

The political thought of the thinker Mahdi Amel

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ABSTRACT: This research is trying to study the political thought of the Arab thinker Mahdi Amel Who considered as one of the most important Arab thinkers in contemporary period the research divided to two axes , Around specialized the first axe deal with the vision Mahdi Amel Around struggle of classes . While the second axe specialized in the Mahdi Amel vision Around democracy. Finally the research ended for conclusion including important conclusion and reference .

Keywords: Political thought, Arab thinker Mahdi Amel

Introduction

Talking about the issues of contemporary Arab political thought, and those who tackled these issues from thinkers and researchers tried to shed light on the most important problems and crises that surround the Arab reality, dedicating their efforts to presenting ideas, opinions, and proposals to find successful solutions to them. The thinker Mahdi Amel is one of the few Arab thinkers who tried to find a leftist political thought adapted to the interests of the contemporary Arab state, trying to find solutions to the problem of the Arab revolution. Mahdi Amel's Marxist ideas were compatible with the space of the system of values and concepts that are based on the historical Marxist theory, this theory that Mahdi Amel tried diligently to localize in order to understand the possibilities and prospects of the change presented to the Arab liberation movement in particular.

Mahdi Amel has worked on the production of new cognitive tools in Marxist thought, considering that the distinction of this thought is a condition of its universality. Through what he defined as distinct Marxism, he, therefore, provided us with a theoretical analysis of the nature of the contradictions between the practices that operate in the fields of class struggle: economically, politically, and ideologically. Any attempt to understand the social structure and its historical process, without referring even partially to that theoretical analysis, will, in turn, fall into the mists of that chasm, in which the revolutionary path of political practice will falter.

Mahdi Amel realized that the pivotal movement of the class struggle in the subordinate structures revolves around politics and that it is the rejection of the political, or the politician's attraction to this struggle, that determines the possibility of social revolution. He also specified that the dominant contradiction in these societies between the ruling class alliance and the opposite class alliance is a political contradiction and that the ground of this contradiction is the economic contradiction, which represents the fundamental contradiction between these two alliances. It also described the nature of the periodic crises experienced by the political system; Between the crisis of domination and the crisis of control. The crisis of domination translates into a threat to the political dominance of the dominant class alliance over the opposite class alliance. As for the crisis of

hegemony, it translates into an exacerbation of the secondary contradictions within the dominant class alliance, those secondary contradictions that the one who resolves them from the dominant class alliance has the share of leading this alliance through hegemony.

The theses of Mahdi Amel of Marxism corresponded to the space of the system of values and concepts that are based on the historical Marxist theory, this theory that Mahdi Amel tried hard to localize in order to understand the possibilities and prospects of the change presented to the Arab liberation movement in particular. The theses of Mahdi Amel in the transition to the national government and then to the socialist government represented an important reference for the settlement of socialist thought in the Arab environment. He believed that in order to deal with these conditions, it was necessary to develop the Marxist vision in the societies of the Third World in general, including our Arab region in particular, as it confronts the existing colonialism and the class differences that arose in European industrial societies.

And his vision of the concept of democracy, which he considered one of the widely used concepts, but at the same time one of the concepts that are difficult to define and give it a single definition that everyone agrees on, which leads us to trace the history of this word, perhaps that helps us to know what it means, which changed according to the movement of history development Its concept has changed from time to time. Analyzing the reality in the view of Mahdi Amel is the only way that allows building discourse in the Arab environment, opening positive theoretical horizons for it and presenting the possibilities of actual realization of democratic practice without falling into a "bottleneck". Mahdi Amel presents his own concept about democracy based on his vision of it, which is not only a political system that combats dictatorship and tyrannical regimes but allows people to live a life far from fear of the brutality of the police state, which abuses the basic rights of the citizen of dignity and freedom. Its existence has any meaning outside this world, the world of time and space, the world of the environment, society and the age, between human freedom and obligation, for a person to be free means to choose because if he does not choose, it is either because of cowardice or inability. In both cases, it is not free. And if he chooses, it means that the person commits himself, in a sense, to integrate. He also limped his vision about the contemporary Arab reality and the crises and calamities it has gone through since the end of the Ottoman domination and its entry into the furnace of foreign occupation that divided the Arab region according to its calculations and interests, and what the Arab peoples suffered after gaining independence from the domination of tyrannical regimes and their suppression of the freedoms of the Arab citizen and the usurpation of his most basic rights.

The importance of the research:

The importance of the research in presenting an epistemological approach to the political thought of Mahdi Amel, through the basic approaches around which his intellectual theories were centered in the political field, where the research shows this intellectual approach and the distinguished position it occupied in the Arab intellectual arena, and we shed light on The importance of the political thought that emerged from Mahdi Amel, and the political current to which this thinker belonged, the current of the contemporary Arab Marxists

Second: The problem of the research: The problem of the research is embodied in that the thinker Mahdi Amel tried to reconcile the authenticity of the Marxist theory with its contemporary trends, by adapting the traditional Marxist heritage to the developments of the times, but he collided with the reality of the gap between theory and practice, and the lived reality because of what Arab societies suffer from. Contemporary intellectual and ideological chaos, and thus the impact of this on

some of his ideas, which were characterized by ambiguity, and the difficulty of intellectual presentation that put forward through his ideas.

Third: The research hypothesis: The political intellectual approach presented by the thinker Mahdi Amel tried to harmonize and harmonize the contemporary Arab reality with Western theorizing, and then re-evaluate it again, and analyze the content of the ideas and proposals that balance this reality with the Marxist vision.

Fourth: Research Methodology: The research has adopted the analytical method, and this method serves as a guide and guide that guided the researcher to reach the desired results and objectives, by employing the foundations, elements, and steps of the method to reach the desired results.

Fifth: The structure of the research: In order to understand all the aspects of the research, it came after the introduction, with two main topics. The first topic carried a title about Mahdi Amel's vision of the idea of class struggle, while the second topic came under the title of the concept of democracy in the thought of Mahdi Amel. Then the research concluded with a conclusion and a list of sources.

⁽¹⁾. He believed that in order to deal with these situations, it was necessary to develop the Marxist vision in the societies of the third world in general, including our Arab region in particular, as it confronts the existing colonialism and the class differences that arose in European industrial societies ⁽²⁾.

Mahdi Amel explained that the Arab societies were, in the beginning, colonial societies that provided raw materials to the countries they occupied and opened their markets for the products of these countries. Thus, in these countries, economic segments linked to the capitalist market arose as agents of these transfers, and they formed what is known as “Qatari countries.” And he stressed that it is not possible to take rigid texts from Marxism and apply them to the Arab reality, so he called for understanding the reality, first, and then adapting the ideas that fit this reality and not the other way around ⁽³⁾.

Mahdi Amel clarified the crisis of the bourgeois leadership and the crisis of the revolutionary opposite. He presented a radical critical reading of the failure of the petty-bourgeois leadership, which was achieved over a quarter of a century of broad mass struggle against imperialism in the Nasserist experience. The colonial bourgeoisie is a renewed mechanism, and that this failure is a failure of the national ideology in that it is essentially a bourgeois ideology. Nationalist ideology, as it is a bourgeois colonial ideology, tried to monopolize the representation of the national cause, and to show its revolutionary opposite, which is the proletarian working class, as hostile to this cause, or not concerned with it, and its main objective, in this attempt, is to prevent the natural meeting and struggle cohesion on The national level is between the masses of the petty bourgeoisie and the proletarian class, and from this opposition between the class struggle and the national or national struggle, the ideology of nationalism appears as the ideology of the national struggle, while the ideology of the working class appears as the ideology of the class struggle, and thus the latter appears as an obstacle that disrupts the cohesion of the national masses in The field of national conflict and things turn into their opposites ⁽⁴⁾.

¹ (For more see: Mahdi Amel: “Theoretical Introductions to Studying the Impact of Socialist Thought on the National Liberation Movement”, Part 2 “On the Pattern of Colonial Production”, Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, 1972, p. 87.

² (The same source, p.88

³ (The same source, p.89

⁴ (Mahdi Amel: "Theory in Political Practice - A Research on the Causes of the Lebanese Civil War", Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, 3rd Edition, 1990, pp. 35-36.

Mahdi Amel was a realistic thinker, as he tried to find solutions to his living Lebanese reality at the time. Mahdi Amel molded the concept of the sectarian state and the sectarian model that was born after the Lebanese civil war with a Marxist mold, where he battles the historical reality of paradoxical societies, a monotheistic theory. When thought confronts the complexity of reality, Thought must be energized, complex, and numerous, in order to capture, even partially, reality. Otherwise, the revolution of thought in his country will falter, and from it creates the illusion of a simple and uncomplicated reality. Marxist political thought is not spared from this struggle, between the simplicity of thought and the complexity of reality, especially in our dependent societies, where colonialism altered the course of their historical development and brought it into a structural, political, and economic dependence on its imperialist position. This dependence resulted in our false birth in history as a sectarian state with a dependency capitalist mode of production, which reveals a gap in the congruence between the reality of the class struggle of these societies, and the classical Marxist understanding of this conflict.

Mahdi Amel worked to bridge that gap by producing new cognitive tools in Marxist thought, considering that the distinction of this thought is a condition of its universality. Through what he defined as distinct Marxism, where he provided us with a theoretical analysis of the nature of the contradictions between the practices that operate in the fields of class struggle: economically, politically, ideologically. Any attempt to understand the social structure and its historical process, without referring even partially to that theoretical analysis, will, in turn, fall into the fog of that chasm, and in it, the revolutionary path of political practice will falter..⁽⁵⁾

Mahdi Amel was accused by many of his fellow thinkers of the theoretical extremism of politics, and they were right in this accusation, just as Mehdi Amel was right in practicing that extremism. Since his early writings, he realized that the pivotal movement of the class struggle in subordinate structures revolves around politics and that it is the rejection of the political, or the political's attraction to this struggle, that determines the possibility of social revolution. He also specified that the dominant contradiction in these societies between the ruling class alliance and the opposite class alliance is a political contradiction and that the basis for this contradiction is the economic contradiction⁽⁶⁾.

Which represents the fundamental contradiction between these two alliances. It also described the nature of the periodic crises experienced by the Lebanese political system; Between the crisis of domination and the crisis of control. The crisis of domination translates into a threat to the political domination of the dominant class alliance over the opposite class alliance. As for the crisis of hegemony, it translates into the exacerbation of the secondary contradictions within the dominant class alliance, those secondary contradictions that those who resolve them from the dominant class alliance have the share of leading this alliance through sectarian domination.

It is no secret that the dominant class alliance in Lebanon has been in a crisis of hegemony since 2005, but it has not fallen into a crisis of class control until October 17, 2019. This changes everything. The fate of that crisis of control is the fate of the October 17 uprising, or rather; Either the

⁽⁵⁾ (For more see: Mahdi Amel, discussions and conversations on issues of the national liberation movement and the distinction of Marxist concepts In Arabic, Dar Al-Farabi, Beirut, 1990, p. 309–310.

⁽⁶⁾ (In this economic field, we have to open the horizons of our understanding of economic exploitation, to include consumer exploitation (via the control of purchasing power) and financial exploitation (through the production relations of finance capital), the same source, p. 313..

October 17 uprising turns into a revolution with a political project led by the exploiting classes, or the crisis of control ends, with the political discourse of the uprising raging, and the sectarian parties rallying once again to the entire exploited classes of the mass base, whether by ideological or economic subordination.

Proceeding from the necessity of revolutionizing the political practice of the class struggle in the October 17 uprising, and its transition from the stages of defense to the stages of the attack, and planning how to prevent the re-linking of the masses to sectarian parties and the disengagement of those who are still involved, it is necessary to conduct a current analysis of the relationship of political control between its class and sectarianism. Mahdi Amel has already made great strides in this analysis throughout the pages of his book "On the Sectarian State," the seventh chapter of which we adopt, entitled "The Political System between Sectarian Reform and the Necessity of Democratic Change," as a theoretical base. Especially after the political changes that affected society in the past three decades.

sectarianism in its bourgeois sense

From the beginning of Chapter Seven, Mahdi Amel defines for us the difference between the definition of sectarianism in its bourgeois concept and the definition of sectarianism in its opposite concept. If it is disrupted, the state disintegrates - or is threatened by disintegration - and its role in managing the interests of the sects and ensuring the permanence of their rule is disrupted .

Its concept, as a crisis of coexistence between sects: either a return to balance in government, or the independence of each sect by its own rule, within an external framework of sectarian pluralism .⁽⁷⁾

As for sectarianism, in its opposite sense, it is ((the specific historical form of the political system in which the Lebanese bourgeoisie exercises its class rule)).⁽⁸⁾ .

The opposite definition of sectarianism given by Mahdi Amel has helped us understand the ideological delusion that all thinkers who target secularism have fallen into and are still falling into .⁽⁹⁾

Without targeting the dependent capitalist mode of production.

In the question of whether the relationship between the political system of the Lebanese bourgeoisie's domination and the sectarian form of this system was just a historically appropriate relationship, or is it, more than that, a structurally connected relationship, Mahdi Amel goes to the conclusion: ((We tend to assert that this relationship is an inseparable relationship. Structural The historical conditions in which the Lebanese bourgeoisie state was formed as a sectarian state are the same as the conditions for capitalism in Lebanon to be in the process of a crisis of the capitalist mode of production at the global level, and they are, therefore, the same conditions that prevented the formation of the Lebanese bourgeoisie as a revolutionary class, despite

The European bourgeoisie model, for example, is in the process of rising capitalism. For these and other reasons as well, the sectarian form of the Lebanese state was fundamental to its existence as a bourgeois state, in terms of the necessary form in which the state performs its class function in

⁷ (Mahdi Amel, in the sectarian state, Dar Al-Farabi, Beirut, p. 322.

⁸ (Same source, p. 323.

⁹ (Access to secularism is conditional on the practice of class struggle since sectarian ideology is an ideology The dominant class alliance has made a mistake among the thinkers who thought that achieving secularism in our society is possible. If the political forces of the opposite class alliance do not advocate it, the same source, p. 325.

protecting the interests of the dominant class, by ensuring the automatic verification of the reproduction of the existing capitalist production relations, within the framework of the structural dependency relationship with imperialism, By reproducing this dependency relationship. And if a questioner asks: Why is the sectarian form of this state essential to its existence as a bourgeois state? In short, the answer is that this form allows the bourgeoisie to control the course of the class struggle, by keeping the toiling classes in it, captive to a relationship of class subordination to it, which is precisely a relationship of sectarian representation that links these classes with their sectarian representatives of the bourgeoisie in a subordination link in which they lose their political existence as an independent force, to gain in it, And with it, another existence is, exactly, its sectarian existence, that is, its existence as sects. So long as the exploited classes exist in such a relationship of class dependence in which they exist as castes, they do not represent any independent political force that is their own anti-bourgeois class force. It is this historical form of the existence of the toiling classes as sects in the very movement of the class struggle that the dominant bourgeoisie controls through its sectarian representation of its class opposite, which ensures for the ruling bourgeoisie the permanence of class domination, by ensuring the perpetuation of the renewal of its sectarian system which is the system of its class domination. From here it can be accurately said that the sectarian form of the Lebanese bourgeois state is essential to its existence as a bourgeois class state¹⁰”.

Colonialism altered the course of the historical development of our dependent societies and brought it into a structural political and economic dependency. The Lebanese state, then, falls into what Mahdi Amel calls a dilemma; ((The sectarian form, which is fundamental to the existence of the Lebanese state as a bourgeois state, is the main obstacle that prevents the formation of this state as a bourgeois state. The Lebanese state is therefore caught in this dilemma between it as a sectarian state and it as a bourgeois state. There is no way to get out of this contradiction, which is Its structure, except for its transition to another structure, may have been a transitional structure that is difficult to define precisely in advance. The bourgeois character may overlap with another character that denies it, according to the ratio of the actual forces in the field of class struggle. Because it is difficult to determine the features of the following, especially in the time of transition. It depends on the development of the current class struggle movement, not only between the forces of the National Revolutionary Alliance and the forces of the reactionary alliance but between the parties of the forces of the revolutionary alliance itself and the parties of the reactionary alliance as well. Perhaps the current competition that we have referred to between the sectarian solution and the democratic solution to the crisis of the bourgeois regime exists even among the ranks of This same national alliance, whose sectarian solution may appeal to some of its parties)).¹¹

These parties have become the dominant class today in the dominant class alliance after the “sectarian reform” that took place in the last decade of the last century, and after these parties weakened the Lebanese Communist Party since the late eighties, whether by excluding the revolutionary minds of the party and its organizational cadres or marginalizing it politically, though By misleading his history of struggle, which established the popular resistance against Israel. The result of this weakening was the absence of a democratic change solution led by the working class, and the move towards a “sectarian reform” solution led by the dominant class through the Taif Agreement.

"Sectarian Balance" is the title that Mahdi Amel worked to strip politically in the texts of the second section of this chapter. In this section also, it will put all the Islamic political forces that faced in the

¹⁰ (The same source, p. 325.

¹¹ (The same source, p. 325.

civil war at the time, the Phalangist fascism and the Israeli occupation, before the necessity of resolving the contradiction in which they fall between their sectarian ideological awareness that dictates the bourgeoisie of their political project, and their actual practice of class struggle on the side of the Lebanese Communist Party and its project revolutionary. This contradiction, which Mahdi Amel was asking for, has been resolved, in our opinion, since his assassination, but it shines clearly today, with the dependence of the Lebanese government and those who were politically represented by the International Monetary Fund.

In the first text, we find with him a political and ideological critique of the thought that considers that sectarian equilibrium is what secures equality between sects, and corrects for this thought the political definition of sectarian equilibrium as necessarily a “hegemonic equilibrium,” i.e. an equilibrium in which all sects are based in the state, but on the basis of Domination of one sect over another. This is what we saw in the political Maroniteness at the time: “For clarity, we say that sectarian balance, which is essential to the existence and permanence of the state as a sectarian state, does not mean equality between the sects, even if it is his ideological function to inspire it, or to generate in awareness an illusion of it. On the contrary, it is a hegemonic equilibrium that is based only on sectarian hegemony, which is by which it secures its existence as a sectarian equilibrium.12)

(Then Mahdi Amel hits the core of the problem when he asks about the relationship between class domination and sectarian domination: “But the actual problem is not in the existence of this domination, or in its absence, as much as it is in the existing relationship, in the state itself, between class domination and sectarian domination. The Lebanese state is caught in a dilemma that defines its structure, and he is in it, between it as a bourgeois state, and between it as a sectarian state. In light of this structural contradiction, this hegemonic equilibrium must be understood. The position of class domination, which is in the state essential to its existence as a bourgeois state, necessarily has a sectarian character in the Lebanese state, because this state has a sectarian character(13)..

It was sectarian equilibrium, as a hegemonic equilibrium, which secured the state the possibility of carrying out its class function as a bourgeois state, and it was, therefore, essential to its existence, for various historical reasons, but the civil war, with its many stages and the democratic struggles that preceded it as well, confirms, in historical concrete, that this Balance no longer provides the state with that possibility, but rather it has become the main obstacle that prevents the state from carrying out its function. The movement of class struggles has violently exploded the stalemate inherent in the structure of the Lebanese state and imposed the need to bring about a change in that balance and, consequently, in the sectarian form of states14).§ (

« These relatively long texts show us that every class hegemony is necessary - and because of the shape of the state structure - accompanied by sectarian hegemony. It is this sectarian hegemony that

)¹² (The same source, p. 335..

)¹³ (Mahdi Amel considered that we should not search for the cause of the phenomenon of interdependence between the sectarianism of the state and its bourgeoisie except

In the last social structure of our countries, that is, since the declaration of the state of Greater Lebanon, and the nature of our societies with production relations dependency capitalism. But we note in this consideration theoretical extremism in terms of neglecting the influence of certain social relations-

Before capitalism on the sectarian political system, this problem requires a theoretical treatment that will inevitably go beyond

Mahdi’s narrow definition of sectarianism, same source, p. 335.

)¹⁴ (The same source, p336.

secures the political dominance of the dominant class alliance, and that, in turn, secures the reproduction of the relations of production; That is, postponing the economic crisis and perpetuating the dependency capitalist mode of production. It is important to mention with Mahdi Amel that the solution proposed by some bourgeois political forces at the time and which is still being proposed by all political forces that, when their role in controlling the state apparatus is diminished, shouts that the solution is participation. the participation of all denominations in controlling the state apparatus; Clearly, we say that the concept of “participation” falls within the system of concepts of bourgeois ideology, in defining it as a sectarian ideology. And its class character, his absence in the general character of sectarianism and the bourgeoisie, and its absence, in its absence, and the struggle between classes. But this saying is not enough in his criticism of this. In one aspect, “participation” may be a utopian solution to an actual crisis. Cancel the disadvantages of the system cancel the system cancel the ban cancel the system cancel the disadvantages of the system(15)

We now come to what Mahdi Amel was warning against, which is the replacement of one sectarian hegemony with another. As we mentioned earlier, the problem is not how one sect performs better than another over the state. The problem is the sectarianism of this state that goes hand in hand with its dependency on capitalism. No matter how many sects we try to dominate the state, our social structure will not be liberated from political and economic crises as long as it is governed by a sectarian state. Neither the political Maronite was able to save the country from political crises, nor was Hariri able later to build a productive national economy, nor is the Shiite hegemony today able to solve the general crisis that Lebanon is going through.

Let's listen to Mahdi Amel's warning regarding the replacement of one sectarian hegemony with another: {Perhaps the current "Maronite political hegemony at the time" was replaced by another sectarian hegemony - such as the Shiite hegemony "and this is what happened, by virtue of the relations of hegemony imposed by the Syrian regime in Lebanon", for example, or the Druze, Or something else - it is the desired solution, and it is a possible sectarian reform. In such a solution we say, directly, that it is not a solution. The reason is not in one sect without another, the reason is in the existence of the political system itself as a sectarian system. The reason is in the existence of the state as a sectarian state. A sect is not an entity. The sect is a political relationship that is renewed by the renewal of that system, and it continues with its permanence. He is the one who safeguards its existence and ensures its reproduction so that, in its existence, it can secure the perpetuation of the renewal of the class domination of the bourgeoisie .dominant, and the dominance of the dominant class of which is the financial oligarchy. This means with complete logical clarity that the existence of all sects - not just one sect - is contingent on the existence of that sectarian system which is the system of this class domination based on the hegemony of this dominant group. With the demise of this system, sects disappear, in the political sense that we have defined, ((not in the sense of religious affiliation, in its ritual practice, for example, but rather from a political point of view)). her dominant equilibrium. This means, with all accuracy, that the actual existence (which is the political existence in its materiality) belongs to the system, not to the sects, to the unity of the whole in the relations of its parties, not to each party in its unity (16) .

So political control in our society, as long as it is linked to sectarianism, then it is linked to dependency capitalism and vice versa. It is not possible for a socialist economic system in Lebanon with the presence of ruling or dominant sectarian parties.

)¹⁵ (same source, p.338

)¹⁶ (he same source, p. 343.

the sectarian state.

We have previously said that the dominant class alliance has fallen into a crisis of domination since 2005 AD, but before that, the Taif Agreement occurred in 1989 AD, and the political solution to the civil war later, and we, unfortunately, do not see a political Marxist reading of this agreement with the Lebanese Communist Party, especially since it is the party The revolutionary class that was not originally called for a solution (sectarian reform) in the Taif Agreement. However, Mahdi Amel, who was affiliated with the Lebanese Communist Party at the time, and was even a member of its Central Committee, had put all the Islamic forces facing sectarian fascism and the Israeli occupation before the necessity of resolving the contradiction in it; between its sectarian awareness, which will eventually commit itself to sectarian reform, i.e., the solution of the ruling class to the crisis, i.e., the Taif Agreement, and its actual practice of this struggle on the ground; “There is, therefore, a real contradiction between the position of these forces, which is in the field of class struggle against fascism and their sectarian domination, necessarily, a revolutionary class position, and the sectarian form in which they are aware of their relationship to this position, and their relationship to their political practice, and even to the historical horizon of their struggle itself. This contradiction can, of course, be an obstacle to the development of the revolutionary process. But what we want to emphasize now in this field is that the struggle of these forces against the domination of sectarian fascism is what stands in the way of sectarian reform that they may aspire to achieve. Rather, its success in overthrowing the hegemony and its regime is the same that prevents the realization of the sectarian reform it may aspire to, in the sectarian form in which it is aware of a crisis and the nature of the solution to the crisis. As if it was carried by the logic of history, driven by it to the need to resolve its matter, either against its own ideological awareness and its sectarian reactionary form itself, in the direction of a radical change of the sectarian political system under the dominance of the dominant bourgeoisie, which is based in the dominance of the financial oligarchy, in the domination of sectarian fascism in particular, or “and this is what happened.” “In line with its reactionary sectarian consciousness, “but against the class interests of its toiling groups in particular” - in the direction of a sectarian reform of this system, by which the system regains its breath, in a movement that renews its crisis, and then renews the conditions of the civil war (17) .

What Mahdi Amel put in this text as a contradiction that must be settled by these Islamic forces, was settled in the late eighties of the last century in line with their reactionary sectarian awareness, and against the interests of the poor of those Islamic forces. It was his decisiveness that led to the sectarian reform in the Taif Agreement, which replaced the sectarian hegemony in the dominant class alliance from Maronite to Hariri, and then to Shi'ism. As for returning to the problem of the relationship of political control between sectarian and class; We find that it is the sectarian political system that secures the dependent capitalist state in Lebanon, the conditions for its existence and the conditions for its renewal, and its financing from those who dominate those sectarian forces abroad. No matter how much the dominant sect over the state, or the dominant class alliance, changes, the dependent capitalist system that produces periodic crises that inevitably subject us to greater economic and political dependence will not change. Therefore, the class

¹⁷ (After this contradiction has been resolved, Mahdi Amel's theory cannot remain unchanged with regard to public understanding. For the sectarian issue and its political reduction, otherwise, Mahdi should have predicted how this decision would be made, not pose it. as request; As if those Islamic forces had the freedom of political will. Same source, pg. 348

struggle to transform the dependent capitalist system is the political struggle against the sectarian state in Lebanon.

Mahdi Amel, according to the testimony of everyone who knew him or wrote about him, was a fighter who devoted his life to the causes of Lebanon, the Arab world, the underdeveloped world, or the third world in general. His academic work never stopped him from the mass trade union and party effort among students and workers, loving discussion, believing in the daily battle of revolutionary thought. The struggle of Mahdi Amel was distinguished, in thought and practice, against the prevailing official thought in general, and against sectarianism in particular, as an aspect of the class struggle in Lebanon. - in identifying it as a sectarian form - of political contradiction, i.e. that sectarianism is a specific historical form of the political system in which the Lebanese colonial bourgeoisie exercises its class control)

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He also relentlessly exposed the subordinate capitalist strata and their sectarian premises or justifications, their class exploitation, and their subordination to imperialism revealing and exposing not only their exploitative nature but also their reactionary, backward, and tyrannical nature, defining with revolutionary clarity, the necessity of relentless struggle against these strata or classes and their sectarian premises. To transcend it, deny it, and defeat it.

In this context, the late thinker Mahmoud Amin Al-Alam says on the second anniversary of the assassination of Mahdi Amel: ((If we wanted to search for proof or evidence of the credibility and effectiveness of Mahdi Amel's thought, we would not have found a clearer, more certain and strong proof or evidence than his martyrdom himself. If his thought was correct, he would not have been killed by the hand of those who killed him, and if his thought had not been effective, he would not have been killed by the hand of those who killed him.(19).

From a global perspective, and from another perspective, but it can also be in the same stage, but it is distinguished in reading it, but it can be so in a strategic framework within the framework of the local community The reality of underdevelopment prevailing in the Arab world, armed with Marxism and on a high level of seriousness and closeness. Since his first writings in "The Road" (1968), his intellectual views have carried with it his visions and method that reject the postulates of the prevailing Marxist thought .

Socio-economic patterns and formations identified by historical materialism for the course of historical development, where Mahdi Amel saw that these patterns do not apply to the nature of the

¹⁸ (Younna Al-Eid: "On Contradiction - Book: Theory and Practice in the Thought of Mahdi Amel.. Intellectual Symposium", Center Arabic Research and Studies, Cairo, Dar Al-Farabi, 1, 1989, pg. 4973.

¹⁹ (Mahmoud Amin Al-Alam: "A Study entitled The Theory of Revolution according to Mahdi Amel - Book: Theory and Practice In the Thought of Mahdi Amel.. an Intellectual Symposium - Center for Arab Research and Studies, Cairo, Dar Al-Farabi, 1st Edition, 1989, pg.49.

social development of the Arab peoples, confirming through a cognitive and critical analysis that occupied a wide area of his writings, that the prevailing pattern in Arab countries is “a pattern of Colonial production, in addition to his deep revolutionary analysis of the nature and development of the national liberation movement as a liberation movement from the colonial relations of production dependent on capitalism, as a preliminary step towards the second - and most important - step, which is the transition to socialism, which is the important stage in Marxist thought and thus the national liberation struggle has a class dimension Within a dialectical relationship between them, a conclusion that confirmed the validity of the course of Arab events and conflicts, whether in the context of the struggle against the Zionist imperialist alliance or in the context of the revolutionary process of the Arab popular uprisings against regimes of tyranny, exploitation, dependence and underdevelopment alike. From here, we consciously understand the vision of Mahdi Amel revolutionary knowledge that was launched One of the imperatives of “putting the formed Marxist thought into question, as the only method for the formation of thought.” Marxist” because his thought “does not grow, and its vitality and capacity are not confirmed, and it proves its science only through the intellectual struggle with the thought of the bourgeoisie, even if it is hidden under the clothes of Marxism(20).”

However, Mahdi Amel did not take the formed Marxist thought as his starting point, rather he wanted to make our backward reality the starting point, but rather to put the foundations of the formed Marxist thought itself into question on the ground of this distinct reality, so that - as he put it - our thought can be formed as a thought Really Marxist(21).”

Mahdi Amel wanted to build a Marxist theory of underdevelopment when he discovered that “the absence of a Marxist theory of underdevelopment is in itself a major phenomenon of underdevelopment(22).”

As for the priority of the class struggle, whether in Lebanon or in the rest of the Arab societies, especially Egypt, this priority occupied the largest space in most of Mahdi Amel’s ideas and records and his published books. Sectarian and was of the main form (23). ”

Finally, we conclude from the foregoing, if we agree that Mahdi Amel presented a theory of the revolution, then it is necessary at this stage to interact and communicate knowledge with his ideas and statements of his revolutionary theory, and to enrich and add to them through the study, analysis, and dismantling of our social and political reality in the context of the internal class struggle, and the struggle Against the Zionist imperialist presence in our country, through our starting from the central idea emphasized by Mahdi Amel in the interrelationship between national liberation and class struggle on the one hand, and through our starting from the dialectical unity between Marxism and the national liberation-democratic vision

With its socialist horizons on the other hand, which necessitates the collapse of all the parties and factions of the Marxist left, to a serious search on the basis of dialogue, in order to review and

²⁰ (Muhammad Dakrub: “A man who mastered the art of moving thought - Book: Theory and Practice in Mahdi’s Thought”. Worker. Intellectual Symposium, Center for Arab Research and Studies - Cairo, Dar Al-Farabi, 1st Edition, 1989, p. 43.

²¹ (Mahmoud Amin Al-Alam - a previously mentioned source - p. 50.

²² (Mahdi Amel: “On the Pattern of Colonial Production”, Beirut, Dar Al-Farabi, 1976, p. 201.

²³ (Mahdi Amel: “The Palestinian Question in the Lebanese Bourgeoisie Ideology” affiliated Research Center The Palestine Liberation Organization, Beirut, 1, 1980, p. 9.

Berat Al-Tahrir Palestine, Beirut, 1st Edition, 1980, p. 9.

critique their past experiences, renew and develop their parties and agree on political and societal visions, and on the common unifying intellectual and organizational goals and foundations among them in order to regain their credibility And its vanguard role, allowing it to turn into a force capable of building and activating the popular democratic alternative - in every Arab country - to confront right-wing polarization, and establish its ability to activate the uprisings or the Arab revolutionary situation and its current transformation, and achieve its goals to get rid of all forms, manifestations and tools of class exploitation and tyranny , confident of its victory, especially since the causes of the revolutionary uprising will not fade or disappear, but will accumulate again after discovering the illusions of the liberals and the forces of political Islam to produce a qualitative revolutionary situation, led by the masses of workers, poor peasants, all the toiling and oppressed, and at the forefront of which are the parties of the revolutionary Marxist left side by side with the forces Civil democracy, national secularism in order to achieve the goals that the popular uprisings launched from all of it.

Mahdi Amel’s vision of the concept of democracy:

On his philosophical vision of the concept of democracy, Amel presents a conception of it based on the Arab reality, which suffers from backwardness, ignorance and exploitation. Because democracy is a form of government and philosophy that wants the people to have a supreme value, from his point of view it is a participatory socialist theory. Marxism, without its roots in the criticism of capitalist liberalism, its liberal-democratic system, and its dialectical spirit, can turn into a totalitarian ideology, a system that generates tyranny and an inextricable dictatorship(24)..

Then he adds to the foregoing that democracy is a tool for achieving social justice through the principle of equal opportunities, as this principle allows all individuals to achieve real competition to achieve their interests in the spirit of participation and not in the spirit of survival for the strongest as is known in the merits of the liberal capitalist practice of the bourgeoisie. It is also a tool to combat bourgeois exploitation that rests on the shoulders of the working classes of society. Therefore, it is an actual practice whose idea, intentions, and example do not coincide except in socialism, and it is based on eliminating all possibilities of power monopolized by the traditional aristocrats and their bourgeois allies who are owners of the means of production, united on one level to retain power for an unknown period, and that changing the situation can only take place through concerted efforts in order to achieve the goals. Therefore, democracy is a lofty struggle cause and a great struggle in confronting tyranny and Western colonial powers. Democracy and freedom depend on the socialist revolution, and it can only be achieved optimally within the scope of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of exploitation, the establishment of the socialist system, and the fight against the fake democracy controlled by the capitalists and the bourgeoisie(25)..

Mahdi Amel believes that democracy is not only a goal, a method, and a tool in political action, but it is also a position in the theory of knowledge. Democracy is the recognition of the masses as large and marginalized blocs and must be transformed into a historical and political subject, and for this cause the dialectic element, which is the politically real democracy component, with the same reality and history, must crystallize with the same people(26)..

In fact, Mahdi Amel’s attempt to analyze the Arab reality and explain the concept of democracy did not depart from the familiar Marxist attempts that we studied before him. The analyzes of the Eastern Arab Marxists came as an extension of the traditional Marxist thought and did not present an Arab

)²⁴ (Mahdi Amel: “Theoretical Introductions to Studying the Impact of Socialist Thought on the National Liberation Movement,” a previously mentioned source, p.107.

)²⁵ (Mahdi Amel: "Naqd al-Fikr al-Dawli", Beirut, Dar al-Farabi, 3rd edition, 2005, p. 127 ..

)²⁶ (Mahdi Amel: “Theory in Political Practice,” a previously mentioned source, p. 72 ..

alternative to it. In epistemology, it is a position of acknowledgment of being and reality, with the same reality and history, a position of acknowledgment of illiterate humanity, the maker of history. In this context, he differentiates between democracy and liberalism. Politically, liberalism is a position of recognition of an elite, a middle class, a bourgeoisie, intellectuals, and parties, in a modern circle of our society. In any elitist form, it is easy for this liberalism to turn into fascism. And the third: civil society as the cause of the people, and the entity of society itself, which is also the issue of Arab national unity. Mahdi Amel addresses the concept of democracy with a more profound vision through two observations⁽²⁷⁾ :

The first observation: on the concept of bourgeois democracy. If we wanted to define democracy, we would say that in general, it is: the appropriate political form for the domination of the bourgeoisie in terms of what we mean by democracy in appearance, the rule of the people by the people through their political representatives, and for the people, and in fact in terms of it is the dictatorship of the bourgeois class. On the basis of this contradiction, democracy is possible in its appearance precisely because the bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class with its interests linked to the interests of the other classes that were subject to the feudal domination of the "nobles" and in contradiction to this domination.

Bourgeois democracy in its theoretical concept is possible because the bourgeoisie is a hegemonic class, that is, it carries in its class process the possibility of forming a new mode of production, and that it dominates economically within the framework of new and political relations, in terms of its system of control representing the interests of classes and other groups allied with them and unable to achieve their interests by themselves. The interests of classes and other classes are linked in their possibility of realization by the regime of bourgeoisie control. What I am saying is true in a stage of the bourgeois regime in particular, which is the revolutionary stage, that is, the stage in which the bourgeoisie was a rising class, and in contradiction to the previous regimes. Bourgeois democracy is possible in its specific sense, which is to give the class opposite to the bourgeoisie the possibility of forming an independent political force that is secured for it by its political party. A note must be made here: namely, that this possibility was realized, not as a gift from the bourgeoisie, but in a struggle against it. It can be said, indeed it must be said, that all the democratic, political, and social gains, even those that do not threaten the bourgeois system with a runaway, were extracted by a mass struggle.

Mahdi Amel explains a conclusion that lies in the conclusion⁽²⁸⁾ :

1. The democratic gains, even in bourgeois democracy, are the product of the class struggle and the tendency of authoritarianism and hegemony, and the dictatorship inherent in the bourgeois regime.
2. As for the crisis stage, renewed conflicts arise to strike at the democratic gains, and consequently, the preservation and deepening of these bourgeois democratic gains becomes the result of a persistent, persistent, and continuous struggle, which results in a systematic way, the need to consider the problem of democracy, even in its bourgeois sense, from an

)²⁷ (Mahdi Amel, discussions and dialogues on the issues of the national liberation movement and the distinction of Marxist concepts In Arabic, a previously mentioned source p. 1.

)²⁸ (In Arabic, a previously mentioned source p. 133.

angle Class struggle and from the site of the mass struggle. This is the first observation about general bourgeois democracy.

3. The second observation: is that the bourgeois democracy that we call colonialism, we mean that of the bourgeoisie of our Arab societies, and an example of it is sectarian democracy [the Lebanon model] everything that was possible in bourgeois democracy in its theoretical concept, is not possible in bourgeois colonial democracy, or in the framework of dependency capitalism, as in our societies; Especially the second thing: bourgeois democracy in these societies does not allow the class opposite to it as an independent political force and in a revolutionary party, and the reason for this is that the bourgeoisie did not carry out its revolution in our country as it did in other societies, and it was not possible to carry out this revolution, because it came to History is late after capitalism entered the stage of its crisis It is possible to speak of two phases with regard to the history of each type of production:⁽²⁹⁾
 - A. An ascending stage, in which the class-bearing class, in its becoming a class of this mode of production, is a revolutionary class.
 - B. A downward phase: or the crisis phase, when the necessity of a revolutionary transition to another mode of production is raised.

So, capitalism in our societies has known one phase, which is the phase of its crisis. The phase of its formation cohesion with the phase of its crisis, and within the framework of the crisis of imperialism and the crisis of the world capitalist system at the time of the revolutionary transition to socialism. Therefore, and for this very reason, bourgeois democracy, with its meaning of allowing the independent political formation of the anti-class in our societies, was almost impossible, if I did not say impossible in its principle. It is possible only on one condition, which is to prevent absolutely the class opposite of the bourgeoisie from forming in an independent political force represented by the revolutionary party of the working class. The example of Egypt: From here, we can understand this ferocity that appeared in the bourgeoisie to strike the revolutionary political organizations early: for example, even in the 1919 revolution in Egypt, the one who took the initiative to strike the political organization of the working class party was Saad Zaghloul. But does this mean that there is no possibility of the independent political formation of the class antithesis of the bourgeoisie? Yeah. But what would the result be? At that time, the bourgeoisie is going on the fascist path, on the path of civil war, and this is exactly what happened in Lebanon, and this is precisely one of the main causes of the civil war in Lebanon, which the bourgeoisie imposed on the people of Lebanon

The example of Lebanon: democracy was possible as long as it was sectarian democracy, and sectarian democracy in its foundation is this system that prevents the independent political formation of the revolutionary opposite class, and therefore as soon as the necessity of transforming sectarian democracy into political democracy, even in its bourgeois sense, emerged as soon as this necessity appeared. Until the bourgeoisie chose the fascist option and entered the stage of civil war. Therefore, democracy is no longer possible in Lebanon except as a revolutionary democracy, that is, as a national democratic government⁽³⁰⁾.

We conclude from the foregoing that Mahdi Amel believed that democracy was not a gift, one day, but was the result of a struggle and a response to this struggle over and over again with force and times with concessions. This democracy always needs the presence of internal forces in society to defend it so that it becomes a general demand that people can revolt because of, and thus has

²⁹ (Mahdi Amel: "Theory in Political Practice - An Examination of the Causes of the Lebanese Civil War", a cited source, pp. 38-39.

³⁰ (Mahdi Amel: "Naqd al-Fikr al-Daymi," a previously mentioned source, p. 133.

sufficient pressure for democratic development. Democracy is built with practices and conditions that make people behave in sound behavior consistent with what they call for democracy .

Conclusion:

Finally, we conclude from the foregoing, if we agree that Mahdi Amel presented a theory of class struggle, then it is necessary at this stage to interact and communicate knowledge with his ideas and statements of his revolutionary theory and to enrich and add to them through the study, analysis, and dismantling of our social and political reality within the framework of the internal class struggle. And the struggle against the Zionist imperialist presence in our country, through our starting from the central idea emphasized by Mahdi Amel in the interrelationship between national liberation and the class struggle on the one hand, and through our starting from the dialectical unity between Marxism and the nationalist liberal democratic vision with its socialist horizons on the other hand, which requires the collapse of all The parties and factions of the Marxist left, to serious research on the basis of dialogue, in order to review and critique their past experiences, renew and develop their parties and agree on political and societal visions, and on the common unifying intellectual and organizational goals and foundations among them in order to regain their credibility and their vanguard role, allowing them to turn into a capable force through Building and activating the popular democratic alternative - in every Arab country - to confront right-wing polarization, and establish its ability to benefit After the uprisings or the Arab revolutionary situation and its current situation, and achieving its goals to get rid of all forms, manifestations and tools of class exploitation and tyranny, confident of its victory, especially since the causes of the revolutionary uprising will not fade or disappear, but will accumulate again after discovering the illusions of liberals and the forces of political Islam to produce a qualitative revolutionary situation , led by the masses of workers, poor peasants and all the toiling and oppressed, led by the revolutionary Marxist left parties, along with the civil, secular, patriotic democratic forces, in order to achieve the goals for which the popular uprisings were launched.

As for democracy, Mahdi is a worker. I believe that it was not a grant, one day. Rather, it was the result of a struggle and a response to this struggle over and over again with force and times with concessions. This democracy always needs the presence of internal forces in society to defend it so that it becomes a general demand that people can revolt because of, and thus has sufficient pressure for democratic development. Democracy is built with practices and conditions that make people behave in sound behavior consistent with what they call for democracy.

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