

Development of civil society

تنمية المجتمع المدني

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الملخص:

يعتبر "المجتمع المدني" عاملاً مهماً في عملية التنمية السياسية باعتباره المجال الحيوي الذي يمارس فيه الأفراد والجماعات إرادتهم ونشاطاتهم الثقافية والسياسية والاقتصادية، إضافة إلى أنه الفضاء الحيوي المثالي لممارسة كل حقوق المواطنة والمشاركة الفعلية في صنع الحاضر، ورعاية الإرادة العامة وتطلعاتها المستقبلية للانخراط في مشروع الحضارة العامة. لا تُشكل الديمقراطية نظاماً يمثل مصالح المجموعات الصغيرة التي تتجاوز مصالح الجمهورية الميمنة في مجتمعاتها المدنية، علاوة على ذلك العديد من الأحزاب الليبرالية والاجتماعية والإسلامية على الرغم من قناعاتها وأطروحاتها المختلفة، حتى موقفها من تقاسم السلطة أو معارضتها، فهي تتعاون (سواء كان ذلك أو بدون غرض) مع الطغيان، وهذا لا يمثل نقصاً في التفكير الجاد وروح المسؤولية الفكرية والسياسية لهذه السلطة فقط، ولكن الأمر أكثر من ذلك، فهو يُبين نوع من التفكير السطحي والاستهلاكي، الذي يريد تبني شعار الديمقراطية ظرفياً فقط، مما يجعله أضعفًا وهشاً وغير مؤكد وانتشاراً محدوداً.

الكلمات الافتتاحية: التنمية؛ المجتمع؛ المدني؛ الديمقراطية؛ السلطة؛ المعارضة.

Abstract :

"Civil society" is an important factor in the process of political development as a vital area in which individuals and groups exercise their will and their cultural, political and economic activities. In addition, it's the ideal dynamic space for practicing all rights of citizenship and active participation in the waking of the present and the care of the public will and its future aspirations to engage in the project of general civilization.

Democracy doesn't give birth to a system representing small groups interests that go beyond the republic interests shown on their civil communities, moreover to that many liberal, social and Islamic parties although their different convictions and thesis, even their position between sharing or opposing authority, it is cooperating (on or without) purpose with tyranny and this doesn't represent a lack of serious thinking and the spirit of intellectual and political responsibility just for this authority, but more than that about superficial type and consumerism to the current adoption of the democratic slogan, which makes it a weak-rooted, fragile, uncertain horizon and limited deployment.

keywords: development ; community; Civil; Democracy; Authority; The opposition.

1-Introduction:

Civil society is an important factor in the process of political development as a vital area in which individuals and groups exercise their will and their cultural, political and economic activities. In

addition, it's the ideal dynamic space for practicing all rights of citizenship and active participation in the waking of the present and the care of the public will and its future aspirations to engage in the project of general civilization.

"Civil society" in Europe began to be discussed since the era of light when this idea entered political philosophy as an expression of the existence of society as another pole alongside the policy pole, and that Conflict within the theory of "natural right" and then "the social contract" the idea that emerged the state is based on the contract, until it crystallized as a theory of primacy of society over the state and the ability of society to ongoing itself outside the state and even considered it the source of the legitimacy and control of the state.

In the context of "social contract" theory the concept of "civil society" crystallized in its political terminology.so it becomes synonymous with institutional political society in parallel with the growth of capitalist society and the development of its institutions, it was assigned the task of drafting new charters.

But it is characterized by special nature in the Arab state due to several factors including the historical related the emergence of Arab countries, which were mostly under colonization.

To what extent can we say that civil society is in need of overcoming obstacles which limits its development on the one hand and its contribution to the development project which the Arab state is betting on at all levels?

2- The importance of the study:

Philosophers of social contract and civil society:

Before analyzing the above problematic, we've to briefly address the historical concept that has known many developments at the level of formulation and perception within western political thought especially during the seventieth and eightieth centuries.

The idea of contracting emerged explicitly when conflict intensified between the empire and the papal church in the reign of pope **Gregor VII** who fought a bitter struggle with Emperor Henry IV until he defeated him.

There were several priestly laws under the so-called Gregorian reform, which states that as long as the power of kings derives from the people, while the authority of the pope is derived from God ,it's more honorable and supreme hence.

the political ruler has a temporal and not absolute power, (104، 2005، م، الجابري،) "The idea of contract here seems to be an employment for the parish against the king by mediating a third party ,the church".

Hower, **Thomas Aquinas** (1225-1275) created a new vision of "Temporal and spiritual" party, he determined that the power of the ruler and the state is not derived from what is heavenly but it's due to natural laws.

And what legitimizes the ruling of the ruler is the extent to which he agrees with natural laws, with reason. Because the mind is not something other than to understand the reasons, says Aristotle. This chapter which Thomas established between the state and the church in the 13th century can be considered the beginning of what will be known in modern times as secularism.

The first features of the social contract and civil society will be presented with "**Thomas Hobbes**" (1588-1679) who differed scholars about his political philosophy, where some saw the view of absolute property and another team saw the legislator of the revolution and the rebellion, and a team called for understanding within the frame work of scientific thinking.

The contract formulated by Hobbes is not the kind of government contract between the ruler and the parish, but rather the kind of holding the meeting, although it was aimed at subjugating the church to the state.

Hobbes (77، 1998، ع، (بشارة، ع، "didn't consider the governor as a party to the contract after the individuals' pledges to waive their rights to power, but it gives the people the right of revolution and rebellion".

John Lock (1632-1704) refuses to be a state of nature is a state of aggression, war and chaos as Hobbes saw it. But it's a state of freedom and good living, he also (189، 1959، ج، (لوك، ج، "rejects the idea of absolute property because civil society is independent of the church, it didn't arise in its own context", He also returns the origin of the judgment to people's choice. Unlike Hobbes, he places the governor as an important party in the contract and he gives the people the full right to resist his tyranny because the people are the ones who set him up.

The concept of "social contract" has been defined in its final form with **John Jack Rousseau** (1712-1778) which considered that the sole legitimate authority was based on a contract concluded between the contracting parties, the people are the source of power and sovereignty and the state is only the embodiment of public administration. Rousseau's ideas played an active role in the French revolution, he also turned his perception of the social contract into a constitutional text known as "The declaration of human rights and citizen" issued by the French constituent assembly in 1789, which brought back rehabilitation to the individual and civil society.

Modern political philosophy has benefited clearly from the history of the idea. **Hegel** believes that (185، 1975، ج م، (بيوتي، ج م، "civil society represents the social and the moral space between the family and the state".

Marks believes that civil society expresses the level of development of economic relations in infrastructure, but **Antonio Gramsci** describes it as super structure, it is also a political field within which different ideologies are formed.

Alexy Tocqueville linked his concept of civil society to political and intellectual freedom and the right of citizenship to associations and clubs as civil society actors playing roles in democratic development.

Besant on this brief over view of the historical concept, the term civil society has been used to express the politically organized society with civic institutions that contribute to state institutions in the overall development project. Through the performance of duties and to enjoy all political, social and cultural rights.

- **The problematic of "concept" in contemporary Arab thought and Development barriers:**

The first thing is raised in contemporary Arab thought on "civil society" is a problematic concept, the concept has arisen in the west and was more closely associated with the development of European society in the 18th and 19th centuries when the industrial society replaced the agricultural society after the emergence of companies, unions and associations. All this was the result of number of scientific social and political revolutions. This paradigm shift gave rise to a modern vision of the issues of thought, society and civilization.

If civil society is born of special conditions experienced by the western state and these conditions are not repeated in any other place, is it not really hard to talk about it with the same conceptual connotations and the same scientific reality in the Arab state?

The nature of emergence of the Arab state didn't allow for the creation of conducive climate to the development of civil society, Digits its(18، 1987، ع، (أومليل، "attempts to modernize traditional society the state has occupied the center and removed all political initiatives".

Thought Arabic systems tried hardly to realize national missions thought their support for development and economic projects and their care for the cultural and religious associations , also the opening of professional, geographical and social mobility aspiration in front of all categories of people, all these projects didn't fit people's aspiration , and didn't achieve the hope of renaissance and progress. The reason is back in the first degree to the nature of these systems. as mostly all Arab countries didn't gain their independence until the beginning of the 20th century, these who ruled after, under the revolutionary legitimacy and the martyrs' blood, they are still sitting on the power even though they inherited too many colonial policies with their bureaucratically and administrative mentality and their repressive police force.

In addition to that, what the colonizer left behind in its colonies, spreading misery and exhausting their wealth and cultural heritage.

Moreover, it left also its print on the rulers who inherited its political culture and administrative, which led automatically their society to their political and military institutions, when they tried hard to build it then to contain it, and this is one of the authority's systems as John Keneth G explained it in his book "authority surgery".

The aim from the policy of building such society (as a state) would limit the opposition's political dangers, but in turn it " (179 .2005. م، الجابري)excludes a very important entity in the process of development and updating, the role of the civil society faded and its political, social and cultural functions decayed", This probably result in the failure of the national state in realizing the self-independence in all fields which may ends in a total dependency, losing control, (organized violence).

Beside the political tyranny that has existed in the Arab states, the religious tyranny has been developed, keeping on its saying in which they believe giving too much holiness to their scholar's jurisprudence refusing any disagreement although the history of the fiqh and Islamic doctrine had known too many differences as a result of the different stories. Even in the period of **Mohamed** (the prophet) which witnessed many doctrinal tests ex: "Cheddaid" **Ibn omar**, "Rokhas" **Ibn Abbes**, "Dhahiriati" **Ibn Hazem**, **Ibadi** and more jurisprudence that gave birth to the four **Fiqh** schools (the four Madhehabs).But the inadequate consideration and the religious intolerance and the misunderstanding of survivor's team talk, through the revival of traditional culture concerning creed and faith, it has dispersed society into groups and tribes approving its effects in our mosques even in our families, where piousness becomes a phenomenon that needs study as all social phenomenon.

If the civil society is in an urgent need to religion that spiritual entity which would gather all members in a complete unite despite the differences in groups and members beliefs, that why we should set a positive cultural and religious development against intolerance, violence and exclusion of the others and accepting coexistence , difference and dialogue.

The third obstacle is the clan tyranny, the Arab society consists mainly from tribes and clans, however (28 إلى 3 من 5-، 1993، م، الجابري) "the important role played by the tribe in facing the occupation, and preserving the local identity, the tendency towards sectarianism and clan intolerance after the independence disabled all attempts to activate the civil society which is set up on their members free will far away from tribalism loyalties and sectarianism customs which became the only engine for political scenes in Arab countries", but the calcination of such traditional duns and its grunt in the sociological consciousness and sub consciousness made it difficult to fuse in a civil society based on the Principle of public citizenship.

Even if you change the shape of those old structures(duns) from its composition and function in the age of globalization, but it's being reproduced in a distorted way according to circumstantial requirements related to political stakes by the state agencies to be harnessed within regional conflicts on the one hand and to contain civil society on the other hand, there is no doubt that this coalition between a power that lacks political legitimacy in its new sense and a distorted coupling is a clear indication of the fragility of Arab political culture.

- **Political modernity and democracy:**

The most important feature of many development project should be successful is inclusiveness, the economic development alone is not enough if the sociocultural conditions are different, and democracy alone is not enough without economic development and social balance and cultural awareness, that is a project where all levels are linked organically thus it's unsustainable on a fragmentary base, and talking about the nature of banding and overlap between these levels is not just a purely theoretical representation as long as it consists of objective relationship on a material level.

The questions of renaissance and reform that have occupied the Arab elites in the last two centuries, included the question of development in one way or another, but إلى 118 من 125، 1995، ص، (العظم، 137 "the nature of the historical phase was imposed in each period of one problem around one level of the Arab nation reality", then the question of political and religious tyranny prevailed in the 19th century, and which was just a question about ways of political development , and asking question about free national development and national unity in the 1950's, then the question of political modernity and democracy since the 1980's.

But today and because of the theoretical accumulation of previous approaches in different sectors and field, such as in different times and dates, therefore the question of Arab development became more mature and open in a time of globalization and a society of knowledge that integrates all the other technical, economic, political and social levels.

It is therefore not possible to think of the actual modernity of civil Arab societies from the point of view that exclude social dynamics and don't start from the actual socio-political reality, because it's about seeing how the transformations are actually going on, and what are the possible possibilities of evolution in this or that direction? What is the nature of the acting forces and the dormant one? What is the nature of competing interests? Then what are the open horizons for each of them to determine opportunities and to achieve them?

Because of the scientific analyses of Arab societies positions in geo-political maps that resulted from (173، 1995، ب، غليون،) "the strategic transformation of international and regional relations ,

that is considered as an important base for every developing project betting on activating the civil institutions and their individual capital and returning them to the site of political act".

- **Conclusion:**

the most important political act in the development of the civil society in its different levels, cultural, scientific, economic and political, is to undermine the foundations of the rented state in which the power elite has independent resources that enable him to grow off the civil community and its energies , where oil is considered the most important resource of economic resources for most Arab countries after the setting of the biggest rented wealth after the independence, and no matter how it's exported , the policies of those countries have failed to invest in other sectors such as local industries and agriculture, which led to bad consequences on communities and individuals activities, and interrupted the rational development of institutions and objectivity of general value systems, this situation in turn contributed in the emergence of a kind of compulsive coexistence between the two sides, an authority that deals well with the logic of client ability and a society with its part of rent in exchange of giving up its political rights.

And in front of such reality it is not possible to create just deformed civil culture based on contempt for work and control of consumerism and lack of the spirit of rational investment and betting on authoritarian kinship as well as negative behavior ,then investing in civil community alone can freed the nation from such bad cultures and helps in the reconstruction of its value system and drive the economic development towards realizing what's called as the economic balance then sufficiency.

And in parallel with the need to engage in a project of political modernity, intellectual and political interest in the issue of democracy(87، 1995، و، كوثراني، "is growing in the Arab world with the beginning of the third millennium, that was due to the nature of the settled systems in governance since decades, where the feeling of the lack of democracy has been set in elites with their different national and Islamic folds", That was the most important factor in crippling developing project in varied sectors, where democracy is not just a political idea and a mechanism for political organization, but it turned to a dream with a magic key to the independent developing projects and social justice and a major historical factor to resurrection of urban projects.

The aim of democracy from this side is not purely political through organizing a process to express the balanced power in the field of politics in a form of a game between the authority and opposition or between majority and minority, and then dilute the winner of the electoral contest with legitimate right in directing the authority of the state according to special strategies , but the objective is to establish a modern political culture through which the power of the community and the civil society will be organized.

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