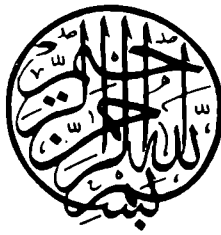


MALIK BENNABI

THE QUESTION OF CULTURE

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The Question of Culture

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MALIK BENNABI

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Foreword

Culture was a central and recurrent theme in Malik Bennabi's thought, for it never ceased to occupy his mind throughout his intellectual career. There is not one of his works in which he does not deal with this topic in one way or another, or at least refer to its importance. Yet, despite the growing interest in Bennabi's works during the last three decades of the twentieth century, his conceptualization and theorization of culture have not received the scholarly attention that they deserve. My personal connection is as a student and translator of Bennabi's works for more than a decade. This has enabled me to appreciate not only the originality and pioneering character of his views, but also their topicality and relevance to the continuing debate on the dialogue and/or clash of cultures and civilizations.

As a self-made man and a scholar in his own right, Bennabi's formal schooling was far from philosophical and sociological thought. Nevertheless, he was perfectly at home with the different schools of thought and socio-political currents of his time, especially in the Muslim and Western worlds. Like the millions of his compatriots in Algeria, Bennabi witnessed the devastating manifestations of modern scientific and technological civilization unfolding in the name of progress and other associated slogans. In response, he set out to reflect deeply on the question of culture. He did not follow the method of anthropologists, ethnographers, sociologists and others, who are mostly concerned with amassing data and formulating countless definitions and hypotheses that only add to the confusion of the subject. However, he does not conceal his appreciation of the work those specialists have done to shed light on many aspects of culture.

Bennabi's aim was not to discover new data, nor to provide hair-splitting descriptions of what might constitute culture. Nor was he interested in reproducing what Clifford Geerts justly called the

“conceptual morass”, which had developed around this concept. Bennabi’s approach was different from that of most Arab academic writers of his time, who contented themselves with merely parroting Western theories of culture. Rather, he was in search of what constitutes the essence of culture, that essence which enables us to visualize it as a mode of living and a program of action, equipping human beings with the skill of living together meaningfully and in harmony with their environment.

Chronologically speaking, Bennabi first expressed his views on culture in a chapter of his book *Les Conditions de la Renaissance* (1948). Here he discussed what he called the idea of “orientation” defined as soundness of foundations, harmony and resolution of movement and unity of purpose. In that context, he defined culture as the mode of being and becoming of a people. This mode of being and becoming has an aesthetic, ethical, pragmatic and technical content. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, these preliminary views were on various occasions subjected to further reflection, elaboration and strengthening until they culminated in a truly Bennabic theory of culture.

The book now in the reader’s hands accurately reflects that development of Bennabi’s theorization of culture and describes the essence of his views in a comprehensive manner. Its content draws on many of the author’s works in the form of books, articles and conference papers. This does not mean, however, that the present book is a mere summary or literal reproduction of those works. Rather, it is a synthesis aimed at providing an integrated and holistic understanding of culture from a clearly interdisciplinary perspective. This foreword is an attempt to give an overview of Bennabi’s thinking about culture so as to place the present book in the appropriate context of his thought.

Starting from the premise that every social reality is essentially an actualized cultural value, Bennabi theorizes that the final shape and determinant character of that reality depends on the relative

weight of each of the essential components of culture, namely, ethics, aesthetics, practical logic and technique. Culture is an integrated and complex whole consisting of an inter-subjective wealth of symbols, values, concepts, attitudes and tastes, and constituting the essential bond between the individual and society. Therefore, according to Bennabi, culture is the source that provides human beings with the means of self-control and mastery over nature and over the products of their own genius. As he defines it in more appropriate terms, Islamically speaking, it is culture that permits human beings to regulate and harmonize their relations and interactions with one another, their environment and the universe in general. In parallel with the world of nature or the biosphere, which allows the physical growth of human beings, culture is a *noosphere* creating the framework for their spiritual well-being and psycho-mental development.

Without underestimating the importance of technique and practical logic, which are necessary for the efficiency and efficacy of human social action, Bennabi considers ethics and aesthetics the most important of the essential components of culture mentioned above. His reasoning is that it is the dialogical relationship between ethical and aesthetic values which ultimately determines the character and orientation of a society's values. Depending on whether priority is given to one or the other of these main types of values, the historical experience of humankind has oscillated between the ethically based culture and that which is aesthetically based.

While insisting on the ethical and the aesthetic as complementary values indispensable to human life and culture, Bennabi observes that humankind has suffered a serious bifurcation in their pursuit, especially in the modern age. No truly balanced and viable synthesis has been achieved, in which ethics and aesthetics can go hand in hand to make the pursuit of the moral and the beautiful indivisible. Apparently influenced by his Islamic attitude, Bennabi clearly seems to be in favor of the moral

over the aesthetic where there is ultimate and irreconcilable conflict. Nevertheless, he emphasizes that the norm is to strive for the complementary and indivisible relationship of ethics and aesthetics. Otherwise, the cost will always be heavy, especially during cultural decline and degeneration. As he expresses it, when a culture whose axis is ethics degenerates, it always sinks into mysticism, escapism, vagueness and mimesis, for it is mainly inward-looking. Conversely, a culture revolving around aesthetics, being largely outward-looking and driven to creating forms, will always degenerate into ponderosity, consumerism, materialism and imperialism. In Bennabi's opinion, modern Western culture not only reflects the alienation between ethical and aesthetic values, but it is also a typical example of the degeneration of a power-driven culture (*culture d'empire*), which, since the European Renaissance, has placed the meaning of truth (*vérité*) in the realm of the beautiful (*le beau*) instead of the real (*le vrai*).

A major concern motivating much of Bennabi's thought about culture is the quest for a way out of the impasse in which humankind has been stuck by the desire for power that is overwhelmingly prevalent in modern Western culture. The world, he repeatedly indicates, is in pressing need of an ecumenical humanism that will safeguard the human species from imminent destruction. The notion of humanism has been one of the foremost ideals preached by modern Western civilization. Nevertheless, Bennabi is of the opinion that this humanism has been plagued by formalism and lacks any solid moral foundation (*assise morale*) owing to its origins within a culture that has derived its roots from the Graeco-Roman humanities. Modern Western humanism has found its most resounding formulation in the universal declaration of human rights. However, Bennabi argues, deprived of the metaphysical and transcendent basis in the original dignity invested in humankind by its Creator, this humanism has amounted to no more than a mere work of literature.

It is within that general context that Bennabi's *The Question of Culture* (Mushkilat al-Thaqāfah) finds its appropriate place and can be best appreciated. As the reader will certainly realize, the author's analysis and reconstruction of the meaning of culture and the discussion of questions regarding cultural coexistence, cultural crisis and cultural universalism are clearly influenced by the theoretical and practical preoccupations briefly outlined above. Although this translation is long overdue, it will undoubtedly soon occupy a prominent place in the continuing debate about the future and destiny of the human race.

Finally, I wish to thank the publishers, the International Institute of Islamic Thought and the Islamic Book Trust, for entrusting me with the task of revising and annotating this translation and introducing it to the readers. Without underestimating the competent efforts of Professor 'Abdul Wahid Lu'lu'a in translating the book from Arabic into English, part of my task has been to ensure that the translation reflects faithfully Bennabi's views, based on my humble expertise in his legacy. The second, and indeed, most important part of that task has been to document the many references in the book and provide annotations that I considered necessary to explain various aspects of the text. The highly skilled and very accurate editing done by Sister Sylvia J. Hunt has superbly complemented the work of both the translator and reviser.

Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi
International Islamic University Malaysia
Rajab 1423/September 2002

Author's Preface to the Second Arabic Edition

The first Arabic edition of this book was published in Cairo in 1959. At that particular time the ideas presented were, I feel, rather unfamiliar to the educated in the Arab world, especially since no earlier Arab scholar had dealt with such a topic. A perusal of the first few chapters quickly show that not only was I attempting to examine the subject from a new perspective, but was also trying to find a missing element within it.

In the Western world, including Eastern Europe, sociologists handle this topic with a feeling that they are describing a social reality that is quite visible to them; in the systems of their country, in the active behaviour of those around them, and in the obvious interaction between their fellow citizens and their society. This interaction can be better understood as a mutual commitment between the community and the individuals comprising it. This commitment appeared to me to be a fading feature of modern society, and I set out to try to understand and define the sources from which it drew its existence in an age where isolation or alienation seemed to be the dominating forces of the day, forces whose philosophical expression is best summarized by that dreaded motto "mind your own business". This motto has been reiterated by generations of Muslims across the ages.

The views presented in this study will be unfamiliar to the ordinary readers for two main reasons:

- 1- They do not follow a standard Western methodology in their elucidation. The reasons for this will be explained in sub-sequent pages.
- 2- The ideas themselves are comprised of, on the one hand, an extension and analytical explanation and, on the other, a synthesis of ideas taken from the chapter of one

of my works entitled *The Conditions of Renaissance*. This was published in French in 1948, at a time when the topic was rather new, in both the Muslim as well as the Western world.

Reviewing my standing as an author, I find that in the first edition I seem to have adopted the principle of “all is well with the world”; that is to say, one does well to present the positive aspects of a question in order to help and guide readers to start searching for a solution.

However, the passage of time teaches one greater wisdom, experience and maturity. The years that have passed since the publication of the first edition have shown me that the matter is not as simple as I first thought it to be. That is to say, to define what is good, though good in itself, is not sufficient to achieve good in the practical field, unless such a definition is coupled with an attempt to warn of the pitfalls which can hamper the course of any particular action taken.

It is with this in mind that I have added to this edition a new section entitled “Cultural Crisis”. I felt it necessary not only to present the reader with some further dimensions of the issue, but also to provide a warning against the existence of certain pitfalls, negative in nature, which only serve to halt societal progression. I hope that Muslim readers will find it worthy of their interest.

Malik Bennabi

Beirut: 6 Rabī‘al-Thānī, 1391 AH

12 June, 1971 AD

Author's Preface to the First Arabic Edition

It has been customary, when culture is the topic of discussion, that the issue in the readers' minds remains one of ideas.

It is true that the issue is such in one of its aspects. Nevertheless, culture does not comprise ideas alone. It is much more comprehensive than that. It covers, as we shall presently see, the lifestyle of a certain society on the one hand, and the social behaviour of individuals in that society on the other.

However, if we had no other incentive for this study than the issue of ideas, this would still be a sufficient reason in the present circumstances prevailing in the Muslim world including the Arab countries. Such an incentive would be significant on two or probably three levels.

The organization of society, its life and movement, indeed, its deterioration and stagnation, all have a functional relation with the system of ideas found in that society. If that system were to change in one way or another, all other social characteristics would follow suit and adapt in the same direction. Ideas, as a whole, form an important part of the means of development in a given society. The various stages of development in such a society are indeed various forms of its intellectual development. If one of those stages corresponds to what is called "renaissance", it will mean that society at that stage is enjoying a wonderful system of ideas, a system that can provide a suitable solution to each of the vital problems in that society.

To illustrate this, consider the different approaches applied by contemporary societies to solve the simple problem of flies! This difference does not emanate from a technical point in the problem, but from a difference in the effectiveness of the approaches

applied. In China, members of society are recruited to exterminate the flies; while in America, the insects are fought with DDT.

In one area, we may see the influence of ideas in fighting insects. In another, we may see their role in spreading disease. It is known, for instance, that living bodies may acquire disease through contamination. Since Pasteur and Koch, however, we have learnt that it is the germs which transmit these diseases.

We are aware, too, that there is another form of contagion, that which passes on social diseases from one generation to another. This leads us to state that there are other types of germs that transmit social diseases. These are contagious ideas that hinder the growth of societies and destroy them.

Thus, we find that ideas influence the life of a given society in two different ways: either they are factors of growth of social life or, on the contrary, they assume the role of factors of contagion, thus rendering social growth rather difficult or even impossible.

There is yet another aspect of the importance of ideas in the modern world. In the nineteenth century, the relations among nations were based on power, for the position of a nation was dependent on the number of its factories, cannons, fleets and gold reserves. However, the twentieth century introduced a new development in which ideas are held in high esteem as national and international values. This development has not been strongly felt in many underdeveloped countries, for their inferiority complex has created a warped infatuation with the criteria of power, that is, criteria based on objects.

Muslims living in an underdeveloped country will no doubt feel that they are inferior to people living in a developed country. They will gradually realize that what separates peoples is not geographical distance, but distance of another nature.

As a result of this feeling of inferiority, Muslims ascribe this distance to the field of objects. They see their situation caused by lack of weapons, aeroplanes and banks. Thus, their inferiority complex will lose its social efficacy, leading only to pessimism on the psychological level. On the social level, it will lead to what we have elsewhere called *takdīs* (heaping-up).¹ To turn this feeling into an effective driving-force, Muslims should ascribe their backwardness to the level of ideas, not to that of “objects”, for the development of the new world depends increasingly on ideational and intellectual criteria.

We may now consider the situation of two representatives of two “world powers” to see how they stand on this point. These are two men whose respective countries possess the largest variety of objects: from refrigerators to ballistic missiles.

At the Twenty-first Congress of the Communist Party, held in Moscow, Khrushchev tried to embarrass his rivals by saying, “economic success is the soundest criterion of sound ideas”. Thus, the effectiveness of ideas is seen in a national economic frame of reference. That is to say, when ideas are sound, the economy thrives. By contrast, George Kennan,² an American diplomat, published a book entitled *Russia, the Atom and the West*, in which he presented a significant analysis of the current world situation. The gist of Kennan’s ideas is that there is a balance of power on both sides that should force both parties to stop bragging about arms, and to be proud of ideas instead.

In the underdeveloped countries, which are still within the sphere of influence of the superpowers, arms and oil revenues are no longer sufficient to support that influence: ideas alone can do the job.

The world has, therefore, entered a stage at which most of its problems can be solved only by certain systems of ideas. Therefore, Arab and other Muslim countries, especially those which do not possess a great deal of material power, should give

more weight to the issue of ideas. The supposition that this is the only basic element in a certain culture is in itself a sufficient justification for this study.

Readers may discover other unexpected aspects of this study, which have nothing to do with politics. However, when we realize that the question of culture has its own historical and social aspects at a given time and place, and that any culture, by dint of these aspects, has its own existence on the map, it will be difficult not to connect this theoretical remark with the political problems which interest the world as a whole and the countries concerned in particular.

If we consider, for instance, the attitude of the countries that have adopted in their international policy the principle of the Bandung Conference, that is, the policy of “positive neutrality”, it will be only natural to expect these countries to plan their economy, and their general policy as well, in accordance with the spirit of that policy. Yet, is it not also natural to expect these countries to plan their cultural policy in accordance with the idea of positive neutrality?

On first consideration, this question may sound illogical or fanciful, for it apparently conflicts with the subjective elements of the problem. Nevertheless, the social situation in the Afro-Asian countries, including the Muslim countries, carries, at the present stage of their development, many subjective elements compatible with the idea of “positive neutrality” as a consequence of internal necessity. There is, then, a culture that matches this political tendency quite naturally. Readers will be able to recognize that aspect in the present study.

Nowadays, the issue of culture in the Muslim countries is, in fact, related to other aspects. That leads me to believe that, in addition to the main theme of this study, “A Psychological Analysis of Culture”, it will be useful to include some other ideas which appeared in previous studies under the two titles: “A

Psychological Structure of Culture”, and “Co-existence of Cultures”. I feel that this addition is necessitated by the nature of the approach and the unity of the theme.

Malik Bennabi

Cairo: 26 February, 1959

CHAPTER ONE

A Psychological Analysis of Culture

Basic Considerations

What is Culture?

It is almost impossible to discuss the question of culture, at the present stage of development in the Arab world in particular, without examining its linguistic and historical aspects.

Where did the word *thaqāfah* (culture) originate? When was it first used in Arabic?

The first action that comes to mind, when attempting to answer such a question, is to consult a dictionary. However, the available Arabic dictionaries, old and new, do not explain this item, except occasionally. *Lisān al-'Arab* says that the word indicates quick learning. Ibn Durayd equates the root of the word with mastery and perfection.¹ In a saying of the Prophet, reported by al-Bukhārī, an “intelligent (*thaqifun*) young man” is one of wit and intelligence, making good use of the knowledge that he needs.² In the second volume of his *Dā'irat Ma'ārif al-Qarn al-'Ishrīn*, Muḥammad Farīd Wajdī³ equates the word with wit, quick learning and superior skill.⁴ Modern dictionaries also equate the word with skill and quick learning. The obvious similarity in these Arabic references leads us to think that they are quoting one another.

Going back a little in history, we find that Ibn Khaldūn, the acknowledged first authority in medieval Islamic-Arabic sociology, did not use the word.⁵ Prior to that, there is no trace of this word in the literary, official, or administrative language of the Umayyad or the Abbasid period. Nor is there an official record of

an organization or activity connected with “culture” in the history of those periods. There is no record of any endowment or fund for the benefit of an organization or an activity of a cultural nature. Despite all this, the history of that period shows that Islamic culture was at its peak at those times.

This situation may sound paradoxical, not only linguistically, for the difference between these two points is much deeper. It is the gap between a social reality as such and our interpretation and expression of it as a concept, that is, an element of perception within our mental structure. This fact is so critical that it calls for further explanation. The problem lies within our habit of defining the meanings of things in general.

How does a certain definition take shape in our minds?

It is necessary to refer to the psychological and social elements in the problem. Jung defined the “self” or the “ego” rather admirably: “The conscious rises out of the unconscious like an island newly risen from the sea.”⁶

It is necessary to add another element to this image to suit our discussion. The small island has a lighthouse shedding light on the surrounding waters. The lighthouse is our consciousness; the area covered by light is the sphere of that consciousness. That area is visible in a medium of light variably spreading around the island. Whatever falls outside that medium is immersed in darkness, which is the unconscious of our internal self. It is connected with the sphere of the “potential object” related to the outside world, that is, the object whose character is not yet defined in our consciousness, or the object which is a mere “presence” without a defined entity.

The “object” is non-existent in our consciousness until it gives birth to an idea that proves its existence in our minds. Whatever falls, internally or externally, within the sphere of light surrounding our island becomes an “idea” which enters the sphere of our knowledge, that is our consciousness. When it enters this area of light, its presence becomes a real existence. Then its character is defined, and a name is ultimately given to that object.

That is the process of perceiving objects from the individual's psychological point of view. If we look at the objects from a social point of view, we will have to differentiate between a social reality not yet defined nor categorized and another that is grasped as a reality in the form of a concept, and as a subject for study and learning.

Both processes have similar aspects: an object is realized through conscious perception, and consequently it is given a name. A social reality is perceived through categorization and is turned into a "concept" later on.

The name, then, is the first definition of an object as it enters the sphere of our consciousness. It reflects its existence and constitutes the power that pulls it out of obscurity and chaos and registers it in our minds as a definite, real image.

Thus, the name is considered the first step towards knowledge. When you name an "object", you extract a certain idea out of it, that is, you achieve the first act of knowing that object, an act that changes the mere "presence" of the object in that vast expanse surrounding the "ego", and turns it into an "existence" perceived by the "ego".

We may read the description in the Qur'an of the situation where the Almighty requires Adam to call the objects by their names:

And He imparted unto Adam the names of all things; then He brought them to the knowledge of the angels and said: "Declare unto Me the names of these [things], if what you say is true." They replied: "Limitless are You in Your glory! No knowledge have we save that which You have imparted to us. Verily, You alone are all-knowing, truly wise.

al-Baqarah 2: 31-32.

We may miss the intention of the verse and take it to be a description of a simple situation. The reality is completely different, since we should see in that symbolic situation the first essential function of the human mind when, in control of objects,

it gives them their names, a task which the angels had failed to perform.

The Process of Definition

Yet, this first step gives us only an empirical type of knowledge, which falls within the scope of ordinary experience. When it becomes controlled by the rules of the mind, it takes the form of genuine knowledge.

There is, therefore, a process of definition that begins when the object is given a name, and grows as the object acquires a composite meaning. That is to say, after it becomes a name, it develops into an idea, then a concept, etc.

The idea of time, for instance, followed this course. Time was an object without a name until humans invented a name for it. When time acquired a name that realized its existence, it moved from the stage of “presence” to that of “existence”. Yet, under that name, it was not so important. It was only a vague idea about a period of duration, that is, mere empirical knowledge.

Nevertheless, this idea grew in the human mind while people organized their activities in accordance with time. Thus, the division of social activities within a time context led to a similar division of time in the psychological field. Henceforth, time became a measurable quantity, though in a primitive manner. Work was measured by the day, not the hour, for a simple reason: the unit of time had not yet been defined. When the ancients talked about the “hour”, it was not meant to be a definite quantity of time. Humanity had to wait for the Islamic civilization to have time ultimately measured mathematically. Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan al-Marrākushī,⁷ a Muslim astronomer from Morocco, invented the unit of time when he divided the time of one revolution of the earth around the sun into twenty-four equal parts, that is, hours. With that achievement, the definition of time moved from the empirical to the scientific stage. From that point on, the idea of time started to develop, until Taylor⁸ made it an essential rule in industrial organization during the nineteenth century.

Time controls all aspects of human activities nowadays. It became a part of the concept of “culture” in the twentieth century, for it was an essential factor in building the “ego” of the individual in modern society.

The Idea of Culture

The process which we have just described concerning the idea of “time” may, somehow, help us in defining another “unit” like “culture”, for instance. There is a phenomenon of spontaneous enculturation (*tathqīf*). This phenomenon is a natural outcome in any society, whatever its circumstances. Thus, anthropologists speak about the cultures of primitive societies. That is a social reality, although one that remained for a long time without a definition, that is, it remained a mere object in existence, but devoid of a name. Therefore, it had no opportunity of becoming a concept.

Rome had an “imperial” culture, whereas Athens had a culture of “civilization”, as we shall see later on. However, neither Roman nor Greek genius had invented a name for its respective culture. All that was in Athens or Rome was the “presence” of a certain culture, not a circumscription and definition of a social reality that is culture. The situation was the same in Damascus and Baghdad. It is not surprising, therefore, that the term “culture” is not found in the documents of the two cities in those ages, or in the works of Ibn Khaldūn, as the notion of “culture” is a modern notion that we received from Europe. Moreover, modern Arab writers who deal with this topic, couple the Arabic word for “culture” (that is, *thaqāfah*) with its European equivalent, written in Roman script. These authors seem to say that the term “culture” can only exist in this form, and they are undoubtedly aware of what they are doing. This indicates their realization that this new term has not yet acquired its power of definition in Arabic. The word was probably coined in the early twentieth century⁹ from a number of chosen etymons denoting cognitive action and

relationship. The form of the word reflects an image of pre-Islamic spirit, for it could be said that the root verb of the Arabic word is historically connected with pre-Islamic times. We may even find a form of the verb in a verse of the Qur'an: "And slay them wherever you may come upon them" (*al-Baqarah* 2:191). The etymon of the Arabic equivalent for "come upon them" (that is, *thaqiftumūhum*) as used here is similar to that of 'culture'. There is no doubt that the writer who coined the Arabic term for "culture" was an expert linguist, keen on choosing the right word.

Yet, it seems that the word *thaqāfah*, which has been chosen to designate the meaning of "culture", has not yet acquired the necessary power of definition to become indicative of a certain concept. This explains the need which Arab writers felt to use the foreign term in order to support the Arabic one. In other words, the Arabic term *thaqāfah* was in need of foreign "crutches" to support it.

As mentioned earlier, the concept of "culture" is a modern European product, and the term designating it indeed reflects European genius itself. This concept is a product of the Renaissance, when sixteenth-century Europe witnessed an effusion of exquisite works of literature, art and thought. It is therefore necessary to view this phenomenon in the light of the European psyche, especially that of the French, to see why the word "culture" was chosen from the Latin *cultivare* (to cultivate) to describe the image created in the minds of European intellectuals.

It is a fact that Europeans in general, and the French in particular, are "men of the land" (*insān al-arḍ*) and that European civilization is basically a "civilization of agriculture". Therefore, the processes of extracting the bounties of the land, like ploughing, sowing and harvesting, play a necessarily important part in the European mind. They also have a significant role in determining the symbols of European civilization, for agriculture includes all these processes, thus controlling and organizing the produce of the land.

In the European Renaissance, there was such an outburst of intellectual production that it is no wonder that the French metaphorically call it “culture”, which actually means agriculture. This metaphor, which is our point of interest in this context, was employed to identify and categorize a social reality previously unrecognized, creating thereby the new concept of culture. So, “culture” became a concept, though an experimental one. It has since become an “existing” object because it was given a name.

That is the first step of definition. The power of the term “culture” comes from the fact that it passed through that initial stage, and has continued to develop in the European languages ever since.

Thus, we realize that the term for the concept of culture in Arabic has not yet acquired the power of definition like its European counterpart. Therefore, we have to couple it with its European equivalent *culture* in our writings to gain support for it in the sphere of concepts.

Culture and Sociology

The nineteenth century made some progress in the concept of culture, that is, it went a step forward in developing its definition.

It was Auguste Comte, considered the father of sociology, who started the study of social facts. However, it was Ibn Khaldūn who, in fact, had paved the way when he examined history from a completely different aspect. Previously, history had been only a series of “consecutive events”. Now, when Ibn Khaldūn linked history to the principle of causality, he realized that the meaning of consecutive events is, in fact, a process of development. Moreover, he defined social reality as a source of those events and their development.

Yet, the nineteenth century witnessed the birth of a more extensive field of study, and the emergence of some more varied and fertile methods of research and investigation. Anthropology,

ethnography, psychology and political economy all meet around one center, which is the social reality, and they all study that reality in a deeper and more comprehensive way.

The result was that the concept of “culture” gained more clarity in that bright sphere of knowledge, thus becoming one of the issues of sociology. Intellectuals had then to pose the question: “What is culture?” This question was instigated by the new insights offered to them by psychology, sociology and ethnography. This question indicated a need for a new step towards a definition of the term in order to move away from the random concept, inherited from the European Renaissance, towards a new scientific one.

It was natural that the meaning of culture should remain the same as it was during the Renaissance, that is, the sum total of the intellectual achievements in art, philosophy, science, law, etc. Yet, this historical definition did not suit the nature of nineteenth century thought very well, a century of anatomy and chemical analysis.

Nineteenth-century Europe was concerned with analyzing events inside the workshop more than studying them in classrooms, books or historical relics. It followed that the concept of culture was analyzed and dissected to learn more about its structure and basic elements.

Hence, attempts were made to formulate a new definition of culture, as the historical definition inherited from the Renaissance was no longer adequate according to the new logic. Therefore, a new trend appeared among the traditions and habits of classical thought, which saw culture as a heritage of Athens and Rome and explained the Renaissance itself as a return of ancient history.

However, this new trend indicated that the concept of culture extended beyond what was called “Graeco-Latin humanities”, and that its meaning went beyond the literary output of classical thought, embracing a wider social reality that transcended the frontiers of Europe to embrace, so to speak, the genius of all

humanity. This was the age when Europe in general, and Germany in particular, discovered the cultures of Asia through the works of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche.

Social research widened in the nineteenth century under the influence of growing colonialism. The concept of culture also grew beyond the limits of European individualism that subscribed only to the Graeco-Latin humanities. It came to embrace a wider geographical area and a more comprehensive social meaning, including even Lévy-Bruhl's¹⁰ studies of the cultures of primitive societies.

Some Ideas

Now we come to the question: "What is culture?" The answer is a variety of definitions. It is not possible to give a uniform answer because people have so many different approaches and viewpoints that are sometimes the result of their different political principles.

We have seen how in biology conflicting views were entertained by different schools when, twenty years ago, Lysenko¹¹ tried to lay down new foundations for the science of genetics to replace those laid formerly by Morgan¹² and his school. Nowadays, the same situation can be seen in the field of culture, since all interpretations can be sorted out and ascribed to two different schools of thought:

- 1- The Western school which has remained loyal to the Renaissance tradition in holding that culture is a product of the intellect, that is, the individual.
- 2- In opposition is the Marxist school which sees culture as basically a product of society.

We do not mean by this categorization to draw a sharp line between the two trends, but simply to set apart two images of the same topic by putting them in two different frames of thought. Intellect and society represent today two familiar frameworks to which social problems are generally referred. However, it is

possible to find personal differences within each frame of thought. In Western countries today, we find that Americans are generally in control of the cultural trends. We may present to the reader an outline of the views of two American sociologists, William Ogburn¹³ and Ralph Linton,¹⁴ who represent the Western school of thought in general. This may show how far these ideas are adopted in the under-developed countries in general, and in the Arab countries in particular.

Ralph Linton believes that culture is a “whole” with intricately connected parts. Nevertheless, it is possible to recognize a certain structure in that whole, that is, to identify its different components.

On the first level, there is the field of generalities, the ground that holds the roots of the cultural life of society, such as religion, language and customs. These roots constitute the basic model that shapes the kind of mentality suitable for a certain social pattern. That pattern is common to all members of society, marking their lives with a certain type of social behavior. That standard behavior is the criterion that detects eccentricities, disturbed conduct and all kinds of corruption. The second level, according to Linton, is that of special ideas emanating from professional specialties and differentiating various classes of society.¹⁵

However, the culture of a certain society as the whole, and its historical heritage, grow and develop all the time. New ideas and industrial organization, new theories, inventions and discoveries in political, social and economic fields all keep this movement going. These elements constitute the cultural framework that surrounds the two previous levels, effecting whatever change or adaptation may take place in them.

This influence comes from within society itself as a result of its vitality and growth. It also comes from outside society as a result of the exchange among different cultures, that is to say, by virtue of cultural absorption and expansion or acculturation.

William Ogburn, on the other hand, differentiates between two fields of culture: the material and the adaptive. The former

comprises the material aspects of culture, that is, objects and tools of work and their products. The latter comprises the social aspects like beliefs, traditions, customs, language and education. This social aspect is reflected in the behavior of individuals.

Change in culture, Ogburn maintains, is necessary; but where does it begin?

He thinks that change begins in the field of objects and tools, from which it goes on to modify the social aspect. He sees that the changing power is inherent in objects because they accept change faster than ideas. Ideas cannot evade the influence of change; otherwise cultural and social disturbances will take place, and lead to social conflicts. Then Ogburn gives an example to support his theory: the case of education, which should always keep pace with the advances of industry.¹⁶

In order to approach the problem from a Marxist perspective, we shall refer to two views: one is expressed by F.V. Konstantinov in his *Dawr al-Afkār al-Taquddumiyyah fī Taṭwīr al-Mujtamaʿ* [The Role of Progressive Ideas in the Development of Society], the other by Mao Tse-tung in his *al-Dimuqrāṭiyyah al-Jadīdah* [The New Democracy].¹⁷ Although Konstantinov does not deal with the problem openly, his opinion is implied when discussing the attitude of Marxist philosophy toward that problem. He believes that the material life of society is an objective reality, independent from the will of the people, whereas the intellectual life of society, its culture, which is a group of social ideas, religions and theories, aesthetic, philosophical and otherwise (that is, all elements that determine a culture), are all a reflection of that objective reality.

Since this definition does not give much credit to the influence of ideas on culture and their role in developing the medium where they are born, the Marxist author concludes by stating that, "Naturally, this does not mean that social ideas, whatever their image, do not experience a reaction to the development of the material conditions of life in society."

This shows that what Ogburn calls “material culture” and “adaptive culture” both appear in the Marxist definition. We shall try to find out the secret of this affinity between these two contradictory viewpoints.

In Mao Tse-tung’s book, we find that the question of culture has various aspects. What is noteworthy here, however, is the way the Marxist writer views that question: “A given culture is the ideological reflection of the politics and economy of a given society”.¹⁸ Assuming that the translation is accurate in conveying the images and shades of meaning,¹⁹ one cannot fail to see the essence of Marxist thought in this statement, that is, the formative relationship which the author wants to establish between the material forms, with which life in a given society is concerned, and the ideas prevalent in that society.

We need to add here that even a mind moulded by dialectic materialism like the mind of Mao Tse-tung or that of Konstantinov cannot fail to realize that the development of culture is an urgent necessity. Yet, we should not forget a passive element, essential to the concept of culture for a man like Mao Tse-tung who sees the pen as a weapon when the need calls for laying the foundations of a new culture. The axe may also be a weapon when we need to level out the remains of what is sometimes called the culture of feudalism or imperialism, which he sees as a source of all types of social and political weakness in the country. He says that “these reactionary cultures should therefore be unquestionably overthrown. Without the overthrow of these reactionary cultures, new culture can never be established. One cannot be established or extended if the other is not stopped or crushed”.²⁰

We shall presently see how far this passive element in the Marxist definition of culture could be useful to our conception of it and our efforts in this field.

An Evaluation of These Ideas

It has become clear that Linton’s definition of culture was dictated by a classical mind shaped within the traditions of the Renai-

ssance. It measures the share of thought in social reality by relating that reality to the ideas first. We may concur with Linton's analysis, which sees two levels of thought: common and esoteric.²¹ But we are not obliged to accept his view about a third level to which we may give a name that would sound like the title of Konstantinov's book on the role of progressive ideas, but with some modification.

Thus, Linton sees that culture develops in a given reality. To understand the essence of that development, he finds it necessary to define a frame of new ideas, such as new inventions, discoveries or ideologies. In his opinion, these form the cultural framework within which every cultural change takes place, insisting that technical ideas carry within them the seeds of this change.²²

We may even find him tracing the development of electricity since the pioneering experiments carried out by Galvani,²³ thus confirming the unexpected effects of this process on culture throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As for Ogburn's definition of culture, it can be seen as a step forward in comparison to what had preceded it. It breaks away from classical thinking. It marks a new development in American thought that distinguishes and separates it from the bases of classical European thought, thus presenting us with something characteristic of the American outlook. When Ogburn formulated his definition, he must have observed that the world was so full of objects, tools and appliances. His scientific frame of mind must have immediately realized the effectiveness of those objects.

However, the method of definition is the same in both cases, emanating from a statistical attitude. In the case of Linton, this attitude refers to a world of ideas, while in the case of Ogburn it refers to a realm of objects, embedded in a realm of ideas.

Nevertheless, we have to remember that the world of Ogburn is completely different from that of Linton. In the former, the objects create the ideas, so it is enough to imagine the absence of

objects for culture to collapse like a building with badly damaged foundations.

Yet, this has no supporting evidence. The history of modern Germany has shown that although a nation may suffer a complete collapse of its realm of objects, by retaining its world of ideas, it can still rebuild itself once more. If we take Ogburn's definition as a midway attempt, the Marxist point of view will sound free from any obscurity, though it emphasizes more than any other definition the role of material conditions in determining the cultural elements.

However, we have already noticed a passive element or a subversive aspect in Mao Tse-tung's definition, which is certainly related to the revolutionary aspect in the Marxist ideology. How far then can this element provide us with a significant criterion, when we need to form a concept of culture?

It is necessary to bear in mind "a past" where dormant or dead ideas and objects are sometimes found, and "a future" which should be built on active and lively ideas and objects. In the Preface, we have already specified our stand on this passive aspect, which is necessary for defining the meaning of culture. This came in the context of referring to "contagious ideas" which pass on social diseases from one generation to another.

It is obvious that we cannot define "a lively and invigorating culture" without realizing the danger of these cultural germs that should be exterminated.

Another View of the Issue

In the inauguration of the Golden Anniversary of Cairo University, President Gamal Abdul Nasser addressed the students and staff by saying: "I came to put on your shoulders the responsibility of the future." When words like these are said on such an occasion, it means that the problem of culture has become of vital importance in the conscience of the Arab world.

Yet, how can we find a solution to this problem?

The views we have surveyed may have significant points, but they do not really offer a solution to our problem. The social problems have historical aspects, which means that what may suit a given society in a given stage of its history may prove quite unsuitable for it in another.

This is what both Linton and Ogburn implied when they talked about “the development of culture”. It is also what Mao Tse-tung intended to say, especially when he made the following statement in his book: “Things new in a certain historical period may become old in another one”.²⁴

If this applies to one society in two different stages of its history, will it not apply to two different societies in different stages of their social development?!

Therefore, we can generally say that it is dangerous to adopt an American or a Marxist solution for solving the problems that we are facing in the Arab and other Muslim countries, because here we are dealing with societies at different stages of development and of different attitudes and objectives.

However, the technical output of this historical situation is connected with the method of facing the problem that ultimately affects the nature of the solution.

If we take a closer look at Linton’s and Ogburn’s definitions, we shall see that, despite their ideological difference, they both direct their attention towards the reality of objects, which is an American reality, emanating from a society at a certain stage of development. Therefore, we may consider their definitions as a sort of regional concept, that is a concept limited to a certain place with a certain history.

On the other hand, the two Marxist points of view, mentioned above, may also come closer to each other in another context, that is the ideological one. In both cases there is an implied factor that completes the definition, whether in the historical context of the

Western civilization, or in the ideological context of Marxist thought.

The definition of culture is implicitly complete in the mind of both the American sociologist and that of the Marxist author. The question “what is culture?” follows the same course in both minds. For them, culture is connected with a certain social reality, existing in a certain historical context, or potentially present in a certain ideological context.

When this question is posed in the Muslim world, it will acquire a completely different meaning, since it is connected with a social reality that is not yet existent. Therefore, the problem here has a completely different shape to which some of the previously mentioned views may present some clues but no real solutions. Any solutions offered in this manner will not find in our minds a complementing factor, which is readily found in the American or Marxist mind.

Needless to say, a solution that turns the realm of objects into a cultural structure cannot be applied in the Muslim countries, which are not yet in possession of that realm of objects.

It is also obvious that when a society is born, or while it is in the process of developing, it usually does not possess a “realm of objects”, but only a “world of ideas”, whereby it seeks to enrich its thought and cultural motivation; that is to say, the principles of innovation and creativity. Because of this historical aspect of the problem, solutions cannot be imported as if they were iron bars or raw materials.

Another Definition of Culture

If we go back to the previous definitions, whether those expressing a Western or a Marxist point of view, we shall not find any of them unacceptable on its own. They are not insufficient because they are defective, but because their context cannot provide us with a solution to the problem in the present psychological situation prevailing in the Muslim world. Yet, these

definitions are complete in the minds of those who formulated them by virtue of the implied factor provided by Western civilization on the one hand, and Marxist ideology on the other.

Linton's definition, which sees culture as a collection of ideas, is sound, though defective in various ways. Ogburn's definition, which sees culture as a collection of objects and ideas, is also sound, though defective in other aspects.

The Marxist definitions of culture, which see it as a reflection of society are also sound, though no more convincing in countries where problems call for fundamental solutions, and where the issue is not that of understanding and interpreting a certain social reality as much as it is a problem of creating that social reality.

Hence, we have to visualize a definition of culture, not merely a theoretical one, but one with a practical or educational side to it.

Therefore, if we take a certain definition, which is sound in itself, but limited to the theoretical aspect, we shall not, in our opinion, find it sufficient in a country where the general situation does not implicitly help to complete its content. When an American puts the problem of culture in a theoretical framework, he can do so because the content of American culture is already defined as a result of the general conditions in Western civilization.

When a Marxist defines culture, the content of his definition is also implicitly completed by his Marxist ideology.

However, when a theoretical definition of culture is sought in a country where there is nothing to complete it implicitly, whether through its historical or ideological heritage, it becomes a real problem calling for an explanation.

Therefore, we find ourselves led by the nature of the problem as it is in the Muslim countries, to apply a different approach, one that is normally used for defining a complex situation.

Industrial drawing may give us in a graphical form an idea about defining complex objects. If we want to define a dot by industrial drawing, we have to draw another dot similar to the first one. If we want to define a certain line, we have to draw a similar line on a certain level. And if we want to define a geometrical surface, we have to draw another surface on a certain level too. All these are simple forms that can all be described by one graph.

However, if we want to define a more complex form, like a three-dimensional object, industrial drawing will define such an object by means of two or three sketches. More sketches may be needed for more complex forms. One sketch may show the surface, another the height, a third the inside details. These three sketches may form a picture that can be industrially executed. When we have one sketch only, the picture or the definition cannot be executed because it is incomplete. In other words, the picture cannot be executed without the existence, in the mind of the draftsman, of implied factors to complete that picture.

These considerations ought to be taken into account in dealing with the problem before us. Culture is a “concept” of many facets. To define this concept we have to follow the approach used with a complex object that cannot be conceived in one image. It is not enough to have an image of culture composed of a number of ideas or objects, in the American style; nor is it enough for that image to be a reflection of society in the Marxist style. Our foremost task is to define the secret of these several facets of culture. In order to do that, we have to define the special subjective reasons that lead us, Muslims, in the current psychological circumstances, to pose the following question: What is culture?

We have already seen how the difference among the American non-Muslims, Marxists and Muslims in their approach to this question. Moreover, we explained that Muslims are not in possession of implied factors like those which complement the definition of culture in the minds of the American non-Muslims and Marxists. This is a difference of vital importance, noticeable

in the underdeveloped countries, where it shows in the psychological setup as one of the subjective factors that determine the attitude of the person of culture towards such a problem. On the other hand, there is a decisive factor in the social life of those countries too, that is, its impeding inertia in addition to a variety of shortcomings.

This inertia or inactivity is seen as a reflection of a certain culture. It also has a dual aspect: individual and communal. An African/Asian Muslim student of medicine in a European university may obtain the same diploma as his English non-Muslim classmate, for instance. He may even outperform his classmate if he is more competent. Nevertheless, we notice that he is not as efficient as his colleague when he faces social life and has to deal with its problems.

There is only one explanation for this imbalance: social efficiency has nothing to do with college programs. It is rather generally connected with the way of life in a given society, and with the way the individual behaves to suit that way of life. Therefore, dealing with the issue of culture in Muslim countries is implicitly dealing with a way of life and the behavior that goes with it.

That is exactly why the “way of life” is not explained in the American non-Muslim definition of culture. For the American non-Muslim, that is something implied in Western civilization. It is also missing in the Marxist definition, which considers behavior as something provided for the individual by the Marxist ideology.

If these considerations are sound, they should enable us to explain the varied aspects of culture, by approaching it as a complex object. They will also explain the natural difference between the way of facing the problem of culture in a country where it has assumed a certain social reality, and another adopted in a country where culture is merely a project, even more so in a third world country where the project is not yet clear.

Nevertheless the various aspects of culture do not allow us to define it as an object, but as a mutual relationship that determines the social behavior of the individual by the style of life in society, as that style is determined by the behavior of the individual.

To define culture, then, we have to look at the problem from two, or rather three, perspectives, in order to bring together its psychological and social elements. Then, we can determine the vital relationship among all these elements and describe it adequately in order to render the definition applicable, like the execution of a sketch in an industrial drawing.

Psychological and Social Aspects

In our previous definition of culture as a mutual relationship, we did not define the meaning of “reciprocity”. Therefore, we have to show how this mutual relationship can join two united, though separate, parties in a specific function, where one party is the individual, the other society. This function exists side by side with the process of enculturation.

Definitions of culture differ according to the different schools of thought, on the one hand, and the different views of members of the same school, on the other. These differences are fundamentally related to the nature of that mutual exchange, where each one tries to give priority to one of the elements, according to his or her frame of mind. Some people give primacy to the psychological, hence the individual aspect, saying that culture is a case for “the person”. Others prefer the social aspect, saying that culture is a case for “society”. For this party, culture is a socialist image in the genetic sense of the word.

All these different views follow from the interpretation of the “mutual relationship”, that is, the definition of culture, whether primacy is given to the individual or society, the idea or the object. If we separate these aspects and give preference to one over the other, this will only lead us to limping theories that “leap” but

cannot “walk” properly. It may also lead to a conflict among schools, where a theory limping on the right foot ridicules another limping on the left, and so on.

It is difficult to determine objectively which role is more important in enculturation, that of the idea or that of the object. As we generally study this phenomenon in its dynamic stage, that is, when its components are involved in constant movement, it becomes a formidable task to specify which of the components was the initial incentive for that movement. A judgment in such a difficult situation is always accompanied with a measure of exaggeration and prejudice, which may manifest itself as a provincial cultural tendency.

Therefore, we may visualize enculturation in two separate stages: the dynamic and the static. The latter comes immediately before the former, which is what concerns us here.

The idea and the object are interconnected; and they co-ordinate like the wheel and the connecting arm in an engine that turns a horizontal movement into a circular one. The wheel is the object, the connecting rod is the idea. The connecting rod is undoubtedly the moving organ, which cannot pass over “the dead points” in its movement if the wheel does not help the rod in doing so, by virtue of its potential energy.

There is no point, then, in the dynamic stage, to belittle the role played by the object in the phenomenon of enculturation. But, certain circumstances may cause a certain society to lose control over its “realm of objects”, though temporarily. Yet, the same society may retain the capacity to rebuild that world, as we saw happening in Germany after 1945. This proves that the creative power belongs to the “ideas” since the war could not destroy Germany. This country rather showed a capacity to rise once again after the defeat of Nazism. Thus we see that the wheel has stopped turning, but the movement has not.

The creative potential of ideas may be seen in details of apparently little importance. An example may be found in the

colored “lanterns” which peddlers sell on the streets of Cairo in Ramaḍān, the month of fasting, for the entertainment of children. It is clear that the meaning of Ramaḍān, or the idea, created the “lanterns”, which are objects. Therefore, we cannot deny the role of the object in creating culture. Nor can we subject the idea to the object, although we have to give some priority to the idea in this context. However, as we find it difficult to recognize this priority in the dynamic stage of the growth and movement of a certain culture, we find it quite obvious in the static stage, just when the connecting rod and wheel begin to move and turn at the onset of enculturation.

Actually, the realm of objects in a society just beginning to develop cannot take shape immediately. Instead, all we find there is its realm of ideas as it begins to take shape, rarely comprising more than the first signs of ideological thinking.

To specify the role of ideas in the phenomenon of enculturation, we have to specify first the historical and social circumstances in which these ideas play a role. The social and cultural activity of a certain idea is, in fact, connected with some psychosociological conditions without which the idea loses its effectiveness.

The idea of progress, for instance, played a major role in the history of the nineteenth century because its impact on the culture of Europe was enhanced by two other contemporary ideas: August Comte’s positivism and Darwin’s theory of evolution.

This impact reached the Muslim world in the early twentieth century, when a political society was formed in Turkey, adopting the name of “Union and Progress” (*İttihat ve Terakki*). Other clubs appeared in Algeria in the years 1920-1930, bearing the title of “progress clubs” (*nādī al-taraqqī*)

However, this idea was hit hard in the First World War; and in the Second World War it received a mortal blow and lost influence in Europe. This does not mean that progress as such was effaced in Europe; it rather means that it lost its glow as a potential influence in European culture, thus losing its social effectiveness. The

effectiveness of ideas, therefore, is dependent upon psychological and social conditions, which vary with time and place.

We may generally say that when we look into the history of a given society, we find that just as it has a graveyard for its dead people, so too it has another for its dead ideas – the ideas that no longer have a social role.

Ideas as such are not a source of culture, that is to say, an element capable of specifying certain behavior and a way of life. Their effectiveness is functionally connected with the nature of their relationship with the psychological and temporal conditions which mark the standard of civilization in society, a standard that may vary in two ways:

- 1- When the standard begins to rise, it may absorb, on its way, ideas that are not part of the essential forces behind the movement of history. These ideas may become obsolete and disappear. The idea of the philosopher's stone, for example (which was supposed to turn base metals into gold), was the greatest incentive behind scientific efforts in the Middle Ages. However, this idea died out when Lavoisier²⁵ published the results of his chemical research experiments.
- 2- When the standard falls, some ideas lose their connection with the social environment itself, that is, they lose contact with their moral and intellectual sources, hence their existence becomes artificial and ahistorical, devoid of any social significance.

Evidence of that is Ibn Khaldūn's legacy, which appeared in the Muslim world. However, it did not contribute to its intellectual and social progress because, in that age, it represented an idea which had no connection whatsoever with the social environment.

Yet, in such a case, the idea is not the only element that loses its cultural significance and its capacity for creating objects. The object itself also loses its capacity for creating ideas. Take, for instance, the famous apple of Newton. Imagine the possible result

had it fallen, not on the head of that great mathematician, but on the head of one of his forefathers, a contemporary of William the Conqueror! Certainly not the discovery of the principle of gravity, for it would have been eaten, and quite simply long forgotten.

This shows that the idea and the object cannot gain any cultural value except under certain conditions. They do not create culture except through a superior concern, without which both worlds of ideas and objects fossilize and turn into archaeological pieces in a museum, devoid of any real social effectiveness.

We may portray the individuals' superior concern as an organic relationship connecting them to both worlds of ideas and objects. When such a connection dies out, the individuals will no longer have any control over either the ideas or the objects. They may bypass them without any real contact with them. They may attach themselves to the objects, though only superficially, and become somehow familiar with the ideas, though without really understanding them.

This superficial contact does not create an inquiring mind or topic of investigation. Newton questioned the fallen apple and extracted certain significance from it because his superior concern was focused on it. Had this happened a thousand years before Newton, the apple would have been, quite simply, eaten, because this higher concern did not exist then in English society.

Quite the opposite had been taking place in Muslim society until the nineteenth century. No one in that society could realize the significance of Ibn Khaldūn's ideas because it had not yet built its intellectual and social activities on a superior concern. Prior to that century, Muslims had been skating over the surface of things without investigating them deeply, and bypassing ideas without exploring them, because they no longer had any connection with either. Their encounters with social life could no longer produce that kind of violent shock which could change the style of that life as well as their own conduct.

Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) admirably described this relationship, giving ideas and objects their intellectual value and social effectiveness:

The example of the guidance and knowledge that God has entrusted to me to impart is like a bountiful shower of rain falling on the earth, one part of which receives the rain and absorbs it well, thus producing pasture and plenty of grass. Another part is hard and holds the water God has provided for the benefit of people, so they utilize it for drinking, letting others drink, and irrigating the land for cultivation. But, there are barren parts that would neither hold the water nor produce pasture. The first is the example of the person who comprehends God's guidance and gets benefit [from the knowledge] He has revealed and learns and then teaches others. The last is the example of a person who does not care for God's guidance revealed through me [he is like a barren land].²⁶

In this text we find a gradation downward in portraying the relationship of the individual and society with knowledge, that is, with ideas and objects. In this gradation of three stages, it looks as if the Prophet meant to indicate three stages in the life of society, beginning with a stage when ideas are accepted, created and assimilated. Then comes a stage when ideas are conveyed to other societies. Finally a third stage ensues when the realm of ideas freezes and loses its social effectiveness.

We may thus conclude that Islamic society created ideas in the age of al-Fārābī, and in the age of Ibn Rushd it conveyed them to Europe; after Ibn Khaldūn, however, it lost its ability either to create ideas or impart them.

The Nature of the Cultural Relationship

We have already argued that the cultural value of ideas and objects depends on the nature of their relationship with the individual. Instead of eating the apple, Newton discovered its implications, because his relationship with the realm of objects was very different from that of his forefathers who lived in the eleventh century. This situation reflects what we have termed the "reciprocal relationship" between the behavior of the individual and the style of life in a given society. It is the organic aspect of that relationship. So, it is quite normal to wonder about the nature

of that relationship and the way it is formed in the mind of the individual.

Individuals, as is well known, develop physically in a *biosphere* that provides them from birth with the necessary elements for growth. It may be said that these elements are absorbed into the body in order to make it grow. This absorption is achieved by digestion, assimilation, blood circulation and breathing, as detailed by biologists.

If we can, from the biological perspective, explain these processes as an organic expression of life, they can in turn be explained as a relationship between the individuals and the environment, which helps their bodies to grow. These processes are, in fact, nothing but various forms of the individuals' relationship with the biological medium.

This may lead us to imagine another world where individuals obtain the elements of growth, not for their bodies, but for their psychological and spiritual well-being and development. Culture is the tangible expression of the relationship of the individual with that spiritual world, the *noosphere*,²⁷ where the spirit grows. So culture is a result of this contact with that world.

When individuals lose contact with the biological world, we say that they are physically dead. When they lose contact with the cultural world, we may equally say that they are culturally dead. Culture, then, on the social level, is the life of society, without which it becomes a culturally dead society.

In our comparison between a British non-Muslim doctor and his African/Asian Muslim counterpart concerning social effectiveness, we noticed that the difference between the two could not be ascribed to the program of studies or the academic institution, since these are the same in both cases. So, the difference in behavior has to be ascribed to more general reasons which become clearer when we draw another comparison between a physician and a shepherd, both British this time. This comparison will be quite useful to us, as it helps us to understand the concept of culture in its more general aspects.

A physician and a shepherd are not socially equal by profession. Yet there is a striking similarity in their individual behavior. This similarity is a major factor in defining the culture of a given society. It defines, in fact, the lifestyle of that society, the behavior of its members, and the extent of the interchange of relations between them.

The culture of the Islamic society at its birth was quite homogeneous. Its character was uniform in the attitude of the caliph and the simple Bedouin. This may be seen in the attitude of the Caliph 'Umar when he made his first speech to the Muslims on his assumption of the caliphate. He declared, "Whoever sees any deviation in me, let him set it right". A simple Bedouin answered: "By Allah, if we ever see any deviation in you, we will set it right with our swords."²⁸

This unique and marvelous repartee characterized the lifestyle of a society in which the movements of thought, emotions and incentives for action were all uniform. In other words, the behavior of the caliph and that of the simple Bedouin were one and the same. With those words, 'Umar was, in fact, addressing the Islamic society, and the answer of that society came in the words of that Bedouin.

Thus, we find a direct example of the mutual relationship between the psychological and social aspects represented in the behavior of two men, whose attitudes were a reflection of the lifestyle on the one hand, and, on the other, an expression of a certain behavior characteristic of Muslims in that era. At the same time, that similarity shows the spiritual limits of society, when the aspects of a defined culture are drawn within those limits. The Muslim caliph and the Muslim shepherd are characterized by the same behavior, for the roots of their characters go deep into the same soil, which is the spiritual sphere of the Islamic culture. However, the British physician and the African/Asian Muslim physician are different in their behavior because their roots do not grow in the same kind of soil, although they were professionally trained in the same technical program.

Every culture has its own existence, which becomes more visible with every change in the social level of the two sides of the comparison. If we were to compare the behavior of a British physician and any ordinary African/Asian Muslim, we should see that the difference in behavior increases surprisingly. This may easily be seen in a cinema house, for instance.

In an Arab capital, I had a chance to watch a film based on Shakespeare's *Othello*. The impact of this masterpiece on the stage or in the cinema in Europe is well known to us, especially when the climax is reached with the protagonist killing his beloved and then himself. The entire dramatic powers of Shakespeare work together to excite the greatest degree of emotion in the spectators. However, both Shakespeare and the spectators that he had in mind were European. Their characters comprise the same subjective elements, as their roots go deep down in the same soil that endowed them with the same kind of readiness to receive effects.

The roots of the Arab spectators, on the other hand, grow in a different soil. Their readiness to receive effects and show emotion is quite different. Therefore, we may see them laugh while Europeans may cry at the same scene.

I do not consider this a lack of sensitivity. For, if we were to suppose that the British spectators are more sensitive to pain, how could we explain their reaction to colonial problems, namely, those tragic events which inflicted the greatest amount of human suffering history has ever known? However, the matter is quite different. The European spectators think in terms of aesthetic sensitivity, while the Arab spectators think in terms of moral sensitivity. Therefore, they cannot have the same reaction to the same scene.

When *Othello* kills *Desdemona* and commits suicide, the emotional excitement of the European spectators reaches its peak, because the atmosphere they are in at that moment is aesthetic. Are they not witnessing the end of two beautiful creatures?

However, the Arab spectators would remain quiet before that scene, because their atmosphere is moral: they are witnessing a murder and a suicide.

It is natural that this difference in behavior cannot take the form of an objective judgment, but a merely subjective one. It is the unconscious that is audible here in one way or another, not the conscious nor the mind.

Culture and Subjective Criteria

With the mention of the unconscious we are confronted with the real problem of enculturation, and we find ourselves standing on ground where the roots of culture go deep down in the subjective mood of the individual.

Our subjective criteria when saying, “this is beautiful or ugly, good or evil”, are those which generally define our social behavior. They also define our reaction to problems prior to the intervention of our minds. They define the role of the mind to a certain degree, yet it is a degree sufficient to recognize its social effectiveness in one society in comparison with another. These criteria define the private attitudes of the individual as well as the social attitudes or what we have called lifestyle, that is, the special nature of culture, thus defining its area and boundaries. This also explains the general differences in the behavior of two physicians belonging to two different cultures, and the differences in the lifestyle of two societies separated by cultural boundaries, even if they are living in one location, like a Chinese colony in New York in proximity to the New Yorkers themselves.

The formation of these criteria is therefore considered the most important basis of the culture of a society. A basic aspect of enculturation is the way in which the tradition of these subjective criteria is conveyed by society to every one of its members: shepherds and physicians alike.

Instead of tackling the issue as a social one by inquiring about the way a society transmits this tradition to individuals, we should tackle it as a psychological issue and ask: "How do individuals select the subjective criteria which define their belonging to a certain pattern, and consequently define their behavior, whether they are caliphs, Bedouins, physicians or shepherds?"

In fact, individuals do not make their choice by a conscious mental process. Although such a process cannot be expected of a shepherd or a child, they can absorb such criteria from the spiritual space that surrounds their souls just like the absorption of oxygen from the air breathed in from the biological atmosphere that surrounds their bodies.

The objects and the ideas in the social environment surrounding individuals are assimilated by them through a kind of analysis which absorbs them into their spiritual being, in the same manner that the elements in the biological environment which surrounds him are absorbed into their bodies by breathing and respiration.

Ideas and objects surround humans from their very birth and they live in constant contact with them. What happens inside human beings during their waking and sleeping hours, and the way they run their daily lives, form in fact their cultural frame of reference, where every detail addresses the soul in an enigmatic language. Soon, however, some of the expressions become understood by them and by others around them. This happens when some exceptional circumstances, which are the result of only one contact with the world of ideas, objects and elements, explain these expressions. Thus, their content is clarified, just like the apple when it uncovered the secret of gravity before Newton's eyes, or like the water fountains at the Villa d'Este²⁹ when they inspired Liszt³⁰ with his marvellous music.

Every single detail speaks a language that is sometimes beyond our comprehension, even though it is clear to our inner soul. The little *objet d'art* in our bedroom or office is not at all dormant. It has

something of a soul inside it that asks us to speak to it as we ask it to speak to us.

In the cultural field, the object addresses the chemist or the merchant in an objective language, its material content. However, with its spiritual content, it delivers to the soul of the child, the poet, the musician and the inventor, in a subjective language, an enigmatic message that may become clear in a moment of unconsciousness.

Thus, we may say that an object can somehow die out when it is uprooted from its cultural environment because its language loses its meaning outside that framework. When a cosmic capsule approaches a planet inhabited by underdeveloped creatures, this object will have no meaning in that different background. By the same token we can see how a certain idea may die out too.

This example shows the importance of the cultural bond that endows the ideas and the objects with their subjective and objective values in a certain frame of reference. This bond, which helps us to receive subjective criteria, is often relayed to us as enigmatic messages. When two people interpret these messages in the same manner, even though they may belong to two different social classes, this is proof that they do this because they belong to the same culture. Examples of this have already been mentioned. The caliph and the Bedouin behave in the same manner when they are faced with a certain political or moral problem because they both belong to the Islamic culture. The British non-Muslim physician and the British non-Muslim shepherd also behave in the same manner towards the issue of Othello because they share the same cultural basis.

This shows that our subjective nature plays a major role in defining our culture and its features. Nevertheless, enriching this subjectivity is not limited to the ideas that form the spiritual environment. We actually have another dialogue with nature. It conveys its message to us in an enigmatic language, which is the language of colors, sounds, smells, movements, shadow and light,

forms and images. These natural elements gather and dissolve within our inner being. They are assimilated as cultural elements, indeed absorbed in our moral being and basic structure. It is not by chance that poets and painters have celebrated the sunrise and the sunset, painted a subtle movement and a pretty scene, or explored a sensitive smell and a fine color.

When all this has melted in our being and poured into our unconscious, it grows in our minds as scientific ideas that are translated into technical models and artistic expressions in the world of fashion and industry. It may also exalt, thus inspiring the musician with a fascinating composition, the painter a wonderful painting and the poet a mystical poem.

All this is the very core of culture, its blood and soul.

CHAPTER TWO

A Psychological Synthesis of Culture

The Essential Bond

In the previous chapter, we followed an analytical approach in exploring the various factors that have a role in defining a certain culture, hence the title “A Psychological Analysis of Culture”. That may help in understanding a certain social reality and its psychological and social aspects. We also pointed to the fact that the methods of tackling the question of culture differ fundamentally owing to the current stage in the history of a certain country as well as its level of development. We also ascertained that the attitude towards culture in the Muslim world is different from that in both the Western non-Muslim and the communist worlds. That is because the issue in the Muslim world is not in the “understanding” of culture, but in its realization on a practical level.

If this is true, our analysis of culture may be helpful in understanding the nature of things. Yet, we have to undertake a new step towards that practical realization, provided that this new step is a “synthesis” of the elements of culture, which should be a “psychological synthesis”.

Needless to say, this process takes place quite naturally and spontaneously. When a certain society develop in a natural manner, the synthesizing of its culture takes place spontaneously, harmonizing the cultural elements in a unity that represents the culture of that society. This is not a scheme nor a program for the organization of culture; it is a phenomenon.

If we can comprehend the mechanics of the phenomenon, we will be able to visualize the right approach. To organize the cultural elements in an organic unity, we should visualize an

educational plan suitable for the realization of this unity. In this way it will be possible to visualize a program to realize our project in a technical manner.

In our foregoing analysis we threw light on a number of cultural factors: the realms of people, ideas, objects, and that of natural elements and phenomena. Moreover, we explained that the cultural value of these factors is always subject to our personal relationship with them. Newton's apple did not turn into a theory of the Earth's gravity haphazardly, nor could the water-fountains at the Villa d'Este have inspired Liszt with his exquisite music were it not for his exceptional relationship with those factors.

Therefore, to synthesize the cultural elements, the prerequisite is to create and strengthen the necessary relationship between individuals and the four realms mentioned above. The realm of persons has a priority here, not only because of the superiority of human beings, but also because this realm represents the cultural source which provides individuals from birth with the subjective criteria which define their behavior and ascertain their cultural roots.

Therefore, the first prerequisite for a cultural program to work out is the relationships among the individuals themselves. The Qur'an gives us an idea about the value of this relationship in God's address to the Prophet: "Had you spent all the riches of the earth you could not have brought their hearts together (*Al-Anfāl* 8: 63).

The basis of every culture is necessarily a "synthesis" and a harmonious "composition" of the realm of people. It is a composition along the lines of an educational program in the form of a moral philosophy, which is the first component in the educational plan of any culture.

Undoubtedly, this idea was among the objective concerns of a statesman like Khrushchev when he addressed the Twenty-first Congress on "the human aspect of the production problem". He remarked, "Until the individuals feel from within the need to work to their utmost capacity, society cannot relieve itself from the task

of imposing the labor rules.” That is the moral problem which faced Marxist society, though they do not express it in this manner, and they do not even refer to the religious element in it. Nevertheless, they admit the urgent need to face it in any society that wishes to organize and construct itself, even though they try hard, out of ideological considerations, not to refer to morality in its proper terms as they emanate, in their view, from an “idealist philosophy”.

Therefore, we notice in one way or another, directly or through politics, that the realm of people cannot be socially effective unless it is organized into a “synthesis”. An isolated individual, relatively speaking, is incapable of receiving culture and sending out its rays. In the social domain, too, we shall find that ideas and objects cannot turn into cultural elements unless they harmonize into a “synthesis”. An isolated object or idea is absolutely meaningless.

In the world of nature as well, colors, sounds, smells, movements, light and shade etc., cannot harmonize and impress us unless they shape themselves into certain “syntheses”, thus becoming sets of colors, sounds, smells, movements and beams of light and shade. These are the partial syntheses that come directly from nature. Then comes the role of our emotions, to change all these into more complex “compositions” like paintings, music, etc.

Out of these partial syntheses a more comprehensive composition emerges, which is culture. Yet, how can we systematically organize all these partial syntheses of such diverse complexity into a comprehensive composition?

Here, we are faced with the issue of culture not as a study of a certain social reality, but as a plan to be fulfilled, or more precisely, as an educational plan. Nevertheless, the step we have taken already indicates the path we have to pursue. If we discover the synthesis that forms in the realm of people, giving it the cultural value that it merits, and if we place this synthesis in an

educational framework based on a moral philosophy, we will have actually embarked on a useful plan. It remains for us to organize the various cultural elements, previously analyzed, in an educational framework that suits the nature of those elements.

These elements contribute to the creation of our emotional lives as individuals and by virtue of their impact on our behavior, they affect the lifestyle of the society to which we belong. In reality, however, these elements fall into different categories in accordance with their nature. If we define one of those categories, we will probably be able to specify one of culture's chapters. Therefore, we began by classifying all the cultural elements pertaining to the realm of people in a chapter under "moral philosophy". Morals are the educational synthesis of all these elements; therefore, they form a basic chapter of culture to be visualized not as history, but as a scheme of history.

The other cultural elements should be treated in the same manner; each group to be classified in an educational chapter that suits their nature. We should bear in mind, though, that this categorization does not aim at specifying chapters of a certain science; they are rather chapters of general culture. One element in nature, a sound for example, may have a dual entity: it is a form and an event at the same time, and it should be treated as such. As a form it belongs to the realm of beauty or aesthetics, and as an event it is considered a phenomenon to be studied in phonetics. It belongs to **culture in both cases, nevertheless.**

The element of beauty, therefore, is considered a "synthesis" of a new category of cultural elements. As the moral element defines the individual's behavior, the element of beauty defines the lifestyle of society. However, that lifestyle is not defined by the static cultural elements alone, like colors, sounds, forms, etc. It also includes dynamic cultural elements, such as movements and activities, which partly control the effectiveness of society. Therefore, it is necessary to visualize another educational synthesis for this category, which we will call "Practical Logic".

Finally, the lifestyle of a society and its effectiveness depend mainly on the realm of objects, which is the product of diverse industrial and technical factors. This realm of objects must also be categorized as a cultural element in a suitable educational framework.

Industry, or the technical element, is another necessary chapter for categorizing the remaining elements. In the next chapter we shall present an explanation for each of these partial cultural syntheses. Moreover, some ideas that were previously analyzed shall be treated here synthetically. Then we shall refer to the basic definitions of culture in order to discuss them in the light of historical and educational findings. We have already formed a clear idea about the definition, mentioned previously, which says that culture is an organic relationship between the behavior of the individual and the lifestyle of society. This relationship is, in fact, a direct outcome of the very nature of things, previously categorized.

To sum up the conclusions of this categorization, we can say that culture is the overall synthesis of four partial syntheses: morals, aesthetics, practical logic, and technology.

The Orientation of Ideas¹

From the educational standpoint, the problem of culture is essentially one of channeling the ideas in a certain direction. This is why we should determine the general meaning of orientation. On the whole, it means firmness in the foundation, harmony in the movement, and unity in the objective. So many energies and powers were wasted because we did not know how to make use of them or because they were expelled by other powers emanating from the same source and going towards the same goal.

To orient means to avoid the wasting of time and energy. There are millions of workers and thinkers in Muslim countries waiting to be employed at any time, and the vital thing is to make

use of this gigantic machine of millions of hands and minds while they are still in the prime of life and at the height of their productivity.

When this machine works, it will direct the course of history towards the desired objective. Here, basically, lies the idea of directing those who are religiously motivated, or, in the language of sociology, those who derive from their religious ideals the meaning of community and the meaning of struggle.

To create ideas is not at all sufficient; what really matters is to channel those ideas in the direction of the social goals that we want to realize. Here, we are faced with what appears to be two contradictory attitudes, yet they are both the result of the social standpoint. In Arab countries, these two attitudes are usually seen in two different types of character.

Firstly, there are those who seem to believe that political action can be carried out without having a certain base or idea on which to fall back; as if it were possible for the action to be effective while the actor is blind. Nevertheless, these “pragmatic characters” are often well intentioned and their attitude can be justified only by their ignorance of human problems.

However, skilful impostors who discover how naive simple people are and how easily they can be manipulated might dominate the political stage. They then try to keep this rich mine under their control at any price. However, since they know that this cannot be realized unless darkness dominates everywhere, imperialists who certainly value highly that darkness would stealthily assist them. It is then natural that action will lose its effectiveness when, intentionally, it turns its back on the criteria and the rules or, in one word, on the ideas. It thus loses itself in a labyrinth of obscurity and doubt without even realizing it.

Secondly, there is another type of character, which exemplifies another kind of inefficiency. Generally speaking, these people are sincere and endowed by nature with a creative mind, but their taste is tinged with a mental luxury. They cannot see

the idea as a model for the various types of social activities. For them, it is a kind of luxury that brings pleasure and an infatuation with ideas very similar to that infatuation with collecting *objets d'art* and valuables. If I had to borrow an image to describe this mentality, I should put it this way: it is not a workshop where ideas are turned into objects, it is rather a store where ideas are stacked one on top of the other.

Thus, we see the other kind of deviation into which some people may fall. Here, the action loses itself in clouds of ideas. To this situation we should apply what is normally applied in algebra, where we see a mathematical relationship between the numbers of known and unknown variables. When the number of the former is more or less than that of the latter to a certain degree, there arises a certain "impossibility" or "indeterminacy", whereby the problem becomes insoluble.

By the same token, ideas, too, have mathematical rules² that ascertain well-defined relationships between the ideas and the various activities. If this relationship is abolished because of excess or scarcity it will become impossible to practice any activity. In other words, action becomes paralyzed when it turns its back on the idea and the same happens to the idea if it removes itself from the action and turns to banter and foolhardiness.

Generally speaking, we cannot consider the annual number of books published as a sign of healthy mentality in a certain country, nor obesity a sign of good physical health, as there are brain tumors and diseased social bodies overloaded with ideas.

Be that as it may, the orientation of ideas consists of realizing the necessary balance in this respect so that no empty space nor congestion is left behind. The key to the problem thus lies in devising a plan for the orientation of culture that matches the loftiness of our objective.

The Orientation of Culture

We previously defined culture by the forces that it stimulates in both the individual and society. This makes it sound like a psychological and social case. However, it is quite natural for this case to develop with society, or more correctly, for society to develop with the case in question.

Therefore, we should define culture in the light of our perception of its historical status, in its capacity as a continuous movement, that is, a “becoming”. There are so many stupendous and serious turning-points in history that necessitate this kind of definition. One of these turning-points is the renaissance in the Muslim world. Culture is one of the matters that demand insistently one or rather two definitions. The first considers it in the light of our present situation, while the second does so in the light of our future destiny.

Our own generation is a dividing line between two periods: one of stagnancy and lethargy and another teeming with activity and culture. Muslims began to generate their own renaissance in the second half of the nineteenth century,³ at a moment that marked the end of darkness and the beginning of revival in our conscience. It is the moment which separated the period of stagnant anarchy and anarchic stagnancy from that of organization, synthesizing and direction.

When history reaches such a turning-point in the cycle of civilization, it has actually reached the boundary where one stage ends and another begins. There, history overlooks the nation’s dark past, and looks forward to its shining and bright future. Therefore, when we speak of the renaissance, we need to observe two points:

- 1- One that is related to the past, that is, the Muslims’ decline and its roots in the Muslims themselves and their environment; and
- 2- Another, which is related to the “enzymes” of the Muslims’ destiny and the roots of their future.

This necessary differentiation is not related to the mental luxury manifest in a certain group of people; it is rather concerned with the adjustment of the people's situation and the shaping of their destiny. One of the first duties is to purge customs and traditions, and moral and social codes from destructive impurities and useless bits and pieces, in order to clear the way for the lively and life-promoting factors to come in. This purification is not possible except with a new thinking that can destroy the system inherited from the stage of decline and in turn assist in the search for a new system, that is, renaissance. It is therefore necessary to renew whole in two ways: from a negative aspect that cuts people off from the legacy of the past; and a positive aspect that puts them on the path to a life of dignity.

The impact of this theory can be seen in Western culture during the time of Islamic renaissance, when Thomas Aquinas worked at purging that culture, even though unintentionally, in order to give it a solid intellectual basis. His revolt against Ibn Rushd and St Augustine was only one aspect of a negative renewal with which he meant to purge his own culture from what he viewed as Islamic ideas or a metaphysical legacy from the Byzantine church.

After Aquinas, Descartes came with the theory of positive revival, thus establishing the objective path of Western culture by virtue of the experimental method. This path is, in fact, the direct reason for the material progress of modern civilization.

Islamic civilization itself achieved this renewal in both its positive and negative aspects, but contemporaneously. In this, the Qur'an, which nullified the decadent pre-Islamic *Jāhili* concepts and paved the way for the pure Islamic thought that looks to the future quite positively, was its inspiring force.

This same action, which has only recently become the focus of attention and study, is necessary today for the Islamic revival. In the winds of reform, which started to blow over the Muslim world from the time of Muhammad 'Abdu and his disciples such

as Ibn Bādīs,⁴ we sense the beginnings of that negative renewal which attempts to put an end to our maladies and the causes of the Muslim decline. However, the Azhar and Zaytūna⁵ circles did not show interest in that attempt and were at times unable to conceive the consequences of such a reform movement. That is undoubtedly due to the heavy legacy of decadence, some of which still exists in the Muslim world.

As for the positive renewal, it is still not so clear and well defined in the minds of Muslims, even though they have a general notion of it. However, positive renewal does not mean the creation of a new line of thinking. Descartes had laid it down in such a way that we cannot even dream of changing it, unless there is a drastic scientific revolution, which is not possible now.⁶

What is actually meant by positive renewal is the renewal of a culture's fundamental elements, which we had previously categorized in four chapters. The dual renewal of culture will have no effect unless this grave confusion between the meanings of culture and education, widespread in the Muslim world, is abolished.

In the West, culture is defined as the heritage of Graeco-Latin humanities, which means that culture has a functional relationship with humankind. So it is said that culture is a person's philosophy.

In Communist countries, where Marxist thought has affected all values, culture has been defined as society's philosophy, since it has a functional relationship with society.

We shall add here that from an educational point of view, these two definitions offer only a general idea about culture, but no specification of its content that can be instilled into the mentality of the community in the process of teaching. This is what we shall attempt to do here, by our emphasis on the close connection between culture and civilization. In the light of this connection, culture becomes a theory of behavior rather than a theory of knowledge. Thus, we can assess the inevitable difference between culture and education (*ta'lim*).

To understand that difference, it may be useful to consider, on the one hand, two individuals who belong to the same society, but not to the same profession or social milieu; an English physician and an English shepherd, for instance. On the other hand, we shall consider a Chinese physician and an English physician, two individuals who belong to the same profession, but come from two societies that differ in their levels of progress and development.

We shall find that the behavior of the first two in dealing with life's problems is characterized by a similarity in their views owing to what we call their "English culture". Whereas that of the other two differs, curiously at times, because of the nature of the cultures distinguishing them one from another and marking their societies in a specific way.

This resemblance of behavior in the former case and its disparity in the latter are two points in the problem before us, which are unquestionably ascribed to culture and not to education. We are emphasizing this point here for it helps us realize that the social behavior of the individual is subject to things more general than knowledge and more closely related to the character than to the accumulation of data, that is, culture.

Therefore, culture can be defined practically as a set of moral qualities and social values that influence the individual from birth. They unconsciously form the relationship which binds his behavior with the lifestyle in the environment wherein he was born. As such, culture is the environment in which the individual's character and disposition are formed.

This comprehensive definition of culture is one that determines its meaning. Thus, it is the environment that reflects a certain civilization and in which the civilized person moves.

Likewise, we see that this definition includes both a person's philosophy and the philosophy of society, that is, the fundamentals of both a person and society. However, we must

bear in mind the necessity of harmonizing these fundamentals in one entity, created by the synthesizing that is achieved by that spiritual spark at the dawn of any civilization.

Literalism in Culture

Our renaissance produced only culture literalists, spread in the midst of ignorant people, and that is because Muslims stopped short of purging their customs and lives from the impurities of decline. Muslims owe this failure to the man of “fewness” (*rajul al-qillah*), who has mutilated the idea of renaissance in which he sees only a means of satisfying his needs and desires. Such a man does not perceive the basic elements of culture, but only its trivial aspects. For him, culture is simply a means of making him an important personality, and if he acquires any knowledge at all, it is to him a source of material gain. The result of such a distortion of the meaning of culture is personified in what we would like to call the “pedant” or “pseudo-rationalist” (*muta ‘ālim* or *muta ‘āqil*).

In the late nineteenth century, in fact, we knew only one kind of curable malady: ignorance and illiteracy. Today, however, we are faced with a new incurable disease, namely, “pedantry” (*ta ‘ālum*) or, we could say, literalism in learning, which is extremely difficult to handle. Thus, our generation has witnessed the emergence of two types of people: the bearers of patched rags, and the bearers of academic slogans – diplomas.

Although it is easy to handle the former type of patient, it is just impossible to cure the latter. This is because such people do not acquire knowledge to transform it into an activating consciousness, but as a tool for making a living, and a ladder on which to climb to the pulpit of the parliament. Thus, learning becomes distorted and very much like counterfeit money that is good for nothing. These ignoramuses are much worse than absolutely ignorant people because they are petrified by the alphabet. They do not value things in terms of their significance, nor words in terms of their meaning, but care only about their

letters: words are equal if they have the same number of letters; thus the word “no” would equal the word “yes” were it not for the difference in the number of their letters.

These ignoramuses, or call them pretenders to knowledge, do not talk, but prattle like innocent and playful children. They do not acquire knowledge gradually like children, either. In their prattle are personified senility and disease, for they are, in fact, old children.

Therefore, these sick individuals must be removed to clear the way for the serious and prudent student. The issue of culture does not belong to one class only; rather, it belongs to all society, from the scholar to the child who has not started school yet. It includes all society from top to bottom, if indeed there still remains a top in a society that has lost all sense of sublimity. In fact, the sense of loftiness has turned into dull, earthly and horizontal perception.

The Muslims’ duty is to take their culture back to its real level. Thus, they must see it as a historical process to comprehend it, and as an educational and applicable program to spread it among all classes of society.

The Significance of Culture in History

It is not possible to visualize a history without a culture. When a nation loses its culture, it definitely loses its history. Culture, including that religious element which has dominated the grand story of humanity since Adam and throughout the ages, cannot be rightly considered a branch of knowledge that people can study. Culture is rather the environment that surrounds people, and the framework within which they move. It is, as it were, the environment that nurtures the germ of civilization inside humankind, and in which all the features of a civilized society are formed. It is the framework in which every single component of society is moulded in accordance with the lofty objectives of that

society and those of its members, from all walks of life, such as the blacksmith, the artist, the shepherd, the scientist and the priest or imam, etc. History is made accordingly.

Culture is thus that cluster of homogeneous habits, convergent geniuses, integrated customs, commensurate tastes, and analogous feelings. In sum, it is what gives a civilization its distinctive features and determines its two poles, from the rationalism of a certain Ibn Khaldūn or a certain Descartes to the spiritualism of a certain al-Ghazālī or a certain Joan of Arc. That is the meaning of culture in history.

The Significance of Culture in Education

To define the educational aspect of culture, we should explain the objective of culture and the means required for realizing it. This objective was made clear in the previous chapter. As we explained, culture is not a branch of knowledge monopolized by a certain class; it is rather an order of discipline necessary for public life with all its variety of thought and social being. If culture is the bridge on which people pass to refinement and civilization, it is also a safeguard for some people against falling off the top of that bridge into the abyss.

According to this rule, the general significance of culture indicates a life frame that binds together the shepherd and the scholar with common necessary elements. It is also concerned with all the classes of society and the function appropriate to each class, as well as the special conditions of each function. Thus, culture interferes in the individual's affairs and in the development of society, just as it deals with the problems of leadership as well as those of the general public.

Comparing that role to the role of blood can make a further and more comprehensive explanation of the role of culture. Blood is composed of red and white cells, swimming in the same fluid, the plasma, in order to nourish the body. Culture is like blood in the "body" of society; it nourishes its civilization and sustains the

ideas of the élite as well as those of the ordinary people. All these ideas live harmoniously in one medium of similar aptitudes, unified viewpoints and commensurate tastes. In this social compound of culture lies its methodical educational plan whose components we shall see later.

Moral Orientation

We are here concerned with the social aspect of morals rather than with their philosophical facet. Moreover, our present concern is not to explain certain moral principles, but to define the “cohesive power” needed by members of a society to form a historical unit. This power is originally connected with the individual’s instinct of “communal life” in a way that enables him to form a tribe, a clan, a city, and a nation. The primitive tribes hold themselves together by virtue of this instinct. A society that holds itself together to form a civilization does so by virtue of the same instinct, but under the guidance of a sublime moral spirit.

This moral spirit is the grace of heaven to earth. It came with the revelation of religions at the birth of civilizations. Its function in society is to unite people as is indicated in the Qur’an:

He it is Who has strengthened you with His succor, and by giving you believing followers whose hearts He has brought together: [for,] if you had expended all that is on earth, you could not have brought their hearts together [by yourself]: but God did bring them together.

al-Anfāl 8: 62-63.

It is curious to find a significant similarity between the meaning suggested in this verse and the meaning of “religion” in its Latin root *religio*, which means “binding and bringing together.”⁷

There is no doubt that the way in which the Muslim intellectual élite looks at Western civilization is logically a misconception. It thinks that history does not develop and so too the aspects of a historical object are thought to be static. One may

look at an object after a while and find that it has become a completely different thing, but, in fact, it is the same object taking a new shape. Muslim youth is concerned with the present stage of Western civilization and it ignores its remote past. They fail to realize its beginnings and the various stages of its development until it reached its present shape.

If we look, for example, into a social institution like the Child Care Society in France, it may seem to us at first that it is a society run by a civil state, and will then conclude that it is based on civil, secular principles. However, if we look more carefully into its history and its early stages, we become aware of its Christian roots. It was actually St Vincent de Paul's⁸ idea to establish a project for protecting homeless children in the early seventeenth century.

Our casual look at that institution may give us the impression that it was born the moment it caught our attention. This is how Muslim youth looks at things in the main. The major mistake when evaluating Western civilization is that we think of it as a mere product of sciences, arts, and industries. We forget that all this could not have materialized without the presence of certain social bonds which form the moral basis of Western civilization. Without that basis, none of these sciences and arts could have existed at all. If we take the radio, for instance, we see only the various scientific and technical efforts that went into its making, and we remain unaware of the impact of the Christian values at the root of it all. It is in fact an outcome of those social bonds that unified the efforts of the German Hertz, the Russian Popov, the French Branley, the Italian Marconi, and the American Fleming.⁹ Yet, are those special bonds none but the binding values of Christianity that have ruled Western civilization since the time of Charlemagne? If we trace Western civilization with its civil aspects to its beginnings, we shall ultimately reach the initial religious ties that created it; and this is true of all ages and all civilizations.

The spirit of Islam was the force that unified two separate communities, Makkan emigrants (*Muhājirūn*) and the Madinan supporters of the Prophet (*Anṣār*), to form the first Islamic society. In that new society, a man could go as far as divorcing one of his wives to marry her to his co-religionist, in order to raise a new family.

The force of cohesion so necessary for Islamic society is clearly present in Islam itself. But, which Islam? It is the Islam that is alive and active in Muslim minds and conduct in the form of social Islam. This force of cohesion is capable of developing the desired civilization, backed with an experience a thousand years old, and with a civilization which was born in an arid land, in the midst of nomads: people of natural instincts, Bedouin of the desert.

Aesthetic Orientation

An ugly form cannot inspire beautiful images or great ideas. Its ugly appearance leaves an even uglier impression on the spirit. When ugliness forms a society, this will inevitably reflect on its ideas, actions, undertakings and lifestyle. This observation spurred moralists like al-Ghazālī to study beauty and its effect on the collective spirit. Their ideas may be summed up in a few words: “goodness cannot be visualized separately from beauty.”

In sociological terms, one may say that actions are organized in accordance with a pattern provided by ideas. Ideas are born out of images perceived in the social environment, and are reflected in the minds of those who live within that environment. There, they turn into abstract images that generate ideas. Beauty in a framework of colors, sounds, fragrance, movements and forms, suggests ideas to individuals, stamped with their own sense of good and bad taste. Good taste, which moulds people’s way of thinking, leads them to perfect their actions and to seek good habits. Beauty therefore assumes a great social importance as a source of ideas, which, in turn, are the source of the individual’s actions within society.

In fact, even the slightest of actions has a significant relationship with beauty. The impact of a certain object may vary according to the degree of beauty or ugliness that it imparts. We feel that impact in the individuals' way of thinking, their actions, the policies that they follow, and even in the suitcases that they carry on their travels.

It is rather obvious that we have lost our sense of beauty. Were it present in our culture today, we could have used it to solve certain minor problems, which, put together, form a part of a person's life. An illustration of this is the sight of a child in dirty rags. This child represents an example of ugliness and misery in society. He could very well be one of the many hands and minds that move history into action. Yet, he cannot accomplish anything when he is immersed in dirt and misery. Dozens of political harangues cannot change his ugly, miserable, and humiliating condition. This child is not much a demonstration of our well-known poverty as a reflection of our negligence and apathy.

The rags on this child are not mere rags but carriers of germs, which cause his material and moral death. Indeed they are the prison of his soul. On the moral level, the child meant to clothe himself, but his rags killed his sense of dignity, as formal justice may sometimes have it that the gown makes the monk.

There is no doubt that when Kemal Atatürk imposed the European hat as a national Turkish headgear, he meant to alter the psyche, not the clothes, as they, undoubtedly, influence the behavior of man to a great extent.

As we realize that the dirty rags of this child do not protect him against heat or cold, we also notice that they do not move people's pity. They rather cause disgust with their ugly appearance, bad smell, and clashing colors.

The reaction of the human sense of beauty to this sad situation may be summarized in the following expression: "What an ugly sight!" Yet, we should not stop short at this remark, but go

on to suggest a possible solution. Certainly, we should not bring the child some other dress, in our desire to rid him of that ugliness easily and quickly. Rather, we should make him wash himself and choose the most suitable pieces of those rags to wash and wear. Then we should take him to a barber for a haircut, and put him on his way to a better life, after showing him how to walk upright, with a lifted head. This way, he will no longer look like a moving heap of dirt, but a poor child trying to make a living: an image of poverty with dignity, not of ugliness and humiliation.

We did not mean to give the impression by our choice of this example that all we see in the sense of beauty is a mere attempt to solve the problems of the poor. Rather, we wanted to show the impact of that sense on society, by choosing an example from the heart of our social situation. However, the effect of the sense of beauty is much more comprehensive, for it touches every single detail in our lives, such as our taste in music, clothes and customs, our style of laughter and sneezing, and the way we arrange our furniture, comb our children's hair, and clean our feet and shoes.

Press reports tell of orders issued in Moscow for citizens to keep their city clean, otherwise they may be fined 25,100 roubles for spitting in the street, throwing cigarette-butts on pavements, hanging washing in windows overlooking the street, hanging notices on the walls, or traveling on public transport while wearing dirty working clothes. If we were to ask the Mayor of Moscow about the reason behind these orders, his answer would be: "Discipline." However, a doctor would say: "It is for health reasons," and an artist: "It is for the beauty of the town." All these answers are correct in describing a kind of behavior dictated by a certain situation. Yet, these answers cannot be correct unless they describe a general behavior that agrees with the "Communist culture", defined in its more general form as a social environment.

Therefore, the impact of the environment is apparent in every individual or administrative action in a civilized society. However, it is only implied when we talk about one of culture's dimensions, that is, beauty.

The framework of civilization, with all its content, is connected with the sense of beauty. In fact, beauty is the very medium inside which civilizations arise and grow. We should observe it in ourselves, and identify it in our streets, houses and cafés, exactly as a director does in a scene on stage or on the screen. The slightest irregularity in sounds, smells and colors should be disturbing to us, as would be a bad performance on a stage.

Beauty is the image of a country before the world. We have to take care of that image to protect our dignity, and to impose our respect on our neighbors, to whom we owe the same kind of respect.

Practical Logic

The logic that we have in mind is not the discipline whose principles and rules have been established since the time of Aristotle. It is rather an understanding of the way action is connected with its means and objectives, in order to avoid estimating how easy or difficult things are without depending on criteria derived from the social environment and its potentials. Normally, it is not difficult for Muslims to formulate theoretical criteria from which to reach conclusions based on certain facts. However, they are very rarely capable of using practical logic, that is, to attain the utmost benefit from the available means.

If we take a look around us, we shall see that our various activities are mostly characterized by inertia in both the private and public spheres. In the entrance of a post office, I witnessed a very curious scene. A man was carrying a large number of envelopes, trying to put them into some order. It was quite obvious that he was in need of something on which to lay his envelopes. He did find a platform, and I thought he would use it as a table to help him sort out his envelopes. However, I was extremely surprised to see the man stand on that threshold and bend all the way down to the floor, where he spread his load of envelopes below the level of his feet, which made his task even more difficult and backbreaking.

Here is another example. The telephone companies in some countries use the “talking clock”, which is a pleasant idea. However, certain conditions are necessary to render that idea effective. A child’s voice may be chosen for the “talking clock”, which is nice, or a woman’s voice, which is pleasant. However, a man’s voice may be chosen, not because it is more beautiful, but because it could be clearer and more distinct. He is expected to enunciate more clearly, while the syllables may sound naturally less distinguishable in the voice of a child or a woman.

Nevertheless, in a Muslim country the people in charge of the “talking clock” have chosen a woman’s voice. In addition to the wrong choice, the lady added a personal mistake in stressing the syllables of the “minn .. ni .. tts and secc ... ond ... ss”, but she forgot to stress the figures! These are some examples of the absence of practical logic in the various spheres of our lives, even though it is the logic that we need most. The practical mind, which is essentially willpower and alertness, is something almost non-existent in our social milieu, while we are blessed with such an abundance of purely great minds.

How do Muslims use the twenty-four hours of their day? If they have a share of knowledge or wealth, how do they make use of their knowledge and money? If they want to acquire some knowledge or learn a profession, how do they employ their potential towards that purpose? In our daily life, we find a great deal of “ineffectiveness” in our actions, for most of our energy is wasted on trivial and futile efforts. If we look for the cause of this situation, we shall find that it is the absence of control between objects and means, and objects and aims. We do not know the means by which to realize our policies and ideas, because we are unaware of our culture’s ideals. This is true of all our actions and all our steps.

It may be said that Muslim society abides by the principles of the Qur’an. It is more correct, however, to say that our society only “talks” in accordance with those principles because there is no practical logic in the actual behavior of Muslim society.

One may ask: who are more active and determined and always on the move: the European non-Muslims or African-Asian Muslims? The answer is: not the African-Asian Muslims, unfortunately, though ordered by the Qur'an: "Hence, be modest in thy bearing, and lower thy voice" (*Luqmān* 31:19) and "Walk not haughtily on earth" (*Luqmān* 31:18).

Have we not said that what Muslims lack is not the logic of ideas, but the logic of action and movement? They do not think in order to act, but in order to utter mere words; even worse, they hate those who think effectively and those whose logical words turn into action immediately. This is the root of Muslim social apathy and sterility. Muslims are dreamers who lack practical logic. Look at the mother who dulls her child by savage treatment, or spoils him with too much pampering. Her child will not respond to her orders and warnings because the weakness and stupidity of her logic are quite apparent, even to this poor child's eyes.

Technical Orientation and Industry

By industry, we do not mean that limited sense of the word which is common in Muslim countries. All arts, professions, skills and applied sciences fall under the concept of industry.

Even the shepherd has his own industry. The social value of this humble profession is emphasized by the existence of a private school in Ramboulet, a Parisian suburb, where people are trained for that "industry profession". If we watch a shepherd who is a graduate of this school alongside an Arab shepherd, we shall see the difference between them in grazing and handling the flock.

It is well understood that industry is a means of living for the individual. For society, it is a means to preserve its entity and continue its growth. Therefore, we have to observe these two considerations in every art. We feel that it is necessary to set up a council for technical guidance to deal with the vital problem of technical education so much needed in Muslim countries. An

attempt along these lines was started in the late 1950s in the then United Arab Republic. This logical solution to the problem of technical guidance will help both the uninitiated and the urban population to enter together through the gate of civilization which has actually begun to move, but is still hesitant which way to go, being pulled about by various tendencies and principles. We shall be quite disappointed if we pin our hopes on the knowledge that we acquire at school, or on promises made by election policies, which spin nothing but vain expectations.

We have to realize that the only solution lies in preparing individuals worthy of carrying a historical mission. It has become clear that the generation of pedants that Muslims have inherited, the competition for the front seats, even on the committees for the salvation of Palestine, together with similar scandals, are all carefully nourished by imperialism and are impossible to eliminate unless Muslims define their culture.

Despite moderate resources in some Muslim countries, Muslims can still quickly achieve this definition, and form the technical leadership that they now need.

Cultural Crisis

In the preceding chapter, we presented what we consider necessary to bring out the significance of culture as “an atmosphere” which individuals spontaneously imbibe with all its components of colors, sounds, motions, smells and ideas, not as “meanings” and “abstract concepts”, but as familiar images that they have known since childhood.

Then we tried to show how these elements melt into the structure of society to give it its lifestyle and inside individuals to mould their behavior. The two styles are in constant interaction in the form of a mutual commitment between individuals and society. This commitment does not allow any overstepping of limits by either side. Social pressure may intercept the behavior of

individuals as they may condemn or censure the lifestyle of society. The latter is implied in a saying of the Prophet:

Whoever amongst you sees something abominable (*munkar*) should remove it with his own hands; if he cannot, then with his tongue; if he cannot, then [he should abhor it from] his heart; and that is the weakest faith.¹⁰

The method that we applied to the foregoing discussion of culture was to trace the process of its formation. However, what happens when the cultural “atmosphere” is absent so as to render impossible the structuring of cultural elements into an educational program, that is to say, when there is a cultural crisis?

First, we must define what is meant by a “cultural crisis”. The answer is as follows.

There is a cultural crisis whenever society fails to exercise its duty in supervising the behavior of the individuals, which they justify under some pretext like liberty, thus leading to the removal of social pressure, and the liberation of vital energy from its bonds, whether religious or constitutional. This leads to the destruction of whatever is based on religious or secular foundations, that is to say, the destruction of the entire social fabric.

This may also happen when the individual, for political or other reasons, loses his right to criticize, or fails in his duty to amend a misdeed. In either case a cultural crisis is born, the ultimate result of which is a decline of civilization, and the immediate result is a loss of commitment between society and individual. Its philosophical aspect is described in Colin Wilson’s *The Outsider*,¹¹ while its behavioral image is found in the Hippy groups.

We must realize here that no social phenomenon remains in the same form in which it first appears. It is an entity connected with the life of society, with a dialectical interaction that increases its effect in society from point zero to the point of no return.

The cultural crisis grows, and with it grow its consequences, from the point where they could be treated with some adjustment, to the point where adjustment becomes impossible, or only possible through a comprehensive cultural revolution, which is, in fact, a new start in social life from point zero.

Between these two extremes, a fact emerges: a cultural crisis may create for a stagnant or backward society an insurmountable obstacle that leads that society to surrender to it. The same situation may create for another society the opportunity to move in a new direction like that given by Mao Tse-tung to the Chinese to live in the name of the "Cultural Revolution". The Chinese nation could not do without this new outlook when facing certain situations that needed to be adjusted in the right direction.

Between these two cases of complete surrender to an undesirable situation and a violent revolution against it, there are degrees of submission, retreat and escape from responsibility, which are exactly the phases of the cultural crisis experienced by society. Political authorities, who are opportunists or guilty of involvement, try their best to camouflage these situations, because they are not used to calling a spade a spade, or calling a traitor by his real name.

All this opportunism, involvement, and "cleverness" in hiding the reality under a cover of "realism" is of one and the same stock, that of "cultural crisis", out of which grow all the catastrophes, relapses and abortive attempts in all the industrial, agricultural, moral, political and military fields.

Any failure recorded by a society in one of its attempts is a true expression of a cultural crisis experienced by that society at that stage of its history.

In order to explain things technically, it is our duty to pause at the results of the cultural crisis, or at some of these results, when they reach a climax in the lives of individuals on the one hand, and the life of society on the other. Such a

climax in the life of humankind is reached when we realize that, from the start, individuals were deprived of what we have called the “cultural atmosphere”.

What happens then, in this case, when individuals are completely isolated from society, with no opportunity of social communication whatsoever, not even speech?

Such an unusual case once happened when a mother died on the roadside, leaving her baby to the mercy of nature. A gazelle picked up the child, nursed him, and brought him up among a herd of gazelles. This person was discovered in the 1940s and was seen on the streets of Damascus.

Similar cases were seen elsewhere and at different times, which gave rise to a special sociological case study under the name of *l'enfant sauvage* (the wild infant).¹² The significant point in this study is that it shows the degeneration of the “humanity” of this miserable creature, even on the physiological level, for he lost his sense of belonging to the human race, and did not try to recover it, even after his incidental return to human society.

Such a creature had clearly lost his humanity, but had he come down to the level of animals? There is no doubt that accommodation to the living conditions imposed on him made him imitate the animals, like walking on all fours and leaping like a gazelle. Nevertheless, this adaptation does not go much farther because it cannot provide him with the instinct that controls the behavior of real animals in facing all situations in life.

This individual who lost his humanity in such a rare incident, could not acquire a pure “animal nature”. If we were to grade him among creatures, we should have to place him below the grade of animals; while any human being, however ugly, would be placed on a much higher level than that of animals.

This is definitely the worst form of cultural crisis on the individual level. It is clearly not a question of knowledge or ignorance; it is more closely related to the human essence of the individual.

Here are some observations on a society undergoing a cultural crisis. Although there is so much to observe in the economic and political life of that society, one observation may suffice. If we set up a scale of cultural values alongside another for social values, we shall initially assume that the two scales will go in the same direction: from bottom to top, that is to say, social positions will normally be assigned according to cultural attainment. This fact is observed in the life of any society, even when it is facing some cultural crisis that has not yet reached the point of no return. However, in a society that has reached that point, the scales will go in opposite directions, whereby the popular base, by preserving its moral standards, becomes culturally richer than the élite.

This, in our view, is the worst type of cultural crisis which, when afflicting a society, renders it incapable of solving its own problems within its own boundaries or facing those of its neighbors. More generally, such a society cannot be free from psychological complexes that spoil its character or undermine its dignity, while co-existence has become a vital need in a world dominated by a technology that imposes the presence of others on every society.

CHAPTER THREE

Co-existence of Cultures

Reflections on the Co-existence of Cultures

In the previous chapters, we demonstrated two basic facts: the distinctive presence of culture, and the nature of its problem. “The first fact,” we said, “denotes the geographical and human boundaries of culture”. The question is, though: What happens along those boundaries?

This question may attract the attention of a statesman only when the problem arises before him as a temporary political concern; or a historian, who is required by his profession to observe all the historical incidents, like hostilities, frictions, mistakes or differences which break out on the boundaries between two cultures. The historian is also required to record the communications and types of exchange that take place between those two cultures during a certain period.

However, the work of the statesman is merely political activity; and that of the historian is a listing of incidents in a certain age. Neither action comes under the heading of culture, except indirectly, because neither is demanded or sought by humankind.

It so happened that the nature of things caused important syntheses on the borders between two cultures without the will or interference of humankind. Some historians see the European Renaissance of the sixteenth century as a synthesis achieved by time and events on the borders between the Islamic and the Christian cultures. Although the Crusades erupted on those boundaries, there is no doubt that they were a type of inverted synthesis. Cultures have their safe havens in the spheres of their own civilizations, yet the ensuing events generally take place in

the no-man's-land on the frontiers between the two cultures. In the no-man's land of Tibet, the Buddhist synthesis was formed on the frontiers of two great cultures: the Chinese and the Indian. Now, however, we find human beings gradually imposing their presence in various fields where matters used to run freely before. The analysis of radiating elements used to happen naturally in the past. When human beings intruded in this field, they controlled that analysis and directed it toward certain goals. When the world agreed to establish UNESCO, the aim was to control a different type of operation, that is, to bring about co-ordination among cultural elements in order to achieve a synthesis of human culture in the long run. The issue is now indirectly subject to our will, although it seems that events sometimes direct the attempts of humankind in this field and determine their significance.

Those who went to Bandung in April 1955¹ did not go to define and solve a cultural problem. The events themselves defined the meaning of their attempt, and turned their mission into a realization of a certain cultural program within the frame of the Afro-Asian meetings. This is not the occasion to analyze that program, although it is clear that people had a lesser influence on it than events.

The human conscience is still under the influence of certain chronic attractions that make it see things from a narrow perspective.² However, events are in progress and so are the problems which need to be solved at a pace parallel to the speed of historical events. Sometimes, we are obliged to think of the failings which hindered humankind from keeping pace with history, and to find a way to deal with those failings. The attempt of UNESCO in that direction sounds as if it was meant to deal with those failings for the sake of all humanity. Yet, it is mainly concerned with that sector of humanity on the Tangier-Jakarta axis. Humankind has taken this problem to Bandung to be dealt with, but events have not yet ripened the fruit of a tree planted only recently.

Now that we have presented an attempt to formulate a synthesis of culture, we feel that some of its ideas suggest the possibility of formulating a wider synthesis, comprising more than two cultures with joint boundaries. A question may suggest itself about the possibility of such cultures co-existing in a project realized on a geopolitical level.

Bandung has suggested such a possibility, probably without providing a specific program. However, the problem has been approached. I felt it my duty to discuss that problem in a separate chapter in my book *L'Afro-Asiatisme*³ in which I explored the possibility of formulating a synthesis of two cultures: the Islamic and the Indian, as a cultural project on an Afro-Asian level.

It is not redundant, then, to include the gist of that chapter in the present work so as to enable the reader to explore the activity of a certain culture on its own frontiers. This may lead to a better understanding of the word "synthesis" as it is used here in its wider sense, which means "co-existence", avoiding Emperor Akbar's⁴ mistake when he was trapped into a "fabrication" which should have been a "synthesis".

All that was asked of the cultures represented in Bandung was to co-exist and work together all along the axis between Tangier and Jakarta. The next section will try to describe the situation in which such co-existence may be achieved in a given area.

Cultural Co-existence on the Tangier-Jakarta Axis

A systematic study of the Bandung Conference will show that the basic problem it tried to address was the destiny of the Afro-Asian human being. Though not specified in the discussions, the spirit of that conference was concerned more precisely with the destiny of developing nations living in the area extending from Tangier to Jakarta.

On a different occasion we said: "Any reflection on the issue of man is actually a reflection on the issue of civilization."⁵ Realizing the close connection between civilization and culture, we may rephrase the sentence to read: "When one thinks of the issue of civilization, one is essentially thinking of the issue of culture." In that sense, civilization is essentially a set of actualized cultural values. The destiny of human beings is therefore dependent on their culture.

Yet, when Bandung put together the elements of the organic problems of the Afro-Asian nations, it brought them into the light in which we see them here, though press reports emphasized the political aspect of the discussions. However, UNESCO did not ignore this aspect, which concerns us here. In its report we read: "The Afro-Asian Conference plans to publish a number of studies on the social, economic, and cultural aspects of member countries."

We have yet to know under which conditions this exchange of information may lay down the cultural bases of the Afro-Asian idea under which conditions this exchange may help us to define the nature of culture. Furthermore, how can we provide its elements by changing the conditions of survival in those Afro-Asian nations?

It is true that exchange is necessary. However, is it enough?

We may consider, in this respect, a Western example. On the Washington-Moscow-Tokyo axis, we find that the scientific, intellectual, and social problems are the same from one end to the other. Despite political tension between the two [capitalist and socialist] camps, cultural exchange is exercised within the same civilizational framework,⁶ even in the atomic field, as we have seen since the Geneva Conference.⁷ Certainly, there is a direct relationship between this exchange and the dominant scene between Washington and Moscow, and, consequently, within the human condition prevailing on this axis.

Nevertheless, when achieved within a certain frame of reference, this exchange is considered a decisive cause in one place, and a definite result in another. We have therefore to be very careful not to let an epiphenomenon hide from our sight an essential phenomenon.

When the Paris ballet goes to Moscow, or the Moscow ballet goes to Paris to perform, what we should learn from these events, which may be useful for building up our Afro-Asian idea, is not the mere exchange of ballet troupes. It is to realize that both troupes find audiences with some difference in color, perhaps, but in the same kind of atmosphere and with the same aesthetic sensibility to which they are accustomed, each in its own country. It is certain that those trips enhance the artistic unity and the “cultural relations”, to use the diplomatic phrase. Art itself should find new inspiration and incentive in this exchange. In this manner, cause and effect come together in a comprehensive whole, emanating from the pre-existing reality, which is a common civilization. It is quite clear that the Russian ballet could not have found the same kind of audience or the same kind of reception in Fez [Morocco].

Exchange, therefore, becomes almost useless or insignificant when it falls outside its frame of reference, which gives it its social value and cultural significance.

Defining the effective exchange visualized to help in the formation of a certain culture must, therefore, begin with this general view of the cultural “environment”. Culture is basically an “environment”, and people move within the limits of that environment to nourish their inspiration and to adapt that environment, in turn, to make it effective through exchange. Culture is also an “atmosphere” of colors, melodies, customs, traditions, forms, rhythms and movements, all of which leave in the lives of individuals a certain inclination and a special style which strengthen their imagination, enliven their genius, and nourish their creative powers. It is the organic bond between human beings and their surroundings.

The Chinese Revolution followed a natural logic when it took a decisive step to adjust the traditional frame of life. In order to change people, a new cultural environment had to be created.

The Chinese Revolution was criticized for turning the “human being” into a “blue ant”, when the Chinese people were required to wear blue uniforms. In fact, we have to change one aspect of this simile to be fair. The comparison should not be between the “human being” and the “blue ant”, but between the “blue ant” and the “miserable worm” which used to haunt the opium dens in dirty rags, in search of oblivion and the grotesque.

The blue ant is, therefore, not an object, but an indication that the time of the small worm is no more, and that the Chinese will soon reach the level of “human beings”, if they have not yet done so. In that sense, the appearance of the “blue ant” was a sign of a cultural revolution that could change the environment where the Chinese worm used to creep. It was, in fact, the environment that created this worm and fostered it.

To describe the Chinese as blue ants indicates the psychological crisis experienced by those who oppose the Chinese Revolution. It does not show a realistic attitude towards that revolution. It seems to us that the Europeans in this situation betrays a disappointment when they sound unhappy to see Mao Tse-tung holding a thick brush and painting the new face of China on that venerable old canvas. Those Europeans, so fond of curious scenes, would have liked to see the noble antique features of China. This would explain the heated emotional cries echoing: “Oh barbarians!” One would like to know whether such cries come from an aesthetician or a historian.

Anyhow, the issue of culture should assume the same importance that it assumed in China. It should be considered basic enough to cause change, beginning with a new framework. On that level, the issue of culture has vital and educational aspects. In its historical function, culture to civilization is like blood to the living being. Blood carries

white and red cells that preserve vitality and balance in the body, and strengthen its immune system.

Culture includes the popular ideas of the public and the technical ideas of the leaders. Both elements nourish the genius of civilization, which in turn owes to them both its energy and creative power. Yet, what is the origin of these two elements?

This is the educational problem facing us here. Every social reality is originally a cultural value put into practice. They both have the same essence. If we analyze any social reality, or a perceived activity, we shall see in its present state or in its continuous development four basic elements, as we have already explained: the moral principle, the aesthetic taste, industry, and practical logic. Every social reality or product of civilization is essentially a synthesis of these four elements. Therefore, the issue of the Afro-Asian culture, educationally, is one of synthesis. The Asian idea, initially, takes the form of a structure made of moral and intellectual forces, and of social, economic, and political energies. As their objective is to form a civilization, these elements must come together in one synthesis.

The internal cohesion given by Bandung to these energies was inspired by a common ideological principle, represented basically in the anti-imperialist tendency among the Afro-Asian nations. But the development, which must come after the stage of imperialism, will definitely bypass the anti-imperialistic tendency. So, the Afro-Asian idea must base its moral program on a more positive principle, provided it is not essentially religious, to avoid making the idea sound like a "religious bias".

If we want to couple Islam and Hinduism, according to this principle, it should not be a matter of fabrication and affectation. There should rather be a moral principle uniting their endeavors and consolidating them to give them an internationally viable and unified orientation. This is not a repetition of the absurd attempt undertaken by Emperor Akbar in the sixteenth century, who wanted to establish his empire in India by fabricating a union between Islam and Hinduism.

Religions cannot allow themselves to be exploited as a means of achieving such ends. History gives us an example from the experience of the West. Initially, Western civilization was based on a Christian, moral foundation which gave it the cohesion and the energy needed for its prosperity. However, its development gradually modified this ideological basis, until it became a mixed structure of thought: Catholic, Protestant, so-called free thinking, and Judaism. Therefore, there is no room for seeking cohesion and co-ordination in an artificial religious syncretism.

The anti-imperialist tendency was sufficient, in the beginning, to bring about the necessary cohesion among the elements represented in Bandung. Though this tendency is bound to come to an end by virtue of development, one must make some mention of it. The Indian diplomat, Panikkar,⁸ thought it was definitely necessary as a “basic unit” which Bandung could use as a starting-point for the Afro-Asian idea. Yet, at the same time, he thought it was not enough, for he used to think of Bandung as “a meeting of incompatible elements”. It is clear that such a principle was not sufficient, despite its temporary effect in inspiring occupied nations to make noble sacrifices during the period of liberation. It was that principle, too, which inspired that great Satyagraha⁹ or the path of truth, which liberated India.

When this emotional period is over, the anti-imperialistic tendency will no longer be sufficient as a noble incentive, energizing civilization, and providing it with its ideals and necessary thrust. Moreover, when this tendency becomes devoid of “positive feelings” with time, what is left is only “negative feelings” in the form of hatred towards the nations that have caused the occupied nations to suffer. The question is not to save the world from the contempt of the big powers so as to turn it over to the malice of the weak.

What is comforting in this respect is that the leaders of the Afro-Asian culture realize this fact very well. Here is one such major figure, Abul Kalam Azad,¹⁰ who said: “Education is a serious responsibility. It should not allow rancor to take root in the

hearts and minds of the new generation in India under the pretext of anti-imperialism.” We believe that this task is not the responsibility of the people of culture in the land of Gandhi alone, but it should be a common responsibility in all Afro-Asian countries. It shows these people, quite clearly, the way to internal liberation, which should complement political and national liberation, that is, through a psychological and moral frame of reference. Imperialism affected not only the political concepts of the people under occupation, that is, their social relations, but it also reached the depth of their basic formation – their souls and conscience – and afflicted them with inertia and loss of creativity, especially in North Africa.

It is painful to see that people under occupation take the stand of the accuser or the accused in their writings. This negative attitude is harmful to the “self”, for it makes it tend to cover up its shortcomings, thus becoming incapable of starting a new life.

The problem of liberation must therefore be approached from a psychological perspective. We shall be liberating the Afro-Asian person from various problems, though partially, if we liberate him from his hatred of imperialism. This psychological aspect of the issue of Afro-Asian culture comes to the fore with the emergence of vital social needs, following the realization of national demands, and whenever international and human requirements become more urgent.

The problem of war and peace demands clear decisions. However, rancor is blind, and it cannot, therefore, encourage efforts that ought to be impartial in order to be effective.

For various reasons, the Afro-Asian culture cannot find its essential inspiration in a mere anti-imperialistic tendency, only to disappear with the disappearance of imperialism. It should look for its moral spirit in a set of spiritual and historical values, accepted by Afro-Asian nations as a kind of tradition, similar to those which the classical Graeco-Roman humanities gave to the West, wherein it found its guidance and the nourishment of its

genius, from Phidias¹¹ to Michael Angelo, and found as well the measure of its intellectual activity from Aristotle to Descartes.

The Afro-Asian “tradition” can find its elements, first in the psychological disposition that had a role in the struggle for liberation. These are common to all peoples who underwent the same kind of struggle. It will also find them in the special direction of the Afro-Asian idea, the direction of the common destiny of the peoples that are threatened with the danger of war.

If the inspiration of the classical culture during the European renaissance was mainly concerned with aesthetics and its philosophy, the Afro-Asian culture is, first, committed under the pressure of this twentieth-century tragedy to be concerned with moral philosophy, wherein to find its ideal. Second, it should turn to industry to create the means to realize that ideal. To save the human race from misery and poverty on the Tangier-Jakarta axis, and to save it from the inevitability of war on the Washington-Moscow axis represent, in our view, the two necessary requirements for solving the entire problem: that of humankind’s survival and that of its mission and the objective that it should seek. This dual necessity naturally controls the definition of human culture, and, consequently, its moral program.

By virtue of its spiritual duality, the Afro-Asian idea found its second principle in “non-violence”. This principle played its role in the liberation of India, and it is still an inspiration in international dialogue, as an inseparable law from human endeavors in the political field.

Nevertheless, the principle of non-violence cannot be coupled with the Afro-Asian idea without a dignified reference to its mythical hero Gandhi, whose face is surrounded by a martyr’s halo; a brilliant face in the history of our age, especially when we remember the symbolic value of the first chapter of his life. Here is the Mahatma entering the political arena for the first time, accompanied by a Muslim personality, Haji Habib, who had

supported him materially and morally since the first congress, when the Mahatma presented his “way of truth” or the “Satyagraha” on 11 September 1906, at the Imperial Theatre in Johannesburg, South Africa. The symbol here is not only political, but spiritual too. We have to realize that Gandhi sought to nourish his thought from all spiritual springs, such as the Qur’an, the Bible and the *Bhagavad Gita*¹² (the sacred book of Hinduism). Museums in Asia and Africa are full of glorious faces, which inspire moral ideals needed to develop an Afro-Asian tradition. Gandhi’s statue will undoubtedly take its place in some great hall, among the statues of great men.

As culture is defined by the elements derived from the moral principle, it is also defined by beauty. If culture is basically an “atmosphere”, it is clear that the element of beauty plays a major role in that atmosphere. Creativity is inextricably linked to aesthetic sensibility. In fact, the ability of individuals to affect their environment is also connected with some aesthetic considerations. It is well known in the field of trade and industry that “a poor commodity does not sell”.

However, the aesthetic value has to be approached educationally, since it helps in creating a particular model that endows life with a certain system and a constant direction in history, thanks to its aesthetic commensurability.

It is certain that changing the “Chinese worm” into a “blue ant”, though an simple outward alteration, has given life in China an active incentive and a constructive power; it has laid the basis of popular education and created a refined aesthetic taste and a new creative movement for social values. Be that as it may, the artistic treasures in Africa and Asia are a witness to the existence of such wealth, wherein the Afro-Asian idea can always find essential elements to create this important part of its tradition.

In the present age, when human development depends, in its direction and speed, on industrial elements and considerations of the productive ability, the Afro-Asian culture cannot define its aspects

without taking into account some dynamic factors which encourage and speed up the technical growth of the Afro-Asian nations.

The plans of the national projects, which were lately seen in Muslim countries, are a practical indication of their needs that are identical with the components of culture. Industry or the technical vocation and practical logic are two important components of culture, where practical logic is propitious for the productive power on the economic level, and both draw up a plan for activating the individual effort.

Industry and practical logic are directly related to the organic problems discussed in the Bandung Conference, problems which must be solved by each Afro-Asian country in its own way. These two factors have a direct effect on Afro-Asian individuals and their surroundings.

Then comes the role of the industrial factor, when a country plans a national project. This will almost automatically be incorporated into an educational program, since it is a necessity imposed on government projects on the one hand, and on private enterprises on the other. Thus, the state's need for technicians meets the desire of individuals to perform certain jobs in industry.

Practical logic is determined in the same manner as an urgent need for a "renaissance" culture, aiming at creating a change in the "environment" where the genius of civilization is formed, and the development of humankind is realized. Practical logic modifies activity: its style, its pattern and all its dynamic forms.

On the Washington-Moscow axis, there is a dynamism different from that on the Tangier-Jakarta axis, where there is too much talk and too little action, and where talk dominates and movement slows down. This is why the organizers of the Bandung Conference limited every speech to 15 minutes. This certainly indicates that the intention was to avoid a flood of words. It saved the conference and gave a chance for positive action. It is noteworthy that Chou En-Lai¹³ spoke for less than 15 minutes out

of respect for this principle, though he was speaking on behalf of 600 million people.

Certainly, the word is sacred. Nevertheless, we have to draw a line between a sacred effective word and that which is devoid of sense. For some people, the word is either an attractive image or mere ink on paper. We have to realize, however, that history is not a balance sheet of words, but quantities of activity and ideas as weighty as reality itself. It is a balance sheet of cultural values based on four components of culture: a moral principle or program, an aesthetic philosophy, an industrial art, and a practical logic.

In dealing with the issue of culture, we wanted to show the necessity of guidance in intellectual life, leaving aside the discussion that will determine whether this orientation should emanate from the needs of the country, that is, according to a program based on systematic planning, or from personal interests and individual tastes, that is to say, liberal education. Whatever the formulation of the issue, the developing countries must define their cultures in order to surmount their delay and to perform their role in the world actively and efficiently.

Every country has to deal with the issue in its own way, since all ways lead to the same goal, though with a different timing. However, we have to avoid long paths, mainly those pursued by civilizations that had so many centuries, if not thousands of years, at their disposal. In educational terms, we have to apply methods that direct intelligence towards civilization, adapting them to suit the development necessary for that objective. When the problem is put in those terms, it goes beyond the national limits, to where it will require "a general cultural policy" in the words of the Fifth General Assembly of the European Cultural Conference, held in Brussels in October 1955. In that sense, the issue needs a conference for "Afro-Asian Culture". The concluding statement of the Bandung Conference perhaps expressed this necessity under the title: "Cultural Co-operation".

CHAPTER FOUR

Orientation of Culture Towards Universalism

In the previous chapters, we discussed culture with reference to its internal elements, that is, those elements which are connected with the existence of a certain society. We also discussed culture with reference to its communication problems, namely, those concerning the co-existence of two or more societies that are similar in type, like the Afro-Asian societies. Such problems appear on the boundaries between them, as a result of their contact and proximity.

As explained above, this denotes two separate spheres, where culture is faced with problems of a different nature in each field. In one sphere, culture has to reflect the lifestyle in a given society, together with the behavior of its members. In another, culture has to create possibilities of communication and co-operation among different societies.

Yet, the action of culture in the first sphere runs spontaneously, since the response of conscience to internal or organic problems also happens spontaneously. However, the response to the problems of communication has been half-hearted for a long time. Therefore, the activity of a certain culture on its frontiers has been fruitless and less obvious, except in certain historical circumstances. At times the result was passive, like that surprising fabrication, which Emperor Akbar tried to carry out in India in the sixteenth century, to bring together Islamic and Brahmanic cultures. The development which followed the two World Wars brought to the fore many such problems, as can clearly be seen in the major attempts to solve them, like the Bandung Conference.

The two World Wars actually accelerated this development by giving those problems a deeper and more far-reaching

significance. They somehow created a third sphere, where every culture which has understood its internal and communication problems should also become aware of the other problems on an international level.

It seems to us that UNESCO was established to face this type of problem, though it may sometimes betray a certain introvert attitude that makes it difficult to see things on that international level. Yet, we can define a given culture within its international expectations. In the following pages we shall look at the issue of culture in the light of this expectation.

The idea of writing on this subject was suggested to me by the preparatory committee of the African Writers Conference held in Rome, in their invitation to me to address the Conference on "African Culture".

It seems to me that observations on a subject like this do not concern only the educated people in black Africa, for the decisive problems of the day are the same on the Washington-Moscow axis and the Tangier-Jakarta axis. The integration and security of humankind have become the most important concerns in the twentieth century, as it is somewhat reflected in the sociological and political attitudes. Consequently, we find a unity in the basic duties carried out by the present generation in Asia, Africa, Europe, and America. Thus, Muslim intellectuals are bound to examine questions from a wider human perspective, to realize their own role and that of their culture at the international level.

This change in the situation was not caused by material incentives, as most people in Muslim countries may think. It emanated from moral considerations, for it took place in the realm of ideas prior to that of objects.

Gandhi was not in possession of a cosmic missile, an "object" of international value. Rather, he had a conscience ever widening to include the whole world. That conscience could afford Gandhi a measure of internationalism which no satellite can afford its owners today. The result was that India inherited from Gandhi the principle of

non-violence, and this simple idea put India in the forefront of nations concerned with peace. The dignity of a nation is sometimes secured by ideas, when such ideas are compatible with the age in which humankind lives.

It so happens that young Muslims fail in their evaluation of the problems around them. They may think that what they lack at present is the missile, or at least the gun to help them with their urgent tasks. Here, their conscience is erring because they find themselves in a world wherein they have no place. Their diagnosis of the malady is incorrect, for they think the cause to be the lack of so many “objects” in their life, while what they really lack is “ideas”. We shall constantly emphasize that the deep-rooted crisis in the Muslim world has never been a consequence of its lack of means, but of ideas. Unless the Muslim world clearly realizes that fact, the malady of the Muslim youth will remain incurable, and it will be forever lagging behind the advanced world.

To overcome this malady, Muslims have to discover a pioneering path of a pilot community which has never been trodden before. So, they have to choose a direction out of several designated by humanity, and go ahead to the top. We may say that India has become a pioneering nation in some fields, though it does not at present possess hydrogen bombs or intercontinental missiles. It has reached that rare position by virtue of the spirit endowed by Gandhi, which placed India at the head of the human procession towards peace. The educators in the Arab-Muslim countries should teach the young how to discover a way to lead humanity, and not to imitate the Russians or the Americans, nor to follow in their footsteps.

If the younger generation play an active part in the integration of humanity, offering it all the intelligence and whole-heartedness that it deserves, that generation will soon assume the leadership of humankind towards a new objective for the determination of its destiny. Moreover, that generation will acquire the ability to abolish the ills that have afflicted our lives, and the harmful ideologies that have haunted our minds.

Generally speaking, the reality of culture is defined when it becomes history and appears to the eyes of generations as, for instance, a Greek miracle or a Roman Empire. However, the twentieth century has introduced a new measure into the spirit and method of defining culture. Since the First World War, humanity has entered the age of planning. Therefore, if we want to understand culture in this age, we have to see it as a program before defining it as a result. Hence, when we examine the issue of African culture today, we should define it according to a practical measure in the sense that it has to be good for something and one should be aware of that purpose. In other words, it has to be defined according to the purpose for which it is used.

How far can history guide us along these lines?¹

There are two sets of examples from the past that may serve in defining a certain culture: in the Mediterranean world we have the Greek and the Roman examples, in Asia, the Mogul and the Chinese. So, from the very first step we have to make a basic choice: either we define culture as a means for the establishment of an empire, or the construction of a civilization. In other words, society faces its problems with either the language of power, or that of survival, depending on the way its culture moulds its life and the behavior of its members. What kept the previous societies from seeking a theoretical solution for the problem of culture is that the case did not emerge clearly before their conscience. It was history, in fact, that posed the problem and solved it in its own way. If the Greek and Roman nations took two different ways, it was not basically a question of choice. They simply followed their own nature. The type of culture is determined in each nation according to its nature. The Roman inclination was towards building an empire, while the Greeks realized their aspiration in building a civilization. When a certain culture suspects a tendency contrary to its nature, it rejects it as an alien element. History relates how Athens repelled Sparta when it attempted to become the capital of a military empire.

There is another determining factor that goes into this definition, which we call the geographical determinant. Every culture has its own arena, wherein it discovers its sources of inspiration, and forms its awareness of its problems and finds solutions to them. On the map of the ancient world, we can see the arena where the Hellenic civilization flourished. It was the land where the Greek miracle materialized out of the elements provided by the humans, soil and time of that arena.

In the Roman culture, we find the response to the problems that grew in the land dominated by the *Pax Romana*. Before such areas became a museum giving us historical interpretations about the cultures of the past, they had been a workshop where the elements of those cultures took shape. The remains of that past can give us guidance today, in so far as this view is sound.

Certainly, there is an important museum of culture in Africa. We should not forget that fact when we classify some elements of that culture, especially those connected with African moral and aesthetic values, which should not be forgotten in any planning of culture. There is no doubt that, in a way, this is a planning conference. It follows that the work of the conference should point forward to the future more than turn back to the past.

If we are to be guided by history, we should study the problem in the light of two specific elements: the temperament of culture and its theatre.

As for the temperament, I feel that, even without deeply exploring the African psyche, and without undermining the results that may be obtained from such an exploration, we may safely suppose that it is improbable that one day Africa may become a source of threat, under a pretext of a military empire. If we need proof of that thesis, other than the moral consideration alone, we will find this potentially determined by the force of reality. Africa does not possess a store of nuclear weapons, nor does it possess the advanced technology to produce such weapons. Therefore, Africa

may not express its problems in the language of power, but with the language of survival by the force of reality.

On the psychological level, the problem is quite clear. The African temperament does not have imperialist tendencies, nor does it entertain any wish to produce an imperial culture. Therefore, from the very beginning we are before a culture of civilization.

We shall have to define the other element, namely, the arena, in the light of this version of the problem. Here are some questions that need answers. What are the boundaries within which the African culture should be placed? Within what limits can that culture find its inspiration and the duties it has to perform? In one sentence: What is the mission of that culture?

It is clear that the twentieth century has created a human conscience that is no longer limited by the frame of a homeland or a territory, though we admit that the homeland is a source of real incentives behind genuine attitudes. The human conscience in the twentieth century has been formed in the light of international events that cannot be ignored. The destiny of any human community is partly determined outside its geographical boundaries.

Nowadays, culture is defined morally and historically within an international context. The sources of ideas and feelings, the issues adopted, the challenges that have to be met, and the functions to be performed cannot all be found in the homeland. African culture must have the entire world for its sphere; therefore, its performance must aspire to that level, distinguishing the endeavors to build up an African civilization from those that sent its light outside its boundaries.

The international context, which should include African culture, shows two types of socially different peoples: a type that was or is still colonized, and another that has been and is still a colonizer. All major problems current in the world, psychological, political or economic are caused by this duality, humankind's

legacy from the nineteenth century. The very internal problems of both sides are the results of actions or reactions related to this situation. One aim of the dangerous competition for power among the advanced nations is to supervise the populations and the lands of developing nations. The latter have themselves been lacerated by pacts that bind them militarily, economically and politically to the advanced nations. In addition to that, there are deep-rooted enmities among these developing countries, and more of that is emanated by the developing countries across their borders into the industrialized areas of this world. All this adds a greater burden to the problem of peace.

So, we have found the twentieth century placing its thesis against the antithesis of colonialism inherited from the nineteenth century. We are now living the moments of every type of struggle in waiting for that moment of synthesis that will join the two types in international peace.

It seems that such a moment has come with the Bandung Conference, only if history is capable of realizing its projects. This is the international context that should include African culture.

African culture within that scheme has three objectives:

- 1- To raise to the status of an industrialized society the Africans who are already liberated from colonialism as well as those who are still in its shackles.
- 2- To rise the human standard of "civilized humankind"² whose conscience is still stained with the colonial sin.
- 3- To integrate the African personality in the main cause of peace.

All these three objectives are, in fact, related to one major task, which is generally an expression of the problem of humanity. It is a problem whose solution lies in that expected synthesis. African society will certainly find in its temperament and conditions of development the necessary inspiration that will require it not to use an imperial language in facing its

problems. African culture, therefore, will have to resort to the language of civilization for this task.

The African élite has to understand its present situation quite clearly, if it wants to play a competent role in the development and construction of African culture, for sometimes these people find themselves isolated from their environment. The Africans who were educated in Paris or London are, in most cases, more closely connected with the source of their education than with their birthplace. This is certainly an important meeting point in the consciences of such educated people when we consider them in terms of a human synthesis. They can play an important role by virtue of the intellectual elements that they have assimilated from European culture, which makes them look at the problems twice: once through their culture, and once through the values of their upbringing. This unusual situation has a passive aspect that can be seen in the behavior of the African upper classes; for example, they often seek to compensate for a sense of inferiority by wearing the national dress.

Educated Africans may prefer to wear the traditional dress of their parents on some occasions, as if to make up for a gap in their spiritual communication with the African people. Such a passive aspect may lead the upper classes to a cultural isolation at a time when interaction is so badly needed. However, the culture to which the African élite subscribes, in various fields, may have already separated it from the ordinary people, who are still at an early stage of cultural development. On the other hand, those upper classes may even lose touch with their cultural background if they try to return to their origins. Nevertheless, the situation could change if the African élite were to take the role of the mediator between its own world and the world of modern civilization.

For the élite to perform its role is not a tribute to one of the two worlds only, but a double tribute to their origin and culture. The presence of this élite in Africa should be free from complexes. Its culture should equally avoid ivory towers, where it becomes inaccessible to the uneducated people. It should rather be the base on which the uneducated rise to the level of civilization.

It seems to me that this problem should be solved before analyzing African culture. The second issue to be examined is the European conscience.

Europe, which inherited the Roman traditions through the Renaissance, has become a hostage of imperial culture today. Its conscience was nourished by questions raised in the nineteenth century, when Comte de Gobineau³ applied to the human race Darwin's theory of the origin of species. Consequently, the twentieth century was bequeathed a heavy and harmful spiritual legacy that gave rise to the Nazi phenomenon, as epitomized by Hitler and Dr Malon.⁴

However, the basis on which Europe had set up its intellectual structure from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries collapsed with the structure that it was supporting. It seems that Europe today is seeking a new justification for its new situation. Behind this fact, we may find a full explanation for the current European tragedy that is the cause of the catastrophes incurred by the world today. We may in this way explain some aspects of European literature, such as existentialism. In other words, the world is living through the European crisis, politically, intellectually, economically, and, to a certain extent, morally. Therefore, a definition of African culture will not be complete without taking into consideration this basic element in the international crisis: the European case (*le cas Européen*).

Undoubtedly, the African upper classes will find themselves in relation to this "case" facing one of their tasks, which demands a greater share of moral qualities, for it needs intellectual qualities, that is, all the qualities of a good physician.

To take on the treatment of a certain case requires a study of the illness and the cure. If the first is easy to define, the latter is not so because the success of the treatment depends also on the patient, which is Europe in this case. Europe lives in a world created by its science, yet its conscience does not quite understand

that world, for Europe does not understand an important component of that world, namely, the human being, whom Europe has been used to consider, up till now, a person from the colonies.

If the European conscience wants to renew its structure, it has to undergo a period of cruel and painful training, like any organ of the body that has lost its efficiency. This conscience must realize that others do exist in the world, which was once dominated by Europe. The task before the African élite is to train the European conscience to regain its health with the least pain possible. Certainly, what makes this task easier for the African élite is that it has already performed the first task. In so far as that élite succeeds in raising the African people to a level of civilization, it will also be able to raise the European conscience to a level of humanity and to place before Europe the real image of the human being who was considered a trivial thing by colonialism. The two tasks are interrelated, and so are their social and psychological consequences. Whatever lifts the African individual to education will give the Europeans a better idea about the world of humankind.

There is no need to point out that international cultural organizations, like UNESCO, can play an important part in dealing with the European conscience. The task will be easier, especially when less rigorous methods than usual are chosen to address the general public as well as the upper classes. African culture should not be less radiant outside Africa than when it endeavors to civilize its own continent. When that culture rids the civilized countries of their desire to colonize, and saves the underdeveloped countries from *colonisabilité*⁵ (liability to colonialism), it will have contributed to the formation of the human conscience, and the social and spiritual development of humanity.

That is the time when the problems and failings of the past will diminish, giving way to the synthesis that will restore to humankind its dignity. At this stage there will be no more colonizers nor "colonizable". But the task before humanity is now generally dependent on the cause of peace, which imposes itself

beforehand on every social or spiritual project in the world of today. The question of peace has become the meeting-point of all the threads of history.

African culture cannot assume its proper place in the international scene created by the twentieth century unless it tackles directly the problem of bringing about peace as one of its major tasks. This third task puts African culture to the test. What is the role of African culture, in presenting a solution to this world problem? The world is laden with science and the culture of imperialism. It is replete with the spirit and means of war. Yet, there is such a large vacuum in the world conscience, which ought to be filled. African culture must be defined in accordance with that fact.

The spirit of the nineteenth century, which asserted that it could realize the happiness of humankind by mechanization, has become sadly bankrupt. The world no longer expects salvation by science, but by a resurrection of the human conscience. The African genius cannot save the world by discovering a new method in the rubber industry, or a new means of atomic analysis. What that genius can offer in the service of peace is conscience, not science.

Culture proceeds towards imperialism or civilization in accordance with its share of technology and moral principles. This share, which determines the destiny of culture, is defined by temperament, and often by historical circumstances. This is especially true of African culture, which is equipped to play an important role in solving the international crisis. It will do that by reforming some of the basic aspects of that culture. It is no secret that Africa has no store of nuclear weapons that it must destroy in the service of peace. There are heaps of hatred and malice in the world that ought to be eliminated, and most nations still harbor fatal intellectual seeds. Humanity is threatened not only by radioactive clouds spread over our heads by atomic experiments, an atmosphere laden with fatal germs inherited from the colonial age also suffocates it. The African élite will be able to serve peace

directly, by changing the intellectual and moral attitude of human beings towards current problems.

War was part of the human experience in the early stages of humanity. It is no coincidence that children, all over the world, play war games. The old Roman saying, *si vis pacem para bellum* (who wants peace should be ready for war), shows how the idea of peace submits to the idea of war. This concept is still dominant in all military academies. Peace in civilized countries is still considered a result of victory in war, and not of a suitable plan for international life under the strict supervision of the international conscience. The idea of peace has not yet realized its independence and distinct character. That is due to the imperialistic culture, which cannot see peace except where it is supported by arms.

A culture of civilization must give the idea of peace its real character, by putting it, from now on, under the auspices of principles. African culture must be defined in connection with this problem according to principles like those adopted by the Bandung Conference. If the African writers subscribe to these principles, and dedicate some of their works to the problem of peace, the day will come when African children will invent games inspired by peace.

Finally, if African culture faces up to these three tasks, it will acquire the right to be called "a major culture", because then it will have contributed to the creation of a universal human age in the world.

CHAPTER FIVE

Anti-Culture¹

In 1959, when the previous chapter was written, the world was passing through a period of partial relaxation. On the one hand, the “Geneva spirit”² succeeded somehow in loosening the tension of the Cold War. On the other, while the Algerian revolution was raging, the process of abolishing imperialism was accelerating in the world. Finally, the independent Afro-Asian countries met at Bandung, to realize their awareness of their rights and duties in the world and to put all their weight on the scale under the label of “non-alignment”.

If we pose the problem of a certain culture on the African level, for instance, or on the level of any “progressive” country, without taking into consideration all these political and geographical data, we will be intentionally turning our backs on all the historical dimensions of the second half of the twentieth century.

That was the deep conviction of the author when writing his message. He felt that the best way to introduce Third world people, especially the Africans, to those significant horizons was to invite them to participate in the realization of the Bandung objectives in the political, moral, and social fields.

The objectives of such participation, as we explained previously, were determined by some data in a given world situation, in addition to the special situation in the Third world, a world which emerged from the age of colonialism to face problems of underdevelopment.

That was in the 1950s. However, the 1970s have certainly modified that somewhat idealistic image of 1959. Today, the world is

not developing in an atmosphere of peace. There is a long way to go before reaching that goal.

The spirit of Bandung, which was left to its fate by the very people who created it, died down, like a fire in a temple deserted by its priests. On the other hand, the spirit of Geneva evaporated like a dream; the plans to abolish colonialism followed one another, in an atmosphere of mounting violence, relapsing at times into a process of new colonialism, as we see in Palestine, Vietnam and South Africa.

The Third world, therefore, is sinking more and more into backwardness, except for some cases where serious cultural changes have definitely taken place, as in Cuba and China.³

In other words, if we apply the same criteria that we used in the 1950s in determining the tasks we mentioned in the preceding chapter, we shall see that:

- 1- the civilized people have become more savage; their moral standards have deteriorated considerably.
- 2- the Africans have not yet seen their social standards reach the high point that they had hoped for.
- 3- Peace, that dominating idea and basic subject in Bandung, has never been in the shadow of arms as it is today.⁴

In a situation like this, one may say that Third world people, the Africans in particular, have not served the cause of peace, for they were made incapable of doing so.

More clearly, the Africa of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)⁵ did not pose her problems in Addis Ababa in terms of power, as it is well known, nor did she show a readiness to create the idea of a domineering culture. Africa could not do that, even if her nature were to push her in that direction. This should suffice on the objective level. It may be added, however, that the Africans at the present stage

of their development cannot claim the role of guidance to the civilized people to raise them to the level of "human morality". Moreover, these civilized people are old enough to afford to confront all their problems on their own. We should leave it to their own discretion to embrace or abandon those principles.

On the objective level, this sounds like an acceptable philosophy. Yet, we realize the narrow perspective and the isolation from the rest of the world which would be the result of an African culture adopting such a philosophy. If we were to delve deep into that kind of objectivity, we should not only isolate this culture from sublimity, idealism and the poetic spirit, blocking its access to the world and dispersing all its lofty aspirations, but we should also lead that culture to withdrawal and perdition.

When a culture fails to raise the social standard of the individual and to perform its daily duties, which is its ultimate test, it is no longer a culture. More specifically, it will fall into the abyss of "non-culture". In that sense, it will enjoy a degree of curiosity, and may be tinged with local color or covered with the trappings of folklore.

The social function of culture requires more precision, especially in the political conditions of the countries that have newly emerged from colonialism, and started their social construction. Every step of that construction, every one of its social values, and all its historical background, are based on culture, which alone gives life and support to that construction.

Liberation wars in all African countries open the way to national sovereignty. Politically and socially they lead to the accumulation of problems caused by the new order, to be added to the problems left by the colonial order.

The new order is basically established in the shadow of an expected state, which is much more than an assertion of national

sovereignty, judging by the first lines of their written constitutions. It is in construction of their basic systems to develop this sovereignty with all its political, social and economic dimensions.

Although assertion of sovereignty was achieved by the sacrifices of those who fought the battle of liberation, asserting it in public life is the duty of the living. It depends on their unflagging efforts, their discipline and their enthusiasm for their daily tasks; in short, on the quality of their culture.

Moreover, culture may offer us some enjoyable moments. It makes us sing together, dance together, and laugh together. A good performance of all this is an aesthetic and encouraging phenomenon that should not be taken lightly. However, its basic role is to teach us to live together, work together, and especially struggle together.

This is the essential social function of culture, so we should not waste our time in formulating a definition for the concept of culture. One scholar, Professor Hauriou,⁶ gave this spontaneous answer to the question: what is culture, "It is that thing which we keep when we forget what we have learnt." Another scholar, the American anthropologist Herskovits,⁷ was hesitant about giving one definition, so he gave three, which he called "the seeming paradoxes"⁸ in order to be comprehensive, rather than giving one systematic definition which escaped him.

In order to avoid preconceived ideas, we may handle the question by tracing the issues that come to mind through the basic interests that ought to be given special attention in the African countries at this stage of their development. So, in underdeveloped countries, we should direct most of our attention to the economic aspects. We can make a random list of these aspects: production, loans, labor, consumption, contracts, commercial honesty, precision, organization, savings, exchange, insurance, etc.

That is a list of basic interests, whose connection with our daily lives is obvious to everyone. Not all these economic processes can fulfill their purpose in an African development program without some measure of adaptation by the Africans themselves.

Naturally, these terms do not form a definition of culture, but they are some of its basic aspects, if we look at culture in terms of economic problems, the most important in Africa. Accordingly we may say that approaching the subject in this way gives us a partial definition of culture, which we may enlarge to cover other areas: sports, city planning, art, etc. If we apply this method to the experience of Africans who have lived in the societies of both the developed world and the Third world, we shall find that their observations will necessarily cover that dual aspect of life, for they will see “action, precision, organization and saving” on the one hand, and “inactivity, obscurity, carelessness and extravagance” on the other. If they were to assess society according to a cultural criterion, the educated Africans would find themselves talking about two cultures: one leading to progress and development, the other providing psychological and social conditions of backwardness.

Thus, the unity of such a historically important concept as culture would be curiously in danger if we were to give it these two facets: one representing development, the other underdevelopment.

Hence, we can definitely say that there is no culture of backwardness. To put it more clearly, we can speak of different levels of culture without being biased against “non-culture”, provided we give this term a sound social significance. We can say that our non-culture is that socio-historical level from which we should start to establish a culture characterized with originality and internationalism at the same time. This is our initial capital, which is quite sizeable for investment in a cultural program.

There is the moral purity of Africa, its enthusiasm for the good and the beautiful, the clarity of its spirit, the expansion of its sympathetic and emotional spontaneity, and the wealth of its virgin spirit, all of which lead to the creation of new beneficial and solid values.

Nevertheless, this valuable wealth is open to dangers. The world in which we live is still stained with the sin of colonialism, and next to the Africans live those who are infatuated with a “domination culture” and are reluctant to give the newly liberated nations any opportunity to realize a “cultural program”, or even to preserve their non-culture in its virgin state, away from harmful contact.

There are films, records, pornographic magazines, books on sex education, effeminate and other devious styles of behavior, and various types of licentiousness which we see every day, including the philosophizing of sex to lead the youth to Freudism. All these are obvious or hidden aspects of a beastly octopus, far-reaching, filthy and breathing poison into the atmosphere in which genuine cultural values are born. Its tentacles creep and twist like the coils of a serpent, sticky and slippery, clutching fiercely to suffocate and extinguish in our hearts and souls that basic wealth which is the starting point in the definition of a “cultural program”.

Certainly, there are real projects for anti-culture, designed in so many forms and under so many titles, to undermine with artificial means, morally and intellectually, the program that help this capital to grow and develop.

In addition to this danger that comes from the outside, there is another danger coming from within us. Lenin realized this danger at the birth of a new society. He issued a warning “against any attempt to curtail the cultural values in order to fit them into the frame of proletariat culture”. We have, therefore, to purify the concept of culture from literary accumulation, and from any academic or folkloric incursions.

Although there is no doubt that folklore is a part of culture, culture is not all folklore, appearing in attractive attire to suit the taste of the current times, especially the taste of the tourist, who is attracted by unfamiliar scenes.

Culture is a lifestyle common to all society, including scholars and peasants alike. However, folklore is provincial. An anthropologist may find within a certain province all that he needs to know about the meaning and significance of its folklore. So, we can find an interpretation of Algerian folklore within the frontiers of Algeria, for instance. Nevertheless, we cannot study the works and ideas of Ibn Khaldūn while we shut his works and ourselves within that geographical area.

The field of any culture is the extent of its civilization. Ibn Khaldūn felt that very acutely and tragically, in an age when civilization came to an end. When he saw with his acute power of observation the historical decline in the *Maghreb* [Western Muslim world] he became sadly and nostalgically aware of the cultural decline in the Muslim Middle East.⁹

Before being given a nationality and subject to the necessities and variables of peoples and all that may interrupt their advance or international interaction, thus progressing and becoming more open to the benefit of all humanity, culture is that which portrays the features of society and determines its march [in history].

When we pose the question of an African culture, we are basically posing the case of an African civilization and an African role in the world. This will give us the chance to choose between an imperialist culture and a culture of civilization. When this choice becomes a reality, the African élite will have to provide that version with a suitable content.

Conclusion

In the previous chapters, we wanted Muslim readers to become aware of the problem of culture in its classical aspects. Moreover, we presented them with some points of view concerning the subject. Yet, readers will find that even in dealing with the classical aspects, we applied a new method of analysis in order to reach a deeper understanding of the basic elements of culture. The psychological analysis which we applied in the first chapter uncovered somehow the minute components of those elements and gave us an idea about the way those components permeate the very being of the individual, thus making it possible to define the cultural features of that individual.

Then we took a step in the opposite direction, using a method of psychological synthesis, compatible with our intention to turn those components into an applicable educational program.

However, that analysis also confronted us with another aspect of the problem, which is quite significant because of its connection with some international situations. When we say that the problem of culture in a certain society has its own specific nature, that will stop Muslims from importing unreservedly a solution that was applied in another society, be it Communist or Western. This observation is not based on religious or political considerations, rather on technical considerations, which imply that Muslim reality stems from Islamic culture, without which Muslims cannot rebuild their civilization.

Moreover, we presented the Muslim youth with a new viewpoint in the chapter "Co-existence of Cultures". It was also useful to look at culture from an international perspective. When we discussed African culture and the conditions for it to assume an international role, readers may have realized that we meant to indicate that Islamic culture was also capable of such an achievement. It did perform such a role in the past, when it was a center of guidance for the spiritual

and intellectual progress of humanity, in Baghdad, Cairo, and Cordova. Likewise, Islamic culture today is capable of performing that role of guidance, in its capacity as a “major culture” in the world. When educated Muslims understand the problem of culture from this perspective, they will realize the size of the role they should play in the civilization of today and tomorrow.

Endnotes

Author's Preface to the Second Arabic Edition

1- For the definition and analysis of this phenomenon, see the chapter 'Mina al-Takdīs ilā al-Binā' [From Accumulation to Construction] in our book *Shurūṭ al-Nahdah* [The Conditions of Renaissance] (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1407/1987; Cairo, 1961, pp. 44-51).

2- Kennan, George Frost (1904-), American diplomat. He graduated from Princeton University in 1925. From 1927 he served in various diplomatic posts in Europe, including Hamburg, Berlin, Prague and Moscow. In 1947 he was on the policy-planning staff of the Department of State; later (1949-50) he was one of the chief advisers to Secretary of State Dean Acheson.

Retiring from the diplomatic service in 1953, he joined the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and from 1956 until 1974 he was professor at its School of Historical Studies. He served as US ambassador to Yugoslavia from 1961 to 1963.

Kennan, who helped formulate the Truman administration's policy of "containment" of the USSR, eventually became an advocate of the withdrawal of US forces from Western Europe and of Soviet forces from the satellite countries. His works include, among others, *American Diplomacy: 1900-1950* (1951), *Soviet American Relations: 1917-1920* (2 vols., 1956-58) and *Nuclear Delusion* (1982). – Ed.

Chapter 1

1- Muḥammad b. Mukram b. 'Alī Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Beirut: Dār Ṣādir, 1410/1990, vol. 9, p. 19, column 2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Hasan Ibn Durayd (223/838-321/933), he was a leading scholar of Arabic grammar and philology in the School of Bossora. With his counterpart, Abū al-'Abbās Yaḥyā b. Sayyār, known as Tha'lab (200/816-291/904), the leading scholar of the Kūfa School, his legacy had a lasting influence on later scholars of Arabic grammar and philology. – Ed.

2- This is not a Prophetic ḥadīth but a statement by ‘Ā’ishah, the Prophet’s wife, describing her brother ‘Abdullah b. Abū Bakr who, while the Prophet and Abū Bakr were hiding on Mount Thawr hand waiting for the right moment to emigrate to Madīnah, would provide them with the latest news on what the polytheist Makkans were plotting against them. See *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1412/1992, “Kitāb al-Libās”, ḥadīth no. 5807, vol. 4, part 7, pp. 50-51. – Ed.

3- Muhammad Farīd Wajdī (1295/1878-1373/1954) was born and brought up in Alexandria, Egypt. He settled in Cairo, where he became one of the most active and productive intellectuals of his generation. A prolific writer who addressed a variety of topics, Wajdī’s major concern was to develop an understanding of Islam that would meet the challenges of the modern age as spearheaded by European advances in science and technology. He worked for a number of years as editor of al-Azhar’s official journal *Majallat al-Azhar*. His *Dā’irat Ma’ārif al-Qarn al-‘Ishrīn* [Twentieth-Century Encyclopaedia] testifies to his industrious character. – Ed.

4 Wajdī: *Dā’irat Ma’ārif al-Qarn al-‘Ishrīn*, Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, n.d., vol. 2, p. 757. – Ed.

5- The word *thaqāfah* occurs in the *Muqaddimah* only two or three times in a rather literary sense, without regarding it as a concept denoting a specific social phenomenon.

6- C. G. Jung: *The Development of Personality*, vol. 17 of The Collected Works, trans. by R. F. C. Hull, London & Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981, p. 52. – Ed.

7- Abū ‘Alī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. ‘Umar al-Marrākushī, a seventh/fourteenth-century Muslim mathematician and astronomer from the Moroccan city of Marrakesh. He died in 660/1362. He contributed a major work on sundial theory: *Jāmi’ al-mabādī’ wa al-ghāyāt fī ‘ilm al-miqāt* [An A to Z of Astronomical Timekeeping]. Compiled in Cairo in 1280, this work was a compendium of spherical astronomy and instrumentation. Al-Marrākushī’s work was widely influential in later Muslim astronomical circles, especially in Egypt, Syria and Turkey. It attracted the special attention of historians of science in the Middle Ages and parts of it were translated into European languages by Orientalist scholars such the two (father and son) Sédillots and Le Baron Carra de Vaux. – Ed.

8- Frederick Winslow Taylor, 1856-1915, American industrial engineer, born in Germantown, Pennsylvania. He graduated from the Stevens Institute of Technology in 1883. He was called the father of scientific management. His management methods for shops, offices and industrial plants were successfully introduced in many industries, notably steel mills. His writings

include, among others, *The Principles of Scientific Management* (1911) and *Scientific Management* (1914). – Ed.

9- It would be interesting to trace the author who coined this etymon and thus enriched the Arabic vocabulary.

10- Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1939) was a French philosopher, psychologist, and ethnologist. He was professor at the Sorbonne from 1899 and director of the *Revue philosophique de France et de l'étranger*.

Particularly known for his research on the mentality of preliterate people, he wrote numerous studies, including *How Natives Think* (1910, tr. 1926), *Primitive Mentality* (1922, tr. 1923) and *The Primitive and the Supernatural* (1931, tr. 1935). – Ed.

11- Trofim Denisovich Lysenko (1898-1976), Russian agronomist. As president of the Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences he became the scientific and administrative leader of Soviet agriculture. In 1937, he was made a member of the Supreme Soviet and head of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

He first became known for his process (vernalization) of moistening and refrigerating the seed of spring wheat, thereby reputedly imparting to it characteristics of winter wheat. He became leader of the Soviet school of genetics which opposed the theories of heredity developed by Western geneticists and supported the doctrine that characteristics acquired through environmental influences are inherited. Lysenko's theories were presented as the Marxist alternative to the capitalist doctrines. – Ed.

12- Thomas Hunt Morgan (1866-1945), American zoologist. He received his PhD from Johns Hopkins University in 1890. He was professor of experimental zoology at Columbia University (1904-28) and from 1928 was director of the laboratory of biological sciences at the California Institute of Technology.

He is noted for his demonstration of physical heredity and the importance of the gene. He described the phenomena of linkage at Crossing Over, which he and his students utilized to map the linear arrangement of genes along the chromosome. Morgan was awarded the 1933 Nobel Prize in Physiology and Medicine.

Among his works are *The Physical Basis of Heredity* (1919), *Evolution and Genetics* (1925) and *Embryology and Genetics* (1934). – Ed.

13- William Fielding Ogburn (b. 29 June 1886, Butter, Ga., USA. d. 27 April 1957, Tallahassee, Fla.), American sociologist known for his application of statistical methods to the problems of the social sciences and

for his idea of “cultural lag”. Ogburn was a professor at Columbia University (1919-27) and the University of Chicago (1927-51). He frequently served as a labor mediator and was research director of President Herbert Hoover on U.S. social trends (1930-33). Among his writings are *Social Change* (1922) and *Culture and Social Change* (1964). – Ed.

14- Ralph Linton (1893-1953), pursued graduate studies at the University of Pennsylvania and Columbia University and gained his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1925. He worked for sixteen years, beginning in his undergraduate days, as a museum and field anthropologist.

At the time of his death, he had been professor of anthropology at Yale University and regarded as one of the greatest anthropologists in the World. He was President of the American Anthropological Association in 1946. His writings include *The Cultural Background of Personality*, *The Study of Man* (1936) and his momentous *The Tree of Culture*, which was nearing completion at the time of his death. – Ed.

15- Ralph Linton, *The Tree of Culture*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955, Chapter 4, pp. 29-40. While in this chapter Linton delineates the basic concepts constituting his theoretical understanding of culture whose gist Bennabi has given, the remaining forty-seven chapters are basically an exercise to prove its validity in human historical experience throughout various ages and spaces.

It is most likely that Bennabi’s acquaintance with Linton’s views was through the Arabic translation of this book which was published in Cairo as *Shajarat al-Ḥaḍārah*, tr. Aḥmad Fakhrī, Cairo: Maktabat al-Anglū al-Miṣriyyah, 1961 (3 vols.). – Ed.

16- Ogburn, William Fielding: *Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature*, New York: B.W. Huebesch, 1922, especially pp. 61-79 and 200-280. – Ed.

17- It is most likely that Bennabi’s acquaintance with the books of the two Marxist thinkers mentioned in the text was from their Arabic translations. As a matter of fact the Arab world throughout the 1950s and 1960s witnessed a real boom in Marxist publications as both translations and original works. For example the Arabic translation of the Russian writer Fyodor Vasilevich Konstantinov’s book *Dawr al-Aṣḵār al-Taḳaddumiyyah fī Taṭwīr al-Mujtamaʿ* [The Role of Progressive Ideas in the Development of Society] was published in Damascus.

Mao Tse-tung’s work, *al-Dimuqrāṭiyyah al-Jadīdah* [The New Democracy], is a pamphlet whose text originally appeared in the 15 January 1941 issue of the

magazine *Chinese Culture*, under the title 'The Politics and Culture of New Democracy'. Progress Books, Toronto, Canada, later (in 1943) published it in a booklet form under the title *China's New Democracy* with an Introduction by Earl Browder. We shall therefore refer to this edition. – Ed.

18- Mao Tse-tung: *China's New Democracy*, with an Introduction by Earl Browder (Toronto: Progress Books, 1943), p.47. – Ed.

19- The author's reservation can perhaps be understood in the light of the possibility that the book by the Chinese leader was translated not from its original language, but from an intermediary one. – Ed.

20- Mao Tse-tung, *China's New Democracy*, p.48. – Ed.

21- This classification concurs with what we have maintained in the Introduction to our book *al-Zāhirah al-Qur'āniyyah* concerning the existence of common and technical ideas [Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1407/1978, p.59; *The Qur'anic Phenomenon*, trans. by Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2001, p.5) – Ed.].

22- Most probably, Bennabi refers here to the following paragraph by Lenton: "On the other hand, a basic invention or series of inventions in the technological field may result in exceedingly rapid and far-reaching changes outside technology. Note the startling changes in many areas our own culture set in motion by the development of mechanical transportation from railroads to airplanes." *The Tree of Culture*, p. 48 – Ed.

23- Luigi Galvani (1737-98), Italian physiologist, born in Bologna. He was educated in Bologna where he became a professor of anatomy, and investigated the role of electrical impulses in animal tissue. The galvanometer is named after him. – Ed.

24- Mao Tse-tung, *China's New Democracy*, p.49. – Ed.

25- Antoine Lavoisier (1743-1794), French chemist, considered the father of modern chemistry, thanks particularly to his oxygen theory of combustion which eventually led to a reformulation of chemistry. – Ed.

26- Reported by al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, "*Kitāb al-'Ilm*" [Book of Knowledge], No. 79, vol. 1, part 1, p. 24. – Ed.

27- This idea of the *noosphere*, which allows the spiritual development of the individual and germination of ideas in society, was subjected, though in a different ideological framework, to more profound philosophical analysis by the French philosopher and sociologist Edgar Morin in his four-volume book *La Méthode* [Method], vol. iv: *Les Idées* [Ideas], Paris: Seuil, 1991, pp.105-51. – Ed.

28- This statement attributed to a Bedouin Arab was actually a response to the inaugural speech of Abū Bakr, not ‘Umar, when he was given the general allegiance (*al-bay‘ah al-‘ammah*) as the first caliph upon the Prophet’s death. Abū Bakr’s words to which the Bedouin responded went like this: “I have been given authority upon you, but I am not the best of you. If I act well you should assist me, but if I act wrongly you have to correct me. Telling the truth is faithfulness, and lying is treachery...” Ibn Hishām: *al-Sīrah al-Nabawīyyah*, ed. Muṣṭaphā al-Saqqā et al. (Damascus: *Dār al-Khayr*, 1417/1996), vol. 2, part 4, p. 232. – Ed.

29- Villa d’Este was an estate in Tivoli near Rome, with buildings, fountains and terraced gardens designed (1550) by the Mannerist architect Pirro Ligorio for the governor Cardinal Ippolito II d’Este. Before being confiscated as his residence, the property had been a Benedictine convent. Franz Liszt (see Note 30) occupied the top floor from 1856 until his death in 1886. – Ed.

30- Franz Liszt (Hungarian Ferenc Liszt) (b. Oct. 22, 1811, Raiding, Hungaria – d. July 31, 1886, Bayreuth, Germany), Hungarian piano virtuoso and composer. Among his many notable compositions are his twelve symphonic poems. – Ed.

Chapter 2

1- With the exception of the section on “Culture Crisis”, much of the rest of this chapter is derived from the author’s book *Shurūṭ al-Nahḍah* [Conditions for Renaissance] (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1407/1987, pp.84-105 [Cairo: 1961]. See also the original French edition, *Les Conditions de la Renaissance: Problème d’une Civilisation*, [Conditions for Renaissance: Issue of a Civilization] Algiers: Société d’Edition et de Communication, 1992, pp.40-52 – Ed.).

2- I have devoted a whole book to this aspect of the problem under the title *al-Širā’ al-Fikrī fi’l-Bilād al-Musta‘marah* [Ideological Struggle in Colonized Countries] (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1408/1988 [Cairo: 1960] – Ed.).

3- In the same vein as most mainstream Muslim thinkers and historians of intellectual life in the Muslim world, Bennabi considers the efforts of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muhammad ‘Abdu at religious reform to be the beginning of modern Islamic renaissance. See his *Vocation de l’Islam*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil,

1954 [English trans. Asma Rashid, *Islam in History and Society* (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing, 1992)]. – Ed.

4- ‘Abdul Ḥamīd Ibn Bādīs (1889-1940), born in the city of Constantine, Eastern Algeria. After completing his elementary studies in his home town, he went to Tunis and joined the famous Zaytūna Grand Mosque University, the North African counterpart of al-Azhar in Cairo, where he spent five years (1908-1912). His main teachers were followers of the Islamic reformist movement launched by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and Muhammad ‘Abdu.

Upon his return home, he participated in social and religious reform activities through journalism and lecturing in mosques and clubs. In 1931 he organized his sympathizers and followers by founding *Jam‘iyat al-‘Ulamā’ al-Jazā’riyyīn* (Association of the Algerian Ulamā’). This Association played a crucial role in combating the assimilation and westernization policy that had been violently pursued by the French colonialist authorities in Algeria. Its efforts were vital in the crystallization and emergence of the Algerian nationalist and resistance movement and ultimately led to the eruption of the Algerian Revolution in 1954. – Ed.

5- Despite his apparently deterministic view of the hegemonic authority of Descartes’ rationalism, Bennabi has actually formulated in his earliest book, *The Qur’anic Phenomenon*, a deep and far-sighted criticism of it that mainly emphasizes its reductionist logical implications for the conception and understanding of reality. See also the remarks of this editor in his introduction to this work. – Ed.

6- Founded in 114/732, the Zaytūna Grand Mosque ultimately became the main institution of Islamic education in Tunisia and a major center of Islamic leaning in the world, like al-Azhar in Cairo, Egypt, al-Qarawīyyīn in Fez, Morocco and al-Najaf in Iraq. – Ed.

7- I have devoted a separate study to this aspect entitled “Religion and Social Relations”. [See the author’s book *On The Origins of Human Society*, trans. Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi (Kuala Lumpur: The Open Press, 1998), especially chapter 10 – Ed.]

8- Saint Vincent de Paul (1580-1660), French priest renowned for charitable work. He was ordained in 1600. There are conflicting stories about his capture by pirates and enslavement in Tunis and his subsequent escape.

His activism and the “holiness” of his life brought about the revival of French Catholicism. He inspired many of the court to take an interest in the poor of Paris and was founder of organized charity in France.

In 1625 he founded an order of “secular” priests to work in rural areas; it became the Congregation of the Mission, called Lazarists or Vincentians. With these priests, St. Vincent conducted retreats, founded seminaries, and achieved widespread reform among the French clergy. For city work, he founded the Sisters of Charity. St. Vincent’s influence, through his spirit and institutions, was deep and far-reaching. – Ed.

9- (a) - Heinrich Rudolph Hertz (1857, Hamburg- 1894, Bonn) was a German physicist who was the first to broadcast and receive radio waves. In 1883 he began his studies of the electromagnetic theory of James Clark Maxwell. Between 1885 and 1889, while he was professor of physics at the Karlsruhe Polytechnic, he produced electromagnetic waves in the laboratory and measured their length and velocity. He showed that the nature of their vibration and susceptibility to reflection and refraction were the same as those of light and heat waves. As a result, he established beyond doubt that light and heat are electromagnetic radiations. His scientific works include, among others, *Electric Waves*, *Principles of Mechanics* and *Miscellaneous Papers*.

(b) - Aleksander Stepanovich Popov (1859-1905) was a Russian physicist. Independently of Marconi, he is acclaimed in Russia as the inventor of wireless telegraphy (1895). He was the first to use a suspended wire as an aerial.

(c) - Edouard Branley (1844-1940), French physicist who is best known for his “coherer”, a device used in early wireless telegraph receivers to detect radio waves.

(d) - Guglielmo Marconi (1874-1937) was an Italian inventor, born in Bologna. He successfully experimented with wireless telegraphy in Italy and England, succeeded in sending signals across the Atlantic in 1901, and was awarded the Nobel Prize for physics in 1909.

(e) - Sir John Ambrose Fleming (1849-1945) was an English electrical engineer. He was a leader in the development of electric lighting, the telephone, and wireless telegraphy in England and the inventor of a thermionic valve (the first electron tube). Fleming was professor at the University of London and at University College and in 1929 was given a knighthood in recognition of his achievements. Among his many publications are *The Propagation of Electric Currents and Telegraph Conductors* (1911), *Fifty Years of Electricity* (1921), and *Memories of a Scientific Life* (1934).

Bennabi’s mention of these scholars and inventors whose major contributions were made in almost the same period is meant to show that all of them belonged to the same mindset that had crystallized in the West thanks to the same cultural “relations network” and “realm of ideas” that had been emerging since the European Renaissance. See his *On the Origins of Human Society*, trans.

Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi (Kuala Lumpur: The Open Press, 1998), especially chapter 11, pp.67-73. – Ed.

10- *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, ed. Muḥammad Fu'ād Abdul Bāqī (Beirut: Dār Iḥyā' al-Turāth al-'Arabī, n.d.), "*Kitāb al-Īmān*", ḥadīth no. 49, vol. 1, p. 69. – Ed.

11- Colin Wilson (1931-), an English writer from Leicester, who was born into a working class family and largely self-educated, Wilson has in more than 80 books exhorted humankind to expand its powers and realize its full potential. He first gained critical attention with his *The Outsider* (1956), the individual who realizes that life is futile and that society conceals this unpleasant truth, thus showing a clear influence by existentialist authors such the French writer Albert Camus. Among his many other works are *Beyond the Outsider* (1965), *The Class Cage* (1966) and *Order of Assassins* (1972). – Ed

12- *L'enfant sauvage*: The idea of a "wild infant" (*enfant sauvage*) refers to young human children abandoned in deserts or vast forests. Being lucky to survive in a non-human environment, such children are said to have lived a perfectly animal life. Some of them are even said to have been raised by beasts such as wolves, bears and gazelles. The numerous cases of such infants, which have been discovered in different parts of the world, have been of great interest to anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists. Some of these scholars have gone so far as to find in those cases scientific grounds to deny the existence of a specific nature that characterizes human beings and distinguishes them from other animal species. Thus, they claim that humankind has no specific nature, but has a history. For more details see Lucien Malson, *Les Enfants Sauvages: Mythe et Réalité* [The Wild Children: Myth and Reality] (Paris: France Loisirs, 1964). As for the specific case mentioned by Bennabi, it was, according to the same source (p.40), discovered in 1946 in the Syrian Desert. – Ed

Chapter 3

1- Bandung, capital of the province of West Java, Indonesia. The Bandung Conference was a meeting of representatives of 29 African and Asian nations held at Bandung in 1955. Its aim was to promote cultural and economic co-operation. In the 1960s and 1970s in the atmosphere of the Cold War, conflicts between the African and Asian states eroded the spirit of solidarity expressed at Bandung. – Ed.

2- One can see from the documents of the Afro-Asiatic meetings over the last three years [1956-58] that the parties concerned have not shown any

serious interest in effecting any cultural synthesis. The Chinese are concerned only about China, and the Arabs only about their country, etc.

3- Written in 1956, Bennabi's *L'Afro-Asiatisme* [Afro-Asiatism] was an attempt to capture the global cultural and political significance of the Bandung Conference that had just been convened in 1955 in the Indonesian city. Gathering mainly Third world political leaders such as India's Nehru and Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, this conference paved the way for what came to be known in world politics as the Non-Alignment Movement. The official press *Imprimerie Misr* published its French version in 1956, while its Arabic translation, *Fikrat al-Afrīqiyyah al-Āsiyawīyyah*, was published in 1957 with a Foreword by Anwar el-Sadat. – Ed.

4- The author refers here to the Mogul emperor of India, Akbar (1542-1605), son of Humayun, grandson of Babu. He succeeded to the throne under a regent, Bairam Khan, who rendered loyal service in expanding and consolidating the Mogul domains, before he was dismissed in 1560 by the young king. Akbar, however, continued the policy of conquest.

A magnetic personality and outstanding general, he gradually enlarged his empire to include Afghanistan, Baluchistan and nearly all the India peninsula north of the Godavari River.

He was much impressed by Persian culture, and as a result the later Mogul empire bore an indelible Persian stamp. Hoping to bring about religious unity in his empire, he promulgated in 1582 what he called the *Din-I-Ilahi* (divine faith), an eclectic creed derived from Islam, Hinduism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity. – Ed.

5- See the author's *L'Afro-Asiatisme: Conclusions sur la Conférence de Bandoeng*, chapter entitled "The Problem of the Afro-Asian Man"[p.85].

6- Washington-Moscow Axis: Since the middle of 1950s, Bennabi developed the notion of civilizational axes or poles, according to which he maintained that the nations of the world belonged to two major civilizational spheres or blocs. While the Washington-Moscow axis comprises the developed and industrialized nations, the Tangier-Jakarta axis (Tangier and Jakarta being two cities in Morocco and Indonesia respectively) includes the underdeveloped and non-industrialized nations.

This categorization is almost equivalent to the South-North classification. However, Bennabi's categorization is not based on mere techno-economical and geographical considerations. It equally emphasizes deep cultural and, indeed, spiritual affinities. Accordingly, he saw that countries like Australia and New Zealand belonged to the Washington-Moscow pole, even though geographically situated in the southern hemisphere. See, in particular, his

L'Afro-Asiatisme and *al-Muslim fi 'Ālam al-Iqtisād* [The Muslim in the Word of Economics] (Damascus: Dār al-Fikr, 1407/1987) [Beirut, 1972], pp.49-58. – Ed.

7- The Geneva Conference, a so-called Summit Conference held in July 1955, was an attempt to restore mutual trust between the communist East and capitalist West. President Dwight D. Eisenhower (USA), Marshal Nikolai Bulganin and Chairman Nikita Krushchev (Soviet Union), and Premier Edgar Faure (France) discussed German reunification, European security, disarmament, and cultural and economic interchange. Although no substantive agreements were reached, the meeting closed on a note of optimism: what Bennabi refers to in this book as the “spirit of Geneva”. Directives were issued for a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the four countries be held later that year to reach agreement on German reunification, disarmament, and other issues. – Ed.

8- K.M. Panikkar (b. 3 June 1895, Kerala, India; d. 10 Dec. 10 1963) was an Indian statesman, diplomat and scholar. Educated at Oxford. He read for the bar at the Middle Temple, London, before returning to India where he taught at Aligarh Muslim and Calcutta Universities. He turned to journalism in 1925 as Editor of *The Hindustan Times*.

Panikkar entered political life in the service of the Indian princes. After India gained independence he was entrusted with greater responsibilities as Ambassador to China (1948-52), Egypt (1952-53), and France (1956-59).

Late in life he returned to the academic world and was Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore at the time of his death. His works include *Asia and Western Dominance*, *In Two Chinas*, *A Survey of Indian History*, *Founding of Khashmir State*. He also wrote plays and novels. – Ed.

9- Satyagraha, the policy of non-violence adopted by Mahatma Gandhi to oppose British rule in India. In literal Hindi/Sanskrit, it means “insistence on truth” (*satya* = truth, *agraha* = fervour). – Ed.

10- Indian Islamic scholar and statesman. Known by the religious title Maulana, Abul Kalam Azad was born in Makkah in 1888. His father, Maulana Khairuddin, was an Islamic scholar and *sufi* who had suffered in 1857 at the hands of the British Raj. Consequently, he migrated to Arabia, where he married Alia, niece of a learned Arab called Shaykh Muhammad Zahir Vatri, Azad’s mother. After his Arabian sejour, Khairuddin settled down in Calcutta, where he had disciples and a following.

Owing to his father’s opposition to European education, Azad was educated at home and at the age of 16, he had attained a high standard in Arabic, Persian, and Islamic studies. In 1906, at the age of 18, he became involved

in social and revolutionary political movements. In 1908 Azad visited Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Turkey. He returned to India more convinced than ever that Indian Muslims must make a combined effort to liberate the country. In 1912 he launched his journal *al-Hilal*, which became one of the most widely read Urdu publications. In it he preached both Islamic and Indian independence, declaring that the Qur'an commanded a fight against slavery and sanctioned Muslim-Hindu co-operation.

Azad was in favor of a more proactive participation of the 'ulamā' in social and political action. In 1914 he established the school of Darul-Irshad to help produce such a band of scholars, although this project came to a halt in 1916 by his imprisonment by the British Raj. Fiercely opposed to the partition, Abul Kalam was a prominent figure in the Indian Congress (President during and after World War II) and a firm collaborator with Indian nationalist leaders such as Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. His co-operation with the nationalist Hindu-dominated government was strongly opposed and criticized by many of his Muslim opponents, whether those who departed with the creation of Pakistan or those who remained in India.

Abul Kalam died on 22 February 1958, at the age of 70. Besides a long, though controversial, political career, he left a rich intellectual legacy crowned by his commentary on the Qur'an, *Tarjuman al-Qur'an*. See, for more detail, Rajmohan Gandhi: *Eight Lives: A Study of the Hindu-Muslim Encounter* (Albany: University of New York Press, 1986), pp.219-253). – Ed.

11- Phidias (500-431BC), a Greek sculptor who was commissioned by the famous Athenian leader Pericles (485-429) to decorate Athens. – Ed.

12- *Bhagavad Gita* (Song of the Lord) is a self-contained episode of seven hundred verses contained in one book of the great Sanskrit epic, the *Mahabharata*. The *Gita* is probably over two thousand years old. It has come to represent Hinduism, and even Indian spirituality in general. The *Gita* has assumed for many Hindus a universal status, so that it is regarded not only as the quintessential Hindu religious text, but also as a charter for all kinds of frequently conflicting social and political actions.

13- Chou En-lai or Zhou Enlai (1898-1976), Chinese Communist leader. He was educated in China, Japan and Europe. His involvement in radical movements resulted in his imprisonment for several months. After his release, he studied in France (1920-22). After some time in England and Germany, he returned (1924) to China and joined Sun Yat-sen, who was collaborating with the communists.

In 1949, with the establishment of the People's Republic of China at Beijing, Zhou became Premier and Foreign Minister. He headed the Chinese Communist delegation to the Geneva Conference of 1954 and to the Bandung Conference (1955).

A practical-minded administrator, Zhou maintained his position through all of Communist China's ideological upheavals, including the Great Leap Forward (1958) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). – Ed.

Chapter 4

1- From here until the end of the chapter is reproduced a keynote address which the author sent to the African Writers Conference held in Rome in 1959. – Ed.

2- The author refers here to the people of Western countries and civilization. – Ed.

3- Joseph Arthur, Comte de Gobineau 1816-82, French diplomat and man of letters. The chief early French proponent of Nordic supremacy, he was anti-democratic and anti-Semitic. His ideological views were expressed in his major work *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853-55, trans. as *The Inequality of Human Races*, 1915). He also wrote short stories, notably *Nouvelles asiatiques* (1876, trans. *Five Oriental Tales*, 1925). – Ed.

4- Malon: this is how the name is spelt in the Arabic edition of Bennabi's book. However, I could not, after a long search in encyclopedias, Who's Who dictionaries and history-books on Nazi Germany, identify the person referred to by this name, as there is no name with such a spelling. The only possibility is that it might be a reference to Baron Ago von Maltzan (1877-1927) who was head of the Russian section in the German Foreign Office (*Auswärtiges Amt* – AA) under Hitler's regime. – Ed.

5- *Colonisabilité*: Coined by Bennabi himself, this term denotes the state of internal weakness and disintegration of a society or civilization that makes it vulnerable and easy prey to alien colonizing powers. He first formulated this *colonizability* thesis in his *Les Conditions de la Renaissance: Problème d'une Civilisation*, published in 1948 in Algiers. According to this thesis, colonization is an effect, not a cause, of colonizability. This means that to avoid colonization, a nation has to rid itself of colonizability. – Ed.

Chapter 5

1- This chapter consists of a paper contributed by the author to the African Writers Conference held in 1969. – Ed.

2- The “Geneva spirit”, see note 7 to chapter 3.

3- As a social thinker who was very much concerned about proactive attempts to bring about socio-cultural change, Bennabi seems to have sometimes been too zealous in his appreciation of some experiments undertaken by Third world governments in his time. Perhaps the revolutionary and often seemingly uncompromising way such efforts were made was what drove him to make quite sweeping judgments that might not fit even his own theoretical and methodological framework. – Ed.

4- One has only to remember the bloodshed that has in recent years devastated many parts of the world, such as Africa, the Balkans, Palestine and Afghanistan. – Ed.

5- Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established in 1963 at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia by thirty-two African countries to promote unity and territorial integrity, eradicate colonialism; promote international co-operation; co-ordinate members’ economic, diplomatic, educational, health, welfare, scientific, and defense policies. The OAU has mediated in several border and internal disputes and was active in trying to end South African apartheid. – Ed.

6- Most likely the author refers here to the French writer and political scientist André Hauriou, who was professor at the University of Toulouse and delegate to *La Résistance à la Consultative* during the Second World War. Amongst his books is *Le Socialisme Humaniste* (Humanist Socialism), published in Algiers in 1944. – Ed.

7- Jean Melville Herskovits (1895-1963), American anthropologist (b. Bellefontaine, Ohio). He was educated at the University of Chicago and Columbia University. He taught at Columbia, Howard and Northwest Universities.

He did ethnographic research in many parts of the world, although his most important work was done in Africa. Among his works are *The American Negro: A Study in Racial Crossing* (1928), *Man and His Works* (1949, later reissued in an abridged edition as *Cultural Anthropology*, 1955). – Ed.

8- Jean Melville Herskovits: *Cultural Anthropology*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1958, p.306. As Herskovits put it, “Those who would

comprehend the essential nature of culture must resolve a series of seeming paradoxes, which may be stated here as follows:

1- Culture is universal in man's experience, yet each local or regional manifestation of it is unique.

2- Culture is stable, yet is also dynamic, and manifests continuous and constant change.

3- Culture fills and largely determines the course of our lives, yet rarely intrudes into conscious thought." – Ed.

9- Bennabi refers here to the following passage by Ibn Khaldūn in which he describes the historical situation of Islamic civilization in his time. "The (Islamic) East [*Mashriq*], it seems, was similarly visited, though in accordance with and in proportion to [the East's more affluent] civilization. It was as if the voice of existence in the world had called out for oblivion and restriction, and the world responded to its call." Ibn Khaldūn: *The Muqaddimah*, tr. Franz Rozenthal (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), vol. 1, p.64. – Ed

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In his book on culture, Bennabi's aim is not to discover new data, nor provide hair-splitting descriptions of what may constitute culture, nor is he interested in reproducing what Clifford Geertz justly called the 'conceptual morass' that has developed around this concept. Unlike most Arab academic writers of his time, he does not parrot Western theories of culture. Rather, he is in search of what would constitute the essence of a culture that would enable human beings to visualize it as a way of life and a program for action, equipping them with the means of living together meaningfully and in harmony with their environment.

MALIK BENNABI (1905-1973) can certainly be regarded as the most eminent scholar and thinker of post-World War II Algeria and one of the foremost intellectuals of the Muslim world. Educated in Algiers and Paris, he graduated in electrical engineering from a polytechnic school in Paris. His works include among others, *The Qur'anic Phenomenon*, *Le Problème des Idées dans le Monde Musulman*, *Islam in History and Society*, *Fikrat Commonwealth Islāmī*, *al-Muslim fī 'Ālam ul-Iqtisād*, *Mudhakkirāt Shāhid lī ul-Qarn*, *Les Conditions de La Renaissance*, *Les Grands Thèmes* and *On the Origins of Human Society*.

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