The Responsibility of the Elites in Guiding and Framing the Renaissance in the Thought of Malek Bennabi. مسؤولية النخب في توجيه وتأطير النهضة في فكر مالك بن نبي.

> Chikhaoui Ahmed[◆] Department of Political sciences Dr. Tahar Moulay . Saida University -Algeria Email : <u>chikhaouiahmed28@gmail.com</u> ahmed.chikhaoui@univ-saida.dz

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Abstract:

This study is based the theoretical assumption of a civilization project developed by Malek Bennabi. It shows the importance of the elite as a decisive factor in the management and the success of the revived projects. In this respect, the thinker facilitated his project by addressing all sub-systems of the society : Political, economic, social and cultural. He also addressed the constituent systems of the Arab and Islamic societies by extrapolating the areas of backwardness and failure that were experienced and how to build new systems that respect and cope the environmental Arab and Islamic privacies.

Keywords: Arab World- Malek Bennabi-Elite- Empowerment-Religious Thought

الملخص:

تقوم الدراسة على المشروع الحضاري النظري الذي اقترحه مالك بن نبي، والذي عرض من خلاله أهمية النخبة كعامل حاسم في إدارة وإنجاح المشروعات المستحدثة، في هذا الصدد بتسط المفكر مشروعه بمخاطبة جميع مجالات المجمتع: السياسية والإقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية، تناول النظم المكونة للمجتمعات العربية والإسلامية من خلال استقراء مكامن التخلف والفشل التي تم اختبارها وكيفية بناء أنظمة جديدة تحترم وتتأقلم مع الخصوصيات البيئية العربية والإسلامية م الكليات المفتاحية: العالم العربي-مالك بن نبي-النخبة-التمكن-الأفكار الدينية.

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Introduction

The concept of renaissance is one of the profound problems that the Islamic and Arab world has faced. The conditions determined by the thinker Malek Bennabi in his book "The Conditions of Renaissance" seven decades ago did not find its way to embodiment. This is due to a number of disheartening and obstacle variables concerning the project of a civilized renaissance, which matches or eliminates the contemporary Western model that dominates the Arab world. The western model has imposed itself as a global civilized model and comprehensive unique standard. The Arab and Muslim nations have either to melt into its mechanisms, embracing it all together or leaving it behind and live in inferiority, under the obligation to choose between the duality imposed on societies (society produces civilization- society consumes civilization) or (modern society - a traditional heritage society). This standard in the classification has so far eliminated the creation of a third model despite the availability of material and intellectual means in the Arab and Islamic communities. This is due to the disruption of renaissance intellectual projects such as the thought of Ibn Khaldun and Malek Bennabi^{*}.

The elite, which is empowered by official political, economic, social and cultural institutions, is dominated by western-enlightenment ideology. This elite has dominated institutions after independence in general and has the means of influencing and nurturing societies, making Western theories the only mechanism for development and urbanization. Nevertheless, these attempts have failed in all its strategies and for decades of successive attempts. At the same time, this elite runs and denies any renaissance intellectual projects that come from the East and from their own people. Indeed, anyone who tries to find an alternative to the western model that is odd to our societies, and have social, religious and cultural peculiarities, is subjected to restrictions and exclusion from contributing to the intellectual and cultural building of society.

In this direction, the thinker Malek Bennabi tried not to align and ditch the ideology against Western civilization, as much as he tried to find and create an integrated intellectual building that respects the specificity of our societies and matches the Western civilization model. Instead of subjectivity

^{*} **Malek Bennabi** :1 January 1905 – 31 October 1973, was an Algerian writer and philosopher, who wrote about human society, particularly Muslim society with a focus on the reasons behind the fall of Muslim civilization. According to Malek Bennabi, the lack of new ideas in Islamic thought emerged what he coined civilizational bankruptcy. He argued that in order to recover its former magnificence, Islamic society had to become an environment in which individuals felt empowered. In order to satisfy his spiritual and material needs, a Muslim needed to feel that his industry and creativity would find reward.

and evidence, the thinker tried to highlight the failures of the Western model including its failure to contain our societies. Our societies were intractable to voluntary decomposition in ready-made stereotypes, prepared by the colonizer through wiping out the identity and social components, and deliver it to Western religious and social beliefs. The thinker did not attack Western civilization but put a critical reading of our reality, and tried through his intellectual works to put general conditions in the form of comprehensive mechanisms for development. These mechanisms start from the general community environment and try to modify it in a way that preserves its ideological essence. It also directs the community towards an integrated, civilized building that is not necessarily associated with the experience of Western societies.

Based on the above, we are trying through our paper to address the following problem:

What is the responsibility of the intellectual elites in Arab and Islamic societies to frame and embody the Renaissance project put forward by the thinker Malek Bennabi?

In addressing this problem, we rely on a descriptive approach to discuss the reality of our societies. In addition to the use of the elite approach of Vilfredo pareto and Gaetano Mosca to describe the elites that govern our systems, and what responsibilities they have in embodying the Renaissance project through a pragmatic forward-looking vision.

Reading in the Reality of Elites in Arab and Muslim Societies:

Our elites live on a deep rift of the thought they adopt. Therefore, we can distinguish between two conflicting orientations that failed to find common points to establish a common renaissance thought.

The first orientation: the secular "democratic" or modernist current, an elite that is deeply in control and capable of managing. It disrupted the attempts of the second current to gain power and apply its intellectual orientations. This elite is closely linked to Western culture and has Western support and empowerment in occupying decision-making positions in the Arab countries.

This orientation suggests that the Arab and Islamic worlds face the challenges of modernity to achieve renaissance. Hence, the foundations and principles of the Western world must be adopted, which resulted the current development in the political, social and economic fields. The primary

condition is the intellectual conviction that engagement must be involved in the contemporary world.

The second orientation: The Arab current or the Islamic national current. It is linked to the Islamic heritage and it is the opposite of the Western current orientations. This current considers that the Arab and Islamic worlds face the hidden side of modernity challenges, which is domination and cultural conquest. This current suffered from the power of the secular current that is capable of management. It is based on mobilizing society on national or religious foundations to counter Western modernization and invasion.

Based on the above, it appears that the elite which can embody the renaissance project put forward by the thinker Malek Bennabi, are suffering from being accused of reactionary and infertility in thought. It is claimed that the concept of renaissance is theoretical and cannot be practically embodied. Although, this accusation is null and void, societies believe that it has a realistic justifications represented in the following:

- The Arab-Islamic intellectual current has not agreed, even theoretically, on an integrated economic, social and political project that mobilizes individuals to support it¹.

- Monopolization of Malek Bennabi ideology by a current that society considers politically and socially defeated and lacks the means of initiative, management and mobilization.

- The failure to reflect the thought of Malek Bennabi in practice, as it was marketed as utopian philosophical theories, which cannot be translated into special economic projects under western materialism that invaded Arab and Islamic societies. Malek Bennabi's thought became a heritage by elite that no Arab or Islamic country was able to achieve an integrated renaissance.

- The voluntary assimilation of most Arab and Muslim societies in western materialism through the rentier economic systems adopted by the ruling elites. These systems created negative psychological barriers and loss of hope for renaissance. The complexity of inferiority and fascination towards Western modernity has made it impossible to think about creating a new project.

- The non-democratic elites, which are politically controlling Arab and Muslim societies, have made them bow to the conditions of the material West in exchange for silence and remain in power. This situation made

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). **The Idea of an Islamic Commonwealth in Malek Bennabi's Book**, Complete Works, Volume 2, (976-1042), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr,p1014.

entrepreneurial and creative thinking kind of out of power. Any attempt to create a new intellectual ideology falls into the opposition trap and must therefore be suppressed.

1. The issue of project and conviction

Through all his works, the thinker Malek Bennabi tried to develop a general framework for renaissance that accommodates the elements of civilization consisting of "human, dust, time". He tried also to put scientific methods associated with reason and away from abstraction and philosophy in its embodiment through experimental material frameworks while taking into account the moral aspect of its relations.

According to Malek Bennabi, civilization is an integrated ideology in which the nation enters a new historical phase, where circulated and imported ideas transcend in general. Ideas derive from an authentic environment, determined by cultural boundaries and is separate from other cultures.

With these conditions set by the thinker Bennabi to the conditions of establishing the original civilizational renaissance, we find that the elite that can embody this proposition must be loyal to the majority of the community "specified in the second type", and is required to resolve the central issues of the project:

A- Culture: "Culture in its broad concept includes all the different mental, inherited and popular activities that characterize the behavior of individuals"¹. Based on this definition, the civilizational project is based on belonging to Arabism, and being convinced of it without fear of being accused of chauvinism due to the adherence to the Arab-Islamic identity. It is enough that the majority speak Arabic and adopt Islam as their religion. The social structure in Arab and Muslim societies is consistent in the nucleus, even if the idea of being a hybrid is marketed in some writings that take into account political systems, the issue of power, democracy and the external factor².

Malek Bennabi is moving in his project towards adopting the culture that establishes intellectual independence, separates us from the different previous legacy and connects us with the requirements of the future. He defines culture according to certain principles to collect the effectiveness by

¹ - Ghalyoun, Borhan. Elite Society, ed 1, Beirut, Arab Affiliation Institute, (1986), p 75.

² - Abed al-Jabri, Mohammed. **Problems of contemporary Arab thought**, ed 6, Beirut, Center for The Study of Arab Unity,(2010), p 104.

saying: "Culture generally contains a number of chapters: ethics, beauty, practical logic, and art industry"¹.

The adjudication in the issue of culture and the identification of its internal concepts and determinants, makes it a unifying and integrating factor of the internal components, and the most significant element of the intellectual renaissance. It is considered as a fundamental basis in the formation of the Arab-Islamic mind, which in turn seeks to create an independent modernist thought, distinct from external societies.

B- Identity: The analysis of the identity issue to partial dimensions contained in the concept shows that these elements cannot form a separate civilizational identity unless they interact with each other. In addition to human, which is the basic element of the equation, there is also the earth and the time factor. These three elements are the main component of the interaction, in addition to "religion" as a correlation between them. The separation in religious belief by the elite is the separation of the determinants of socio-ideological values, which make other components of civilization interact to give a new cultural product according to the hoped-for model.

In this context, Malek Bennabi solved the issue of religion, the main component of identity, which is the Islamic religion as the framework for the values and provisions to be adhered to. It is expressed in what he called the "religious idea", which gave it a significant space in terms of its social function.

The Islamic religion in Arab and Muslim societies is the controller in shaping the cultural identity and building social relations. "The Qur'an not only declared that faith is not imposed from the outside, but strongly condemned every blind follower who took control of certain power that was not based on reason. Qur'an has always called for individual meditation which is withdrawn from the influence of the outside environment and preconceived ideas, and from every idea that is spontaneously drawn without scrutiny"².

One of the important conditions that the elite should establish to achieve the self-cultural renaissance is the adoption of the Islamic religious idea, to regulate the social relationship with all its subsystems "the individual, the family, the school". The human community needs a system to achieve

¹ - Bennabi, Malek, **Reflections in Malek Bennabi's Book**, Complete Works, Volume 3, (1256-1400), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr. (2017), p 1316.

² - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). **The Qur'anic phenomenon in Malek Bennabi's Book**, Complete Works, Volume 1, (70-309), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr, pp 80-79.

individual order within the group, which leads to stability and sustainability. This image of the Arab-Muslim community must have a unified belief that governs relationships. It must be subjective and not taken from other societies.

2. The issue of empowerment

In this matter, we discuss how the elite that constructs the ideology of Malek Bennabi raises to power through the means available. Then we make reforms that the elite sees as compatible with the ideology of renaissance. The most important obstacle to the renaissance intellectual elites is access to power, because the possession of power provides these elites with economic and social political empowerment. It is reasonable for these elites to take advantage of the available mechanisms in order to gain power, and not to require current regimes to reform according to their vision. Arab and Islamic political systems in general lack democratic practice that ensures equal and transparent competition between political parties. Systems also design their subsidiary systems in accordance with the dictates of the special interest, i.e., that guarantees them to remain in power. Therefore, these regimes run in elections under the logic of a predetermined victory.

In this direction, Malek Bennabi believes that the political systems in these countries have made democracy a slogan, and a formal mechanism to delude the Western world that they implemented democracy. At the same time to confront the elites that disagree with them on the pretext that societies reject their ideology and programs, considering that the mechanism of choice is free and transparent. Malek Bennabi did not reject the general idea of democracy, but not on the basis of its application without modifications to its subsidiary systems in accordance with the specifics of the environment. This concept is not a commodity but a conviction and a subjective feeling that frames interaction with others. It is a culture of politics that grows through socialization to become a common feeling before regulating it in laws. Our reality reveals that democracy has not changed despite the writings of Malek Bennabi about it for decades. Democratic practice is formal and absent within political institutions, including political parties and community formats. The thinker Malek Bennabi expressed interest in the democratic system, but gave the concept of democracy a set of conditions to be applied as part of the concept of empowerment. Hence, empowerment is the core part of the process of assigning power to an elite that tolerates the renaissance thought.

The requirements of democracy by Malek Bennabi are divided into subjective and objective conditions. "The sense of democracy" is constrained by certain conditions without which it is not achieved. These conditions are neither the work of nature nor the requirements of the natural order. On contrary to what romantic philosophy envisioned in the era of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, it is the epitome of a particular culture, the culmination of humanity movement, and a new report of human value: his self-esteem and his appreciation of others. "The democratic sense is the result of this movement over the centuries, as well as the result of the double appreciation of man value."¹.

The sense of democracy and conviction comes as an idea during complex and long processes, from upbringing to its entrenchment in the individual and society. The political reality that leads the society does not take place unless there is a change in the human self of the Muslim. "Allah does not change a people's lot unless they change what is in their hearts"².

The democratic idea must be established by man in himself, and applied it in his interactions and human relations with his surroundings to become a reality for him in society, followed by legal and regulatory framing. The success of the latter depends on the individual conviction. The proof is that Arab and Islamic countries have failed to consolidate democracy due to the increasing suffering of the individual and political institutions such as parties and associations. They often deal and discuss the concept of democracy while they are far from practicing it.

The success of Western societies in the exercise of democracy came after the explosion of democratic sentiment in the form of radical transformations in these societies. The latter was fulfilled through intellectual revolutions that changed the political systems responsible for reforms, given the means of influence they possess compared to other subsystems.

"Western democratic sense has begun to express itself, yet it has not eliminated the uncertainty inherent in the state of backwardness and emergence during the two great historical movements: the Reform Movement and the Renaissance movement. These two movements are the

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). **Reflections in Malek Bennabi's Book**, Complete Works, Volume 3, (1256-1400), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr, p 1298.

² - Ar-Rad Surah, verse (11).

first statement of the European man value in the field of soul and in the field of reason"¹.

With this quote, Malek Bennabi is absolutely opposed to take ready-made models, and to adapt them as a road map in the implementation of the reform, especially at the political level. The democratic system is not meant to be taken as a vertical step to bring it down on society, but values must be built from the base and rise to law-making that contribute to social and political interactions. The thinker Malek Bennabi says "The mistake we make is when we borrow from a certain country a ready democratic constitution, because in such situation we do not transfer from the borrowed constitutional texts all the psychological foundations and historical experience that dictated these texts in their birth country. We are working on a democratic project that has no basis in reality"².

From this proposition, it appears that most of the Arab Islamic elites made the mistake warned by the thinker, where they took ready models from the West. As did Algeria's intellectually pro-Western liberal elite, when it quoted most of its legal texts from the Constitutions of France, without a comprehensive assessment of the experiences that created this kind of democracy, which is radically different from the societal environment in Algeria. This has led the Algerian human being and all social structures to reject this kind of democracy, which does not respect the particularities and distinctions. Thus, a feeling that completely separates this elite from society has spread and the rift between the two parties has become deeply fractured. The transfer of constitutions is to bring ready-made templates that do not regulate the relationship in a deep and serious manner. - Authentic democracy - and the democratic feeling expressed in the "Islamic democratic soul carries in its essence the characteristic of holiness. History may show the influence of principles when some holiness is added to them"³. This kind of democratic value must be assessed by the Muslim individual himself and be convinced of it so that he can move it to a network of community interactions.

The issue of political empowerment must begin by avoiding what secular elites pro-Western societies have fallen into. It is enriched by democracy, but in fact it is devoid of any original values and well-established

¹ - Malek Bennabi, ibid, p 1298.

² - ibid,p1306.

³ - idem.

convictions. The elites that carry the renaissance ideology of Malek Bennabi will find themselves sharing the same concept with the current ruling elites. Dealing with the same concept with democracy makes individuals within these societies disengage from speech, under the pretext of repeating the same previous projects. That's why building true democratic values becomes the basis before marketing the general concept of democracy as a project, because it was consumed before. Democracy is not only a contract between the ruler and the ruled, it is the formation of feeling, rules of interactions and social values that are the foundations of democracy in individuals before the enactment of laws.

Malek Bennabi did not recognize the concept of democracy conclusively, nor did he oppose it at all. Rather, he dealt with the project in rational ways, where he takes the positives to be adapted in a manner compatible with human data in the Arab and Islamic communities. The purpose is to modify, develop and modernize the pattern of interactions in society, and to maintain its authenticity derived from the religious idea.

3. The issue of methodology and embodiment

Any reformed intellectual project must be subject to a systematic and rational scientific methodology to ensure the achievement of the goals set above. After the empowerment process in which the new elite dominates government, sub-projects are arranged in the form of new economic, political, cultural and social systems. These projects aim to alter structural and functional changes in society. Malek Bennabi's methodology in writing his project was based on the diagnosis of the problems that the society suffers from. Then, He extrapolated global experiences and historical events to determine later the therapeutic prescriptions of reality in its various directions. Thus, the major methodological phases in the embodiment of Malek Bennabi's project were based on the following:

a- Engineering a new social network: Man is the key to building a new society where it needs a network of organized interactions. This calls for guiding the interactive process within the community, which the thinker Malek Bennabi called "the network of social relations". He says: "history is made according to the influence of three social communities: the influence of the world of people, the influence of the world of ideas, the influence of the world of things."¹.

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). **The Birth of a Society in Malek Bennabi's Book**, Complete Works, Volume 3, (1538-1626), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr, p 1557.

These worlds are in a common format to produce for us an ideological approach, made up of a world of ideas and values. These ideas are embodied by the material means, represented in the world of things and defined in goals and objectives set by individuals, represented in the world of people. Historical work is an interactive process between the worlds in a format that has the specific links of the elite in its social divide. Historical work in this field means a renaissance project that leaves a significant impact and result. This project will not be possible unless the relational network is identified.

b. Redrafting the religious discourse: Malek Bennabi gives great importance to the religious idea because it is the sacred aspect that supports the binding aspect of work. Hence, the most important pillar that the elite is working to activate is to reformulate the concept of the idea, and to keep it away from the manifestations of social religiosity that has prevailed in society. Religion is suffering from individuals' dualism in dealing with it. Instead of applying its concepts and embodying it in the process of social control and the production of values, religion became inseparable from the manifestations of customs and abstract rituals that are devoid of the work content. The religious discourse also ignored the aspect of obligation and the development of mechanisms with the religious ideas in all the treatments. As a result, the principles of individuality and Western values dominate the conduct of individuals' lives in Muslim communities. The birth of civilization depends on "when a particular religious idea or a certain moral principle enters history"¹. The elimination of individual dualism in religiosity must be based on the syndrome of worship and behavior. The spiritual relationship between God and man (worship) is responsible for the spiritual relationships embodied between man and man (behavior). The stronger the religious relationships are, the less the social vacuum is.

c. Interest in social capital: Most Arab and Islamic countries are rentier countries (dependent on land revenues in their income), without activating technological industrial production. This characteristic distinguishes underdeveloped third world countries, as they live with fiscal surpluses that depend on consumption and import foreign products.

This dependency-based equation has ignored the process of investment in human capital. Arab and Islamic countries are importing cultural material products and building grassroots structures without possessing the

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). **Conditions of renaissance in Malek Bennabi's Book**, Complete Works, Volume 1, (386-507), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr, p 445.

technology that human beings create. Ignoring human development has made the Arab and Islamic environment encourage brain drain to western countries. Indeed, the western countries recognize the importance of these competencies to increase the development and well-being of their societies. From there, Malek Bennabi emphasizes man as a source of wealth for building nations and civilizations. Maybe money has mental preparations but it does not build the state as much as society does. Bennabi gives an example about the United States of America, stating that with its money it cannot buy New York City, but it can socially build or rebuild hundreds of cities like New York¹.

4. The issue of integration and support

After the process of empowerment under which power is taken over by a new elite that follows the renaissance notion of Malek Bennabi, and the beginning of the new authority to implement and embody its intellectual conviction in the ground, it comes the stage of follow-up, modification and evaluation of deviations. The apprehensions that result from unintended errors in implementation appear, or may be made by those who are hostile to the original reformism ideology derived from the Islamic environment.

The executors should not believe that the embodiment of Malek Bennabi's cultural project is easy, giving the western material invasion which Arab-Muslim societies suffer from. In addition to the increase in social diseases after the depart of individuals from the Islamic religious values described by the thinker. Malek Bennabi cited the Qur'anic verses in the belief that the Muslim man has tendencies and psychological depth directly linked to Islamic teachings, even if there are temptations that affect him.

There are basic elements that should not be ignored by those who oversee the implementation of the civilized thought of Malek Bennabi. Hence, the conduct and commitment of the official is doubly compared to the members of the society (the ruled). The official has no right to monopolize the governance, to oblige and to arbitrarily take his decisions. Rather, he must choose his cornerstone from the scholars and specialists in accordance with the content of the verse "and consult them on the matter"². Contemporary science is based on technology and its applications, and here it becomes necessary not only to pay attention to social and behavioral sciences, but also to take care of and invest in the technological and economic fields. This

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). The Muslim in the world of economics in Malek Bennabi's Book Complete Works, Volume 4, (2316-2401), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr, p 2371.

² - Al-Imran Surah, verse 159.

will not be possible without the development of competent specialists, who help to introduce successful external experiences, even if they are from Western civilization. The thinker Malek Bennabi did not antagonize external civilizations as much as he wanted to highlight the distinction that characterizes us. He has also quoted many material scientific aspects from successful Western countries in investment, planning and management. All these elements are based on the human element as the center piece in the process of producing civilization, along with other elements in the overall integrative vision. However, in exchange for this quote and taking advantage of the positive elements in other civilizations, it should not go beyond the transmission of abstract ideas and values. "Every ideological vacuum that is not occupied by our ideas is waiting for opposing and hostile ideas to us"¹.

This makes it very important to spread the element of competition and race with the colonial project that seek to regain control through economic dependence. Thus, renaissance can only be fulfilled through a radical change in ideas, and by raising awareness among individuals of the project importance and the apprehensions that beset it, especially from the western colonial powers. Moreover, Renaissance can only be established if ideas, values and words are transformed into concrete actions. These are the most important cornerstones of the Renaissance represented in the concept of work, and conforming to the texts of the Islamic religious idea, to say The Almighty "O you who have believed, why do you say what you do not do, Greatly hateful in the sight of Allah is that you say what you do not do"².

The concept of full effectiveness mentioned by the thinker Malek Bennabi within this stage represents the rationalization in the management of all kinds of human material resources. Rationalization express the reformulation of the material and human reality, within the framework of the new environment created to achieve progress and establish a new renaissance. The elements of the full effectiveness consisting of the human being must be in parallel with all the associated behaviors and treatments regarding the material in its natural sense.

Malek Bennabi cites an example of the full effectiveness in the rationalization process that has taken place in Germany's economy.

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017) **Major issues in Malek Bennabi's Book, Complete Works**, Volume 3, (1628-1741), Damascus, Dar al-Fikr, p 1738.

² - Assaf Surah, verses 2-3.

Germany changed its borders in the pre-World War II period. The "Schacht" plan targeted the construction of major industrial centers in new areas for the operation of raw materials supplies and transportation supplies due to strategic and technical reasons.¹

These are purely scientific technical procedures which should not be obstructed and fully under seen by religious concepts, because rationality does not contradict religion in scientific fields, but becomes a part of it even if we are fully committed to the provisions of theoretical Islamic jurisprudence.

5. The issue of protection and immunization

The elites of all kinds and terms mentioned by the thinker Malek Bennabi including men of thought, reformers, politicians, traditionalists and modernists share the protection and fortification of the reform project. Gaining power and enabling the rest of the elites by the political elite to embody the project is not enough, because the big concern is how to stay in the hierarchy of power and to maintain the project from deliberate deviation or failure by rival elites.

There are a set of elements that must be available at this stage, so that civilization's behaviors can be established, and avoid reference to previous patterns of structures and interactions. The objectives of this phase are:

- The final elimination of all those who have infected individuals and minds from backward habits and ways of thinking that are odd to the provisions of religion, i.e. the rationalization of life and the mobilization of elites in various disciplines of society. This is done through ensuring the application of the renaissance project and not ignoring the reasons of its failure, such as the negative behaviors that individuals used to for long periods of time before the beginning of the incarnation.

- To genuinely share a common collective act to reach a fine social life and to make community service a priority sought by all in order to achieve unity. The primacy of self-interest makes the individual grow on the idea of individuality and materialism, which is the negative value that makes humans empty of high values. This is what makes the religious elite or the religion men in a mission of guiding and constantly mobilizing the religious idea, because the spiritual vacuum deviates from the objectives of civilization, especially in the behavioral committees of individuals.

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). The Muslim in the world of economics in Malek Bennabi's Book Complete Works, Volume 4, op. cit, p 2358.

- Finding equilibrium in the new reality, which departs from previous backward behavioral manifestations and starts from a new life based on technological manifestations. As well as owning the means of civilization, and sticking to control it. This is what results the need for a new moral aspect that controls the manifestations of civilization and which Malek Bennabi thought seeks to reach. "In particular, there is a link between moral principle and taste of beauty, which is in fact an organic relationship of great social importance. It defines the character of the whole culture and the direction of civilization when placing this particular character on the way of life in society and on the behaviour of individuals in it".¹

- After stabilizing the renaissance projects internally at the State level, it begins at this stage in the formation of an economic and political civilized bloc among Islamic countries, away from experiences based on nationalism and imported external principles. Unity among Arab Muslim countries may create autonomy in decision-making as a result of the economic self-sufficiency achieved by the bloc. The Arab States have not been free from dependency for decades despite attempts, and it cannot be claimed that one of them is free from external influence.²

- Expanding, strengthening and organizing civil society in the form of associations by the selection in the areas of engagement according to the desires. The purpose is to frame, organize and support the society. Hence, the effectiveness of interpersonal activity in society comes only within organized groups.

- This phase depends on the continuing social mobilization of the reform project importance through all channels of communication in society, including media, political parties and all the means of communication that pro-Western elites can use to strike the renaissance project.

- Modifying the tactical media and political speech to explain the innovative reform strategy which aims to change the backward Islamic human reality. In addition to taking the direction of comprehensive reform on a solid intellectual and religious basis and mechanism in order to reach the level of civilization. This civilized project comes from an authentic environment, and the thinker is from an Islamic background and modern civilized

¹ - Bennabi, Malek. (2017). Conditions of renaissance in Malek Bennabi's Book, Complete Works, Volume 1, (386-507),op.cit, p467.

² - Abed al-Jabri, Mohammed. (2011). **Composition of the Arab Mind**, ed 11, Beirut, Center for The Study of Arab Unity, p 124.

orientation. The thinker Malek Bennabi wants to eliminate the manifestations of underdevelopment through a strong and solid approach that has a direct connection to science and to the Islamic religious idea. History is also linked to rational intellectual frameworks that are far from the manifestations of underdevelopment, and associated with modern human intellectual development. The thinker Malek Bennabi does not want through his project to eliminate the manifestations of material and rational civilization, as it is marketed in the media hostile to the trends of The Islamists.

Conclusion:

- The thinker Bennabi presented the project of civilization renaissance within a general framework after extrapolating the circumstances of the Arab and Islamic realities. Through this framework, he directs the elites who want to build an authentic civilization away from importing models. Although several decades have passed since the project was launched, its ideas are waiting to be embodied in the Arab and Islamic worlds.

- The thinker addressed all the dimensions of civilization surrounding man which is the main axis of the project along with the factors of earth and time. These interactive elements must be healed through the religious idea, which is the factor of correlation between the three elements, defined by moral and aesthetic values that govern individuals and guide their social interactions.

- The thinker assigned the responsibility of supervising the application of his intellectual project to the various elites, each elite within its specialty: the economic elite, the religious elite, the political elite and the social elite. The elites are responsible for correcting imbalances and deviations in the worlds of people, ideas and things, and responsible for intellectual renewal in Arab and Muslim societies.

- The current reality indicates that there is an urgent need in Arab and Muslim societies for civilizational launch. This renaissance will only be achieved through the adoption of Malek Bennabi's intellectual project by a strong intellectual elite, which needs to be embodied as it is an integrated framework of ideas. In practice: the first phase is the conviction and adoption of the project by a new political elite in the form of a new intellectual stream, which does not belong to the current party system and has never been involved in cases of corruption or abuse of society, or has western tendencies. This elite within communities is renowned for having a renovation project. It explains in thoughtful ways the most important

features of the cultural project including the new concept of self-culture, identity, economy, political system, social interactions and religious belief in order to gain momentum at the community level. The purpose is to accept the project in different environments and streams, and to forbid its adoption by a narrow group, or being monopolized by personalities affiliated within a political rejected social party. Malek Bennabi's intellectual project focuses on building new societies and to include building nations according to the regenerative concept. The project is not a competitive political stream within the same political process or the same current social network.

- The political empowerment of the elite who is convinced of Malek Bennabi's civilizational launch project is the key to enabling other elites in all their disciplines to communicate and implement the project. It would be useful to use political means to gain power. It is not possible to stay away from the practice of politics by the means available, and wait for it to be received without working in addition to the reluctance applied by the renaissance elites. Furthermore, it is necessary to enter the political process through public mobilization and the search for power. It is required as well not to argue for the lack of transparency of the mechanisms adopted in the governance administration and power establishment. If Malek Bennabi was fighting against the colonizer and struggling for the reform and renaissance of society, it is incumbent upon the elites who believe in his idea to struggle to embody his idea, and to use the mechanisms available in a pragmatic way to achieve the goal which is the civilizational cessation.

- After the empowerment process, there is a set of policies, structural changes and interactive functionality which the new elite must directly apply. Hence we expect that there are many obstacles to the failure of the project, which will be by the western elites against authenticity. There will be also a support from western countries for the proxy elites that they represent internally, because the emergence of a rival project in a large number of Arab and Islamic countries will be viewed as a direct threat to the current and only civilized model. All of these countries will evade from the policy of civilizational containment adopted by Western civilization.

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- Ar-Rad Surah, verse (11).
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