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Institute for Muslim Unity.



At the heart of Bennabi's philosophical framework lies a spirited and profound intellectual expedition anchored on the drive for civilisational renewal. His insights into these core themes are as timeless as they are transformative.

Dato' Sri Anwar Ibrahim Prime Minister of Malaysia

This is a monumental work on an eminent Muslim intellectual whose achievements are both remarkable and multifaceted. Professor El-Mesawi translated the rich legacy of Bennabi in its totality into English, thereby facilitating access for those who would otherwise be unable to access it in either Arabic or French. Moreover, El-Mesawi's selection of topics, critical notes and bibliography are of great value for those seeking a comprehensive understanding of Bennabi's intellectual corpus.

Ibrahim Mohamed Zein

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This translation is welcome for several reasons. Briefly, it would enable many more English-speaking readers in many parts of the world who could neither read Arabic nor French to have the opportunity to read it and thus to be better acquainted with the ideas and thoughts of Bennabi and their historical contexts.

Professor Emeritus Datuk Dr Osman Bakar Rector, International Islamic University Malaysia, IIUM

^{*} The watermark picture features Malik Bennabi and Nelson Mandela with a group of mujāhidīn of the Algerian revolution.



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A Muslim Visionary in the Whirlwind of Colonial Modernity MALIK BENNABI RH ADER

This book represents an attempt to provide a comprehensive translation of Malik Bennabi's intellectual work, with the objective of introducing the reader to the seven central themes that occupied Bennabi's mind throughout his career as a thinker and writer. The first volume of the book covers four of those themes, namely metaphysics and religion, society, culture, and civilisation.

A MALIK BENNABI READER

A Muslim Visionary in the Whirlwind of Colonial Modernity

Foreword by **Anwar Ibrahim**

Preface by Osman Bakar

Translated, annotated and with introduction by

Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi

Volume One









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> Foreword by Anwar Ibrahim

Preface by Osman Bakar

Afterword by Ahmad Totonji & Dawood Al-Hidabi



International Institute of Islamic Thought, Washington



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I have seen that whoever writes a book one day says the next day: If this had been changed, it would have been better. And if this had been added, it would have been better. And if this had been said earlier, it would have been better. And if this had been left out, it would have been nicer. Here is one of the greatest lessons, and it is proof that imperfection is the lot of mankind.

al-qāḍī al-fāḍil 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Bīsānī (526-596H/1131-1200AD)

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Foreword

On the grand canvas of knowledge, scholars, academicians, scientists, and even intellectuals today are compelled to specialise in ever greater detail. They paint with finer brushes, detailing smaller corners with greater precision. A striking illustration of this is how the World Health Organisation's international classification of diseases now distinguishes over 17,000 types of injuries, diseases and causes of death—ways the body could fail that are far beyond the capacity of any single physician to comprehend. Notwithstanding ChatGPT and its ever-evolving versions as well as rivals such as Gemini, we have indeed come a long way since Ibn Sīnā compiled *al-Qānūn fī al-Ṭibb* (*The Canon of Medicine*) in 1025, all the while producing insightful expositions on the physical sciences, Islamic theology and philosophy, with no paucity of creative energy to write works of poetry. Now, taking Ibn Sīnā as being emblematic of the pinnacle of the Islamic Golden Age, one might naturally surmise that the era of the Muslim polymath concluded with the end of that age in the fourteenth century CE.

And yet, during the twentieth century, in what was arguably one of the most wrenchingly difficult periods for the Muslim world, there emerged Malik Bennabi, a polymath who has been compared with the likes of the great Ibn Khaldūn. Bennabi's work spanned a vast spectrum of subjects, ranging from theology and sociology to international relations and economics. The pages that follow provide a panoramic view of Bennabi's towering intellectual landscape, offering insight into a mind that refused to be circumscribed by the boundaries of any single discipline.

At the heart of Bennabi's philosophical framework lies a spirited and profound intellectual expedition anchored on the drive for civilisational renewal. His insights into these core themes are as timeless as they are transformative. In his estimation, civilisational progress should not be pigeonholed into material advancement, while the imperative for moral, spiritual and intellectual well-being should be paramount. *Qiyam* or values, therefore, represent a cornerstone of Bennabi's philosophy. In his eyes, values are not relics of the past but the bedrock upon which future progress, in the all-inclusive sense, should be built.

Bennabi saw the fate of civilisations as being ultimately tied to the cultivation of the individual, with culture forming a crucial pathway. In his seminal work *The Conditions of Renaissance (Les Conditions de la Renaissance)* published in 1949, Bennabi wrote: "The total sum of ethical characteristics and social values attained by the individual since his birth, as a primary resource within the environment in which he was born, culture is the living environment and milieu in which man acquires and formulates his habits and personality." In this view, culture plays a fundamental role in shaping the individual, and it is within the cultural milieu that the revitalisation of a civilisation finds its true foundation. Such a primacy being ascribed to culture recalls Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*, where culture is defined as "the study of perfection", demanding the necessity to educate and humanise "the State," being the true organ and repository of the nation's collective "best self."

Essentially, any critique of Bennabi's thoughts on civilisation will amount to naught sans his expostulations on <code>iṣlāḥ</code> and <code>tajdīd</code>. While one should not be bogged down on the semantic equivalents—whether it be revitalisation and renewal or reform and innovation, or near cognates such as <code>nahḍah</code> and <code>ṣaḥwah</code>, etc.—Bennabi's approach towards <code>iṣlāḥ</code> and <code>tajdīd</code> is fundamentally philosophical. For some, therefore, his perspectives may seem too abstract to be of much use in the rough and tumble of policy and politics. But here's the rub: for failure to grasp his overarching civilisational calling would tend to lead to the perception that Bennabi was obsessively focused on intellectual renewal at the expense of more practical and mundane aspects of legal, economic and political reform.

Yet, I believe that it is essential that we occasionally take a step back and look at our endeavours through more ecumenical lens. Far from being dismissive of practical matters, Bennabi's points of emphasis are clearly indicative of a recognition that while the foundation of any lasting transformation lies in the realm of ideas and values, thoughts no matter how

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lofty will remain fleeting and intangible without action. For example, in the tumultuous arena of governance, ideals must be translated into reality without, however, sacrificing long-term goals on the altar of short-term solutions. In this regard, Bennabi's philosophical approach challenges us to consider the enduring principles that should guide our actions and policies, rather than resort to band-aid solutions or quick fixes.

Another notable aspect of Bennabi's work deserving of emulation is his commitment to balance in his approaches. Unlike secular reformers, he firmly anchored his reform concepts within the framework of Islamic principles, refraining from endorsing any departure from religion. Instead, he advocated a nuanced stance that embraced the core of Islamic spirituality while promoting the practice of ijtihād, which of course is much more than the simplistic rendering of "independent reasoning," as some would have it. Here, one recalls Iqbal's ascription of *ijtihād* as "the exertion with a view to forming an independent judgement, in opposition to rigidity and stagnation, while remaining firmly entrenched on the Qur'an and the Sunnah," an approach followed through by the likes of Yusuf al-Qaradawi and Taha Jabir al-Alwani. In a similar vein, Bennabi's assessment of the stagnation afflicting Muslim societies would necessarily warrant a hard-nosed refusal to succumb to the tempting but one-sided approach of attributing blame solely to external forces. Instead, he fearlessly drew attention to the internal factors contributing to the challenges faced by Islamic societies.

As we delve into *Bennabi Reader*, we are confronted with the relevance of his ideas to contemporary challenges. While his writings may be several decades old, they have nevertheless not only withstood the test of time but continue to provoke, even harangue, us to provide the answers to the complexities of our time and seek solutions firmly rooted in our spiritual and intellectual heritage. On a personal note, I have been an ardent student of Bennabi since my ABIM days and continue to discover new bezels of wisdom and pragmatism in his works. *A Bennabi Reader* is undoubtedly a showcase of exceptional scholarship, and kudos must go to Professor Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi for his monumental endeavour in translating and annotating Bennabi's works.

Dato' Sri Anwar Ibrahim

Prime Minister of Malaysia January 2024

Preface

This two-volume work is a collection of selected book chapters and articles written by Malik Bennabi (1905-1973), a twentieth-century Arab-Muslim thinker who hailed from Algeria. These essays were originally written in French and most of them were translated into Arabic, the former being the official language of colonial Algeria during which period Bennabi lived most of his life. His French education explains his prolific literary output in the language, which next to English has become the most popular European literary language of Westernised and modern educated Muslims. Dr Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi, a fellow professor at the International Islamic University Malaysia, who is the translator and editor of this work, is to be congratulated for undertaking the laborious task of not only translating into English but also collecting and selecting the essays for the purpose of translation at hand. This work is especially significant because it represents the first English translation of most of the essays in question. According to the translator-editor, no other English translation of Bennabi's works undertaken on such a comprehensive character has previously appeared in print.

This translation is welcome for several reasons. To begin with, it would enable many more English-speaking readers in many parts of the world who could neither read Arabic nor French to have the opportunity to read it and thus to be better acquainted with the ideas and thoughts of Bennabi and their historical contexts. Bennabi was a product of the twentieth century, which arguably has proved to be the most impactful century on humanity, especially on the global Islamic community (*ummah*) to which he proudly belongs. He is still a relatively unknown figure outside his native country Algeria and other countries of the Middle East, even among Muslims when

compared to many other Muslim scholars and thinkers of the last century. But two of his writings that were rendered into English decades ago have caught the attention of many people, Muslims as well as non-Muslims. I am referring to his *Islam in History and Society* translated from French (*Vocation de l'Islam*)¹ by Asma Rashid, a Pakistani scholar,² and his better-known *The Qur'anic Phenomenon* that was also originally written in French (*Le Phénomène Coranique*). The latter book has two English renderings, one by Abu Bilal Kirkary³ and the other by Dr El-Mesawi himself.⁴ The two books received a favourable response from many readers, including me. They showed Bennabi as having a fresh approach to the discussion of Islam and modern world problems that is especially appealing to young Muslim readers.

Bennabi's book Islam in History and Society brought back good memories of my first encounter with Dr El-Mesawi. The year was 1991. I was then an Associate Professor and a Deputy Dean at the Faculty of Science, University of Malaya. On September 1-4, 1991, the University's Institute of Advanced Studies hosted "The International Seminar on Malik Bennabi" which it co-organised with the think-tank, Institute for Policy Studies (IKD) that was closely linked to the then Malaysian Minister of Finance, Dato' Seri Anwar who less than two years later became Deputy Prime Minister. The seminar turned out to be a historic event. It was the first international conference in the Muslim world to focus on the thought of Bennabi.⁵ Several prominent scholars spoke at the Seminar, including Abdullah Oman Nasif, Abd al-Sabour Sahin, Asma Rashid, Zafar Ishaq Ansari, Mohd Kamal Hassan, and Ammar Talbi, an Algerian intellectual and university professor, who had worked with Bennabi was unable to attend the Seminar, but his paper was read by Abdul Rahman Doi (IIUM). Dato' Seri Anwar delivered the keynote address and officiated the Seminar. Indeed, the Seminar was a historic gathering of prominent Muslim scholars and public figures from various parts of the world to honour the scholarship of Bennabi. This Seminar helped disseminate and popularise his creative thought to a wider audience.

I have heard Dr El-Mesawi several times reminding others of the great historical significance of the 1991 Seminar. Naturally, I am very pleased to be told about this fact because I was personally involved with the Seminar not only as a host and as a member of the Organising Committee, but also as a speaker. The paper I presented was titled "Malik Bennabi's Philosophy

of Science." It was at this Seminar that I first met El-Mesawi who was one of its invited speakers. The title of his paper was "Malik Bennabi's Contribution to Islamic Social Theory." He was then an MA student doing research on Bennabi at the International Islamic University Malaysia, then located in Petaling Jaya. Ever since that time, I have seen him passionately researching and writing on various aspects of Bennabi's life and thought. Today, I see him as a leading world scholar of Bennabi. The present work is a clear testimony to his scholarship on this important intellectual figure of twentieth-century Islam.

In conjunction with the Seminar, the first Malaysian edition of *Islam in History and Society* was published.⁶ This edition carried an appreciative foreword by Anwar Ibrahim. A Malay rendering of this edition of the book was also published at the same time.⁷ It was after I got a copy of Bennabi's *Islam in History and Society* not long before the Seminar that I decided to write a paper for presentation at the Seminar. Its title "Malik Bennabi's Philosophy of Science" was in line with my official area of specialisation at the University of Malaya. Prior to the Seminar I had taught philosophy of science at University of Malaya for fourteen years since 1977. Before that I taught the same subject for a period of five years at the National University of Malaysia (UKM).

Before reading Bennabi's Islam in History and Society his only book that I had read and had done so with thoroughness many years earlier was The Qur'anic Phenomenon. I bought a copy of Kirkary's translation of the work (1983) in the United States when I was a doctoral student at Temple University, Philadelphia in the early 1980s. El-Mesawi's translation appeared many years later. By itself, The Qur'anic Phenomenon would not be sufficient to serve as a source of ideas for a seminar paper on Bennabi's philosophy of science. But I was quite encouraged when a copy of his Islam and History and Society, which is widely regarded as Bennabi's most important work, came into my hand. After reading it, I was satisfied that the two books taken together as sources of reference would furnish me with enough materials to write a seminar paper on an introduction to his philosopher of science. Now that I have read this two-volume work that covers a wide range of civilisational issues, many of which with implications for history and philosophy of science, I feel I am in a better position to write a new article on Bennabi's philosophy of science that will do fuller justice to this great thinker.

It would be a welcome development in the contemporary study of

twentieth-century Muslim thought if more people were to read the writings of Bennabi. Academically trained in the engineering sciences, this scientist-turned philosopher is an important intellectual figure to be closely studied. His perceptive thoughts on many philosophical and socio-cultural issues facing modern and traditional civilisations invite an at once critical and sympathetic response especially from present-day students of Islam and its civilisation. Based on what I have read thus far of his writings, I have no hesitation in considering him as an enlightened Muslim thinker and scholar of the twentieth century.

When Dr El-Mesawi invited me to write a preface to this work I gladly accepted the invitation, especially after seeing the impressive chapter content in both volumes that count in total as many as eighty-six titles. These chapters provide discussions of critical issues that have engaged the modern mind for so long in practically every major branch of knowledge. In volume one of this work, the issues treated include revelation, prophethood and the prophetic movement, phenomenological characteristics of the Qur'an, Qur'anic lights on the origin of monotheism, the roots and history of social relations, social wealth, social relations and psychology, a psychological analysis of culture, a psychological synthesis of culture, coexistence of cultures, the role of religion in the formation of civilisation, and defending the intellectual capital. In volume two of this work the issues include democracy in Islam, anti-Islam, which was the twentieth century anticipation of contemporary Islamophobia, the dictates of intercultural dialogue, the civilisational foundations of economics, spirituality and socioeconomics, Orientalism and Occidentalism, the chaos of both the Muslim and Western worlds, colonisation and colonisability, and the metaphysical foundation of Islamic humanism. In the conclusion of the two volumes Dr El-Mesawi provides a translation of Bennabi's Last Will and Testament.

The contents of the two volumes clearly show that Bennabi's alert mind was fully engaged with all the major issues confronting twentieth-century humanity. He was equally concerned with issues of the global Muslim *ummah* and humanity at large. In dealing with issues of the whole humanity he always had in mind what the Qur'an could offer them from its divine treasures. To appreciate Bennabi's lifelong intellectual concerns it is necessary to understand the historical context in which he lived. His life spanned the first three quarters of the twentieth century. During this period, he witnessed such impactful events as the two World Wars, the rise and

spread of Communism that were to ignite political revolutions in many parts of the Arab-Muslim world, the anti-colonial movement, the rise of pan-Islamism in the Muslim world, the Arab-Israeli Six-Day War, and the burning of the Al-Aqsa Mosque that led to the formation of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC). In this work Bennabi shared with us his insightful reflections on numerous facets of these world issues that are worthy of our close attention and critical evaluation.

Additionally, Bennabi needs to be understood in the context of the intellectual tradition that he inherited, which was the Arab-Islamic tradition. His thought was partly shaped by that tradition, but he also wanted to renew it in the light of the conditions of human civilisation prevailing in the first three quarters of the twentieth century. This much is clear to us when we see that his ideas betray a significant influence of Ibn Khaldūn (1332-1406), a founder of the science of civilisation, who hailed from the same North African region, and at the same time show innovation in his conceptualisation of civilisation. Bennabi's ideas on civilisation deserve a special study, especially when considering that his Western contemporary, Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), was also immersed in a civilisational study that likewise acknowledges a great debt to Ibn Khaldūn's scholarship.⁸

In conclusion, I would like once again to congratulate Dr Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi for producing this fine work which is a significant contribution to the legacy of Muslim thought in the twentieth century. May Allah grant him a long and healthy life so that he may continue to make meaningful scholarly contributions to the advancement of Islamic thought *Wabi'Llāh al-tawfīq wa'l-hidāyah*, *wa-bihi nasta'īn*.

Professor Emeritus Datuk Dr Osman Bakar

Rector, International Islamic University Malaysia, IIUM 25 October 2024/22 Rabiul Akhir 1446

Notes

¹ Originally written in 1949 the book was published in 1954 on the eve of the Algerian Revolution.

² The work was first rendered into English by Asma Rashid in 1979 and the translation was completed over a period of several years. The translations were published in instalments in

the well-known Pakistani journal *Islamic Studies* beginning with the publication of the translation of the book's Introduction and Chapter One in the vol. 18, no. 1 (1979) issue of the journal. The last instalment (translation of chapters 5 and 6 of the book) was published in the journal's vol. 24, no. 4 (1985). The series of translations was later published as a book. See Malek Bennabi, *Islam in History and Society*, trans. and annotated, Asma Rashed (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute Press, 1988).

- ³ See Malik Bennabi, *The Qur'anic Phenomenon*, trans., Abu Bilal Kirkary (London: International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations, IIFSO, 1983).
- ⁴ See Malik Bennabi, *The Qur'anic Phenomenon: An Essay of a Theory on the Qur'an*, translated, annotated and with an introduction by Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi (Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2004).
- ⁵ For a comprehensive report of the Conference, see Fawzia Bariun, "The International Seminar on Malik Bennabi, 1-4 September 1991," *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences*, vol. 8, no. 3 (1991), pp. 563-567. Fawzia Bariun was one of the speakers at the Seminar.
- ⁶ See Malik Bennabi, *Islam in History and Society*, trans. Asma Rashid and preface by Anwar Ibrahim (Kuala Lumpur: Berita Publishing, 1991).
- ⁷ See Malik Bennabi, *Islam Dalam Sejarah dan Masyarakat* (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1991).
- ⁸ On the contributions of Ibn Khaldūn and others—al-Fārābī (870-950), Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975), and Samuel Huntington—to the science of civilisation, see Osman Bakar, "Towards a new science of civilization: A synthetic study of the philosophical views of al-Fārābī, Ibn Khaldūn, Arnold Toynbee, and Samuel Huntington,' *Synthesis Philosophica*, 62 (2/2016), pp. 313-333.

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^{*} The index includes only names and terms that appear in the main body of the text.

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