

4- DEVELOPMENT

Malek does not coincide with the mercantilists idea of the sixteenth and seventeenth century that, in order to realise desired political purposes including colonialism, it is highly important to achieve economic strength.[58]

Equally, Malek's literature differs from the ideas of the physiocrats who insisted that the only productive labour is agricultural labour, and that economic surplus is attainable only in the agricultural sector.[59]

However, the divergence of opinion between Malek and the physiocrats is only a matter of formality, since Malek himself had urged for accumulation of agricultural surplus, but only for investment in the industrial sector. However, in the course of time, the ideas of both the mercantilists and physiocrats were incorporated into what is known as the "classical theory" of economic growth. Malek also, disagreed with the ideas of the classics in that, while capital accumulation according to the classical theory is the main vehicle in the process of development, Malek believes that man is the fundamental vehicle of development. He is the primary economic value who could determine - through efficacy - the progress or the takhalluf of a society. The classicals on the contrary attribute society's slump to population growth and the resultant pressure on the limited land space which in turn leads to the appearance of the law of diminishing returns. Both sides also disagree on the question of income distribution. For while the classicals appear to confine the distribution of income to rich capitalist classes, Malek demands that, income must be fairly distributed to vast majority of the people. It is noteworthy

that, in this case, Malek's opinion is similar to that of J.M. Keynes.[60]

With regard however to stages of growth and civilization, while Malek leans towards a philosophical and moral division manifest in three stages i.e. spiritual, intellect and instincts, B. Hilderband is more inclined towards market exchange mechanism as follows:-[61]

- The Barter economy.
- The Money economy.
- The Credit economy.

Moreover, there is also a divergence of opinion between Malek on the one hand, and Friedrich List and Karl Bucher on the other, in that the theories introduced by both List and Bucher are dominated by historical description of the events taking place during the process of development, while Malek's approach is more inclined towards a philosophical justification characterized by religions and moral outlook. However, it must be mentioned that, the stages of growth according to List are: Primitive stage - Pastoral stage - Industrial Commercial stage, while Bucher divides these stages into: the Household economy stage - the Town or Urban economy stage and - the National economy stage.[62]

Moreover, Karl Marx's materialism and atheism as borne by his "stages of development" leaves no room for any reaproachment between his ideas and those of Malek.[63]

In the same context, Malek and Rostow view the individual from a positive perspective, as a vehicle of political, economical and social change, and this has placed them both at complete variance with Marx's negative view of the individual.

5- THE ECONOMIC OBSTACLES IN THE WAY OF DEVELOPMENT:

The following may be considered as stumbling stones in the path of development:

5-1 Lack of ability to save.

5-2 Poor incentive towards investment.

5-3 Lack of basic structures of production.[64]

These correspond to Malek's:-

A- The use of primitive devices in agriculture.

B- Misuse of raw material and inability to export and market those materials.

C- Unemployment (or stagnant social resources)[65]

6- SOCIAL CHANGE:

According to Malek, the first task of social change is, to change the primitive features of the individual who is by kind, bound to certain social tendencies that connects him to the society. In other words, the individual must be transformed from being an individual into being a person. The society is thus given birth through a social change subject to the completion of the network of social relations in that society.[66]

This concept of change is more or less close to the definition of change introduced by both John Lewis and John Philips. According to both Lewis and Philips, social change is a sustained process which occurs at a certain period of time during which differences in human relations take place.[67]

7- TYPES OF CHANGE:

Malek envisages only one type of change i.e. voluntary psychological change. According to him, this type of change is based on the formation of a system of reflexes which are apt to change the individual's religiously adapted conditional behaviour after the fashion of pavlov. This comes to confirm Allah's saying the Holy Quran: "Verily never will God change the condition of a people until they change it themselves (with their own soul).[68]

In this sense, Malek view is approximately the same as the concept of directed contact change which comes through an external group deliberately trying to impose new ideas in order to achieve specific goals. The difference between Malek's standpoint and Everett Roger's opinion is quite obvious. For while the latter attributes change to an external group which dictates change either for its own interest or as representative of the agents of change,[69]

Malek sees religious idea as the source of change. Religion he said develops the greatest and most profound changes both in the soul and the society.

8- THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE:

8-1 Scale Theory:

According to Godfrey and Monica Wilson, social change usually makes its way from small scale to large scale. Scale, in this context signifies the number of people involved in social relations as well as the density of such relations.[70]

This corresponds to Malek's view that, the first task to be conducted by a society at the hour of its birth is to form a network of social relations. As an example, Malek cites the historical covenant that bound between the al-Ansar (supporters or partisans) and al-Muhajireen (emigrants) as the first task conducted by the Muslim society at the beginning of the formation of its network of social relations.[71]

However, during transformation from a small range society into a large range society, the society acquires certain characteristics such as, complexity, control over the physical environment, disappearance of magic craft and impersonality or social mobility. But according to Malek, social mobility or the movement which characterizes a human

group during its transformation into a society, ends by turning the group either into a sophisticated society or into a backward condition.[72]

8-2 The theory of cultural lag:

According to William Ogburn, there are two types of culture:

8-2-1 Material culture: that is the group of objects and working tools on the one hand, and the fruits they create on the other.

8-2-2 Adaptive Culture: i.e. set of beliefs, traditions, habits, ideas, language and education.[73]

8-3 The theory of unevenness:

this theory deals with the unevenness that occurs as a result of discord between the new and the old, due to change occurring in one area and leaving another unaffected. [74]

This seems to correspond to Malek's "promise and threats" which places the conscience of the Muslim individual in between them, in order to develop an equilibrium between

the new (religious idea) and the old with all the habits, traditions, beliefs and ideas which by necessity contradicts the new religion totally or partially.[75]

The same may be said to apply to Talcot Parsons's idea that, change within a balanced system begins when such a system is exposed to upheaval, not only in some parts, but in the entire entity, only to produce a new equilibrium.[76]

Moreover, Malek's conviction that, religion is the source of change, contradicts Everett Hagen and David McClelland who hold the view that, development oriented change lies not in environmental factors, thoughts or social struggle. Such change they said lies only in individuals with high achievement motivation. According to Malek, neither labour nor peace movements or even revolutionary movement could effect significant change without religious idea as a basis.

9- THE RELATION BETWEEN CHANGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Both Malek and Philip Foster agree that, the aim of social development is to achieve maximum investment of human resources and capabilities of the society. However, Malek

views critically those investment schemes and development plans that disregard the human being, and thus causing their own failure. But the failure of such schemes and plans according to Forster, lies in the fact that, the type of the prevailing social organization including its social and cultural context was not taken into consideration, thus generating stiff resistance and opposition.[77]

C- Points of agreement and divergence between Malek and other Arab and Muslim thinkers on the question of retardation, development and social change.

In the prologue of this study, mention has been made to the effect that, Malek's views with regard to the malady of takhalluf that has reigned throughout the Arab and Islamic worlds, are quite distinct from the presentations of Arab and Muslim intellectuals and ulema (the clergy). However, the present chapter would attempt, to elucidate the points of accord and discord between Malek's attitude and that of the other Arab and Muslim thinkers, with respect to the problem of takhalluf, development and social change. However, it may be in the fitness of things to recall to mind that, takhalluf in Malek's view is a manifestation or the sum total of the consequences of individual inactivity in the society. The fundamental remedy however, lies not in facing the problem

with ready made devices produced by a civilization that has made its way-out already, from the primitive stage with all its logic of things and the mood of somethingness. Rather, the problem must be encountered by developing hadarah that invests available social resources and gradually creates its own technical devices, according to the extent to which it could get rid of pre-culture residues and obstacles.[78]

Islamic culture according to Malek, was built on complete harmony between the three universes of culture i.e. the universe of persons, the universe of things and the universe of thoughts, within a fortified network of social relations. However, when decadence and disintegration crept into the harmony of those three universes, Islamic hadarah as a consequence, declined. Therefore, should the Islamic nation decide to regain its hadarah consciousness, it would need to revive the harmony that had once prevailed within the three spheres of culture, and build up once again, that strong network of social relations.

Thus is the contrast quite obvious between Malek's attitude and that of other writers such as:

- 1- Riffa Rafi AL Tahtawi, who, as mentioned in appendix II sees no harm in borrowing from western culture on condition that, what is borrowed is

given traditional Islamic terminology. Khair al-Din Pasha held the same view, though the two intellectuals differed as to how to attain political change. For while Tahtawi advocated for nationalist feelings as a means of attaining the desired change, Pasha called for pan-Islamism in quest of the same goal.[79]

- 2- Qasim Amin (from the secularist wing of Sh. Abduh's school of thought) called for closer relations with Europe with respect to science and social perfection. Islam he said is no more able to create either a state or a society or a civilization.[80]

- 3- The Lebano-Syrian intellectuals, who urged for the separation of the state from the religious domain, and called for the need to acquire the sciences of Europe, and extract a system of social morality from scientific discoveries, on the basis of a patriotism that must transcend everything else, including religion. Social institutions and laws must be subjected to gradual change in the shade of intellectual freedom. Shibli Shumayyil, a member of this group of intellectuals was the first to introduce socialism into the Arab and Muslim worlds as a means of eradicating backwardness.[80]

- 4- .. Arab nationalist; such as Ahmad Amin, Abbas Mahmud Al-Aqqad, tawfiq Al-Hakim and Abd al-Qadir al Mazini to mention a few saw in secularism the way to eradication of backwardness. They had no objection to Britain and France supervising Egypt's foreign policy, and maintaining military bases on Egyptian soil, and separation of the state from religion.[82]

- 5- Taha Husayn, was the pioneer and the intellectual proponent of the previous tendency. He declared that, Egypt must be regarded as part of Europe, if it were to rid itself of the takhalluf imposed by the Ottomans. He also argued that, the task of religion is nothing more than gratification of emotions. It has no role in guiding the modern society or in political life. As for economic change, it can only come through European type economic independence. The social system he said, must be changed within the lines of secularist principles, and education must be based on libertarian thought.[83]

- 6- Salama Musa, believed that, the type of culture and socio-political systems are but the consequences of

the economic system. The mobility of social change according to Musa can only be interpreted on the lines of Marxism; hence, development he said is but a process through which ancient traditions are destroyed, and future traditions structured after the fashion of peaceful and gradual conflict. Thus, there is no doubt that Salama Musa, like Shibli Shumayyil and Ismael Mazhar was intensely influenced by Darwinism.[84]

- 7- Khalid Muhammad Khalid, called for a social revolution that will lead to dissection of large properties, nationalization and birth control as the only way to effect change in the society.[84]

Nevertheless, the divergence of opinion between Malek and those intellectuals does not mean that, Malek is against all forms of borrowing from European thought and civilization. On the contrary, Malek welcomes borrowing, provided it satisfied certain conditions. Thus he said: "Nothing is more debilitating and languid, than to refuse to be enlightened by the experiences of others and profit by their efforts. But when this is done, it must be on condition that, the borrowed solution is adapted to the roots of the borrowing country. In other words, we must prepare the necessary atmosphere for the application of what we envisage

would solve our social problems."[86]

Moreover, in view of his emancipated attitude towards the various civilizations, it cannot be said that Malek views western civilization with hostility. On the contrary, he views western civilization as one of the modes of culture that has yielded fruits for those who wish to follow in its steps to take advantage of.[87]

In this regard, Malek said: we most often meet forms of adjustments which preserve hadarah at their level and vitality, in order to prevent its decline, and that, is the result of the unification of the human problem by western genius. It is manifest in the life of every people as well as in their political formations and in the various forms of their intellectual, artistic and social activities."[88]

Moreover, Malek does not reject the adoption of the western model by Muslim societies, but, he is full of reproach for mutilating and distorting its virtues and values.[89]

It can be safely assumed that, Malek belongs to the Islamic reform school of thought, moreover, is necessary to compare the views of the schools leader in the Arab Mashriq, namely, Sh. M. Abduh and those of its leader in the Arab

Maghrib Abdal Hamid bin Badis. But first let us once again stress on the fact that, Malek agrees with Jamal ad-din Al Afghani, Sh. Muhd. Abduh, Al-Kawakibi, Iqbal, Badis, Al-Mawdoudi, Al-Nadawi, M.R. Rida, and A. Al-Fasi, that solution to the problem of takhalluf lies in the revival of Islam in the society. However, most of those who share this view, differ with Malek, with respect to the means by which such revival is to be attained. For example:

- 1- Malek disagrees with al-Afghani on the following points:-
 - a- Tendency towards reformation of institutions and laws rather than reformation of the individual.
 - b- Superficiality in dealing with problems.
 - c- Taking no advantage of Islamic culture in systematic planning of renaissance, but rather as a tool for dialectism and revolutionary activity.
 - d- Using theoretical slogans that have no connection with practical realities.

2- Malek did disagree with Sh. Abduh on the following points:-

a-Erratic treatment of the Islamic problem, because the flaws of the Muslim individual in the post Mohade era have not been done away with, as seen in the atomism of thinking, which is one of the features of that individual.

b-Deviation in the reality of renaissance with regard to thoughts and directions, due to erratic treatment. For, with regard to thoughts:-

- There was a drift towards scholastic theology which replaced the psychological problem.
- Emergence of the tendency of elevation or eulogy as seen in the attempts to purify the creed so that it is able to resist the pressure of western thinking.

3- A. Al-Kawakibi, like Al-Afghani, both shared the pure theoretical and political analysis of the causes of takhalluf.

4- Sh. Hasan al-Banna agreed with Malek that, eradication of takhalluf must begin by changing the

soul; and that, religion must be adopted as the ideology of change, be it basic psychological or political change. They agreed moreover that, movement towards change must be associated with a will to shape the individual and the culture as a prerequisite for a social structure with all the economic, political and educational aspects involved.[90]

But the reason why Malek wholeheartedly accepted Banna's ideas lies in the fact that:

-Banna's ideas had forged a link between thought and reality.

-Socially, Banna's ideas had linked life with the truth.

-Point of beginning in Banna's ideas falls within the first stage of hadarah (the spiritual stage).

5- Though, Malek shared the views of his mentor Sh. Abdal Hamid bin Badis, the acclaimed leader of the Islamic reform movement in Algeria, that change must begin from within the individual, but still he noted that, the movement was languid, because it lacked a well contrived plan for culture, and this

short coming produced the following negative consequences:-

- 1- Diffusion of subtle literal approach in education whereby people were thought to appreciate, the objects of Islamic hadarah as well as the eloquence of Arabic literature without pursuing the desired psychic change.
- 2- The drift into scholastic theology, using the Quran as a means of debate and self-projection.
- 3- Inability to project the social function of religion.[91]

So far, Malek's attitude towards some of the pioneers of the Islamic reform movement to which he himself belonged has been reviewed.

Thus so far, the researcher has endeavoured to give answers to questions restated at the beginning of this chapter, which has dealt on the one hand with the points of agreement on takhalluf, development and change and the ideas of Malek Bennabi with regard to the same subject; and the points of accord and divergence between Malek and other Arab

and Muslim thinkers regarding the causes of takhalluf and the kind of development required to effect the envisage changed on the other hand. With that, it is hoped that the purpose of preparing this research work has been fulfilled.

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CONCLUSION

In view of the foregoing, Malek's ideas on takhalluf, development and change, which stands out uniquely among the ideas of most literary figures, intellectuals and ulema in the Arab and Muslim worlds can be summarised as follows:-

FIRST: ON THE QUESTION OF RETARDATION:-

- 1- Takhalluf is the opposite phenomenon of development. It is the natural consequence of individual inactivity in the society culminating into what Malek calls "Lost of Civilization"
- 2- Lack of technical as well as technological know-how for the exploitation of resources and natural wealth in the Arab and Muslim worlds, has caused disadvantage and led Muslim countries into even more takhalluf. However, the blame for takhalluf rests not only at the door step of the state, but also on the individual, who has failed to absorb the optimal use of the resources and wealth of his

land, either due to illiteracy or as a result of lack of hadarah efficacy - a product of the estrangement that began since 38 A.H. between the Muslim individual's thinking and his conscience.

3- The Muslim individual, has failed to acquire the degree of effective economic performance that could end the state of backwardness in the society due to lack of economic consciousness, and the apparent contradiction of certain ideals in the Muslim society.

4- Because of indecision, or confusion towards the two dominant models of development in today's world, namely, capitalism and Marxism, the Muslim individual has not been able to abandon the habit of imitating western needs and devices.

5- Backwardness has demographic, economic, social, political and cultural characteristics which are consequential to the malady of "Lost of Civilization".

SECOND: ON THE QUESTION OF DEVELOPMENT

Malek's theory of development as deduced from his views

in chapter two of this research, are based on numerous aspects:-

A- Assumption of the principle of unified economy for Muslim countries, in the field of agriculture, industry and marketing of raw material.

B- The formation of the "raw material block", with a view to enabling producer countries in the Muslim world, to disengage prices from the relations of the present circumstances of the market, and encourage the two types of barter namely:

B-1 Item for item.

B-2 Item in exchange of industrial equipment according to the following relation: Item - labour, and Cost economic competition with the western countries with the character of peaceful coexistence.

C- Achievement of economic dynamism according to:

C-1 The principle of economy of sustenance i.e. bread for every mouth.

- C-2 The principle of development i.e. labour for every able-bodied person - provided these two forms are linked together organically for the purpose of producing maximum amount of food to be distributed in an appropriate manner between consumption and export according to the requirements of development.
- C-3 Placing the concept of "obligation" over the concept of "right", in order to develop an economy characterized by surplus production, as compared to consumption, to be used in the development process.
- C-4 Self-sufficiency in the fields of agriculture and industry, is a necessary requirement for the transition of each Muslim country from local economy level to the level of transactional economy in accordance with the principles of economy of sustenance and economy of development.
- C-5 Self-dependence rather than dependence on foreign loans.
- C-6 Transition from careless economy to a

mobilized and technically planned economy.

C-7 Political and economic independence must be attained, to enable the state to take charge of its resources.

2- The developmental and agricultural aspect through:

A- Modernization of agricultural devices and equipment, in order to enable this sector to produce surplus products that could facilitate smooth transition to industrialization, and insure foreign exchange for the purpose of importing industrial requirements.

B- Promulgation of laws for the regulation of agricultural ownership, and exploitation of arid or semi-arid land, so that there will be gradual employment of every able-bodied person.

3- The developmental and financial aspect:

Through the formation of a council for the direction and investment of resources, with a view to generating necessary capital, in order to activate thought and labour, and allow the

majority of the population to enjoy and reap the benefits of its projects. There must also be fair distribution of income among the various classes of the populace, since money is considered a social device rather than a political one.

4- The developmental and human aspect:

A- As the premier economic value, the human being must be given due attention, because of his capacity as a means of achieving development, and as the meeting point of all the major lines of development programmes.

B- For a development plan to succeed, its programmes must be based on fundamental human values. The economy must also be tied to the society's social and cultural roots, according to the coefficient of hadarah will, which causes hadarah possibility, and charges the human being with movement and life.

C- Education and vocational as well as technical training.

5- The social aspect of development:

A- Mobilization of social resources i.e. the human being - soil and time to serve development and its purposes, schemes and plans according to the following principles:

A-1 Development plans must depend upon social resources in the shape of soil, time and social content.

A-2 Self-dependence i.e. social investment of the human being, soil and time.

B- The question of the social equation in the Muslim society, should be considered in a methodological form that could mark developmental activity with the necessary efficacy, in an economic world that is dependent upon the criteria of exactitude and production.

C- Social securities must be insured, in order to be able to consecrate the energy of every individual in the society towards the public interest and achieve progress.

D- Developing countries must provide a social as well

as cultural atmosphere that could encourage new ideas and inventions.

6- The educational aspect of development:

- A- Knowledge and education must have links with social requirements. Also, learning must not be viewed as a mere school or university process that aims at piling up information, but must be planned towards investment of human endeavour. This way, it would be possible to reshape the individual within the society, and realise an equation that could insure harmony between knowledge and learning as well as the necessities of social construction.

- B- Concentration on behavioural education with the aim of reviving the values of efficacy, developing an awareness of problems, doing away with idle behaviour and a consciousness regarding the higher goals of the society.

- C- Education programmes must be formulated according to the society's goals regarding change and

development. It must also be linked with the society's needs as well as its present stage of existence and its cultural surrounding. In addition, education programmes must have links with the material, mental and psychological needs of the individual. Accordingly, development will cease to be viewed from a strictly economic perspective, but instead, from various other perspectives, agriculturally, financially socially and educationally etc...etc...

THIRD: ON THE QUESTION OF HADARAH (CIVILIZATION):

The question about hadarah here brings Malek's theory immediately to attention. According to this theory, lost of civilization is the root cause of takhalluf. Decadence and retardation of Muslims Poverty, ignorance and disease are but varying symptoms of a single malady, namely, the lost of civilization i.e. inefficacy i.e. takhalluf.

1- Hadarah to be certain, consists of substance, principles, elements and function, and is related to its products.

2- The equation and elements of hadarah are:

The human being + Soil + Time = Hadarah.

2-A The human being is positioned between two equations, natural and social, and has two values, raw or natural value and manufactured or social value. These two equations and two values render inevitable, the act of guiding the human being into the spheres of culture, labour and money. It is the means by which a development plan is realised.

2-B Soil, the second side of the equation in the question of hadarah, acquires its hadarah status from within its social value, which has a legislative as well as technical aspects when it is properly exploited in the interest of the society.

2-C Time, the third side of the equation attains prominence when Malek transformed it into a social factor to be incorporated into all the industrial, economic and cultural operations, as the mainstay of the continuation of these operations.

3- Previously there were three phases of civilization namely, spiritual, mental and instinct. But

western civilization has transcended the walls of western states and with its ideas and fruits spread all over the world. All geniuses help to sustain it and break the inevitability of the tri-cycles of civilization.

- 4- Imports of hadarah products from the west should not be counted as development or civilization. For such a move is considered as a pile-up of civilization or a civilization of somethingness.
- 5- The general criterion of civilization stands on the principle of "Civilization creates its own products". For, buying the products of civilization means the acquisition of the corpus rather than the spirit of technology i.e. knowledge about invention of corporeal technology.
- 6- Only substantial and general elements of the western model of development must be copied.
- 7- For a hadarah to emerge, there must be a will i.e. a coefficient that motivates the society towards determining what its social obligations are, and how to tackle them.

FOURTH: ON THE QUESTION OF CULTURE

- 1- The responsibility of culture is, to create a social reality that regulates the relations of the individual, and binds his behaviour to the society's way of life. However this varies from one society to the other.
- 2- Culture moreover, is responsible for the elimination of the negative dregs of the past, and the establishment of a positive educational methodology.
- 3- Culture has spheres which harmoniously strive towards a common action that takes shape, according to ideological models derived from "the sphere of thought", implemented through "the sphere of things" in order to achieve an end determined by "the sphere of persons" for the purpose of causing change and development. But there must be a fourth element i.e. the network of social relations or a group of indispensable social relations.
- 4- Culture has moreover four elements i.e. moral principles, aesthetic taste, practical logic (logical thinking or applied mentality) and industry (scientific and industrial guidance). In this way, culture could be seen as the integrated composition of those four

elements, and it becomes a theory of adapted behaviour i.e. religiously conditioned behaviour (Pavlov's method).

- 5- When the link between culture and its four spheres is severed, deprivation of efficacy, or takhalluf in other words, emerges. Man becomes incapable of utilizing his devices (soil and time), or to say the least, misuses and sections thus acquire substantial significance in the making of civilization and development. The absence of culture means the crippling of the hadarah as well as the developmental scheme, as well as the proliferation of thinking, social and behavioural habits in conducive to development e.g. degeneration of relations among members of the society, indifference, lassitude, negligence of duty, submission to reality and resignation to heritage etc...etc...

FIFTH: SOCIAL CHANGE

- 1- Social as well as religious education has the greatest and profoundest effect on the individual and the society alike.
- 2- Social as well as religious education are both effective

in causing changes in the individual, institutions and the society at large.

- 3- Man is the exponent of social as well as cultural organization of the society, and should therefore not be ignored.
- 4- Social change denotes transformation of primitive qualities that bind the individual by nature to social tendencies which link him to the society.
- 5- Social change occurs only when the network of social relations in the society is completed.
- 6- Social change is inclusive of the social environment with all its manifestations of the social heritage that has its basis in customs and traditions.
- 7- A Muslims social consciousness is placed between the margin of both promise and threat.
- 8- Religion represents a source of change.
- 9- Cultural diffusion as one of the processes of change, has helped western civilization avoid inevitable decline according to the laws of cycles of civilization.

10- Old and negative habits, as well as the intransigence of old people, and resistance of new ideas out of respect of heritage are the true obstacles to change.

Finally in view of the fact that the Muslim world still adopts western devised terminologies in sociology and anthropology and due to the resultant misapplication and erratic conclusions emanating from the difference of cultural background between the east and the west; there is a dire need for typical Arabic and Islamic terminologies.

Therefore it is recommended that further researches be carried into the works of Arab and Muslim intellectuals with Malek bennabi at the forefront, in order to formulate such terminologies. The works of Malek Bennabi can be very useful in this regard, since they contain the outlines of what can be termed as Arabic and Islamic sociology and anthropology.

A P P E N D I X I

APPENDIX I

The Concept Of Backwardness

In today's world there are two different groups of nations. First, comes the economically advanced group of countries, so called because of the technical and technological advancement it has achieved as well as the high standards of living enjoyed by its people. This group of countries includes North America, most of the countries of Western Europe and Japan. Then comes developing group of countries, so called because of the lack of advanced technical and technological know how as well as the low standards of living of its people.

Ironically, the Muslim world as the focus of the topographical research falls geographically within this second group of nations. Therefore, attention shall be focused on the backwardness of this part of the world which was once the source of the Islamic civilization.

A. BACKWARDNESS

WHAT IS BACKWARDNESS?

According to Simon Kuznets - a renowned economic theorist - the concept of backwardness has certain implications backwardness implies none of the potentials of productivity as offered by modern techniques and technology due.

Another implication of backwardness is the expression of the state of poverty experienced by the backward country and seen in its inability to provide most of its people with minimum material well-being. Backwardness, therefore, is the state of absolute and relative state of material poverty and the failure of social institutions to adopt modern technical and technological methods of production [1].

However, according to another economic theorist, Jacob Viner, backwardness is an expression of the state of those countries whose standards of productivity and income are much lower than their natural and human resources could allow, when properly mobilized and put into good use. Hence, the difference between backward and undeveloped countries is that in the latter countries the available resources are not

conducive to raising the standards of living and income to a higher level [2].

To many other economic theorist, backwardness always goes hand in hand with either the failure or the lack of the ability to adopt new patterns of thinking and behaviour which are supposed to lead a society to a better situation. In this context, backwardness could also imply inability to keep abreast with the pace of civilization or the absence of such ability in the first place, or its has been lost in subsequent stages, as is the case of both the Arab and Muslim worlds [3].

Finally, backwardness is used to denote the state of a group of countries bound by common physical characteristics such as low standard of living, inefficient participation and contribution of the industrial sector to the GNP and low employment of work force (or the dependence of the local economy on the primary sector with regard to either production or creation of job opportunities, as well as high rate of "disguised unemployment" both in the agricultural and government sectors, low volume of capital, primitive and duplicated technology and population explosion [4].

So far so good with backwardness and its various definitions. What then is the definition of backward

countries?

These are countries that depend upon primitive methods of production composed of both the material and human components of the forces of production as well as the relations of production under which these forces operate. The backward method of production forces as well as the backwardness of the social structure to existing with such level of the development of the means of production [5].

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF BACKWARDNESS

Developing countries have common characteristics in the economic, technology, socio-political and climatic aspects. These characteristics are closely interlinked.

A. THE ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF BACKWARDNESS

(a) The average per capita income indicator in the developing countries as compared with its equivalent in the advanced countries was adopted by economists in the fifties and sixties as an alternate expression of backwardness. Notwithstanding the importance of the economic and social indicators the per capita income indicator is considered most significant because it is used as the determining factor on

whether a state could be counted among the economically advanced countries or among the economically backward. It is also an important factor in measuring the huge income gap that still divides modern nations into economically advanced and backward [6]. For example, the average per capita income in Switzerland was 8410/- dollars in 1975 which is equivalent to 93 times the average per capita income in Bangladesh (90 \$) in the same year [7].

This most important indicator has however been criticized invariably. Most significantly, the GNP is said, includes goods and services. There are also certain goods among intermediary or alternate goods and services that are hard to manufacture, such as government services associated with education, health and road building. The GNP can also serve as an expression of the cash value of goods and services. But most goods and services in the developing countries are not circulated in the markets and their value does not normally take the forms of cash, such as domestic services rendered by the members of an individual family to each other, as well as maternity services, cooking, cleaning and the direct consumption of the farmer from his agricultural products. It is also said that, the per capita income indicator does not provide a good idea about the material well-being prevalent in a given country, as is the case in certain oil producing countries where the indicator

points to \$1000/-, though in reality a fraction of the population enjoy annual incomes of up to hundreds of millions, while the vast majority of the population is restricted to a rate of about \$1000/- as annual income. This makes it impossible for the average per capita income indicator to express the extent of material well-being of a country, unless where there is a fair distribution of income [8].

(b) The growth of disguised unemployment in contrast with open and cyclical unemployment known in the advanced capitalist countries as a result of the failure of monetary and financial policies to achieve optimum employment of the available productive power and the inclination of these countries to combat inflation by adopting austerity measures which usually leads to lack of total employment of available productive power.

However, the causes of disguised unemployment in the agricultural and governmental sectors of the developing countries can be attributed to the breakdown of the productive structure of these countries. The circumstances surrounding the industrial sector, do not permit absorption of a surplus number of peasants in the land, and so is the use of primitive methods in the agricultural sector and the prevalent extended family system as well as the prevailing

values and professional traditions. All these are factors that help keep the land crowded with peasant.

Disguised unemployment in the government sector however, appears clearly in the oil producing countries which feel obliged to employ their citizens mostly at the expense of productive efficiency. On the other hand, the citizens of these countries view government employment as a guarantee of social prestige and security since it keeps them away from unfitting manual jobs [9]. Moreover, disguised unemployment no doubt has negative effect on the productivity of both land and labour. For example, the rate of manual labour in the agricultural sector in the United States of America was 3% in 1975 compared to 52% in Egypt during the same period. Nevertheless, and this discrepancy notwithstanding, America was able to provide food for its entire population while Egypt failed to produce even half the quantity of food for its people needed, and was thus compelled to spend a substantial part of its foreign exchange earnings on the importation of food [10].

(c) Weakness of available capital:-

Capital according to economists means the available productive capacity of the national economy at a given time.

Capital is therefore, a form of stock that piles at the same rapid pace as the growth of net investments, which in its turn increases the potential productive capacity of the national economy. Capital, can be divided into two, i.e.

- Physical Capital
- Human Capital

Physical capital in its turn can be classified into productive capital and social capital as in the following figure:-

CAPITAL

PHYSICAL CAPITAL

HUMAN CAPITAL

PRODUCTIVE CAPITAL

SOCIAL CAPITAL

Productive capital constitutes equipments, machinery and the raw materials that as in the process of the production of economical commodities and services.

Social capital on the other hand, implies collective installations available for the national economy, such as roads, railways, airports, harbours, hospitals, schools, etc.

Therefore, the low rate of the capital invested by an individual in the various sectors of the economy in the developing countries is the most significant characteristic of backwardness. It has kept these countries at the early stages of the industrialization process which requires a long period of time as well as substantial investments. It has also kept the agricultural sector dependent - in its movement - on the muscular efforts of the peasantry.

Moreover, the fragility of the collective installations as well as the fragility of the economic infra-structure represent consecutive hurdles in the path of steady economic growth in most developing countries.

However, the most significant part of the capital is the human capital. This is because human capital represents the available stock in a given country at a certain time, including cultural and organizational cadres as well as the capacity of scientific research. An intangible stock that acts through other factors of production such as: labour, land and physical capital and entrepreneurship.

It has been observed however, that developing countries have not given human capital enough consideration, and this has resulted in the failure of the growth strategies adopted.

They tend to place great emphasis on the growth of physical capital. The aim is to establish economic ventures with quick paying dividends. It is therefore, not strange that the policy of fast development coupled with frantic importation should have ended in catastrophe. Accordingly, the rate of illiteracy and population growth for example grew high, while sectors such as health, education and housing recorded low standards. There was also, scarcity of entrepreneurs, efficient administrators and the multiplication of foreign debt. In a later stage of this appendix, these would be discussed more elaborately [11]

(d) Low contribution of the industrial sector and high contribution of the agricultural sector in the national product:-

Already, we have seen that 52% of the work force in Egypt is engaged in the agricultural sector. In the developing countries already burdened by population explosion. The industrial sector absorbs only between 5-12% of the total work force. The growing number of workers in these countries make their way to the services sector especially the government sector. This means added burden on an agricultural sector already beleaguered by population density and disguised unemployment.

Moreover, it must be kept in mind that in the industrialized countries where the industrial and services sectors are the major contributors to the national income, the agricultural sector is not neglected. But the industrial and services sectors have during the course of history achieved higher rates of economic growth than the agricultural sector, even though the productivity of the land and the farmer have multiplied thanks to the use of machinery, equipment, chemical fertilizers and modern irrigation facilities. It is also obvious that, while transformation from the agricultural sector to the services sector a gradual course in the advanced capitalist countries, the services sector in the developing countries has dominated over the economic activity long before industrial development, because of migration from the rural areas to the cities which have compelled the governments of these countries to employ part of this migrant work force in mainly economically enviable jobs [12].

(e) Economic dependence on foreign powers:-

Economic dependence can be reviewed through three indicators:-

(i) The degree of economic exposition to the outside world indicator. This indicator means: $\text{Exports} + \text{Imports} = \text{Gross National Product}$. The economy is said to be influenced by the winds of trade according to this indicator when the major part of the national activity is not directed towards quasi or total dependence on export and import, as is the case in the oil producing countries, such as the U.A.E. which in 1965-67 recorded a rate of economic exposure indicator amounting to 120% which rose between 1973-75 up to 165% following the huge increases in oil prices in 1973-74. Though it must be pointed out significantly that, the rise of the economic exposure indicator does not necessarily mean that a country is dependent on external forces, since advanced countries like Japan, Britain, Sweden and Switzerland are known to experience relative rise in the economic exposure indicator. Rather, it is an indicator of vulnerability towards unexpected changes in the circumstances surrounding external trade. Hence to determine whether a country is dependent on external forces, a set of indicators have to be considered at the same time [13].

(ii) Emphasis on commodity export indicator.

This indicator means: Export of two major commodities. It is used to measure the extent of concentration on the export of one or very few commodities or resources. When the indicator reaches excessive limits as in the oil producing countries, it can then be assumed that there is dependence on external forces, since the country in question would not be in a position to resist any hostile measures taken by one or more countries, or shift rapidly to manufacturing and exporting of other commodities should the need arise such as wars or embargoes. Also, when the export commodity is subject to sharp price fluctuations, this will pose as a major obstacle in the implementation of development plans drawn by the exporting country, because its import capacity is exposed to acute fluctuations in respect, especially of importation of capital commodities badly needed in developmental projects. Moreover, the export sector in the developing countries is linked structurally and geographically to the economies of the advanced countries. This suggests the development of multiplier effect in the local economy or the development of significant forward and backward linkages either in the export sector itself or in other sectors, which in the end show the failure of the export sector to contribute tangibly and effectively in the development of autonomous and sustained growth in these countries. [14]

(iii) Geographical concentration of exports indicator.

This means: Export to two major partners = Total export.

This indicator is used to measure the extent the exports of a country is concentrated in a few partners in the field of international trade. The higher the indicator, the more vulnerable the country is to the influence of outside decisions and developments. [15]

(iv) The external debt indicator.

The problem of external debt appeared clearly in the developing countries in the mid-sixties. It began to multiply by the beginning of the seventies, following the big increase in the prices of oil between 1973-74. Global inflation rates reached unreasonable proportions. The costs of imports to the developing countries multiplied while exports failed to achieve a degree of growth. The result was a huge deficit in the balance of trade and the balance of payment, stopped temporarily by foreign loans with strings and high interest rates. As a consequence, the debts multiplied in the developing countries and the burden of servicing these debts rose up from 4.4% in 1965-58 to 8.9% in 1962-64. Egypt and Pakistan were forced to cut 27.5% and 24.8% consecutively from their export earnings to settle their debts and burdens.[16]

(v) Technological dependence indicator.

There are two aspects of technology:-

- When technology has taken the shape of equipment and machinery as well as installations, it is called an embodied technology, i.e. the physical aspect of technology.

- Creative know how of embodied technology and putting it into proper use represents the non-physical aspect of technology and is known as the disembodied technology. [17]

While there seems to be an incessant importation of embodied technology in the developing countries, it must be observed that efforts are not made to adjust such technology to local circumstances or to and develop it. This phenomena suggest technological as well as economic dependence on external forces, with all the risks, the economical and financial burdens that it entails as well as unemployment, etc.

In this context, an article by Dr. Mohd. Husni Abbas published in al-Qabs daily of Kuwait on 29/4/1976 said that developing countries spent 19 billion dollars in 1970 to

import capital goods. That is over 33% of the total imports in these countries. It has also been observed that 90% of the capital goods used in these countries are imported. The remaining 10% which usually comprises of simple or even primitive machinery and equipment used in the traditional agricultural sector is produced locally.

B. TECHNOLOGICAL PRIMITIVENESS AND DUPLICACY

The primitivity of the technological methods used in the developing countries is the main and direct cause of low productivity especially, the productivity of the elements of land and labour. Moreover, a careful observation of the primary sector (agricultural + mining) in most developing countries will show that this sector is divided into two sub-sectors:-

- (a) Export sector, established by foreign firms with a view to gaining high dividends by exporting to specific markets. This sector includes mining and export of minerals and petroleum.

- (b) Local consumption and self-sufficient sector, which depends on inherited primitive technology in farming. The development of this sector is due to illiteracy and lack of contact with the outside world on the part of

the farmer who is tied by various traditions and customs and is hindered by poverty from improving the methods of production, especially, in the absence of financial institutions that offer agricultural loans. This technological duplicacy has found its way into the embryonic industrial sector of the developing countries.

[18]

C. THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF
BACKWARDNESS

- (1) Severe shortage of competent entrepreneurs and administrators as well as domination of values that hinder development.

Most developing countries are deprived of the services of the entrepreneur.[19] Lack of adequate number of specialized schools, institutes and universities as well as the absence of proper education, equitable incentive system and the practice of placing the wrong person in the wrong place have all contributed to the scarcity of the efficient entrepreneur in the developing world. In fact even the small number of entrepreneurs available in these countries are driven to frustration because of either class or tribal discrimination. Eventurall, they either migrate to developed countries or resign themselves into isolationism.

Moreover, social values in many developing countries hinder economic development. In India for example the Hindus prohibit the slaughter of cows and in ancient China, the society was stratified into categories with traders and businessmen at the bottom of the ladder while philosophers and army commanders top the ladder. Also, the cast system in India regards persons not according to their competence, but rather according to belonging to a certain social group. Under such system, profession is passed on from father to son making the process of development on new lines with a high degree of mobility of the factors of production towards profitable economic indicators an insurmountable task. The process of development may also come to loggerheads with existing tribal or familiar relations where nepotism reigns and contributes to low productivity, corruption and maladministration.[20]

(2) The Problem of Population

Most developing countries suffer from population explosion as a result of the enormous improvement in health care and the successful combatting of epidemics and famine as well as low child mortality rate in the last thirty years,

while high rates of birth continued unabated. In this regard a close relation between economic and social advancement and the rate of population growth has been established. The higher the economic and social advancement, the lower the rate of population growth. However, the population problem is not confined to higher rates of annual growth. There are other dimensions such as:-

(a) Geographical Distribution of the Population

Most developing countries suffer from concentration of population in the capital cities as well as in other urban areas. Because the economic policies of the governments in these countries which encourage the migration of the rural citizenry to the urban areas in search of a better life.

(b) The Hegemony of Under Age Population

In the developing countries, youth under fifteen years of age represent 50% of the total population. Hence, the burden of the worker in these countries is far greater than that of his counterpart in the advanced countries where the under aged population represents only 25% of the population.[21]

(c) High Rate of Illiteracy

One of the major social problems facing the developing countries is the high rate of illiteracy, especially among the peasantry and womenfolk. Indeed illiteracy renders the process of development a highly difficult task. This is because development requires medium and highly qualified personnel as well as skilled labour to execute development plans and schemes. Wide spread illiteracy also retards the process of establishing democratic institutions which allows the participation of all sections of the population in the process of development. Consequently, developing countries are compelled to allocate substantial sums from the national income to combat illiteracy rather than direct such sums towards other pressing developmental projects. [22]

(d) Bad Housing Situation

The majority of the population in developing countries live in appalling housing conditions as a result of abject poverty, population explosion and bad recruitment of available human as well as economic potentialities. In Pakistan for example, three persons share a single room in about 60% of the residential units. [23] In this regard,

one may wonder as to how much economic and financial resources are required to improve the standard of housing and simultaneously combat illiteracy, raise health care standards and provide sustenance for the population.

(e) Low Health Care Standards

In comparison to the United States of America where there is a physician for every 622 persons, there is only one physician for every : 1000 persons in Chad for example and one physician for every 13802 in Morocco. Moreover, the rate of calories consumed by an individual in the U.S. is 3500 per person per day against 1781 per person in Chad. Also, while the rate of infant mortality in Chad is 16% annually, only 1.8% has been recorded in the U.S. where life expectancy is about 72 years compared to 32 years in Chad. [24]

(f) Lack of Stability

Most developing countries are afflicted with the phenomena of political instability. Military takeovers (coups d'etat) have become closely associated with these countries. Vast amount of money which would have been otherwise spent on development are wasted on the establishment of police and intelligence services for the sole purpose of oppression, suppression of liberties and the institution of reign of

terror. Senior officers of the armed forces are intimidated and compromised by the rulers through big munerations and a variety of attractive benefits. Partisans are recruited not on merit but rather on the lines of nepotism. Powers and prerogatives are then placed in the hands of this small but rich elite which constitute only 1% of the total population. The vast majority of the population is left in abject poverty and excruciating want.

Now, what are the original causes of economic backwardness or economic advancement in the world?

The second part of this work will deal with these original causes in the form of theories formulated by economists. They are two kinds of these theories:-

- I. Non-economic theories or Comprehensive theories
and
- II. Purely economic theories.

THE CAUSES OF BACKWARDNESS

I. The Comprehensive or Non-Economic Theories

(1) The theory of geographic: Hot climate and paucity of resources:

According to the proponents of this theory, there is a causal relation between hot or mild climate and the degree of either backwardness or advancement. Hot and humid climate they say, have negative influence on the productivity of both man, animal and the agricultural land. Floods caused by monsoon rains are another negative influencing factor because of damages to crops, soil, trees and other plants, causing severe shortages in animal feed and diminishing the fertility of the land and hence low productivity and income. Backward countries according to this theory, are not only characterized by hot and humid climate, they also lack the natural resources required by the process of economic development. [25]

However, the geographical factor cannot be regarded as the only cause of economic retardation or advancement. For, while the Babylonian and Pharaonic civilizations came into being under moderate climates, the hot and humid temperature of Queensland in Australia have not hindered the progress and economic well being of its people. Also extremely cold countries in Scandinavia, England and parts of the United States are known to have progressed and advanced though the

climate there is not moderate. Moreover, lack of natural resources should not be seen as an exclusive feature of the backward countries. The oil producing countries for example are counted among the backward countries despite the vast oil reserves at their disposal. [26]

(2) The absence of the entrepreneur:

According to Joseph Schumpeter, so long as scientific innovations continue to emerge, there must appear what he called "New Men" who would exploit and transform such innovations into profitable economic techniques and projects for the benefit of all. Such new men are the entrepreneurs who, by the risks they take and the sincere efforts they exert acquire "Capital Returns" which insure continued economic growth within the content of the Capitalist system. But as soon as innovations cease to emerge, entrepreneurs disappear and the economic activity slacks and enters into one of its cyclic crises. [27]

Therefore, developing countries must create a socio-cultural climate that promotes new ideas and innovations which in their turn prompt the emergence of entrepreneur to transform these ideas and innovations into productive economic activities. That is, if these countries wish to progress in their growth.

However, the major point of contention in Schumpeter's analysis is that, he has failed to tell us when a climate is considered appropriate and was skeptic about the state's ability to assume the role of entrepreneur. [28]

(3) McClelland's psychological theory of the achievement motive:

According to David McClelland, a causal relationship exists between what he termed achievement motive variable and the economic growth variable, as well as between the achievement motive variable and the existence of enough entrepreneurs who are capable of motivating the growth process.

In his book "The Achieving Society", McClelland added a new concept to Schumpeter's definition of the entrepreneur. He called it the achievement motive and regarded it as a variable that could be subjected to observation and measurement through comments made by children on pictures and folk stories given to them. He went on to say that, the greater the imagination and the greater the desire to gain success in life in the comment, the greater the achievement motive. Therefore, a society that can create a greater degree of achievement motive in the individual, engenders

dynamic entrepreneurs to steer the process of economic growth. Moreover, McClelland holds the view that, individual's with higher degree of achievement motive are usually faster learning and absorption of lessons in their tender ages. They are also precise in doing their homework and extra curriculum activities. They strive for innovation, resist social pressure, select competent and experienced peers and are ready to take risky tasks. Such individuals usually belong to the middle class. But the class structure in the developing countries does not provide the right atmosphere of consolidating the achievement motive essential for the future entrepreneur. Mc Clelland concluded that, revolutionary religions reform and nationalist movements are more capable of providing an atmosphere where the individual is imbibed with new values as well as new behaviour patterns.

[29]

McClelland's theory of achievement motive was criticized by Higgins. The relation between the so called achievement motive and the growth indicator is not according to Higgins - a causal relation but rather an interlinkage. Therefore, the achievement motive should have been defined as an independent variable, measured in a manner that allows for comparisons in time and in space and point out clearly and precisely that a more solid relation exists between the achievement motive and the number of entrepreneurs and how

scientifically the achievement could be developed and guided.[30]

(4) The social change theory:

Everett E Hagen's theory of the social change is but a compendium of the conclusions in social science, psychology and anthropology. This theory is based on the abstract model of the "Rural Society", common in most developing countries and constitutes a vast majority of peasants and an elite of interest-taking merchants.

The "Rural Society" is traditional, conservative and even xenophobic. Relations among its inhabitants depend more on affinity than on real competence. Economic development in such a society comes not spontaneously, but as a result of a tough process which requires changing the individual's outlook towards himself and towards others, and prompts changes in social institutions, including the concept of the extended family and environment in which children are brought up. Such changes are not readily accepted in the rural society, where there is a dearth of Schumpeter's entrepreneurs. But societies at large, including the rural society, are always capable of producing few individuals who could assume leadership roles. These few individuals appear

only when there is a feeling that, the social group which they belong to is threatened by the dominant values in the society as a whole, and that salvation lies only in changing the prevailing values and steering the society towards economic development, as in the case of the Lebanese in Africa and Latin America, the Chinese in South East Asia and Indians in East Africa. [31] But Hagen's theory leaves much to be desired, because while concentrating on the social, psychological and cultural factors in the "Rural Society", the theory ignores the economic factors which influence the process of development, such as accumulation of capital as well as the growth of the market. [32]

(5) Social dualism:

According to Dutch economist J H Boeke, social dualism appears in the form of a clash between an alien Social System - High Capitalism and a deep rooted and distinct indigenous social system. The clash leads to the erosion of the indigenous system thus producing two societies: An alien capitalist society and the remnants of the erstwhile indigenous society. The two societies can exist side by side for a long time without one of them absorbing the other and each having its own economic theory. However, efforts to apply western economic theory in explaining the behaviour of the dualist oriental societies have proved incongruous because

only three theories can actually explain the behaviour of these societies properly: Pre-Capitalism - Capitalism - Dualistic Economics. Moreover, the oriental societies according to Boeke have limited needs and wants of the western society, and this indicates rapid backward stopping of the labour supply curve and risk taking before any significant rise of the living standard, i.e. any rise in wages means less supply of labour since workers can now satisfy their limited needs and wants with less effort. Boeke concludes that since the oriental society is not oriented towards the profit urge which is the backbone of the capitalist system; and is not inclined to productive economic investments that require longer periods and greater risks, and is not prone to precision, organization, discipline and specialization, it therefore cannot adopt the western economic theory because of the fundamental differences between the two societies. [33] But it is rather difficult to generalize Boeke's experience in Indonesia on the entire developing countries. Higgins has proved that conditions for the oriental society are not less than those of the western society. The only difference between the two lies in the ignorance of how needs and wants could be satisfied through hard work, as far as the oriental societies are concerned. Social dualism moreover, as a rule, functions not only in the backward countries, but also in certain advanced countries such as is evident into the yawning gap between the advanced

north and the backward south in Italy and the United States of America. Furthermore, lack of inclination towards risk-taking and profit making should not be seen as a trait of oriental societies but rather as a negative impact of inflation in the backward countries. Also, given the opportunity, the example of Europe could be followed to effect changes in those economic institutions in the oriental societies that are considered inconclusive to economic development. [34]

(6) Stages of economic growth:

In this theory Walter Rostow concludes that, full economic growth must pass through five stages:-

(a) The traditional society stage, is one where the society is characterized by low productivity caused by the dominance of the agricultural sector on the general economic activity and the use of absolute technological techniques. In such societies, savings and investments are hardly enough to cover depreciation and the economy is ever in a stationary equilibrium. Moreover, from the historical and scientific points of view, the traditional society is described as the pre-Newton world.

(b) Conditions for the take-off stage:

At this stage in a country's development certain economic and social circumstances emerge that motivates the society towards the take-off stage. Europe witnessed this stage at the end of the 17th century and at the advent of the 18th century, when application of modern science found its way into agricultural and industrial activities. Investment, profit making, more opportunities for education and work were remarkably improved and entrepreneurs began to emerge. The role of go-between was played by certain financial institutions as a form of coordination between savers and investors, and investment in the transport sector as well as in other fields of the social capital increased remarkably. The local market expanded, internal and external trade boomed, certain transformable industries appeared and the leading section of the primary sector (agricultural and mining) grew remarkably.

According to Walter Rostow, countries at the precondition for take-off stage can be divided into two groups:-

- The developing countries where there is tremendous pressure on food supply as a result of low mortality and high birth rates. In these countries, the general feature of the society as well as the economy is the dominance of the

traditional means of production in primary activity, absolute values and institutions. Most developing countries are therefore, either in the first stage, (the traditional society) or have acquired the necessary preconditions for the take-off stage.

(c) Take-off stage:

The take-off stage extends up to two or three decades during which the society and the economy are both able to develop a decisive transformation that makes economic growth spontaneous. At this stage, old restrictions as well as forces that resist sustained growth are finally crushed. Three closely linked conditions are however necessary for the emergence and dominance of forces that induce economic growth.

(i) The rise of productive investments from 5% or less to more than 10% of the national income or the net national product.

(ii) The emergence of one or more of the major substantial manufacturing sectors with high growth rates.

(iii) The existence (or rapid development) of a socio-political and institutional framework, able to exploit

expansion impulses that appear in the modern sector and reap the fruits of external economics of the take-off stage however, does not normally begin before the appearance of a sharp stimulus which may take the form of either a political revolution, technological innovations, positive or negative developments in the international environment and the emergence of an elite or a class of entrepreneurs in various spheres. But without an appropriate value system for growth, and without the new elite having the feeling that the usual ways to political and social development are barred before them, the foregoing cannot be realised. Take-off in short is nothing but an industrial revolution.

(d) The drive to maturity stage:

This is a long period of sustained growth that requires about sixty years. During this stage, investment, which constitute between 10% and 20% of the national income allows production to grow at a rate higher than the rate of population growth. New pioneering sectors replace the dominating sectors of the previous stage, e.g. transformation from the Railway sector to Steel works or modern shipbuilding and chemical and Electrical industries. Nevertheless, structural changes remain slow.

(e) High mass consumption stage:

Main economic sectors turn during this stage, to producing consumer goods using high quality techniques and fulfilling social well being for the people. Security replaces the profit urge and a substantial percentage of labour turn to government and private services sector [35] It is rather hard however, to perceive the demarcation line in Rostow's stages, especially between the take-off stage and the subsequent stages. Moreover, the characteristics of one stage are found in the other stages, and this provides no sound argument when discussing the analytical relationships that link the take-off stage with previous or subsequent stages. [36]

(f) Many intellectuals in the developing countries still believe that Colonialism is the main culprit of backwardness. Three formulas have been presented to support this inclination.

(7) The role of colonialism:

Paul Baran is one of those Marxist thinkers who regard colonialism as the main reason for the backwardness in the developing countries. According to this trend of thought the social system left behind by the colonialists is either not capable or unwilling to reinvest economic surplus in

productive activities and is unable to pool the substantial resources and sacrifices required by development. [37]

(8) The role of dependence:

The concept of dependence as the cause of backwardness is linked to a group of social scientists in Africa and Latin America joined subsequently by Marxists and nationalists worldwide. The concept of dependence engulfs all spheres of economic, military, cultural and political life. Accordingly, backwardness is only a normal consequence of the dependence of backward and developing countries on the advanced capitalist countries. The essential requirement for development in these countries lies therefore in severing this relation of dependence. But this in its turn needs a social revolution that will eliminate the roots of dependence. [338] But contrary to these radical thinkers, traditional economists view backwardness as a direct result of the local circumstances prevailing in these countries, beginning with primitiveness and the duplicacy of the technological methods used to low rates of savings, accumulation of capital and high rate of population growth.

In short dependence can be divided into two sections:-

(a) External Dependence: Implies a state whereby the economy of a country is closely linked to the growth and expansion of another. Under such circumstances, the dominant economy is likely to experience self-expansion and growth, while the dependent economy suffices with the role of being reflexive to the growth and expansion of the former. [39]

(b) Internal Dependence: This constitutes all the internal factors and circumstances inherited from the past such as the social and political disintegration that took place in the countries that are now called as developing, and paved the way for subsequent foreign invasion and western colonialism. [40]

The sum total of the views on dependence can be enumerated as follows:-

(a) That dependence and backwardness are nothing but the consequence of the expansion of the capitalist system in the world.

(b) Dependence allows the advanced capitalist countries to exploit the developing countries.

II. Economic Theories

(1) Vicious circle of poverty

Ragnar Nurske employed the logic of circular causation

to establish a link between the various aspects of backwardness. He observed the existence of a set of factors which are linked together, and which interact in a circular way to keep backward countries in continuous state of backwardness. Low per capita income for example leads to low standard of nutrition, which in turn leads to poor health standard. This influence the efficiency of productivity and cause low income, clogging the two ends of the circle and keeping the backward countries entangled in the circle.

In this respect, it is possible to envisage a huge number of circles. The first circle in supply is manifested in the fact that low per capita income implies the inability of the backward country to generate savings and investments and this means low productivity due to lack of accumulated capital that comes from investment. This leads to low income and thus closes the two ends in the circle.

The second 'B' circle, in the case of demand takes the form of: low per capita income in an expression of low purchasing power and implies a decrease in the size of the market and lowers the inclination of entrepreneurs to invest. Moreover, low investment means a decrease in accumulated capital and hence a decrease in productivity which in its

turn means low income. Nurske however, regards low income which is a reflection of low productivity as being the common denominator of the two circles. [41]

(2) The Cheap Labour Policy

This theory by Hla Myint finds its bases in the investment policy adopted by foreign firms in their large plantations and mines in the backward countries. These firms justified the modest wages paid to the local labour by low rate of productivity. The possibility of raising the standard of productivity in these countries - according to this theory - is very limited, especially that the local labourers are accustomed to low standards of living and have limited needs and can never respond to positively to any incentives, such as pay rise. However, the low wages policy has generated a vicious circle that has kept the backward countries in perpetual retardation. Moreover, Myint believes that the cheap labour policy has prevented the large plantations and mining concerns from assuming the role of the leading sector in the economic development of the backward countries. [42]

(3) The Low Level Equilibrium Trap/The Critical Minimum Effort Theory

There are two major hypothesis in R Nelson and H Leibenstein's theories. First, the hypothesis that whenever the average per capita income rises above the subsistence level, there will be an increase in the population and the average per capita income will be pushed back to the subsistence level. In the second hypothesis however, the higher the average per capita income the higher the rate of growth in the national income. But this is only at the beginning, since as soon as the average per capita income reaches higher levels as in the advanced countries, the rate of the national income tumbles down. In other words, when a country is poor and the average per capita is low, as in the backward countries, the rate of savings and investments is also low. But as soon as the country becomes rich and the average per capita rises above minimum, savings and investments fall once again and stays at the level of about 10% of the national income.

Hence, backward countries, according to this theory remain immerse in the vicious circle of backwardness marked by low per capita income which, in turn leads to low savings and investments and keeps the national income at a low level. The vicious circle can only be broken when gigantic

efforts are made, to raise the average per capita income to a higher level than the rate of population growth. [43] However, the main contradiction in the theory lies in the fact that it pays no regard to the time factor (timeless). But time is essential if the relations between population growth and the rise of the average per capita income, as well as the relation between this latter and the rate of growth in the national income are to be realised.

Moreover, population explosion in the backward countries came, not as a result of rise as in the per capita income but rather, as a result of the vast improvement in the field of medical care which had insured low infant mortality. [44]

(d) The Theory of Circular Causation, Backwash Effects and Spread Effects of International Trade

Contrary to the traditional theory of economics dominated by the idea of general equilibrium, the mobility of the social system according to Gunnar Myrdal, is not inclined to develop a state of automatic equilibrium and stability. It rather distances itself continuously from such a state, since any change that occurs is met not by an opposing change, but rather by a supporting change that moves the system in the same direction. Hence, due to this circular causation, the social system is inclined to move in a

cumulative form. This theory was formulated by Myrdal to help explain the causes of bad distribution and inequality between the various regions of one and the same country, as well as on the international level. On the national level for example, industrial areas thrive and grow at the expense of the ever backward rural areas, for the simple reason that, the dynamism of the advanced regions attracts active elements from the rural areas. Subsequently, the rural areas are deprived of the services of dynamic and ambitious youth and are left with only non productive elements such as women, children and the elderly. Moreover, in view of the circumstances of social backwardness and rigidity as well as poor standards of transportation, communication and education, backwash effects of the growth of certain regions or sectors at the expense of other regions or sectors are stronger than spread effects. Hence, with the interaction of the various provinces in the same country, market forces will strive to keep the rich areas richer and the poor areas poorer. Accordingly, the backward the country is, the more the free market forces strive to create a backwash effect that is stronger than the spread effects, and thus aggravate inequalities between the various areas, and in turn prevent economic development. But once a country is able to make an exit from this vicious circle and achieve high standard of growth, the spread effects become more stronger than the backwash effects. Differences among the various regions

disappear and growth becomes automatic. This is also applicable on the international level. Moreover, international trade between the advanced and the backward countries has always been in favour of the former and at the detriment of the latter. Therefore, economic development in the backward countries according to Myrdal's theory will never be realised through international trade, but rather, through raising the standards of productivity and living conditions of the peasantry, [45]

This review of the comprehensive and economic theories of backwardness has shown each founder of a theory concentrating usually on a single factor as the cause of backwardness and ignoring other factors not less important than the factor he has opted for.

Nevertheless, the review has been comprehensive and covered each theory and the criticism leveled at it.

THE FEATURES OF BACKWARDNESS AND ADVANCEMENT

As we already have defined the term backwardness, we will now embark upon the task of defining the term "advancement" as follows: advancement implies the development of man's intellectual life, the growth of his ability to

control nature and acceptance of new patterns of thinking and behaviour recognized by the society, seeing in so doing an opportunity to fulfill his aspiration for a better life. [46]

Both backwardness and advancement have demographic, economic, social, cultural and political features as in the following table: [47]

(a) Demographic Features

Backwardness

Advancement

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Higher birth rate. | 1. Low birth rate. |
| 2. Higher rates of mortality in general. | 2. Low rates of mortality in general. |
| 3. High rate of child mortality. | 3. Low rate of child mortality. |
| 4. Low standard of nutrition. | 4. Higher standard of nutrition. |
| 5. Low health standard. | 5. Higher health standard. |

(b) Economical Features

- | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 6. Lack of sufficient | 6. Sufficient |
|-----------------------|---------------|

- | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--|
| | natural resources
and lack of optimum
use of natural
resources. | | natural resources
and optimal use
of natural
resources. |
| 7. | Lack of capital. | 7. | Abundancy of
capital. |
| 8. | Involvement in
agricultural activities | 8. | Involvement in
heavy industries |
| 9. | Using traditional,
primitive and back-
ward means of
production which
depends more on muscle. | 9. | Use of modern and
advanced means of
production based
on machinery
power. |
| 10. | Not using or less use
of balanced economy
approach between
various sectors and
tendencies. | 10. | Use of balanced
economy in all
sectors and
tendencies. |
| 11. | High rate of actual
disguised unemployment. | 11. | Low rate of
unemployment
(total or partly
disguised). |

- | | |
|---|--|
| 12. Low national income. | 12. High national income. |
| 13. Inequitable distribution of the national income. | 13. Equitable distribution of the national income. |
| 14. Low per capita income under \$600 insufficient to cater basic needs luxuries. | 14. High per capita income over \$600 to cater for luxuries as well as basic needs. |
| 15. Lack of savings or rather absence of savings and lack of inclination towards investments. | 15. Abundancy of savings and growing inclination towards investments. |
| 16. Tendency towards non-consumer patterns of expenditure (food - drinks - clothing). | 16. Inclination towards non consumer patterns of expenditure (non-perishable goods). |
| 17. Inclination towards exporting raw material and importing most | 17. Inclination towards exporting manufactured |

modern technology.

goods (heavy industries especially) and towards exporting modern technology.

18. Limited markets (internal + external) and imports more than exports - imbalance (irregularity of balance of trade).

18. Extended markets internal + external exports more than imports (regular balance of trade)

19. Obsolete institutions and banking system (insufficient and inefficient).

19. Advanced institutions and efficient banking systems.

20. Economically dependent on external forces - applies for and receive foreign aid.

20. Economic independence - self sufficient - provide foreign aid.

(c) Social Features

21. Low standards of

21. High standards of

- | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|
| | living. | | living. |
| 22. | High rate of illiteracy and low rate of education and training and the use of obsolete methods in learning and training. | 22. | Low rate of illiteracy and high rate of learning + training and use of modern methods in learning and training. |
| 23. | Wide spread child labour. | 23. | Non-existence of child labour. |
| 24. | Obstruction or failure of social mobility and its lack of lucidity - as well as rigidity. | 24. | Flow of social mobility. |
| 25. | Small size of middle class and large low class. | 25. | Large middle class and small size of high class and low class. |
| 26. | Lack of social welfare totally or partially. | 26. | Availability of social welfare in all dimensions |

education, health,
housing, communi-
cation and enter-
tainment.

27. Non-applicable of
the results of
scientific and
technical researches.

27. Large scale
application of
the findings of
scientific and
technical
researchers.

(d) Cultural Features

28. Inferior status of
women.

28. Elevated status
women.

29. Domination of
customs and
traditions on
behaviour.

29. Free from the
domination of old
customs and
traditions
(especially harm-
ful ones).

30. Dominance of primary
simple and direct

30. Complicated
social relations

social relations
confined usually to
inner circles.

extending norm-
ally outside the
circle (Family-
relatives-clan-
tribe).

31. Inability to open up
to new ideas, self
isolation and lack
of sympathy with
new social roles.

31. Mental openness to
new ideas and the
outside world as
well as sympathy
with new social
roles.

32. Rigidity of structural
units dominated
usually by tribal
or semi tribal life
and inability to
integrate into society.

32. Mobility of
structural units
and integration
into society.

(e) Political Features

33. Inability to establish
and appropriate and
social framework.

33. Establishment of
appropriate poli-
tical and social
framework.

34. Inability to

34. Establishment of

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>establish a society where security of the individual is abundant.</p> | <p>a society where the individual enjoys peace and tranquility.</p> |
| <p>35. Inability to establish a free and democratic society and more inclined to oppressive authoritarianism.</p> | <p>35. Existence of free -democratic society free from oppression and authoritarianism.</p> |
| <p>36. Inability to establish a society that allows participation of the people - abstention and indifference of the masses.</p> | <p>36. Availability of complete opportunity for mass participation - willingness of the masses to participate effectively and completely.</p> |
| <p>37. Prominence and domination of an individual due to weakness of institutions (personality cult).</p> | <p>37. Domination of Institutions and reliance of administrators on institutions.</p> |

Thus so far, we have defined backwardness and reviewed

its political, social and economical characteristics. The various comprehensive and economical theories have also been discussed and so are their features and numerous criterion, in an effort to give this important section of the work its due.

Nevertheless, since the process of doing away with backwardness and heading towards a bright future of development (as a dream and a temptation) stumbles sometimes and strays at others, serious endeavors in this regard, places both the individual and the state on the road to development.

What is then Development?

This will be the main topic of our discussion in the second part of this work.

B. DEVELOPMENT

Development, according to Michael Todaro, is a multidimensional process, involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social system. In addition to improvements in incomes and output, it typically involves radical changes in institutional, social and administrative structures as well as in popular attitudes and

in many cases, even customs and beliefs. Finally, although development is usually defined in a national context, its widespread realizations may necessitate fundamental modifications of the international economic and social system as well. [48]

It is also a process through which a modern society improves its control on the environment by means of an ever increasing and capable technology used by most sophisticated or more complicated institutions. [49]

Development may also be seen as an instrument of uniting the efforts of the populace and the public authorities with a view to improve the economic, social and cultural standards within the national and local societies, in order to break the isolation of these societies and enable them to participate positively in the national life and contribute in the general development of the country. [50]

But, some amendments have been made to this definition. Most significant is that: Development is growth plus change; change in turn, is social and cultural as well as economic and qualitative as well as quantitative. [51]

It is also said that: Development is spontaneous and discontinuous change in the channels of the circular flow

disturb equilibrium which forever alters and displaces the state of equilibrium previously existing. [52]

HISTORICAL VIEW

Following a long period of disregard, beginning from the last quarter of the 19th century to the end of the Second World War, the problems of backwardness began to receive increasing attention from thinkers, governments and international institutions. There are many reasons for this change of attitude including:-

- (1) Having gained political independence in the aftermath of the Second World War, most backward countries thought that economic independence would come simultaneously. But this was not the case.
- (2) Increasing realization that the state of backwardness is not due to any determinist factor but rather, to human factors.
- (3) Developed countries began to realize how difficult it is to exist in a world surrounded by a backward environment that breeds revolutions and wars and decided to assist these backward countries and help them towards

development.

The concepts of development and the economics of development therefore, began to emerge. Before that, any discussion about economics meant economic growth as understood by the mercantilists and physiocrats in the 16th and 17th centuries. The mercantilists advocated the importance of realizing economic power to help fulfill desired political aims; and promoted the idea of colonialism, encouraged increase of the population as a means of increasing the military strength of the society as well as the numbers of the work force so that cheap labour will be available. They concentrated on the industrial sector and viewed the agricultural sector as a means of securing the alimentary needs of the population and raw materials for the industrial sector. The mercantilists also advocated for national unity and realization of wealth in order to gain strength. [53]

The proponent of the physiocrats F Quesney helped to draw the economic time table that has become the basis of the concept of input and output tables used in present development plans. It is also the physiocrats who advocated for economic freedom in a competitive atmosphere, away from state intervention save the protection of the natural rights of individuals. But the physiocrats nevertheless committed a blunder when they viewed labour in the land as the only

productive labour and insisted that economic surplus comes only from the agricultural sector. [54]

Subsequently, Adam Smith (1723-1790) Robert Malthus (1766-1834) and David Ricardo (1823-1873) formulated ideas and theories that came to be known combinedly as the classical theory of economic growth. The sinews of their ideas can be seen in the following:-

- (1) Free trade among nations increases the size of the market and leads to successful application of specialization and division of labour.
- (2) Non interference of the state in economic activities expect in a very limited scope, which means the supremacy of the individual initiative system. The state may however, intervene to rectify the progress of growth by putting pressure on population growth especially.
- (3) Economic growth depends upon natural resources, population, capital and technological advancement.
- (4) Accumulated capital is the basic driving force behind the process of development, since the achievement of technical know how and the possible

application of specialization and division of labour depends on it.

- (5) The growth of society and its entrance into the stage of recession is attributable to competition between two fundamental factors, i.e. (a) population growth and the resultant pressure on limited land space, causing the appearance of the law of diminishing returns, (b) rate of technical know how. [55]

The classicals (Smith, Malthus and Ricardo) were followed by Joseph Schumpeter who advocated for the necessity of the entrepreneur and attributed the problems of economic growth in backward countries, to the absence of the entrepreneur. Moreover, Schumpeter assumed that innovations lead to economic upheavals which are seen in the economic cycles that rise and fall as a result of the influence of the waves of these innovations. [56]

However, the analysis of J M Keynes (1883-1946) focused on the economics of the advanced capitalist countries and came out in the form of policies and economic instruments. The task of these policies and instruments being the remedy of the capitalist economy, e.g. the policy of transfer by way of deficit financing, and the use of loans to cover the

deficit. Also for example, the policy of redistribution of income in favour of the poor classes, in contrast with the classicals who said that redistribution should be in favour of the rich capitalist classes.

Keynes argued that, the poor classes have the character of increased marginal inclination towards consumption. Therefore, any increase in their income as a result of redistribution of income would increase the rate of total consumption in the society. Hence, demand would rise through the principle of progressive tax as well as social insurances and public services. [57]

So far, the impression one gets from all the foregoing is that the two expressions in use since the 16th century until today are: Economic growth and economic development. Moreover, going through the literature of economic development during the fifties and the sixties, one cannot help having the feeling of a mix-up of such concepts as Economics of Development, Economic Development, Economic Growth and Global Development, which makes it imperative that we clarify each concept.

(a) Economics of Development

This is the most recent branch of the science of

economics. It is chiefly concerned with investigating the causes of backwardness and how to get rid of it, by adopting specific strategies and policies of economic development. It also focuses on the ideal allocation of scarce production resources as well as the growth of such resources with the passage of time. Economics of Development is also concerned with the link between the economic and social structures and how these structures can be changed in order to allow for continuous improvement in the living standard of the masses and eliminate ignorance and malnutrition. [58]

(b) Economic Growth and Economic Development

Economic growth is defined as the actual increase in the national income as well as in the individual's share of the national income during a given period. [59]

There are, however, three forms of growth namely:-

- Spontaneous Growth

That is the growth that emanates from the potentialities of the national economy regardless of scientific planning on the national level. This kind of growth which was adopted by the advanced capitalist countries since the Industrial Revolution is usually slow, gradual and uninterrupted. It

requires great flexibility in the social as well as the cultural framework to allow the spark of growth to move rapidly from one sector to the other sweeping in its way the multiplier effect, the accelerator effect and backward and forward linkages.

-Transient Growth

This kind of growth is so called because it lacks continuity and firmness and comes in response to usually external contingency factors that soon disappear together with the growth they have brought. This is the kind that is prevalent in most developing countries where growth often comes in response to sudden expedient developments in external trade and fades away with the same rapidity. However, the transient growth is capable of creating only few multiplier effects, accelerator effect and backward and forward linkages, because of the rigidity of the social as well as cultural structures.

-Planned Growth

It is considered as the result of global planning process of resources and the requirements of the society. Its strength and effectiveness have links with the efficacy of the planners, the reality of the plan and the effectiveness of implementation and follow up. However, both the

spontaneous growth and the planned growth are autonomous and self-propelled, while transient growth in most developing countries is a dependent growth that is devoid of self-propellance and turns into sustained growth when it goes on for some decades. [60]

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The concept of economic development does not fall within the scope of positive economy. Rather, it falls within the concept of normative economy where personal judgments and values interlock. However, economic development can be regarded as the process through which an economically backward country is transformed into economically advanced country. In addition to economic growth, economic development includes a sustained reduction in the number of workers and the number of poor people. It also means continuous improvement in the distribution of income among the groups and provinces the country, catering for the basic material needs of the individual such as food, clothing and housing as well as non basic material needs such as the right to education, freedom of speech, self-reliance, self-determination and participation in decision making. [61]

Moreover, economic development transcends the science of pure economics and goes into the core of political economy

and then moves away to get entangled with other social sciences. This is because, economic goals cannot be achieved without fundamental changes in the social, political and cultural structures prevailing in most developing countries.[62]

GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT

Means the overall renaissance of the entire society, including the development of the individual's physical as well as mental capabilities, giving him greater opportunity to realise his ambitions and help consolidate his self-reliance, free expression and participation in decision making. [63]

It was in the foregoing context that the concept of economic growth and economic development developed to include political, social and cultural sciences. Thus, one can safely assume, that development is a mixed and interlocked fabric of well contrived economic, social, political and cultural changes.

THEORIES OF STAGES OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

These theories seek to explain the process of development by tracing the various stages through which

societies pass before reaching the final stage of development and growth. Prominent among these theories are:-

1. Ibn Khaldun's Theory of Stages (1332-1406)

- (a) The first stage or stage one is the nomadic stage as the primary stage in the development of societies. Production at this stage does not exceed the subsistence level. Politically and socially however, the clan is considered as the basis of the society while clannishness is the symbol of strength and solidarity.
- (b) Stage two: The stage of civilization where clannishness has developed into chieftaincy and then to monarchy. Urbanization begins at this stage and people earn their livelihood from labour such as writing, trade, sewing and chivalry. As social habitation advances, the standard and quality of manufactured goods improve. Economic affluence takes place, the population increases and the stage becomes more strong. This stage lasts for two generations.
- (c) The decrepit stage: Having attained maximum degree of civilization, the state falls prey to luxuries and extravagance which leads to deterioration and decay as well as to wide spread varieties of consumption,

beginning with splendid dishes, sumptuous amenities, glamorous housing, smart dresses, artistic entertainment and ending with moral, customs and behavioural corruption. The society becomes emaciated and easily subjugated by aggressors. Now, following the emaciation and decrepitness of the state and due to less habitation and lesser population, luxuries diminish and people suffice with only basic necessities and business, as well as manufacturing dwindle. [64]

2. THE GERMAN HISTORIC SCHOOL OF THOUGHT AND ITS THREE PIONEERS

(a) Friedrich List (1789-1846) divided the stages of development into five stages. These are:-

- The primitive stage
- The pastoral stage
- The agricultural stage
- The agro-industrial stage
- The agro-industrial and commercial stage

In its transitional stages, the society moves from one stage to the other in the same manner as the human being, i.e.

- Childhood stage = Pastoral and hunting stage
- Juvenile stage = Pastoral- agricultural stage
- Adolescence stage = Agro - industrial and
commercial stage

During the first stage, man, in a state of primitiveness and barbarism earns his livelihood from his own production. There is no social organization at this stage. Subsequently he moves to the unstabled stage of pastoral life and begins to use animals as means of production and clans as well as the tribal systems emerge. This is followed by a state of stability - land is titled, the barter system is developed and social relations among the tribes strengthened. The agro-industrial state comes next. Handicrafts develop and transform into advanced industries. The development of the agro- industrial stage comes as the final stage which demands the development of the commercial sector including what we now call services, i.e. transportation, banking and insurance.

Moreover, List promoted the idea of placing the industrial sector above the agricultural sector, not only economically, but also in as much as liberty and slavery are concerned. For industry is the basic vehicle of the process of development. The industrial sector, besides

serving the agricultural sector, also influences the social as well as intellectual structure of the society to a great extent. List also established a link between industry and freedom and between agriculture and despotism and said that the political freedom of the individual and economic advancement are basic preconditions of development. [65]

(b) Contrary to Friedrich List, B Hilderband(1812- 1878) opines that there are three stages of growth. These

stages operate however, according to market and exchange mechanism:-

- The Barter Economy Stage: In the primitive society, agricultural and postural life represent the basic economic activity of a society inclined to direct consumption.
- The money Economy Stage: Coins in one form or another are known at this stage. Some agricultural based industries as well as economic activities such as trade and commerce emerge.
- The Credit Economy Stage: This stage is arrived at following several changes in the economic,

social, political and intellectual structures as well as rise in per capital income and various alterations in concepts and traditions. Economic activities transcend the borders in search of investments in other countries emphasising the roles of both the commercial banks and the state. [66]

(c) Another thinker, Karl Bucher, divided the process of society's growth into three stages as follows:-

- The Household Economy Stage: Production at this stage is oriented towards fulfilling the needs of the family.

- Town or Urban Economy Stage: Characterised by the appearance at first of exchange of developmental commodities such as diamonds and clothes and then of consumer goods.

- The National Economy Stage: At this stage, the direct relationship between the producer and the consumer disappears, leaving the scene for the middlemen. Arrival at this stage is also subject to political changes that influence changes in the society. [67]

... It is worthy of note in this regard, that these theories are more emphatic on the historical description of events that take place during the process of development and do not offer clear analysis of how the society shifts from one stage to another within the context of mix development.

3. Karl Marx's Theory of Stages of Economy

According to Karl Marx, the principal vehicle of change in society is class struggle. The key to change however, is manifested by one class persistently exploiting other classes in the society, leading to an explosion that causes fundamental changes. According to Marx, there are five such stages of social development.

- a) The stage of Primitive Communism: A stage that has common similarities with List's primitive society. There is no social organization at this stage and means of production are commonly owned and poverty equally distributed among all.
- b) Slavery: That is the stage where a strong group appears in the society and imposes its authority on other segments of the society because it owns all the factors of production including the labourer himself.

- c) Feudalism: The working class at this stage receives a meager wage while the feudal lords, traders and industrialist make the highest profits and become politically and socially powerful.
- d) The Capitalism stage: The capitalist stage comes in the wake of the feudal stage which succeeds in the act of exploiting the working class through its ownership of the means of production and its manipulation of the distribution of income. Remarkably, transformation from the first stage to the fourth occurs spontaneously, since each of these stages is but an extension of the previous one.

However, having arrived at the stage of capitalism, the following can be expected to take place:-

- Workers receive only subsistence wages, while the capitalist in consequence reap substantial dividends. Moreover, in order to avoid the risk of facing demands from the working class for pay rises, the capitalists endeavor to replace labour with machinery, causing rise in the rates of unemployment which in its turn leads to low wages. Consequently, the purchasing power of the working class declines, demand falls and competition occurs in the markets. Gradually, monopolies begins to emerge and the

capitalist system begins to operate as a traditional stage, to be followed by.

e) The Stage of Socialism: which in the long-run comes as a result of a total revolution by the working class on its way to establishing the Communist stage. Nevertheless, the sequence of historical events has failed to provide Marx with full proof of the validity of his theory. Wages under capitalism have not remained at the subsistence level, labour unions have appeared to defend worker's right and negotiate wages and unemployment never reached the extent Marx predicted. Ironically, the paragon of Communism in the present era - the "Soviet Union" is presently forcefully and convincingly moving towards capitalism and the market economy. [68]

We may then conclude by saying that, the significance of these theories lies in the fact that, they project the various factors involved in the process of economic development and their interaction to cause relevant changes in the sphere of sustained growth. As a matter of fact, we have seen that, economic growth does not entirely rely on saving but rather, and to a great extent, on the internal structure of the national economy and the relationship between its various sectors as well as on the social circumstances and political as

well as intellectual forces active in the society.

Essential Characteristics and Prerequisites Required For Development:

As economic growth is but a part of the process of development, it must take shape in a relevant environment and under the following conditions:-

1) Growth should come as result of the society's own achievements and not through foreign capital and technology or foreign economic experts. For, no economy can be described as being in a state of development or in the path of development, if the economic achievement of the population is sluggish and produces minimal income in the non- oil producing sectors and outside the large plantations and mining sectors.

2) The social as well as the political environments must be able to provide the economy with ideas, knowledge, attitudes, essential institutions and competent work force for a start. These two prerequisites are quite essential for sustained advanced rate of growth. Technical and non-

technical changes must continue in a tangible manner, in order to allow the economy to maintain high rate of growth or else the rapid bubbling of growth that gives the impression of a very high rate of national produce per capita in the short- run - would be viewed mistakingly as a real growth.

3) Income must be fairly distributed among all those who played a major part in increasing the national production. High income should not reflex a mere palpable improvement per capita. Moreover, interest fair distribution should not come only out of kindly humanitarian motives, but must as well be based on a realism that has nothing to do with emotion. Perhaps this helps explain the truth about the remarkable growth rates that appear in the official statements of governments in the developing countries, when in fact the masses of the people enjoy only marginal benefit of growth. For behind the high rise buildings, lavishly decorated airports and marvelous sports stadiums, poverty stricken huts and miserable squalid districts thrive with a population density that breed illiteracy and disease.

4) Growth achievements have collateral economic participation of the population. Political decisions pertaining to growth policies and strategies, as well as allocation of growth resources should also be accompanied by an effective participation of the population, both

politically and socially.

5) Development must aim at absorbing most of the human potentialities and give priority to the process of raising the standard of labour. Though in some developing countries, especially where the pressure of over population is so great, there is a tendency to rely on advanced technology that minimises the use of labour.

6) The progress towards development should focus on self-reliance in various ways:-

a) Maximum requirements on investment resources at the internal level.

b) Technology as well as other factors involved in the production process must be subjected to local needs and requirements.

c) High level mobilization of migrant manpower.

d) Formula for the strategies of development as well as development plans and policies must be drawn in accordance with subjective circumstances.

e) Cooperation with advanced countries must be

established on the basis of mutual respect [69]

THE ELEMENTS OF DEVELOPMENT

1) Finding out the appropriate framework:

In order to be successful, the process of development requires various changes in the political, social and cultural spheres.

Politically:

Political as well as economical independence must have been achieved in order to gain control over national resources. This however, may require transfer of existing political authority into the hands of social group that have vested interests in development, in contrast to other groups whose interests either vary from that of the masses of the people or are opposed to the requirements and policies of development. Political organizations representing the interests of the newly emerged development oriented forces are established to promote national feelings and unity. But such organizations succeeded only under competent political leadership as well as efficient cadres capable of winning the

hearts of the masses. [70]

Educationally:

Fundamental changes in the existing educational system are a prerequisite of development. Such changes may take the shape of a cultural revolution that enables the system to cater for the needs of industrial and technological revolutions, the requirements of rapid economic and social growth and individual creativity. The application of science and technology for sure, is not just a technical process by which machinery is transferred from one country to the other, it is rather a social process that requires training the individual who can understand, absorb and adapt himself to it. Therefore, the existing educational system must be expanded to cover the entire population. It must be adapted to the requirements of development by producing necessary skills and technical as well as organizational capabilities required by developmental plans. There must be complete coordination between planning for education and training and planning for development. But considering that education itself is a kind of capital good, it is therefore reasonable to apply to it, a criteria similar to those applied to capital goods in order to ensure maximum efficiency. [71]

Organizationally:

Financial as well as banking institutions capable of mobilising potential savings in the society must be established in order to boost up investment, i.e. banking institutions, insurance companies, savings banks and rural banks to channel the invest resources. Relevant legislations must also be enacted to help boost up productivity, efficiency and to insure general feeling of security and stability among workers, i.e. labour laws to guarantee minimum wage and prevent arbitrary dismissals, as well as to regulate worker-employee relations, social and health securities, insurance against unemployment, contracts between tenants and landlords and agricultural credit systems. Highly efficient government agencies must also be available to play an effective and pioneering role in the process of development and existing financial legislations must be adapted to the needs and requirements of development. [72]

Socially:

Social institutions as well as other customs such as the cast system in India which hinders vertical mobility and bars transfer from one profession to another and bases choice on personal or tribal qualities must be eradicated. [73]

2) Rectification of the structural disorders linked to the phenomena of backwardness:

As the process of industrialization is regarded as the cornerstone of economic development, the industrial base of the country must be expanded to insure a rise in the standard and volume of the forces of production in use. To achieve this, the existing mode of production must change fundamentally and in a manner that will remove all aspects of backwardness associated with primitive mode of production, i.e. eradication of structural disorders.

However, industrializations calls for:-

a) Rise in the volume of investments directed towards industry, leading to a rise in the volume of the industrial base which in turn contributes to a rise in the rate of the industrial income and subsequently to a rise in the national income at a rate higher than the rate of population growth. The ability of industrial sector to absorb the surplus labour coming from the agricultural sector increases, causing a change in the structure of the national economy. By virtue of this change, the significance of the industrial sector increases either from the point of view of income or training of the labour force.

b) Industrialization leads to diversification in the national income of developing countries, because it changes the structure of commercial items of the national income and this in turn reduces the relative importance of the single cash crop that forms the backbone of the national income. In this way the harmful effects of commodity price fluctuations on the national income are minimised and industrial goods begin to take the place of agricultural goods. In order to achieve diversification in the structure of export goods. However, the success of the process of industrialization depends upon simultaneous growth in the agricultural sector and requires reorganization in the form of agrarian reform and rise in investments. The success of this, nevertheless, requires a broad based social capital, e.g. communications network, transport, roads, bridges, electric generating plants and water systems in order to raise efficiency of production in the agricultural as well as industrial sectors and reduce the costs of production in the form of external economies generated by the social capital and utilized in industry to give impetus to investment and raise the standard of its profit. [74]

6) Increasing the volume of accumulation of capital and investment:

In order to insure the success of development process, a minimum of investment must be available to transform the national economy into the state of self growth. This essential minimum is Rosentan Roadn's view takes the form of a Big Push while it takes the shape of the critical minimum effort according to H Leibenstein. [75] Now, let us try to define accumulated capital - just what is capital accumulation?

Capital Accumulation

Capital accumulation is a process by which addition is made to already existing capital in the society. It is a process that is equal to capital formation and investment. [76]

However, the main considerations that make minimum capital accumulation so vital for the success of industrialization are as follows:-

a) Confronting the phenomenon of indivisibility inherent in the investments of the social capital and taking advantage of the external economics generated by this form of investment.

b) Overcoming the external diseconomics represented

in market constraints, so as to achieve the necessary volume of investment capable of eliminating this obstacle.

c) Achievement of necessary investment in the agricultural and social capital sectors to insure the success of industrialization.

d) Generating self-dynamism in the national income capable of surmounting the obstacles of economic growth such as population explosion and raising the rate of growth in the national income higher than the rate of population growth. [77]

4) Choosing the mode of achieving economic development:

It is vitally important to lay down appropriate development policies which will determine optimal use of investment resources for maximum effectiveness and high efficiency, as well as define the pattern of development commensurate with the circumstances surrounding the society. Such policies and strategies are known as the art of using resources to achieve national ends or goals.

However, these strategies and policies are influenced by numerous factors including:-

a) The nature of the circumstances surrounding the national economy, the degree of its growth and its production structure.

b) The volume and nature of natural resources.

c) The extent of the availability, kind and skills of human resources.

d) The nature of external circumstances that influence the national economy, e.g. a state of war.

Therefore, to adopt a strategy of economic and social developments a general framework chosen by the society must be drawn to achieve development by way of spontaneous interaction between market forces and individual initiative, conscious direction of resources and the use of the technique of the comprehensive national planning, or within the general framework of the free system, with an increasing role played by the state in the economic life. [78]

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social development can be defined as a continuous improvement of the population's standard of living and well-being. It operates alongside economic development. One

of the scientists who regarded social development as a scientific way of guiding the society was W Ward. Social development according to word, a scientific and practical method of studying and guiding the growth of the society from various aspects including the humanitarian aspect, in order to form a link between the elements of society. [79]

Moreover, L T Hobhouse, enumerates four basic criteria in the process of social development:-

- a) Sphere or space = Number of the population

- b) Efficiency = Precise coordination of tasks to serve a purpose
- c) Liberty = The sphere of thinking and personality
- d) Mutual Relation = Serving a purpose by common contribution. [80] ,

However, these criteria differ greatly from one society to another and the presence of one criterion is inadequate to effect social development. [81] But man is the basic element in the process of social development, since every change in

the sphere of development is by necessity a change in man's capabilities, values, culture and way of life. Social development therefore, is tantamount to the developing man's intellect, education, culture, health, nutrition, comfort and behaviour. [82]. In other words, social development is a practical way of effecting a structural change in the primordial values that regulate the actions of individuals in the society and dictate certain patterns of behaviour. Such structural changes moreover, contribute to the achievement of rapid rates of development, growth and health atmosphere. [83]. Nevertheless, social development depends upon cooperation on the basis of mutual qualities - not upon coercion or compulsion. [84]

THE ECONOMIC OBSTACLES OF DEVELOPMENT

1) Lack of Savings

Entrepreneurs in the developing countries face shortage of adequate funds to finance developmental projects. The reason behind this shortage according to economists lies in the low standard of the individual's share in the national income which does not permit any significant net savings and hence any rise in accumulated capital. But even the low accumulated capital is barely sufficient to cover the loss of

existing capital or provide primitive machinery and equipment to meet the increase of labour force. As a result, means of production remain primitive and income continuous to be low. [85]

Moreover, the extreme caution shown by the handful affluent in these countries helps only to aggravate the situation, especially, in the absence of laws and regulations safeguarding against appropriation and nationalization policies. Also, such gigantic developmental projects that require huge amounts of capital with normally delayed dividends fail to attract private capital.

2) Low urge towards investments

According to Nurske, low incentive towards investment is attributable to low purchasing power of individuals because of the paucity of their real income which in its turn is due to low standard of productivity. Though the meagerness of the capital invested in production is blamable for the low standard of productivity. [86]

3) Lack of adequate infrastructure

Adequate infrastructure of production paves the way for

the appearance of projects that serve not only one industry but a number of industries. Adequate infrastructure also has the quality of lowering costs. Communication, transport, resources and certain urban public utilities are regarded as major components of the infrastructure.

Thus so far, the various definitions and concepts of development have been discussed. We have seen how mercantilists and physiocrats have insisted that economics means economic growth and how new ideas in the science were formulated and introduced by the classics. The ideas of Schumpeter and Keynes have also been examined. Moreover, the post-world war had two concepts of economics of development, economic development and global development have not escaped our attention. The theories of developmental stages as well as the preliminary conditions of development, elements of development and the definition, criteria and elements of social development were given due and thorough consideration. I then concluded this second part with a review of the obstacles to economic development.

In the various definitions of development there is a notable repetition and emphasis to the effect that, development implies and includes radical changes in the

social structure. Nevertheless, an amendment to these definitions has been introduced by the United Nations Organization linking development, growth and change together. According to the amendment; development is growth plus change. Change in turn, is social and cultural as well as economical, and qualitative as well as quantitative. [87]

What then is change? What is social change? the third part of this dissertation will attempt to find out exactly what change is.

The term change, means any differences that could be observed during a certain period of time, while the term social, applies to Man and his relations with others. Social change therefore is a sustained process which occurs within a certain period of time with changes in human relations. [88]

Social change however implies transformation which comes as a result of changes in the geographical situation or in the educational apparatus or in the structure of the population or ideologies or ideas introduced by inventors. [89]

Change moreover, is a natural phenomenon to which all the manifestations of the universe are subjected. It is the most

clear manifestation of life and comprises both the external and social environments.[90]

External environment here, implies to the earth, all manifestations of the social heritage including customs, traditions and laws as well as cultural and spiritual manifestations.[91]

Moreover, social change according to Willbert Moore is not a recent phenomenon. Various degrees as well as on various kinds of change have occurred throughout the human experience.[92]

It occurs anywhere and at anytime according to Landberg, due either to external or internal factors such as discovery of sources of wealth, migration or dissemination of education.[93]

KINDS OF CHANGE

1- Spontaneous change or casual change:

This occurs without planning or previous thinking, though it could be delayed by certain social circumstances or other obstacles and is unpredictable.

2- Non-spontaneous change:

Contrary to spontaneous change, non-spontaneous change occurs according to intention and planning with the state playing an overwhelming role in its occurrence e.g. changing a rural area into an urban one. The aspects of such intended change can be seen in the industrial manifestations of the changing society and in the educational system, housing, agriculture and road-building.[94]

Other Sorts of Change:

Social changes could also be classified as follows:-

- 1- Potential change: This occurs when certain groups in the society introduce, and endeavour to develop a new idea which subsequently becomes widespread. It may or may not be the result of external influence.
- 2- Acquired change: This appears when new ideas emerge in the society through external sources. It may be optional or directed:-
 - 2-1 Selective contact change: Comes as a result of external influences which may be accepted or rejected by the society.

2-2 Directed contact change: This is dictated upon the society by external forces either pursuing self-interests or representing agencies of change and bent on imposing new ideas in furtherance of specific goals. Development programmes drawn by governments are normally regarded as an example of direct change.[95]

THEORIES OF SOCIAL CHANGE

A- The theory of scale: According to Godfrey & Monica Wilson, social change proceeds from small to large scale. The scale of a society denotes the number of people involved in social relations as well as the intensity of such relations. The range of a society before change is rather small and characterised to a great extent by self-sufficiency. But following its transformation into a large society, relations are intensified and the number of the population is increased; the circle widens and basic needs or even luxuries increase, forcing the society to establish contacts with other societies in order to fulfil its needs. The society at this stage is known as urbanized as against the small scale society which is primitive. Moreover, while in the process of change from small to large scale, the society acquires the following characteristics:-

A-1 Complexity: In the wake of change and the extension of its scale and range, specialization and division of labour becomes quite obvious in the society as a powerful factor of change.

A-2 Control over the physical environment and disappearance of Magic: Societies do not only grow complex because of the expansion of their scales. They also gain more control over the physical environment enabling them to carryout such projects as road building to help establish intensive contacts between the inhabitants and those areas with which they have cultural contacts. Furthermore, the expansion of the range of societies is usually accompanied by a decrease in the relative influence of the physical environment manifest for example in the widespread use of automobiles and air condition systems, as well as a decrease in the influence of magic.

A-3 Impersonality: Unlike in small scale societies, relations in large scale societies are purely impersonal. This is because the individual in large scale societies does not anymore depend on relatives to fulfil his needs but rather on total strangers. The relation between the consumer and the producer has become strictly impersonal.

A-4 Social Mobility: All societies are subject to social circulation though in varying degrees. In primitive societies for example, the scope of social circulation is limited within a small group, while in urbanized societies people move more freely and in larger groups. However, such movement of persons may be vertical and restricted by geographical obstacles and ineffective means of communications. It may also take place horizontally across either class, caste ethnic, race or age barriers.[96]

B- Social Change and the Theory of Cultural Lag:

In the theory of cultural lag, William Ogburn insists there should be distinction between material or physical culture and non-material or non-physical culture. Change he said, does not come to various components of culture at the same rate of rapidity. But due to the link and interdependence of these components, rapid change in one component of culture will require adjustment, by effecting other changes in the various interlinked components of culture. Moreover, changes in the physical aspects of culture, such as housing and industries, occur more rapidly than changes in non-physical aspects such as customs, traditions, beliefs, philosophies, laws and the dominant social regulations. Such disparity causes a cultural lag that may last several years. Also, cultural lag may emerge when

the ancient culture fails to reconcile with the changing material situation.

So far, the causes of cultural lag may be enumerated as follows:-

B-1 Scarcity of invention within the culture that strives for change.

B-2 Obstacles encountered by the planned social changes including customs, traditions and apprehension against the influence of change on the society.

B-3 The loose relation between material culture and non-material culture which causes loopholes in the society and imbalance.

B-4 Lack of homogeneity in the society as well as conflicting interests.

B-5 Group pressure and emotional values often resist change.

[97]

C- The theory of unevenness: This theory attempts to explain cultural lag through the unevenness between the old and the new aspects of culture. Therefore, according to Godfrey and

Monica Wilson, unevenness implies one sided change that causes imbalance. Moreover, according to the two writers, change may come from within or without. Changes in the external environment such as earthquakes, floods and famine could cause social change. In addition, other forces may generate inside the society, such as:

- Positive or Cultural forces or
- Negative or structural forces.

Positive forces are manifest through ideals, new ideas, facts about aesthetics, discovery of new advantages of material resources, new events and new techniques that attract people and direct their attention to new spheres of activities.

Negative or structural forces however are manifest in those forces that cause imbalance and compel people to change their behaviour patterns through unendurable pressure. Notably, the stronger the imbalance, the stronger the pressure to effect a change. Thus, while balance represents a basic social necessity, imbalance represents an uneven change. Moreover, unevenness may develop as a result of a social change caused by pressure of the environment or by a change which is due to positive or cultural causes. When there

is a change in the environment, it will provoke a social change in one branch of the prevailing social system, while the other branches remain unchanged. Hence, the variation of imbalance from one society to another.[98]

D- Talcott Parsons: Focussed his attention on the progress achieved since the early fifties, to assume that, change is not only a form of imbalance, but is also a process that decisively effects a change in the balance itself. Parson's views were based on the idea of distinction, and the new methods of integration it requires. At the beginning of the process he said, a balanced system is exposed to disturbance not only in certain parts, but also in its entity, while at the end of the process an entirely new balance emerges. Parson's model it is observed, allows certain structural changes to be analysed and to some extent predicted.[99]

E- According to Julian Steward, there are several courses that a culture can follow. Applied studies can easily show why a society has taken this course rather than other. Thus, despite interruptions and periodic pace of ups and downs, it seems that societies would continue to develop from small scale to medium, large and compound scales.[100]

Finally, it will be relevant to recall the ideas of Everett Hager and David McClelland in their survey of change

associated with development. Both agreed that the driving force in societies is not represented in either environmental factors, ideas or class struggle, but rather in individuals with achievement motivation. Moreover, economic success in a country is overwhelmingly influenced by the individual achievement motivation passed by directors. Though achievement motivation is acquired in the formative years, and is influenced by the social structure and culture of the family. [101]

TENDENCIES OF INEVITABILITY OF SOCIAL CHANGE

A- The economic inevitability of social change:

This tendency lays emphasise on the role of economic factors as a driving force behind social changes, with special reference to means of production and consumption.

According to the tendency, any change in the basic aspects of the means of economy is bound to cause a change in the entire social institutions such as government, religion and family.[102]

B- The inevitability of technology:

The shapes of culture are but the outcome of accumulation of inventions and discoveries. Hence, technology - according

to Ogburn - is the basic factor in the process of change. But invention is not always subject to the requirements of culture, since it could be produced under varying cultural situations. Moreover, as inventions grow in number, accumulation in material culture occurs to the extent that non-material culture is not able to keep abreast with it. Thus cultural lag develops and subsequently leads to change.

[103]

C- The psychological inevitability:

This tendency is more concerned with exploring the psychological basis of social life, and explains social phenomenon and its problems in the light of psychological concepts or psychological laws. It attributes change to the impact of initial psychological experiences such as feeling, perception, and susceptibility on thinking and knowledge.

[104]

D- Ideological inevitability:

As opposed to both aspects of the material inevitability i.e. economic and technology, religion for example is a fundamental as well as a major factor of social change. [105]

E- The social inevitability:

According to this tendency, social change takes place as a result of the presence of certain forces. No matter whether these forces can be described as social or natural or mixed. Man, the tendency insists, plays no role as an individual) in propping the wheels of change. [106]

Now, as a matter of fact, it is rather difficult to single-out any one of these tendencies as the sole factor of change, since change comes out of an interaction of the various components of culture.[107]

Association and intergradation of components of the social and cultural system during change:

Analysis of the vast majority of the processes of change will show that, the various components of any social system are interdependent, to the extent that, any change in one component calls for changes in the other components.[108]

Hence, no sooner does the process of change begins, than it acquires a driving force that balances the changes in the various components.[109]

SOURCE OF CHANGE

Social mobility as vehicles of change:

A- Reform Movements: These movements usually champion the cause of social change. However, they are various forms of reform movements.

A-1 General Purpose Movements: Such as labour movements and peace movements which carry out activities such as publication and distribution of pamphlets and other literature. Remarkably, the leader, in such movements does not determine the direction of the movement. He only helps formulate the objectives and encounter individual obstructions to change.

A-2 Private Purpose Movements: These are restricted to specific goals, and the leadership does not contribute in achieving the goals set by the movement. Instead, it expresses peoples needs and values in the shape of practical reforms. The appeal of the leadership lies in creating new atmosphere and the more the set-goals are recognized the more the commitment to these goals and the more the mutual allegiance of the members.[110]

B- Revolutionary Movements: Change introduced by revolutionary movements are usually swift and sudden.

However, revolutions often occur during transitional periods as far as significant cultural values as well as social relations are concerned. Thus, the main characteristics of revolutions are extreme clarity and desire to effect fundamental political changes by toppling the ruling class. Revolutions may be economical i.e. when its aim is the economic life of the society. This may also be global involving political as well as social changes [111]

Nevertheless, there are distinctions between reform movements and revolutionary movements:

The former never oversteps the bonds of legitimacy while the latter is often violent and bellicose towards the political authority. However, the basic stages in the

development of a revolution are classified as follows:-

B-1 Instability.

B-2 Intellectual disorder.

B-3 Appearance of economic motive.

B-4 Revolutionary stage.

B-5 Rules of transformations.

B-6 Stage of fundamental reforms.

B-7 Period of alarm or terror.

B-8 Return to normalcy.

Following the success of a revolution, the achievements of the sixth stage play essential role in effecting many changes in the society.[112]

Uninterrupted Social Processes and Social Change.

According to this model, several events and incidents occur in regular sequences and greatly influence the course of social change. But social change, being itself an uninterrupted process, requires other social processes of uninterrupted sequence to mature. These other uninterrupted social process are:

1- Acclimatization: Based on two rules for survival of race and species.

1-A In order to preserve the specie a race may endure a

certain degree of high temperature, humidity, sun light and winds.

1-B Under certain varying climatical conditions, the race is bound to double its struggle to survive e.g. migration from one type of climate to another. Moreover, severe climatic conditions in certain societies constitute obstacles to social change. But technological achievements intervene to obviate such problems.

2- Accommodation: Accommodation comes as a result of functional changes in individual habits and collective customs.

3- Adaptation: Is a process of gradual development of a structural and functional integrated or a complete system that adapts to a simple way of life under particular circumstance. For example the life of the people of Caucasus has been adapted physically to their endurance of the climate. In short, man's adaptation to his environment, is seen as a contributing factor to differences in peoples cultures. For every environment throws its shadow over the individual habit and way of life.

4- Assimilation: Through assimilation, people of different cultures and varying cultural heritages can co-exist and

establish a mutual cultural assistance enough at least to develop a society. However, assimilation is an outward appearance of Acculturation which means the gradual involvement of migrants into the main stream of the life and culture of their adopted country.

5- Competition: Though the social function of competition is to promote organization, it often rotates in the orbit of survival for the fittest in many aspects. However, there are two kinds of competition.

5-1 Competition in alliance: Here the allied competitors try by all means to eliminate their enemies, initiating a conflict that may end in destruction.

5-2 Creative competition: The aim of competition here is to establish cooperation among the competitors, it does not lead to one faction trying to eliminate the other, but rather works for the common good.

6- Conflict: Conflict is closely linked with competition though they possess two different forms of interaction e.g. with regard to conflict, those involved in the struggle must meet in order to coordinate. Conflict is also characterised by tension especially during wars or even between a local people and expatriates.[113]

The Relation between Change and Economic and Social development.

At the outset of the third part of this chapter, it appeared that, development comprises both growth and change. However, it may be proper to emphasise here that, development does not come as a result of the process of spontaneous growth, but rather development is a voluntary and planned process, linked to specific policies and strategies implemented under the supervision of responsible command agencies. However social change often introduces new culture and even new ideologies and new values, making it all the more imperative or developmental architects to keep the prevailing values as well as the extent of change in their mind. Otherwise, there would be lack of harmony between the old values and the new ones developing into conflict and tension. It is therefore highly significant to separate economic development from social as well as political development. For, without positive social atmosphere, which can motivate people to work, construction and production, the economic aspect of development will not succeed. Hence, in addition to its primary function, economic development has economic function manifest in the aim to achieve maximum investment of energy and human resources.[114]

Individual and Social System Changes

From the analytical point of view, social change could be divided into:

- 1- Changes that occur at the individual level and known either as diffusion, adoption, modernization, cultivation, learning, participation or contact.
- 2- Changes in the social system, known as: Development, segregation, integration and acclimatization.

However, change at these two levels is closely interlocked. For, changes in the system such as the closure of seaports for example could lead to changes in individual behaviour e.g. decisions to produce certain crops or even new crops. Moreover, a collection of individual changes could result in altering the standard of the prevailing system as for example a decision by peasants to grow a certain kind of high yield crop, leading to changes which may in the end affect the country's international balance of trade. [115]

Change through Cultural Contact

Discussion of this issue requires that we first examine what is known as cultural diffusion and Acculturation. Hence,

cultural diffusion may be defined as the diffusion of a cultural pattern common within one group of people into another group of people or common within the boundaries of one cultural area into another. Acculturation however is the process by which a group acquires the cultural characteristics of another through direct contact.[116]

Acculturation is a one-way process whereby one culture absorbs another, and is to be distinguished from the two-way process of assimilation which is only one stage among several stages of acculturation. Moreover, acculturation itself represents a stage in cultural formation whereby new cultural patterns replace old ones. The main instrument of acculturation and diffusion of culture is education. It helps the society to adopt the new alien cultural patterns and encourages the society to eliminate the cultural lag or the cultural gap likely to be caused by the velocity of change in the modes of material and unmaterial culture. However, two kinds of contact can be distinguished e.g. Friendly cultural contact which is normally acceptable and influences sustained social process such as adaptation and assimilation. Hostile cultural contact which could cause conflict and complete rejection of the new cultural patterns.[117]

Some Obstacles to Change

These as in cultural diffusion are:

1- Isolation: Isolation can pose as a barrier against the diffusion of new cultural ideas.

2- Climate: Certain climatical conditions do not encourage immigration as the polar areas or desert land and so barr the diffusion of culture in such areas. Modern inventions though have lessened the severity of this obstacle.

3- Customs: Old customs and traditions often pose as obstacles before new custom. Old customs have a strong influence upon the behaviour and social interaction of individuals, and unless the authorities interfered, social change coming from new ideas and patterns would have no chance.

4- Narrow-Mindedness of the old generation, which is manifest in unswerving commitment to old patterns and rejection of anything new.

5- Veneration of the heritage of the past, when over exercised, could contribute to over sensitivity and barr cultural diffusion as a vehicle to social change. [118]

I have thus so far defined what the term social change means, and what the patterns of social change are. I have in the process reviewed the various theories of social change, discussed the inevitable tendencies at the social, psychological, technological and economical levels. I also made reference to the interconnection and permeation of the components of the social and cultural system at the time of change. Social mobility as a source of change, as well as acclimatization, adaptation and accommodation as sustained social process have been looked into. I then explained the relationship between change and socio-economic development, the two kinds of change at the individual and the social levels and finally the process of change through cultural contact and also, the obstacles to change.

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APPENDIX II

Modern Muslim Thought And The Concept Of Backwardness

Since we are here mainly concerned with the situation of backwardness in the Muslim world, I find it rather important at the very beginning of the chapter, to set forth one more theoretical framework pertaining to the problems of backwardness, development and change as seen by Arab and Muslim writers and thinkers. It is however significant to point out that, our review of the ideas of Arab and Muslim writers in this regard will be based on the following points:-

- 1) We shall adopt the year 1830 specifically as the period when the search for solutions to the question of backwardness began i.e. the period when the Muslim world began to send students to Europe to acquire knowledge - a

period so significant because it marks the beginning of Muslim reawakening from the age-long slumber and the attempts of Muhammad Ali Pasha - the ruler of Egypt - to keep his country abreast of western culture and progress.

2) This intellectual and historical exposition does not include the views and ideas of all the Arab and Muslim thinkers. For doing so may cause prolixity and boredom. Nevertheless, most of their ideas that dealt with the problems being tackled here have been mentioned.

3) The concepts of backwardness, development and change are relatively modern. It was not until the 1940s that they began to be given proper attention in the belles-letters of development. The Arab and Muslim writers mentioned in this study used expressions that were common at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century such as: Improvement-victory-renaissance-reawakening-development growth-reformation-progress-prosperity as equivalents to the concepts of backwardness, development and social change. Because they all imply to resistance, combat against backwardness, effecting change and bringing the Muslim world to the threshold of development and prosperity.

4) Just as the theories we discussed in appendix 1

represent the intellectual input of writers who were not specialized economists, the Arab and Muslim thinking stated on the following pages does not necessarily belong to writers whose field of specialization is economics. Rather, it depicts ideas uttered by thinkers, writers and religious leaders perturbed by the thought of development, frightened by the ghost of backwardness and terrified by the dark shadows of retardedness, weakness and degeneration. In the 19th century and amidst the prolonged dominance of illiteracy, in the Muslim world it was preposterous to think of economic experts. There were none but these thinkers to enlighten the people on the existing backward situation and to spur them towards a brighter future.

The problems of underdevelopment remained for a long time the chief concern of Arab and Islamic thought. That is to say, since the beginning of the long journey of backwardness in the Arab and Muslim worlds, following the suppression of individual judgement in theological matters at the end of the 19th century and the political conflicts emanating from the drifting of political systems into heredity and dictatorship.

The result was, the emergence of mini-states and the triple evils of ignorance, poverty and disease.

However, the first attempts at reawakening came with the emergence of Muhammad Ali Pasha in Egypt. The educational missions he sent to France came back to help flourish education, translation and publication in the light of social and intellectual contacts with the European society. These missions compared between the state of backwardness in the Arab world and the economic growth, freedom of thought as well as the democratic methods of government in the western world, and thus began the initial attempts to extricate the Arab world from the abyss of its centuries long backwardness.

Nevertheless, opinion as to the cause of backwardness remained widely divergent. At one time, it is seen as national and political, while at other times it is considered as educational and yet at other times it is regarded as purely economical. All this will be seen in the views and proposals put forward by Arab and Muslim writers in this regard.

Rifaa Badawi Rafi Al-Tahtawi 1801-1873. The first intellectual attempts towards social change appeared in

Tahtawi's four most prominent works i.e.

- 1- Takhlis al-Ibriz fi talkhis Bariz on the moralities, behaviour and customs of the French people.
- 2- Al Murshid al-Amin Lil Banat wal Banin - On education
- 3- Manhaj al-albab al Masriyya fi Mabahij al-Adab al-Asriyya on the Egyptian society.
- 4- Al-Manafi al-Umumiah on economic activities.

Tahtawi was very outspoken on the need for:-

1-A Political change that will bring about a liberal system of government and vest state authority in the people in line with the principles of the French revolution which erupted at the time when Tahtawi was leading the Egyptian educational mission in Paris in 1830. He coined the term "Patriotism" with a specific meaning of "Nationalism" as an addition to the expression of the "Islamic Nation" which was

the only formula binding the various parts of the society. Compatriotism in Tahtawi's view transcends the narrow

boundaries of religious brotherhood. It was therefore not strange that he should glorify the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt who had the necessary elements of building a culture.[1]

2- Educational transformation, since in Tahtawi's view, real national wealth lies in virtue; and the key to virtue is education. As a teacher, he was convinced that there is a link between education and the nature of society and its problems, and that the ultimate goal of education is to shape personality, rather than stuff the mind with various disciplines. He called for a uniform system of education in Egypt and urged girls to strive for education on equal footing with boys, so that they achieve the following three

goals:-

2-1 Homogeneous marriage

2-2 Better upbringing of children

2-3 Taking up jobs.[2]

3- Economic transformation

3-1 Inculcation of religious and humanitarian values

3-2 Wealth-forming economic activity and improvement of conditions for the entire people.

Moreover, progress in the field of agriculture comes in the forefront of economic change according to Tahtawi, and Egypt's good leaders have always shown keen interest in irrigation matters.[3]

Within this period, another writer Khayr al- Din Pasha (1810-1889) appeared on the scene. Khayr al- Din Pasha held numerous posts in Tunis and other parts of the Otomman empire including the post of Prime Minister. In his "The Road straight to know the conditions of states." Pasha stressed that, the only way to end the state of backwardness in Muslim countries lies in borrowing new ideas and institutions from Europe and convincing traditionalists in the Muslim world, that such borrowing do not contradict the Shariah (Islamic law) but as a matter of fact, they agree with the spirit of this law. He pointed out further, that Europe's strength and prosperity are the fruits of political institutions that are based on justice and freedom. Physical power he said depend on education, and education in its turn depends upon political

institutions. Pasha went on to emphasise philosophically that, Europe's progress has had no bearing on the Christian

religion which is concerned with happiness in the hereafter and not with Mundane affairs. Were there any such bearing said Pasha, the Vatican would have thrived as one of the most advanced countries in Europe. However, the fact is that, the Papal state is the most backward in Europe. Therefore, Muslims should dispel any sort of apprehension towards borrowing ideas and institutions from Europe since they will not be compelled by so doing, to embrace Christianity.[4]

But while Khayr al- Din Pasha was more concerned with the fate of the Muslim nation, Tahtawi was preoccupied with advocating nationalism. Nevertheless, the two intellectuals were in agreement that, the means of modern culture could be borrowed and given traditional Islamic touch. On the contrary, European culture was not entirely alien to Arab intellectuals of Christian denomination. One of them Butrus al-Bustani (1819-1883) called for separation of religion from state. He was the first Arab intellectual to do so. According to Bustani, social change requires the support of religious freedom, equality, mutual respect among the followers of the various religious convictions. The Near East region he said should adopt modern European ideas and discoveries, if it were to overcome its backwardness and retrieve its past glory.[5]

However, following the French occupation of Tunisia in 1881 and the British domination over Egypt in 1882, a new

trend of thinking emerged to stand up against European occupation of Muslim countries. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1839-1897) was the torch bearer of this new tendency. He stroved to open the eyes of Muslim societies towards the dangers of European invasion and emphasised on the need for national unity. To fulfil these goals, Afghani and his lieutenant Sheikh Muhammad Abduh issued a publication entitled "al-Urwatul Wuthqa" to analyse the policies of the major countries, especially Britain's policies in Egypt and the Sudan. The objective of the publication was to enlighten the Muslim populations, and expose impairities and loopholes in the structure of the Muslim society in order to find a remedy, as well as to advocate for the unity of the Muslim nation.

Moreover, al-Afghani was convinced that Islamic principles are in complete harmony with scientific thought, and that the tolerant rationalism of Islam as a religion does not contradict modern rationalism. But, because of these unorthodox views al-Afghani was severely criticised by his contemporaries who accused him of sacrificing the reality of Islam in return for an imaginary well-being for Muslims. Islam as a religion has lost the attention of al-Afghani, who now concentrated on projecting Islam as an entire culture. Man's aim is not confined to worshipping God, but also to the development of a thriving human civilization in all aspects.

Thus al-Afghani was the first to introduce the idea of culture as a European by-product into the muslim world, following his contact with F. Guizot in his "Histoire de la culture en Europe". Moreover, according to al-Afghani, langour and backwardness of the Muslim world began with the emergence of Batniyah sects and naturalist or Dahriyah ideologies. The Crusades were not directly responsible for this state of affairs but rather one of its outcomes.[6]

The main cause of backwardness in the Muslim world was identified by al-Afghani as being the imparity and disorder that had sneaked into the beliefs of Muslims. For, religion is the mamstay and source of victory and sovereignty of nations.[7]

Therefore, the key to eradicating the state of backwardness in al-Afghani's view is religion followed by politics.

In view of the foregoing, he called for reopening of the doors of "Ijtihad" individual judgement in religious affairs) in order to enable people exercise their rights of applying the teachings of the Quran on contemporary problems and other circumstances, and deal out a dead blow to Islam's real enemy-rigor and emulation.[8]

Nevertheless, throughout his struggle for the elimination of backwardness and effecting social change, al-Afghani was accompanied by his disciple Muhammad Abduh of Egypt (1849-1905) who succeeded al-Afghani as the torch bearer of reform and change. Like al-Afghani Sh. Abduh called for an urgent internal reawakening that must bridge the gap between reality and expectation. Although Muhammad did not resist Khedive Ismail's open door policy towards the west which included exaction of new laws and erection of modern schools, he was however of the opinion that, the general line of development and progress requires consideration due to the side effects emanating therefrom, such as dividing the society into two divisions:-

The first representing a diminutive group that demands for new laws of morality and Islamic legitimacy.

The second an ever growing group that prefers man-made laws.

In other words, there is danger in the growing tendency towards secularism in a society that refuses to be totally converted to secularist ideas. The consequence of this state of affairs was an ultimate chasm that appeared in all spheres of life. Sh. Abduh therefore declared that it is impossible to transplant Europe's laws and institutions in Egyptian

society, though he was fascinated with Europe's achievements.[9]

On the question of the inclination of Egyptian intellectuals to imitate Europeans, Sh. Abduh said, it was due to Europe's strong outlook, although it has created a gap that must be bridged by way of consolidating the ethical roots of the society. Nevertheless, Sh. Abduh did not see the gap as sufficient ground for beating a retreat into the past or halting the reform programme initiated by Muhammad Ali Pasha. But changes must be linked to Islamic heritage, and thus prove that Islam is not only in favour of reform, but as a matter of fact regards it as one of its essential prerequisites. Islam he further said could at the sometime serve as an appropriate base for change and could control such a change. In fact, Sh. Abduh's chief concern was emancipation of thought from the shackles of tradition.[10]

Therefore, Sh. Muhammad Abduh was convinced that the Muslim society degenerated and lagged behind because of the following two reasons:-

First: Infiltration of alien elements into Islam such as philosophers, and radical shiites who had introduced radicalism into the religion. Followers of certain sufi order blotted out the true

substance of Islam, and as a threatened thinking and behaviour, by showing extreme reverence to saints and their supernatural feats, and by inducing believers to neglect their duties in this world, thus enfeebling the activity of the individual will necessary for a thriving Muslim society.

Second: The spirit of equanimity was lost by those who were able to preserve the essential elements of faith. They could no more distinguish between that which is essential and that which is not; and regarded the details of the organization of the early Muslim society as being part of the fundamental articles of faith that must be blindly obeyed. Such radical adherence to aspects of the Shariah no doubt led to blind imitation and hence, blind submission to authorities. Moreover, with the decadence of the clergy, everything in Islam degenerated. The Arabic language lost its purity, religious schools of thought were separated causing disunity. Standard of education deteriorated, and the faith itself became adulterated due to imbalance between the intellect and revelation and negligence of rational sciences.[11]

Nevertheless, Sh. Abduh realised that, Muslim peoples would never become strong or prosperous unless the knowledge that was the product of mental activity in Europe was borrowed in a manner that will not compel the Muslim society to abandon its faith. Though this will require changes in the institutions prevailing in the society such as the legal system, education and the modes of government. The laws of Muslims should also be reinterpreted and adapted to the requirements of modern life. To achieve all this, two juristic principles are readily available to be followed. These principles which were given new dimensions by Sh. Abduh were.

First, the principle of interest according to the Malekite school of thought as the basis of extracting peculiar legislations from general moral and social principles. These general moral and social principles were revealed by God, so that the intellect may apply them to problems facing the society. But as these problems are liable to change, it is therefore imperative that, the principles applied to them must also be subject of change. The appropriate rule therefore for all times, is the public interest of mankind.

Second, the principle of piecing together: Sh. Abduh rejected the idea of resorting to other schools of thought to

find solutions to certain problems and rather encouraged the idea of scientific comparison between the four schools of thought.[12]

However, in order to avoid the errors committed by al-Afghani, Sh. Abduh spent most of his time calling for change in national education. "Education maketh a real man" he said. [13]

That is, an education that has its foundations built on Islamic values. Its only such an education that is capable of strengthening the spirit of the community and remedying the defects of the nation.

Moreover, the crox of change in Sh. Abduh's view falls in two parts:

First: Development of a modern and uniform system of Islamic law based on the principles of public interest and piecing together. This system must embrace all aspects of the Shariah as well as other moral and social aspects. As a writer and Mufti Sh. Abduh did begin to implement this part.

Second: Transformation of the curriculum of education in religious schools and ridding it of rigour and imitation.

Hence, when Sh. Abduh assumed an influential position,

he was able to make his point and left visible marks on educational syllabi. He also initiated an educational board and helped formulate regulations for student enrolment as well as codes of behaviour and examinations. [14]

Within this same period, Abdal Rahman al-Kawakibi (1848-1902) emerged on the intellectual scene with the slogan of "general laxity" which was an indication of the state of backwardness and weakness in Muslim societies. His ideas took a methodological shape manifested in a programme of action that was lacking in the ranks of the Islamic movement of the day. In his "Umul Qura" al-Kawakibi adopted the approach of debate and dialogue to present the various views that tried to explain the causes of backwardness.

These causes he emphasised, could be:

- 1- Religious e.g. rigidity and indifference to work.
- 2- Political e.g. lack of the freedom of speech and activity.
- 3- Moral e.g. stack ignorance and resignation to despair. [15]

Al-Kawakibi nevertheless overweighed the political

causes which, more than the religious and moral causes were in his view the major and dominant factors contributing to backwardness. He also did not blame non-Muslims for this miserable state of affairs. In the preface of his previously mentioned book he said "The people of the orient must realise that they only have themselves to blame for the predicament they now find themselves in. They should not lay the blame either on others or on fate.[16]

In fact "Umul Qura" could be seen as both a critique of Muslim peoples and an attempt to identify the causes of weakness and backwardness in their midst. However, his other work "Tabai al-Istibdad" (the nature of despotism) was designed as a critique of government sponsored despotism which was, in his view, the principal cause of decadence. In his last book he elaborately discussed the relation between despotism and religion as well as between despotism and development and also, the moral, social, and psychological effects of despotism.[17]

Anyway, al-Kawakibi added his voice to al-Afghani's call for rapid change, and stressed that, a recourse to the immaculate spring of Islam is the only way to renaissance. He was convinced that; "Islam has opened new horizons for the development and progress of mankind".[18]

Al-Kawakibi also believed in the significance of morals especially, because of their effective influence on the liveliness of society and on resisting despotism. Despotism he said corrupts religion, more so in one of its two major branches-morality, while it leaves the other branch-acts of worship, untouched, because it finds it most convenient. "Religions therefore remain among nations as a form of abstracted acts of worship that have turned into habits and are not useful in cleansing the soul". [19]

In short therefore, the blame for backwardness in al-Kawakibi's view lies squarely at the doors of political, moral and religious decadence.

However, the cause of backwardness according to Muhammad Iqbal (1873-1938) lies in the wrong interpretation of material among Muslims who held the view that "Material is an evil that must be eschewed, and this physical world in which we live must be regarded with indifference".[20]

In his "the renewal of religious thinking", therefore, Iqbal urged Muslims to appreciate their position so that they can be able to reshape their social life according to the categorical principles of Islam . But in order to achieve this, there is an urgent need to understand Islam in its proper perspective.[21]

Within this content, Sh. Abdal Hamid Ben Badis (1889-1940) shared the views proffered by al-Kawakibi in that backwardness and degeneration among Muslims are direct consequences of despotism though Ben Badis added another factor i.e. the demolition of religious spirit. He went on to stress that, renaissance could be achieved only through proper education, rectification of religious ideas and reformation of morality. But reform, according to him has two aspects:-

1- Educational, and;

2- Resistance of rigour and the practices of the sufi mystic) orders.

The process of social change he emphasised "must begin within the individual himself, since this is bound by necessity to lead to collective change in the entire society. But change must first be effected in religious believe followed by moral reformation. Because these are responsible for appraisal of the soul and instillment of virtues. The inner self forms the basis of the perceptible. Therefore, renaissance must begin with subjective Islam based on both intellect and theory as well as on distinctive perception of good and bad, truth and falsehood. There is however only one

way to subjective Islam i.e. education of the individual as well as the community, boys as well as girls, men as well as women". [22]

Hence, Ben Badis did not hesitate to reject what he termed the methods of colonial culture. In the same way, he absolutely rejected the methods of rigid culture, and came out with a third approach which combines between preservation of heritage and taking the advantage of modern culture.[23]

But such ideas as held by Ben Badis requires a platform, first, to diffuse them and second to put them in practice. So he formed and headed the Algerian Muslim Scholars Association which remained active between 1906-1949.

In Egypt, and with views similar to those held by bin Badis, Sh. Hasan al-Ban'na formed the Muslim brotherhood party and became its spiritual leader or "general guide". The objectives of the party were proclaimed in an open letter addressed to monarchs and heads of state throughout the Muslim world in 1946. The two main parts of the letter demanded that, first, Muslims must be freed from political restrictions, so that they can regain their freedom and recover their lost independence and sovereignty; and second Muslim societies must be reshaped in a manner that will enable them assume their position among other nations and fulfil together with

others social perfection. He urged leaders in Muslim countries to opt for either of the following two paths: First, the path of Islam in its totality i.e. fundamentals, teachings, culture and culture. The second is the path of the west including all the aspects of its life, systems and methods. Nevertheless, the path of Islam is the best to take.

[24]

Like Ben Badis, Ban'na believed that, social change must begin by a change in soul and religious convictions. In this regard, as free-will is very essential, there is a need for the individual as well as the culture to be prepared as a basis of all aspects of social construction, economical, social political and educational. Such changes must however come gradually and in stages. Therefore, al-Ban'na went on to lay stress on the necessity of guidance in the fields of agriculture and industry as well as the training of workers. However, the educational programme of the Muslim Brotherhood has two bases as follows:-

First: Special education imparted to the elite of the society and based on the principles of: soul change, jihad, sacrifice, obedience, steadfastness, impartiality, brotherhood, and confidence in leadership and rank. These, according to Banna are the "Pillars of allegiance" that the avant-guard of the party must be trained to adhere to in order to be able to

change others and hence effect total change.

Second: Popular education with a view to instilling positive values in the minds of the masses including military, hygienic and moral training. S. Hawwa, Risalat Attaaleem, 1980, p. 8).

But al-Ban'na has no objection to adopting western electoral principle of representative system, provided the elected persons are competent and free from external control or pressure. [25]

Nevertheless, al-Ban'na's programme was improved by another prominent leader of the Muslim brotherhood party Sayyid Qutb (1900-1966). This improvement in form came under the influence of the July 23rd revolution in Egypt and the extremist attitude it adopted towards the brotherhood. Sayyid Qutb was therefore compelled to revolutionize the party through his three books "This religion", "The future is for this religion", "Landmarks on the way" which reflected his diagnosis of the realities of a society that has fallen into the stage of what he termed "Jahiliah" (Pre-Islamic period). The formula Sayyid Qutb preferred in these books was seen as an overall programme to surmount this state of "Jahiliah". He advocated decisive change and refused to recognize any attempt to reconcile his views with those of the Egyptian

revolution which had failed to adopt Islam both as an ideology and a programme that covers all aspects of life. However, Sayyid Qutb in his arguments drew a line between two states of change:

- The state of shaping an Islamic social structure.

- The pre-shaping stage.

He believed that, in the first stage, the principle of constancy as a fundamental basis is very essential. The "characteristics of mobility within the framework of constancy" must be preserved. Also "Freedom must be guaranteed for a natural growth of ideas and feelings as well as institutions and conditions rather than being kept in a dead iron mold". During the state of shaping social structure "there is no harm in mobility, change, development and growth, if these could be achieved within the framework of recognized basic and unshakable principles. [26]

Muhammad Abduh's disciples:

There are two categories of disciples in Sh. Abduh's school of thought:

The first category of disciples took an approach similar

to that of the Hanbalite orthodoxism and maintained Muhammad Abduh's insistence on the roots, essence and absolute requirements of Islam.

The second category transformed Sh. Abduh's insistence on the legitimacy of social change and proceeded to advocate for the separation of religion from society and the recognition that religion and society both have separate and peculiar rules. One of the prominent disciples of the second group was Qasim Amin (1865-1908) the author of "The Emancipation of woman". In Amin's view, corruption-as one of the manifestations of backwardness - appears as a result not of the natural environment or Islam but rather as the consequence of the decadence of social virtues i.e. the moral strength, due to the fact that, the real and only sciences that could guarantee mankind's happiness are not known. The problem of women according to Qasim Amin lies at the core of the social question. Women must therefore be given minimum education at least primary education as well as the necessary training to earn a living so that she may not be subjected to despotic practices by men. This, by necessity, will also lead to doing away with the veil which must be seen through a purely secularist standard based on western social sciences and the concepts of freedom, progress and culture. Moreover, in his enthusiasm for education as a step towards change, Qasim Amin insisted it is necessary to direct attention to

Europe which more advanced in sciences as well as social perfection. Islam he said, has proved its inability to establish neither a state nor a society single handedly, since it represents only one of the many factors that contribute towards culture. Qasim Amin thus unrooted the very foundations of his mentor's thinking. For contrary to Sh. Abduh who believed in active relation between Islam and culture, Qasim Amin instituted a de facto division between Islam and culture. [27]

Moreover, from the category of Sh. Abduh's loyal disciples Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865-1935) found himself preoccupied with the same question that had occupied the minds of al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh i.e. why are Muslim countries lagging behind in all aspects of culture? From the onset, Rida disagreed with the view that, modern culture is unattainable without technical progress, because, accepting such an assumption would amount to confirming the idea that so long as Muslims are technically backward the resurrection of Islamic culture is impossible. But technical skills are abundant everywhere and it takes only the possession of certain moral habits and intellectual principles to acquire them. With the abundance of such habits and principles, Muslim can be able to easily acquire these skills especially that, their origins could be found in the principles of Islam. For positive endeavour is the core of Islam and the term Jihad is derived

from it, it is through activity that the Europeans were able to conquer the world and the same can be said of early Muslims. So, it is not impossible for Muslims to regain their past glory even though through a different way. [28]

It is only that Jihad requires strength and Muslims can never be strong without borrowing the sciences of the west as well as its technical arts. Therefore, the observance of an obligatory condition to carry out an action is in itself an obligation. Muslim should endeavour to learn the sciences and techniques of the modern world.[29]

Indeed a remarkable similarity with the views and the ideas of Tahtawi and Khayr al-Din Pasha. But in order to be able to observe the duty of inculcating our minds with the sciences and techniques of the modern world, the prevailing laws must change in a tremendous and unprecedented manner, not only by amending the positions of the four schools of thought, but more significantly by the institution of a new and single school of thought. Therefore, Rida prevailed over the scholars of his day to compile a book on laws drawn heavily from the Quran and the Sunnah Traditions of the Prophet - (Peace be upon him) and commensurate at the sometime with modern needs and acquirements. To achieve this end, he said, the principle of "piecing together" invented by the master S. Abduh must be resorted to.[30]

Nevertheless, the reformation of the Shariah demands for a political intervention in the shape of reestablishment of the Islamic state if the reformation is to be sustained. The reestablished state must have a real Islamic political system on the basis of consultations between the ruler and the protectors and the interpreters of the Shariah. But, in order to re-establish the Islamic state two conditions must be fulfilled:

First, there must be real Muslim clergy and second there must a genuine Muslim ruler-who alone is able to revive the Muslim culture and impregnate it with the necessary sciences and techniques in order to steer the nation on to the path of glory and prosperity.[31]

Now, it has already been mentioned that, one category of Sh. Muhammad Abduh's disciples had advanced the master's emphasis on the legitimacy of social change into a demand for the separation of religion and society. This advanced theory of the nationalist cum secularist society was widely welcomed in spite of the fact that, it sees Islam as though both respectable and acceptable by the society and even as an instrument of consolidating emotional ties among the populace, yet it is not fit to be a source of laws and politics. A similar tendency appeared simultaneously among the Christian intellectuals of Syria through the pages of "al-Jenan"

magazine which was published by Butrus al-Bustani for sixteen years from 1870 to 1886 and also "al-Muqtataf" magazine founded by Yaqoob Sarruf and Faris Nimr in 1876 and continued until 1926 and "al-Hilal" founded by Georgi Zaydan. The pivotal ideas in these magazines revolved round the theory that culture is in itself good-inventing and maintaining it is the touchstone of activity and the norm of morality. As for learning, it is the foundation of culture - European sciences have universal value, but the Arab intellect is capable and must acquire these sciences through the Arabic languages. Also, that it is possible to extract from scientific discoveries a system of social morals in which lies the secret of social strength, and the essence of this moral system is sensitivity towards the public interest i.e. patriotism which is the show of affinity towards country and compatriots, and which supersedes all other ties including religious ties.[32]

It is interesting to note that were expressed only implicitly at the beginning. But soon other intellectuals such as Shibli Shumayyil (1850-1917) appeared on the scene. Inspired by Darwinism Shumayyil said the individual could modify his circumstances, if only he could substitute his struggle for survival with the concept of cooperation and division of labour. Therefore, institutions and laws must submit to change. For these institutions and laws are but arrangements

in the field of social life the value of which are measured according to the extent to which they serve the common good. Moreover, institutions and laws are subject to change as the conditions of the common good change, though such changes must come gradually. For, reform programmes that meet with success are those that emanate from a transformation in the common will and aim at the common good provided there is freedom-especially freedom of thought.[33]

Moreover, Shumayyil had the reputation of being the first to publish in the Arabic language, the idea of socialism as a remedy to backwardness, though he was not the first to name it as such. But the case advanced by Shumayyil was not the cause of socialism as it is known in Europe i.e. private or public ownership of the means of production, since Egypt had not known what modern industry is at that time. His main concern had rather been the cause of liberalism, and the limits of state intervention. Governments, he said, must endeavour to further social advancement and cooperation by providing job opportunities for those who are able to work, equal wages and improvement of public health standard.[34]

Now although secularism has been regarded as an instrument of eliminating the state of backwardness and justifying the process of social change as we have so far seen in this second part of the study, it is noteworthy that

nationalism too has from the very beginning sought for prominence in the field of the demand for change (see the beginning of this appendix). However, during the year separating the two world wars Arab nationalists showed two tendencies: On the one hand, though they held a fixed idea of doing away with European political domination even if England and France continued to administer foreign policies and maintained military bases, they, on the other hand, recognized with complaisancy the superiority of the European culture, seeing it as the most sophisticated culture in the world. Therefore, they resolved that, there is no harm in resorting to European concepts in advocating the cause of independence. To them, the value of Europe was the value attributed to it by the nineteenth century liberal thinkers. The factors that are considered as forming the basis of European culture and the secret behind Europe's strength and prosperity are as follows:-

The nationalist society - government of the people by the people in the light of the vested interest of the people - separation of religion and politics - recognition of the democratic system of government i.e. the sovereignty of the common will which is represented in free and productive national councils and ministers who are accountable before those councils - respect for the rights of the individual especially the right of free speech and publication -

consolidated political virtues such as allegiance to the society and the alacrity to sacrifice for its sake and above all organization of modern industry along with potential scientific spirit behind it. All these ideas were advanced by a selection of intellectuals, such as Ahmad Amin, Abbas Mahmood al-Aqqad, Tawfiq al-Hakim, Abdal Qadir Al-Mazni, Taha Husayn in Egypt, though Taha Husayn is considered as the writer who laid down the final formula of these ideas. Until recently the social thinking and political activity in the Arab world relied on these ideas.[35]

Following the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty that officially brought the British occupation of Egypt to an end, Taha Husayn (1889-1980) published his most significant book on social thinking "The future of culture in Egypt" in 1938. In this book, Taha Husayn expressed the view that, in order to throw backwardness overboard, independent Egypt must become part of Europe and thus part of the modern world. Egypt he went on must undertake before the civilized world to "Imitate the Europeans and their modes of government, administration and legislation". [36]

Moreover, Taha Husayn attributed Egypt's backwardness as well as that of Eastern Mediterranean countries to the domination of the Ottomans and their destruction of culture. Capitalising on Islam's rejection of claustral life, Taha

urged Egyptians to apply the principle of separation of religion from culture. As Islam itself had easily drawn from both the Greek and the Persian cultures he said, the Egyptians could do the same as regards the modern European culture. The task of religion he went on is the gratification of emotion and not guidance of a modern society or the political life.[37]

However, with regard to economic transformation Taha insisted this could come only through economic independence in the European fashion. The available means of protecting the national are the same as those used by Europeans and Americans to achieve the same end. Nevertheless, a substantial part of "The Future of Culture in Egypt" was devoted to a critique of the Egyptian system of education and to drawing a reform programme. Education has a goal to fulfil, and this goal in Taha's view is the inculcation of culture and learning and most essentially instillement of the virtues of culture and creating the best atmosphere for a democratic government. Therefore any restriction on education would mean that ignorance is being designed to form the basis of national life. Moreover, the only remedy to problems that may develop because of expansion is to effect change in the social system, so that new job opportunities could be created, and injustice restricted, through the process of minimising huge properties and Egyptianization of the

economic life.[38]

Two other Egyptian writers Salama Musa and Hafiz Afifi placed emphasis on industrialization as a means of getting rid of backwardness. The former demanded the establishment of modern industry and the absorption of the scientific culture, while the latter suggested the formulation of a positive plan of social action that will cover, public health, education and the national income. He also tackled the question of the steady growth of population at a time when Egypt was striving to become part of the modern world and raise the living standard of its people. Therefore, the solution to all these problems he said lies in rapid industrialization, and this in turn requires that a new tax policy be enacted as well as a new labour law, better communications network, industrial funds and Egyptian participation in foreign firms. [39]

The former, Salama Musa proceeded to interpret social change on the basis of Marxist theories since he believed in the influence of the economic system on the type of culture, social institutions and political organizations. For an effective development to be achieved, ancient traditions must be discarded and replaced by traditions designed for the future through a process of gradual and peaceful struggle. It is however interesting to note that like Shibli Shumayyil and Ismael Mazhar, Salama Musa was deeply influenced by Darwin's

theory of evolution.

Change can only come about through revolutionary means, says yet another Egyptian writer Khalid Mohd. Khalid. Essential, profound and large scale transformations are needed in the society and only a revolution could help realise them he said. The democratic revolution must see to it that large properties are scattered, agricultural rents imposed, resources nationalized, labour rights protected, women are emancipated, birth control must be applied, Parliamentary democracy applied and political parties emerge.[40]

Well, we have thus so far examined the views held by intellectuals of Arab Mashriq Eastern flank of the Arab world now therefore, let's review the situation in Arab Maghrib Western flank of the Arab world.

The colonial situation in the Arab Maghrib had been somehow different from the situation in the Middle East. For, no soon had the French occupied Algeria 1830 and Tunisia 1881 and Marakesh Morocco) 1912-1914 than throngs of French peasants and merchants began to immigrate first to Algeria and then to Tunisia and Morocco. The threat loomed over these countries, that they will soon begin to gradually lose their lands and that the struggle for independence will be come

more difficult with the presence of French administration there. But nevertheless, a new intellectual and political movement emerged with the aim of persuading the French that, the people of Tunisia and Algeria are prepared to recognize the French administration if they were given better positions in the administration. It was envisaged that the French would rectify the errors committed under official policy. Thus, the demand at this juncture had not been for complete independence but rather the demand was for protection and restriction of the powers of the French governors, the promulgation of constitutions and exempt their lands from being distributed to European settlers, encourage their industry and agriculture and regard them as eligible to assume the highest posts in the administration. [41]

Of course the situation in Algeria was not different from that in Tunisia. Similar submissive ideas were at first accepted. But the resistance in Algeria soon turned into an armed movement under the guidance of Prince Abdal Qadir al-Jazairy. It was soon crushed, to be followed by the formation of the League of Algerian clergy under the leadership of Sh. Abdal Hamid Ben Badis 1938 as an equivalent to a radical movement with radical socialist inclinations. These two movements led to the emergence of the National Liberation Front and the eruption of the Algerian revolution in 1954.

However, attempts in North Africa to resist colonialism and backwardness revolve around an appeal for a reformative Islam along the lines of Sh. Muhammad Abduh's school of thought. Hence, there was strong interaction between the members of the "young Tunisia" party and the al "Dostoor" party and the reform party at al-Zaitoona religious institution in Tunisia.

In Morocco however; Allal al-Fasi (1910-1974) under the influence of Sh. Muhammad Abduh's school of Islamic reform, stressed the view that, the way to change must pass through a common agreement that, the Shariah (Islamic law) being authentic and responsive to all the evolving social needs, should be adopted as the only law in the state. For, the Shariah is moreover, the only single way to free the intellect from hallucinations, and to emancipate the soul of the Ummah from inferiority complex. al-Fasi also stressed that Islam is the best possible way-out from decadence, provided it is consolidated by "Quranic Morality" that puts perpetual life and soul into the body structure of al-Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence). As a matter of fact al-Fasi's concern was not centred on his native Morocco alone. He was preoccupied simultaneously with the plight in the entire Muslim world, and warned nevertheless that, local conditions prevailing in each Muslim country must be taken into careful consideration

during the process of development. Moreover, al-Fasi showed keen interest, in all those elements of public opinion that motivate the society towards renaissance and hence accepted the democratic means of verifying public opinion through elections and secret balloting or plebiscite.[42]

In the Indian sub-continent two prominent Muslim thinkers appeared on the scene. They are the late Abul Ala Mawdoudi and Abul Hasan Nadawi. Abul Ala Al-Mawdoudi strongly rejected Western secularism, nationalism and democratic principles, and regarded any system that depends upon these three principles as corrupt. The alternative in Al-Mawdoudi's view could be found in:-

1- The principle of "Submission to God" must replace secularism, since life must conform with God's enjoiments and commandments, be it at the level of the individual or the level of the society.

2- The principle of "Universal Humanity" must replace narrow scoped nationalism. For under universal humanity there would be no distinction among mankind; and cooperation would take the place of competition.

3- The principle of "Sovereignty of God and vicegerency

of believers" instead of the principle of the sovereignty of the people or rule of the masses. There must be faith in the sovereignty of God; and government systems must be based on the concept of succession or deputisation which in its substance and spirit is a democratic deputisation in which the deputy or Khalifa, the president or Amir is elected through the free will of the people. The elite or those who bind and unbind as well as counsellors who alone are entitled to criticise and censure actions taken by rulers are also elected in similar fashion.[43]

Within the same trend of thinking Abul Hasan Ali Hasani Al-Nadawi emphasised that Muslim renaissance could only be achieved by:

- 1- Inculcation of faith in the heart of Muslims, inflaming religious emotion, call to the path of God and His apostle as well as belief in the hereafter, on the pattern of early Islamic propagation. All means-old and new-must be employed to achieve this end.

- 2- Development of industrial, commercial and military plants and achievement of self-sufficiency in all spheres of life.

- 3- Strive for supremacy in the field of knowledge

especially Islamic sciences.

4- Educational independence through government selection of highly qualified and competent experts to lay down a curriculum of education that combines knowledge of Quranic teaching as well as the traditions of the Holy apostle peace be upon him) and modern sciences.[44]

Now to sum-up, one could safely state that, Islam's contact with European culture either through educational missions to Europe or by way of European colonialisation of the bulk of Arab and Islamic countries has resulted in the emergence of two varying trends of thought each demanding reform, development and transformation:-

First: The Islamic reform trend: The most prominent advocates of this trend are: al-Afghani, Sh. Abduh, Rashid Rida, Abdal Hamid Ben Badis, Allal al-Fasi, Hasan al-Ban'na, Sayyid Qutb, Mohammad Iqbal, Abu Ala al-Mawdoudi, Abul Hassan Nadawi, etc...etc...The pivotal point of this trend rests on the one hand, on the need to expurgate Islamic faith of defective elements, and to adopt all that is modern and useful from western culture on the other. Provided it did not contradict Islamic fundamentals, so that a new formula combining the two cultures could be found. A formula that revolves between a general and substantial framework

embracing the entire Muslim countries under one "Islamic League" advocated by Sh. Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and a local or national framework comprising one nationality or one state as a prelude to a unity that will cover the whole Muslim nation.

Second: The nationalist trend which relegates religion to a second place. The focal point of this trend is nationalism be it regional as in Egypt, mount Lebanon and Tunisia Pharaos and Phoenicians), or ethnic-linguistic nationality which combines Islamic, Christian and other elements. The ideas of this trend are derived from two sources:

A- SECULARISM, that is the liberal secularism known in England and France in the 19th century. Butrus al-Bustani and Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid were the chief proponents of this tendency. Darwinism and socialism were widely promoted within this secularist circle, by Shibly Shumayyil, who together with others advocated separation of religion from the state. This trend gained impetus and strength when members of the secularist wing of Sh. Abduh's school of thought such as Qasim Amin joined its ranks. Mention has already been made of course about Qasim Amin and his views on the emancipation of women as well as his assumption that Islam alone is not capable of creating a state or a society or culture, thereby

severing the link established by Sh. Abduh between Islam and culture. Qasim Amin was followed by Ali Abdal Raziq who urged Egyptians to adopt political principles other than Islam which has no such principles.

Subsequently, Taha Husayn, Ahmad Amin, Abbas Mahmood Aqqad, Tawfiq al-Hakim and Abdal Qadir al-Mazini directed Arab thought towards consecration of liberal secularism; and adopted the letter and the spirit of vocabularies used in European culture such as: Nationalist society-Democratic system of government - respect of the right to freedom of speech and publication-Separation of religion from politics etc...

B-Socialism: Socialism made its way into Arab thought as a theory that is opposed to colonialism and the capitalist system. The socialist ideology later found fertile ground in most parts of the Arab and Muslim countries through military coups d'etat. Attempts were made to confuse socialism with Islam as such terms as: The Socialist nature of Islam-Socialist Islam emerged.

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