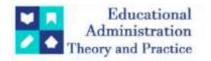
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**Research Article** 



# Secularism And The Crisis Of Arab Mind, Fouad Zakariyya As A Sample

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#### ARTICLE INFO ABSTRACT

The research seeks to study secularism as one of the most important concepts and the most controversial and circulated in contemporary Arab thought, which has been linked to the philosophical dimension and the denial of the unseen in all its theological and metaphysical forms, which led to its adoption at times and to its absolute rejection in many cases. Rejection of Western thought and its concepts, sticking to the principles and foundations of (religion) under the pretext of preserving the Arab identity and the heritage of the ancestors, secularism, in light of the extremist fundamentalist discourse, was accompanied by disbelief, atheism, and alienation from society, and with what Arabs and Muslims suffered from sectarian and sectarian fighting and entrenchment, in addition to backwardness and successive defeats in the face of the material and scientific prosperity witnessed by Western civilization, the question became urgent: Do we reject secularism because it is a Western commodity? Or do we remain on the past and the legacy of the predecessors?

In order to answer such questions, we find it necessary to review the theses of Fouad Zakaria and his criticisms of the Islamic discourse in order to reach satisfactory answers.

key words: Secularism, Democracy, Religion, Heritage, Politics

#### **Introduction:**

Fouad Zakaria is one of the most prominent Arab pioneers who carried the slogan "Secularism is the solution" in the face of the Islamic discourse represented by "Islam is the solution" among many Islamic groups that presented themselves as an alternative to the Arab nationalist project. Our thinker lived through the seventies and eighties of the last century, which witnessed the conflict between the largest intellectual and political trends between religious and secular fundamentalism. The first addressed the political scene in Egypt and the Arab world and presented itself as a project of governance instead of civil rule. It called for the immediate application of Sharia, seeking to establish a theocratic rule to resolve the political, economic and social failure after the events of the June Naksa (1967AD), in which the Arab army was defeated in front of the Israeli army. Therefore, Fouad Zakaria presented his secular position as a critical philosophical position that is a model of partial secularism that believes in the idea of separating religion from politics, a position based on a critical scientific vision of religious discourse challenging past thought in all its metaphysical and metaphysical forms among Islamic groups in Egypt, which spread in these groups like fire and wildfire in the rest of the Arab and Islamic countries. In order to reach the objectives of the study, the research was divided into Three topics dealt with the first topic (secularism crystallization of the concept), while the second topic dealt with (secularism in Fouad Zakaria), while the third topic dealt with (secularism and the crisis of the Arab mind)

Finally, the researcher does not claim to have provided a comprehensive reading of Fouad Zakaria's overall criticisms of the Islamic political discourse, but the researcher worked hard to draw a road map for Zakaria's secular vision in line with his general philosophical position and reached a set of results .

## The most important reasons for choosing this topic:

- 1- Secularism is one of the problematic concepts in contemporary Arab thought
- 2- Criticism of Islamic political discourse is one of the most important current topics that occupied a prominent place in contemporary Arab thought.
- 3- Fouad Zakaria's critique of political discourse is one of the most important current philosophical criticisms.

#### **Research Problem:**

The problem of research is related to reading the thought and philosophy of Fouad Zakaria and the extent of his success in refuting the discourses of political Islam.

# **Research hypotheses:**

- 1- Islamic political thought is a widespread presence in the contemporary Arab arena.
- 2- Critical thought is one of the most important contemporary philosophical trends for many Arab pioneers today.
- 3- Fouad Zakaria's critical experience is one of the most important philosophical experiences that contributed significantly to the analysis of many political proposals in our Arab and Islamic world.

## **Research Methodology**

The researcher adopted the descriptive analytical approach, in order to verify the basic hypotheses and reach the objectives of the research. Finally, a set of results was reached.

#### The first topic: Secularism crystallization of the concept

Although the term secularism in Western thought has long since formed its meaning as a result of the political and religious conflict experienced by Western societies that reaped the fruits of positivist Enlightenment thought after the French Revolution, most Arab researchers avoided its use and tried to replace it with another term or concept. Therefore, we find that the term secularism in Arab culture is a term tainted by a lot of turmoil and misunderstanding. Fouad Zakaria may have understood this term with some few thinkers and used it correctly. Accordingly, before talking about secularism in Fouad Zakaria, it seems necessary to adjust the formulation of the concept as a result of the turmoil he suffered to the point of contradiction .

#### First: Secularism in language:

The origin of the word secularism (opening the eye) is due to the Latin word (SECULRLSM), which means the world or belief in the tangible world that man can perceive with his senses away from metaphysical metaphysics (1), and (worldliness) is the focus of our research, which is practiced in most countries of the world as one of the fruits of the transformations of the Enlightenment and revolutions in civilization applied by all countries of the developed world (2), and the word secularism is an inaccurate translation of the French word (sécularisme) relative to the world (opening the lam3) (), which corresponds to the authority of church men who dominated political and social life in Europe in pre-Enlightenment times (4), and secularism in English( secularism) which has its counterparts in European languages means (age or generation) or (worldliness), which is a call to life without religion (5). In the dictionary of the resource, we find that the meaning of (secular ) means: (secular, non-religious, civil, scientific, unaffiliated with monasticism)(6). Most historians have adopted the year (1648AD) as the first birth of the term secular in the Treaty of Westphalia (\*\*) in Europe (). John Holick(\*\*7) was the first to use the term in its modern political and philosophical sense (8). The definition of the word secularism in some dictionaries came in several meanings. It came in the sense of isolating religion from the state(9) The non-religious or ecclesiastical system (10), or the educational system that does not make religion a role in civil affairs (11), and we find secularism refers to schools or institutes that give non-religious education (12), and secularism in all its forms means non-religious, in the sense of life away from religion, religion has no place in human life, and in politics it means the separation of religious authority from political and legal systems (13), and thus we find that most of the previous linguistic definitions share the meaning of (secular) by establishing civil life and isolating religion from the state.

## Second: Secularism in terminology:

The term secularism carries several connotations, perceptions and concepts that narrow them within a comprehensive meaning. It will not be feasible to follow all definitions of secularism in Western or Arab thought. Therefore, it is appropriate to adopt the Aristotelian idea of the golden middle and try to find the common meaning that is characterized by a great deal of comprehensiveness and comprehensiveness of these many definitions.

Secularism is defined as ((Reforming the human condition and then reducing the definition to the separation of religion from the state14)), a complete and absolute separation, religion is one thing, politics and governance is another, and this is what the West did after a long period of separation of the ecclesiastical from the institutions of the state(15), It also means (((Belief in the possibility of reforming the human condition through material methods, without addressing the issue of faith, whether by acceptance or rejection16)), Secularism also includes in the term ((a non-standard ratio to the world by opening the lam or the world, which expresses the human confrontation of his right to freedom of conscience

and belief, and his duty to respect the views of others, in a first stage to start rejecting the principle of guardianship of religion over all affairs of life, especially the political side or the political side17<sup>))(</sup>), and through this definition the elements of secularism appear as follows: Separation of morality from religion as well as the separation of science, the establishment of a state with political institutions on a non-religious basis (18), it is an invitation to establish life on reason and positational science, taking into account the private interest, and from 19 the political side.

### The second topic: Secularism by Fouad Zakaria

Most of Fouad Zakaria's writings were full of calls for secularism and scientific renewal based on rational foundations that reject the politicization of religion and its separation from civil and political life for the purpose of achieving the societal peace that was lacking in Arab society and Egyptian society in particular. In many of his writings, Zakaria focuses on a fundamental point that is the civilizational comparison between advanced societies that adopt secularism and backward societies that adopt superstition and superstition. (((Any society that has the slightest ambition can no longer walk in its affairs in the spontaneous way that prevailed in pre-sciential times, and if we in the East in particular hear from time to time voices nostalgic to the automatic era, in any field, let us be confident that the owners of these calls are either drowned in dreamy romance or driven by laziness to hate scientific organization))(20).

There is no doubt that secularism has become a civilizational demand that provides the right conditions within which the dialogue between society takes place to choose many alternatives, away from the (religious) tribal axioms, which cancel the conditions for dialogue. The option offered by the secularism of Fouad Zakaria, as it will become clear, is the option of science and rationality, which is the option strongly presented to our reality that lags behind development, as Zakaria believes that any attempt to intercept the path of scientific thinking in our time is a lost battle, so the question is no longer: Do we follow science or not? All the countries that occupy the forefront today among the countries of the world have resolved this question four centuries ago. For the danger of religious rule, we find Zakaria betting on the progress of philosophy and science in our Arab world as the real bet to apply secularism that allows freedom of thought, especially at the political level that invests religion in achieving its goals. Religious rule encourages the majority to persecute the minority and justifies the holiness of religion to justify their actions and infallibility (21). Thus, we find Zakaria resolving the issue in favor of secularism by calling for the separation of politics and religion because what secularism envisages is the dimensions of religion from the field of political organization of society, and keeping this field purely human, in which groups struggle, none of which can claim to be the mouthpiece of heaven. The basis of trade-off between different positions must be in the light of appeal to reason, logic and the ability to come up with successful realistic solutions ()22).

Through this context, Zakaria's position is clear from secularism, which did not stem from an ideological position. In his view, secularism was not a position on religion or Islam in particular, but rather on the preachers of religion and the currents of fundamentalist Islam, and the problem of applying Islamic law. At the same time, he pushes away from secularism the charges against it by fundamentalist currents. His contemporary secularism is essentially defensive secularism, in the sense that it does not want to establish a society with certain qualities, a view that differs from the offensive secularism of the early twentieth century, which calls for the establishment of a society with purely Western characteristics, a view that differs from the Islamic current that tries to define society in a certain framework. The secularism advocated by Zakaria is a negative secularism whose task is to repel the owners of this current(23).

What made Zakaria emphasize the need to apply secularism in our Arab world is the entrenchment of the relationship between political tyranny and narrow interpretations of religion. The demise of the rule of reason, the lack of discussion and the assertion of absolute authority is a common denominator between religious extremism and political tyranny, both of which support and support the existence of the other according to an ideological discourse (24), as well as the low level of the humanities resulting from the absence of democracy, which is the other face of secularism that contributes to the elimination of political and religious tyranny and the provision of freedom of thought that would create a critical philosophy that does not recognize absolute axioms (25). The scope of freedoms expands more under secular rule than in any society in which political affairs are managed on a religious basis, and this has been proven by the historical experience of civilized countries(26). Zakaria stresses the need to take into account the factor of time in the issue of governance. He has strongly opposed the establishment of civil rule based on religious foundations that seek to twist the neck of sacred texts and interpret them in a manner commensurate with their political call. On the other hand, it is useless to refer to religious texts and rely on them in the problems of governance and politics. Rather, we should be guided by the experience of reality. We are not facing a problem verbal or philosophical, but rather about a problem that belongs to the heart of practical life (27).

Zakaria also warned early on about the danger of politicized media according to certain ideologies that broadcast religious programs that accuse secularism of being (imported) Western goods that call for Westernization and dependence. In his book (A Letter to the Arab Mind), Zakaria discusses the issue of imported ideas, and secularism is one of the most (imported) concepts that have been criticized, confused and excluded. Although the Islamic religion encourages the pursuit of knowledge, and despite the spread of books and public libraries, the Arab individual is subject to the domination of the media and Arab propaganda, which

plays a major role in reshaping minds in a way that becomes more believable to what is heard. Therefore, Zakaria believes that the phrase (imported words 28) is one of the most successful words in organized propaganda methods (29). The media often carries out a wide process of misleading and falsifying facts, as some elites manipulate the masses through religious speeches designed for special purposes and because of high illiteracy highlights this type of media in developing societies.

But speech is one thing and the Arab reality is another. The most offensive people to the so-called imported ideas are those who demand that we import everything from abroad, from the needle to the rocket. Here is the contradiction. Zakaria asks: Why is it allowed to import everything, even minds and experiences, and not allowed in the field of ideas? If it is necessary to be satisfied with what emanates from our land, why not do so in all areas? Why do we open the doors wide to the luxuries that raise in the souls the worst consumption habits, and close them to an idea such as secularism because it came from a mind belonging 30 to another society? Our heritage was not the result of our own efforts... Also, the ideas and pillars of the growing Islamic State, in quite a few respects, were imported ideas... And that the courage of the Arabs in accepting imported thought has generated an enlightened thought from philosophers, scientists and historians, and their achievements later formed a light that satisfied Europe in its dark ages)) (31).

Arab culture, like all other cultures, is the result of cultural contact, exchange and communication between peoples. There is no civilization that is self-sufficient. Each civilization is based and nourished on the threshold of its predecessor. Ideas are also transmitted from the past to the present and from one homeland to another. This is attested by the history of civilizations. Zakaria also discusses the discourse directed at Arab secularists and accuses them of alienation, dependence and loss of identity that fall within the issue of (creativity and followers). Zakaria asks: Why is the concept of catching up with the West a confused concept? What is the reason for the bad impression towards the culture of the West? Zakaria believes that the rejection of the West stems from the duality represented by Western civilization, although it has transformed the course of human knowledge with its scientific achievements in a short period of time, but it has been associated from the first moment with directing the applications of scientific discovery towards destruction and killing, and it has also been associated from the first moment of its modern renaissance with that strange link between reason and irrationality... The mental, military, or cultural and political aspects have also gone hand in hand and resulted in an unfortunate confusion between Western civilization, in terms of science and culture, and in terms of control and superiority))(32). Therefore, Zakaria considers that our most problems with the West were due to the confusion between the different meanings of the same concept. The bitter experience of the Arab peoples with the West, is what made some of our thinkers tend to prefer the West of oppression to the West of scientific discovery and technological invention (33). Therefore, Zakaria believes that it is wrong to describe Contemporary Arab secularists as followers of Western thought, the conflict between reason and transportation, between what was called wisdom and Sharia, was a conflict stemming from the heart of Islamic civilization. Contemporary secularists now include those who are the heirs of the Mutazilite, the heirs of Ibn Rushd, the heirs of Ibn al-Haytham, and the heirs of that Islamic current, which was not Western or surprising 34))). Indeed, we find a lot of historical evidence that proves the fact that Arab secularists are subordinate to the Islamic heritage. The issue of the conflict of reason with transportation, or science with religion, was not foreign to our Islamic heritage; but what happened was that the West adopted science The conflict was resolved in favor of the mind; but in our Arab world, the mind has not yet found what it can prove its existence, to say the least.

Returning to Zakaria's defense of secularism and secularism, he adds that none of the Arab secularists defend Western civilization as a whole. The Arab secularists fought the West and sacrificed themselves, with the exception of Shibli Shamil(1850-1917 AD) and Salama Musa (1887-1958AD), who (were living in certain circumstances, in a certain period of time and have their own situation). Most Arab secularists entered prisons and were persecuted, but at the same time they realized that the progress that imposes itself comes only from there, and therefore their search for sources of progress to advance their society, is not in itself a crime or a full integration with the Western model (35).

It is not important that secularism stems from the core of our culture or that it is derived from the other, but it is important that secularism is a civilizational necessity whose effectiveness has been proven by experiences for the advancement of civilization and culture ((When we talk about contemporaryism as a necessity for advancement, and as a way to eliminate underdevelopment, we do not mean to live in the current period of time only, but we mean to follow the best of this period and the most advanced 36)10 This is not at all contrary to saying that taking (in originality) does not mean going back to the past and stopping the march of history, but rather taking what is original and unprecedented, especially the scientific and philosophical aspect of heritage Islamic (37), and this confirms that Zakaria does not seek to erase history or deny Islamic civilization. The glory of Islamic civilization is one side, and the attempt to restore and produce history is another (38), and Zakaria prefers the idea of leaving the affairs of politics to people. He rejects the idea of managing the organization of people's lives according to the principle of (Islam is a religion and a state) under the pretext that Islam does not know a separation between politics and religion (39), and thus it can be said that Zakaria's position on secularism stemmed from the position of the intellectual who monitors the civilizational thought of the other who is advanced in the late stage in which the Arab mind lives. The Arab mind does not He is still living the stage of civilizational confusion, as he is immersed in the unseen, clinging to the past and disguising

the present. He may be unaware that ((imitating other experiences is not a defect in itself, but these experiences obviate the efforts and attempts made before, which only reached a dead end))(40).

## The third topic: The crisis of the Arab mind

The modern Arab world did not define secularism as part of a comprehensive civilizational project, but rather as an enlightenment culture transferred from the West(41), but in fact it is part of a solution (to a crisis) or to many crises, as secularism is the (solution), but what is the crisis? - What are they? What does the mind mean? Is the mind the way the Arab man thinks? Or the kind of thoughts he's rallying his mind with? What is meant by Arabic? Is it the normal man at his normal level of thinking? How can secularism be a solution and a way out of the crisis of the Arab mind? Many questions asked by Zakariyya, deconstructing their meanings and offering solutions (42).

Zakaria believes that the cause of the crisis comes from the nature of ( authority ), as well as that the crisis of the mind is related to the nature of thinking and methodology. In the case of following the thought of authority, thinking is subject to a superior authority. In this case, thinking accepts the rulings of authority without discussion, unlike thinking based on the mind. The approach of submitting to authority leads to rigidity and inertia. As for leaning on the mind, its function is flexibility and openness<sup>(43)</sup>, and authority has multiple forms, including the authority of the family, the tribe, society, and religion. When the mind is captive to one of these authorities, it will undoubtedly be idle. Perhaps the authority of ( religion) is one of the most powers that limit the freedom of the mind as ((it represents the real antagonism to it as a source, competing with and superior to the mind, it is an authority that surpasses the weakness and shortcomings of the human mind))<sup>(44)</sup>.

The philosophical premises adopted by Zakaria in the issue of the crisis of the Arab mind are epistemological philosophical premises that are based on a European comparison. They are theoretical premises adopted by most Arab thinkers mainly in their comparisons between the crisis of the mind in Western societies and its crisis in the current Arab societies. His crisis in the West is called the (post-mind) crisis. As for the crisis of the mind in the East, it is called the (pre-mind) crisis. The West has exceeded the scope of thinking about the occult, and has become imbued with logic, science and philosophy, and is demanding to go beyond itself, by rebelling against the systems and principles he has drawn up. By himself, looking forward to new systems and possibilities (45), while our crisis, according to Zakaria, lies in the fact that we are still going through the problem of reconciling reason and faith. The religious institution still practices guardianship over the Arab mind, which can only move within the limits of religion(46). Therefore, the crisis of the Arab mind stems from the absence of two basic factors (freedom and independence). The mind needs independence, which is not done without freedom in order to be able to manage the affairs of life. If mental independence is lost and the mind remains captive to the heritage texts, this leads to Serious harm to man and society as a whole, knowing that most jurists agree on the principle of non-jurisprudence within the text and it is not possible for the mind to decide on the provisions of the text in advance (47).

As a result of this worldview, the Arab mind did not go through that vital experience that the Western mind went through in its struggle to prove itself, ((If the Western mind has rebelled against itself, that it has created for itself a wider and broader horizon for the movement, and faced itself in the battle of renewal and rebellion against itself, the Arab mind did not face itself, but rather faced forces trying to disrupt or abolish it, on behalf of a religious authority that claims absolute knowledge, or a policy that claims its comprehensive ability to manage people's affairs and think for them))(48), and indeed, The Arab mind is absent and disabled under the weight of these authorities and their policy that does not believe in independence or freedom. The Arab mind has been formed according to the desires of (politics and religion), which inevitably led to the result that Zakaria reached, which is: (( When the disruption of the mind continues for a long time, people get used to canceling their minds, and they do not find it strange to ask them to take a contradictory position to what was asked of them yesterday, and when this mental rust is coupled with the factor of fear of free thinking, minds lose the ability to exercise their effectiveness even when the reasons leading to fear disappear))(49), Religion and politics are the main factors and contributors to the creation of The crises of the Arab mind, and this may be due to the existence of fertile ground for the rule of one specific pattern of thinking (irrational) and the absence of logic, as sound scientific thinking is still far from penetrating into the minds of people and their public lives (50). Hence the value of secularism, which struggles to break the constraints on the mind and tries hard to achieve man's demands and manage his worldly affairs. Secularism, which demands independence and freedom, assumes no dependence on the past. Depending on the past, one loses the characteristic of continuous progress.

man's demands and manage his worldly affairs. Secularism, which demands independence and freedom, assumes no dependence on the past. Depending on the past, one loses the characteristic of continuous progress. It is unfortunate that the Arab mind was a peak in the world of progress and prosperity at a time when the Western mind was deteriorating and decaying. (51) Therefore, Zakaria returns to ask? What is the reason for the delay of the Arab mind? Zakaria believes that the Arab mind is characterized by (cultural disconnection). ((Our past and present were not a continuous line, and therefore our scientific heritage could not integrate into the mind of the Arab mind and become part of its mental formation))(52). The Arab scientific mind flourished at some point and then stopped at the limits of this stage, and this mind was not subject to critical review or self-correction as the West did. On the contrary, it was frozen by the advocates of heritage; and then it was not overtaken by itself, so this mind became a dominant authority on the present(53), and in light of this authoritarianism and inertia, it is not possible to achieve rationality, which presupposes intellectual freedom represented by the process of self-criticism of heritage. Hence, Zakaria refuses to see the fundamentalist

currents that depend on heritage in leading the present and considers it a vision that is not historical but backward; because it views our era with the logic of an era that has become history (54).

In light of this past vision of heritage and human science, the Arab mind is experiencing crises, not one crisis. The nature of the crisis suffered by the fundamentalist mind as an Arab mind is also two crises. The first is the method of (thinking) and the second is (content). With regard to style, Zakaria believes that despite the multiplicity of patterns of thinking, it has two prominent features:

## **Duplication of Thought and Practice:**

Zakaria believes that the cause of the crisis is the underdevelopment of fundamentalist thought, which relies on heritage as a lexicon from which all its knowledge is derived to fall on the present [55], and that religious discourses in terms of preaching and moral theorizing seem completely contrary to the actual practice of those theories, at a time when fanatics are fighting science, we find that they use the latest types of technology in their daily lives and duality is an established quality in the Arab mind. We often see preachers boasting about the scientific heritage of the ancestors, on the one hand, but they56 resist the present science most resistant on the other hand (), but (dualism) is not the monopoly of clerics, but many liberal intellectuals who talk about democracy, freedom and human rights...Etc., you find them applauding the dictatorial regimes [57].

#### Possessing the Absolute Truth and Abolishing the Other:

Zakaria (pluralism) is a necessary requirement that meets the need of society for more diversity in a spirit of tolerance and openness. The pluralism allowed by secularism prevents the reduction of truth to a doctrine, belief, or absolute opinion and the possession of absolute truth. It is only an expression of intolerance and hatred of reason for pluralism, diversity, acceptance of and openness to the other opinion, and intolerance, which is only ((excessive belonging to a particular group, and its association with it to the extent that it reaches the exclusion of others, their hatred, and transcendence over them) (58), and perhaps our Arab reality represents the best credence of the phenomenon of (intolerance), What is happening in it of infighting and sectarian, ethnic and racial division, reflects the lack of acceptance of the different other not only at the level of politics but also at the level of social and individual awareness. The Arab world has many forms of intolerance, perhaps the most severe of which is the claim ( that one subject can only have one opinion), which is incomprehensible in the field of politics and society based on dialogue and acceptance of the opinion of the other, away from the accusation of charges of employment, treason and disbelief(59), but it seems that accusing the other of blasphemy and athemy just because he does not agree with us in the doctrine is a characteristic of the fundamentalist mind, which claims Owning the truth is like owning things, and the convulsive religious discourse that has become a habit entrenched in the mind of these fundamentalists would kill the critical spirit. This method usually exercises some kind of authority and guardianship over the minds of young people due to the fanatical logic they follow, which does not recognize the relativity of truth (60). Underdevelopment is only eliminated through the dissemination of scientific knowledge, for which freedom is a prerequisite. Knowledge and freedom are inseparable. (( Science is one of the most important controls that help to put freedoms in perspective. By disseminating and providing knowledge, science can lay the real foundations without which freedoms have no practical value)(61).

Hence, it was necessary for the Arab individual to have awareness in political culture, and this requires a foundational process whose achievement is the responsibility of the state, which draws the policy of educational curricula, which is the mainstay of creating a generation and society that possesses a measure of freedom and democracy. This will only be achieved under a secular system that separates religion from the state and is separate from intellectual and religious ideologies.

As for the crisis of (content), which represents the second crisis suffered by the Arab mind, it is represented as a crisis of lack of (creativity), and this is what we have seen from the state of emptiness and helplessness that emerged among Arab intellectuals who lacked creativity in the issue of the global conflict of the socialist and capitalist poles, which ended with the rule of capitalism (62). These intellectuals left the door wide for political Islam, which presented itself as an alternative to secular regimes and called for change (( Does political Islam have creative thought?, and where is the creative Islamic thinking that makes us confident that we can live in a terrible world, ... Competition is fierce, and there is no place for the weak. Where is the Islamic jurisprudence that ensures that we will find a place for ourselves in this world))(63), Despite this pessimistic view, Zakaria continued to think of the ability, possibility and creativity of the Arab mind in the event that the appropriate environment is available (64), ((The crisis of creativity is caused by the crisis of democracy, all creativity is linked to practice, and practice is linked to freedom)65,0, and we should not only blame the Arab political systems that bear the lack of democracy, as it is not the only obstacle to democracy that fights at the popular level as well, there are wide groups of people who hate democracy, and seek to kill it (66) Perhaps it is important in this context to emphasize that democracy, which is one of the conditions of secularism demanded by Zakaria, is not necessarily similar to Westernism, but only the existence of a margin of freedom that guarantees everyone the right of discussion and dialogue, and acceptance of different opinion, even at a minimum (67), and therefore we find that we need to be aware of the secularism that affects the Arab reality at its core, () in order for the Arab countries to emerge from their cultural backwardness.... It was The means of Europeans in the Renaissance who could not get out of the darkness of the Middle Ages to achieve progress in the modern era, only when they were studying reality directly, through reason and experience))(68).

#### **Search Results:**

- 1- The secular position adopted by Fouad Zakaria is not an ideological position on religion as a religion, but rather on the preachers of religion represented by the owners of fundamentalist Islam who demand the immediate application of Sharia, which is no longer a solution at present.
- 2- The reason for the aversion of the Arab mind to the West is the duality that exists in Western civilization, which is the confusion between culture, science and technology, and the harnessing of this technology for control and superiority.
- 3- Authority is the main reason for the crisis of the Arab mind, especially the authority of religion, which made the Arab mind a mind that believes in the unseen, dependent on the past, away from science and philosophy.
- 4- Duplication of thinking, practice, intolerance, possession of absolute truth and lack of belief in intellectual and cultural pluralism are among the most important features of the Arab mind, which has been reshaped and programmed according to a certain mechanism, which led to the disruption and absence of this mind, which is no longer able to keep pace with the Western mind.
- 5- Independence, freedom and democracy are the most important conditions and pillars of secularism, which represents a solution to the crisis of the Arab mind, which suffers from a crisis in the pattern and content of thinking and lack of creativity in order to get the country out of the current cultural and civilizational backwardness.

## **Margins**

(\*) (1927-2010AD) An organic intellectual and an Arab philosophical critic specialized in modern and contemporary philosophy, he participated in public cultural life and engaged in many philosophical debates and debates with the Salafi trend in Egypt. He has many works such as (Critical views on the problems of thought and culture 1975AD, scientific thinking 1978AD, speech to the Arab mind 1987AD, truth and illusion in the contemporary Islamic movement 1985AD, Islamic awakening in the balance of mind 1987AD) in addition to many books translated as (logic and philosophy of science for Paul. Moi, in two parts 1962AD, Plato's Republic 1974AD, The Wisdom of the West by Bertrand Russell, in two volumes 1983AD) headed the Chair of Philosophy at Ain Shams University and Kuwait University and undertook many tasks and positions, including editing two journals (Contemporary Thought, Heritage of Humanity) in Egypt and worked as a consultant for the Kuwaiti (World of Knowledge) magazine. He also worked as a consultant in the National Commission for UNESCO and received many appreciation awards.

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- (3) A group of authors: The Intermediate Dictionary, p. 64.
- (4) See : Greatness, Aziz : Secularism from a Different Perspective, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 1992, p. 18.
- (5) Hassiba , Mustafa: The Philosophical Lexicon, Osama Publishing and Distribution House, Jordan, 1st Edition, 200AD , p. 315.
- (6) See: Baalbaki, Munir, Dr. Ramzi Al-Mawared Al-Hadith, (English Dictionary, Arabic), Dar Al-Ilm for Millions Beirut, 2006, p. 1044.
- (\* \*) The peace treaty that was established in the German city of Münster in Westphalia, which was signed by delegates of the Holy Roman Empire on the one hand and the Netherlands, Spain, Sweden and France on the other hand, which established the new order in medieval Europe and ended the bloody Thirty Years' War between Protestants and Catholics , see Penguin, Abdul Hamid, Al-Nawar , Abdul Aziz : Modern European History from the Renaissance to the Late Eighteenth Century, Cairo, Pla, p. 165.
- (7) Al-Masiri, Abdul Wahab, Al-Azmeh, Aziz: Secularism under the microscope, Dar al-Fikr al-Maasir, Balah, Damascus, pp.11-12.
- (\* \* \*)(1818-1906) A British politician and intellectual with a socialist tendency who was accused of being anti-Christian. He published many articles in the English magazine (Al-Rai Zur) and headed the magazine (Revelation of Logic), which was closed because of its extremist views, forcing the establishment of the magazine (Movement), which was more moderate than its predecessor. He contributed to many cultural and political forums in which he expressed the adoption of modern science and logic instead of ecclesiastical ideas that no longer keep pace with the times. See: British Encyclopedia: Tahrir Hassan Al-Amin, 4th Edition, 6th Edition, Beirut, 2001, pp. 321-322.
- (8) Collins cobuild Advanced Dictionary of American English. (2007). Boston p.56.

- (9) Mahmoud, Karim Sayed: Dictionary of Intermediate Students, Scientific Books House, Beirut, 1, 2006, p. 547.
- (10) Al-Masiri ,Abdul Wahab : Partial Secularism and Comprehensive Secularism,C, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Shorouk ,Cairo , 2002, p. 54.
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- (12) Al-Masiri, Greatness: Secularism Under the Microscope, p. 12.
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- (16) Mohammed Zarif, Political Islam in the Arab World, Publications of the Moroccan Journal of Political Sociology, 2nd Edition, Morocco, 1992, pp. 252-253.
- (17)Kaddouh, Inaam Ahmed: Secularism in Islam, Quta Al-Rasul Foundation, Baghdad, 2012, p. 12 18 Ibid., pp.12-13.
- (19)Al-Khawali , Abdul Rahman: Secularism its origins, development and effects in contemporary Islamic life, Al-Tayeb Library, Cairo , 1999 , p. 34 .
- (\* \* \* \*) Zakaria expresses his objection about the noise that has been raised about extracting the word (secularism by opening the eye from the world) or (secularism by breaking the eye from science) and considers it an exaggerated noise, because each of the two meanings must lead to the other, there is no difference between the interest in this world and the interest in science, in addition to the fact that science is temporal in nature and does not claim immortality. Science is secular in nature and can be written when Zakaria without a thousand in relation to science, taking into account the content and not linguistic confusion. The link between the term and the meaning of the world is more accurate, because the correct translation of the world is (temporal). It is related in foreign languages, to temporal matters, that is what happens in this world versus spirituality, which is mainly related to the other world. See: Nassar, Nassar Yaf: Fouad Zakriada on secularism, Kuwait Magazine, Issue No. 620, July 2010, p. 109.
- (20) Bouaf, Abdul Rahman: Interview with the thinker Fouad Zakaria, Cairo Magazine, Issue:12-15 July 1996, p. 12.
- (21) See: Zakaria , Fouad : Scientific Thinking, The World of Knowledge Series, National Council for Culture and Arts, Kuwait, 1978 , pp. 10-11 .
- (22) Al-Masiri, Comprehensive Secularism and Partial Secularism, vol. 1, p. 70.
- (23) See Zakaria, Fouad, Bahnasawi Salem: Islam not Secularism, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Dawa for Publishing and Distribution, Kuwait, 1992, p. 43.
- (24) Zakaria , Fouad : Islamic Awakening in the Balance of Mind , Dar al-Fikr al-Muasar , Cairo , 2nd Edition , 1987, p. 167.
- (25) Ibid., p. 169.
- (26) Zakaria, Fouad: Secularism is a Civilization Necessity, Journal of Intellectual Issues, Book Eight 1989 , Hair Cultural Network.hajrnet.com www
- (27) Zakaria, Fouad: Truth and Illusion in the Contemporary Islamic Movement, Dar Al-Fikr for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 1st Edition, 1986, p. 10.
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- (29) See: Ahmed, Mohamed Sayed: Media and the Dredging of the Collective Mind in the Phase of Democratic Transition, Atlas Library for Publishing and Distribution, 1st Edition, Cairo, 2015, p. 21.
- (30) See: Zakaria, Fouad: A Letter to the Arab Mind, General Book Authority, Cairo, 2001, p. 87.
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- (32) See: Zakaria, Fouad: We and the West, Al-Tebein Magazine, Issue: 5-1/June/1992, pp.23-24.
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