

# THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF THE THINKER ISMAIL SABRY ABDULLAH

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Article history:	Abstract:
Accepted: September 26 <sup>th</sup> 2021 t Published: November 6 <sup>th</sup> 2021 <i>f</i> f t li t t t	This research attempts to shed light on some of the intellectual aspects of the thinker Ismail Sabri Abdullah, who is one of the most prominent contemporary Arab thinkers, and since it was difficult to understand all the propositions put forward by Abdullah, we focused on the two most important concepts in the thought of Ismail Sabri Abdullah, namely: Democracy and globalization. In light of this, the research was divided into two main topics. In the first topic, the concept of democracy in the thought of Ismail Sabri Abdullah was exposed, while the second topic dealt with the concept of globalization in the thought of Ismail Sabri Abdullah. Then the research ended with a conclusion that included the most important conclusions and then a list of sources

**Keywords:** Ismail Sabri Abdullah, Democracy and globalization

#### INTRODUCTION

Talking about the issues of contemporary Arab political thought, and those who addressed 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 Ismail Sabri Abdullah is one of the few Arab thinkers who tried to find a leftist political thought that has a peculiarity that suits the Arab environment, and is trying to find solutions to the reality of the Arab proletarian class.

And the thinker Ismail Sabri Abdullah is one of the Arab thinkers who tried to find a leftist political thought adapted to finding solutions to the problem of the Arab revolution. Abdullah's Marxist ideas were in harmony with the space of the system of values and concepts that are based on the historical Marxist theory, this theory that Abdullah tried diligently to localize to understand the possibilities and prospects of the change presented to the Arab liberation movement in particular.

Abdullah has worked to produce new cognitive tools in Marxist thought, considering that distinguishing 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 in part to that theoretical analysis, will in turn fall into the mists of that chasm, in which the revolutionary path of political practice will falter.

Abdullah 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 a 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. Abdullah's Marxist theses were compatible with the space of the system of values and concepts that are based on the historical Marxist theory, this theory that Abdullah tried diligently to localize to understand the possibilities and prospects of change before the Arab liberation movement in particular. Abdullah's theses regarding 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 situations, it was necessary to develop the Marxist vision in third world societies in general, including our region.

Arab countries in particular, as they confront the existing colonialism and the class differences that arose in European industrial societies.

And his vision of the concept of democracy, which he considered to be one of the widely used concepts, but at the same time one of the concepts



that is 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 its meaning, which changed according to the movement of the development of history, as Its concept has changed from time to time. In Abdullah's view, the analysis of reality is the only way that allows building a 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". Abdullah presents his own concept about democracy based on his vision of it, and it is not only a political system that fights dictatorship and tyrannical regimes, but allows people to live a life far from fear of the brutality of the police state that abuses the basic rights of the citizen of dignity and freedom. 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, that 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, that he merges. 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.

Abdullah also limped in the second topic about the concept of globalization, which invaded the global intellectual, political and economic arena, especially after the victory of the United States of America, the leader of the capitalist camp, over the former Soviet Union, and the victory of liberal values, democracy and human rights, where Ismail Sabri Abdullah dealt with this concept — globalization — And the nature of major capitalist countries and multinational companies and the nature of their work and their impact on the global political, economic and financial arena.

First: The importance of the research: The importance of the research in presenting an epistemological approach to the political thought of Ismail Sabri Abdullah, through the main entrances around which his intellectual theories were centered in the political field, where the research shows this intellectual approach and what it occupied from a distinguished position in the Arab intellectual arena,

and we highlight Highlighting the importance of the political thought that emerged from Abdullah, and the political current to which this thinker belonged, which is the current of the contemporary Arab Marxists

Second: The problem of the research: The problem of the research is embodied in that the thinker Ismail Sabri Abdullah 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 you suffer from Contemporary Arab societies are of intellectual and ideological chaos, and consequently, this affected some of his ideas, which were characterized by ambiguity, and the difficulty of intellectual presentation that he put forward through his ideas.

Third: The research hypothesis: The political intellectual approach presented by the thinker Ismail Sabri Abdullah 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 balanced 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 goals 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 themes. The research concluded with a conclusion and a list of sources.

The first topic: The concept of democracy in the thought of Ismail Sabri Abdullah \*: When Ismail Sabri Abdullah chronicles democracy, he refers to its class nature in the city-state of Athens. The rule of a minority of the free, then he mentions that Western democracy in its current form is the result of a great development that took more than two centuries, and its actual beginning was in England "The Bill of Rights 1689", and in the United States of America through its Constitution of 1787, then in France Through the declaration of the rights of man and the citizen in the light of the Great Revolution of 1789. Ismail Sabri Abdullah focused, in his analysis of the development of the phenomenon of democracy in the history of the West, on the importance of the violent social and economic transformations that accompanied it, which led to the expansion of its scope. Therefore, when the



economic conditions of the popular classes improved She aspired to what was better and had a higher degree of awareness and capacity for organization and political action. Thus, political parties and trade union movements arose, which in turn worked to develop democracy. <sup>(1)</sup>.

Right, right, right, saying that capitalism only flourishes democracy, that's right, right, square, square, square, right, square, this was achieved in Japan types of reverence and oppression from the development of capitalism, and that periods of periods of persistence and oppression.

Dictatorship is the one in which the bourgeoisie grew, for example, during the rule of Napoleon and then the period of the rule of Napoleon III in France, and the basic requirement was the demand of people deprived of the exercise of democracy, because the non-owners were deprived even of the formation of associations and the right to form unions, not to mention the fact that they are parties. The popular struggle, and the struggle of intellectuals and thinkers, is a struggle that led to the realization of these gains that the ruling capitalism was able to mobilize and voluntarily voluntarily to live and prosper. And its analysis, if we neglect the reality of plundering the wealth of the Third World, so that the ruling capitalism can increase its profits and raise the standard of living of its masses, so it needs at the same time an additional source, this source came to Europe and America from the colonial phenomenon <sup>(2)</sup>.

Abdullah believes that democracy was never a gift, but rather 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 it, and thus it has sufficient pressure for democratic development. Democracy is built with practices and conditions that make people behave in a sound manner consistent with what they call for democracy. Therefore, he says: "We, believers in democracy, have to link in the eyes of the popular

 (<sup>1</sup>) اسماعيل صبري عبد الله :" المقومات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية للديمقراطية في الوطن العربي " في علي الدين هلال وآخرون : "
 الديمقراطية وحقوق الانسان في الوطن العربي" ،
 مصدر سبق ذكره ، ص 111 .
 (<sup>2</sup>) المصدر نفسه ، نفس المكان . masses a very close link between their living needs and the issue of democracy, where the living needs seek pressure The ruler does not care about the election process, because democracy is not an easy issue, and there must be thought and practice within the society so that the democratic theory stems from within us, and is not just a simulation of the West or just being modern and not backward, that is not enough alone, it must be There are social forces linking its economic and social progress to the democratic demand<sup>(3)</sup>. "

the use of money one Through this technology, citizens' opinion is formed, so that the citizen votes what he thinks is right, but before he thinks and determines what is right for himself, the radio and television have flooded him with pre-prepared opinions.<sup>(4)</sup>.

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Abdullah believes that the issue of democracy must be understood in parallel with all the basic issues that are raised, and stresses that democracy will not be stable and achieved, unless it brings about a change in the prevailing economic and social structures to liquidate traditional centers of power, and democracy, in his view, can only proceed With two wings, the political wing and the economic wing. Democracy also means the necessity to redistribute the national income in a fair way, because in a society where opportunities are not equal, democracy and electoral processes become buying and selling and commerce of souls.<sup>(5)</sup>.

Abdullah believes that the democratic experiment in the first contemporary socialist society is a disappointing experience because socialism is linked to one party, and the internal disputes are hidden from the masses who are isolated from participating in solving political and economic issues. <sup>(6)</sup>.

Abdullah used the Marxist method in evaluating the experiences of socialist systems, at the forefront of which was the Soviet experience, and what happened to them, and critically stopped at the

(<sup>3</sup>) المصدر نفسه ، ص 9 . (<sup>4</sup>) اسماعيل صبري عبد الله :" المقومات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية للديمقراطية في الوطن العربي " ، مصدر



saying that "the Soviet Union was a non-class society." Therefore, he presented a fundamental critique of the one-party rule, the denial of pluralism, and the close overlap between the party and the state. And for the party to stifle all serious research activity in the social sciences on the pretext that the founding fathers said everything that could be said. And he continues his critical reading of dealing with the masses, which is the deal that was taking place, "as if we had the wisdom and the right and wanted to teach the masses where oppression and exploitation would affect them, and that the revolution would change their conditions. We often deal with stakeholders, just as the teacher deals with a traditional school that rejects the concept of dialogue as an educational tool of great influence " (7)

Abdullah explains that the appropriate democracy for our Arab societies is the one that must take into consideration the interests of the lower classes in society, including workers, farmers, artisans, manufacturers and the rest of the simple social strata. Why not involve religion in political practice and give the clergy a large space in interfering in power and expressing their role in every small and big thing, and because it is the experience of societies

The Arab parties with the religious parties and the great violence that the latter practiced to achieve their goals, until this violence affected society and harmed the interests of social classes, and thus they were the reason for attaching shameful images to religion and distorting its reputation<sup>(8)</sup>.

Abdullah noted that the countries of the third world, and the Arab world is an essential part of it, were divided between the Western and Soviet experiences, and the result was, in almost all cases, negative and painful, because the third world countries do not have the economic and social components available to the West, as they are poor countries that suffer from ignorance. illiteracy and tribal conflicts, and it was unable to resolve social contradictions and class struggle, and then the matter came to the control of a single party led by the middle class, which exercised all kinds of authoritarianism, pressure and

(<sup>7</sup>) اسماعيل صبري عبد الله :" أفكار اولية للنقاش بين الماركسين العرب " ، مجلة الطريق ، السنة 52 ، العدد
 مايو ، 1993 ، ص15.
 (<sup>8</sup>) المصدر نفسه ، ص ص 13 – 14.

counterfeiting to ensure that it retained power, but this deadly picture of the situation of the third world countries did not obscure some of the leading experiences in India under Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), and in some Latin American countries, after getting rid of military dictatorships such as Costa Rica, Venezuela and Mexico <sup>(9)</sup>.

From the foregoing, it seems that Ismail Sabri Abdullah is trying to get out of the traditional Marxist theory coat, for his concept of democracy is based on allowing room for pluralism in place of one-party rule. The leader of the social classes, she is the one who will play the pivotal role in transferring power from the hands of the capitalist bourgeoisie and considering it the first and most important step in the transition towards socialism and then supreme communism. To the principle of supreme communism "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need." Therefore, the Marxist theory was described as a totalitarian, dictatorial theory that stifles every political pluralism trend and confines power to the proletarians. On the Arab level, when the oldest Arab communist party, the Iragi Communist Party, gave way to some practice

In power after the July 14, 1958 revolution, how did he practice the exclusionary and marginalization policy of the rest of the Iraqi political forces and parties at the time. So, in our perception, what Ismail Sabri Abdullah proposed were just ideas to advance the deteriorating reality of the Arab countries and the call for pluralism, thus violating the origins of the traditional Marxist theory.

Mahmoud Amin Al-Alam commented on this by saying: ((The greatest deception that gave legitimacy to the tradition of eastern tyranny emanating from the depths of history is the criticism of democracy in the name of socialism under investigation or in the name of Arab Marxism reproduced from the reality of the Soviet experience. Socialism can only be established if democracy is accompanied by it. and complements it, it is not a negation of it))<sup>(10)</sup>.

(<sup>9</sup>) اسماعيل صبري عبد الله :" المقومات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية للديمقراطية في الوطن العربي " ، مصدر

سبق ذكره ، ص 116.

(<sup>10</sup>) محمود أمين العالم :" مفاهيم وقضايا اشكالية " ، القاهرة ، دار الثقافة الجديدة ، 1989 ، ص 39 .



This expression does not mean freezing the existing situation and preserving its existence, because this is an impossible goal in the long term, and in the medium term it could be a cause for social unrest, political upheavals, acts of violence and destruction. Rather, stability is achieved by the existence of peaceful mechanisms for the transfer of power between political forces (not just people) that are active in society. This can only be imagined close to political pluralism, freedom of political action, the formation of parties, and freedom of movement. Pluralism does not flourish and the peaceful transfer of power is achieved only through direct elections between multiple candidates that are endorsed by the description of cleanliness and integrity, as legal scholars and Western media say. And such a change in the nature of things, nothing in the universe remains the same. Each society has its own internal contradictions and has conflicting interests, viewpoints, and even various philosophies. The advantage of democracy is that it organizes, and this expression does not mean freezing the existing situation and preserving its existence, because this is an impossible goal in the long term, and in the medium term it can be a cause for social unrest, political upheavals, acts of violence and destruction. Rather, stability is achieved by the existence of peaceful mechanisms for the transfer of power between political forces (not just people) that are active in society. This can only be imagined close to political pluralism, freedom of political action, the formation of parties, and freedom of movement. The advantage of democracy is that it regulates the rules of social conflict and opens the door for the transfer of power from one party (or combined parties) to another (or another group of parties). Each party has its own declared policy and programs that it promotes, so that the society is not surprised by rulers who know little about them and who implement policies that were not expected. The democratic growth of Western democracy, which was mainly achieved due to the struggle of the masses and their defense of their legitimate rights, and the intrusion of their representatives into decision-making positions, provided an opportunity for capitalism to survive by accepting the transfer of power within the framework of a capitalist society without threatening to overthrow capitalism as a ruling class. Hence the call for direct popular participation in decision-making. One of the means of this participation is the enjoyment of local government based on free elections and responsibility to its electors with real powers

extracted from the central state apparatus. It also forms the participation of employees in the management of

Companies in the private sector (and this has been implemented in Germany since the sixties) and the participation of beneficiaries in the management of services: schools, hospitals, etc. In our estimation, the transition of society from capitalism to socialism is by peaceful means, that is, when the clear majority of citizens (and not only the absolute) are convinced of the elements of the specific socialist mode of production that originally stemmed from it and is presented to it. It is not permissible to be singled out for political power and to deprive society of its peaceful circulation as a price for obtaining social justice. The noblest thing in socialism is the deep human tendency that drives the struggle for the liberation of the citizen from both political oppression and social injustice.(<sup>11</sup>).

As we approach the end of the twentieth century, thinkers have become aware of the spread of corruption related to governance and politicians on a previously unknown scale. Democracy provides to a large extent the means to detect corruption and prosecute the corrupt. We believe that the extent of political corruption in rich democratic countries is linked to the decline in the role of the state and the prestige of its senior officials in front of what it possesses.

We cannot fail to mention here the wonderful example that Italy set in the war against corruption and the intertwined mafia with the ruling parties, which led to the almost complete liquidation of the Italian Christian Democratic Party, which ruled the country for more than forty years after a number of its most prominent leaders were imprisoned by judicial order, as well as the Socialist Party, which His boss fled to Tunisia. All this was done through normal legal procedures and by honest judges, and this proves that it is possible in democracy to eliminate the basic structure of corruption.

As for Ismail Sabri Abdullah's position on religion and secularism in particular, he affirms the following: "It is unfortunate that many do not fully understand what this secularism is and the extent of its importance in order to build a democratic society at

بيروت ، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية ، 2010 ، ص131.

<sup>(11)</sup> أسماعيل صبري عبد الله : " العرب والعولمة : العولمة والاقتصاد والتنمية العربية " العرب والكوكبة " ،



the level of the challenges of the times. Perhaps the reason for their rejection of secularism is that they fear that secularism is synonymous with hostility Religion. I claim that this confusion has no basis. Therefore, secularism would liberate religion from the abuse of power for it. Therefore, secularism would strengthen after the free individual conviction of belief, by breaking the link between religion and authority, which is a link that binds belief to conditions Religion as a social phenomenon of a historical nature, and in this context, it seems to me that secularism is not a characteristic of Christian societies as seen by the Salafis. The medieval European Christian society did not know the concept of secularism, but was based on the principle of the unity of religion and worldly life, similar to what it is in Islamic societies now. . This unity gives religion a social character, often at the expense of free conviction of belief, which is a common feature of all pre-capitalist societies.(12)

#### THE SECOND TOPIC: THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION IN THE THOUGHT OF ISMAIL SABRI ABDULLAH:

After the bitter conflict during the Cold War between the Americans and the Soviets after the end of the liberal military victory in the United States of America, watching this victory was considered the beginning of a new era, the most prominent features of which are the hegemony and spread of liberal and capitalist values and the market economy on the world, and the spread of multinational companies around the world. Talking about this issue requires, on the one hand, identifying the points on the one hand, on the other hand, and on the other hand, the location of the Arab countries on the economic map of our contemporary world. Constellation: Global Post-Imperial Constellation Constellation Global Constellation (13). "

Here, it is sufficient to refer to the basic sayings in it. First of all, we mention the reason for

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rejecting the word "globalization" and giving preference to "the constellation". And the relationship of this phenomenon to the rapid development of technology. He praised the fact that this phenomenon is the latest stage reached by a basic law of capitalism, which is the constant trend towards greater concentration of capital, control and economic power. The third argument is the increasing dispensation of the transnational corporations from the nation-states that arose with the emergence of capitalism and played a decisive role in the growth and spread of capitalism and the accompanying multiple wars. The nation-state reached the climax of its power during the stage of vast colonial empires and the two world wars it witnessed, the first of which was followed by the greatest depression in the history of capitalism (the crisis of 1929), and the second was followed by the socalled welfare state. Finally, we refer to the term "market ideology" or the transformation of supply relations

The demand and the price are from a mere economic mechanism to a doctrine that takes us back to the beginnings of the nineteenth century from the glorification of the principle of "laissez-faire and laissez-faire" and the belief that "freedom of the market" spread progress, liquidate will underdevelopment and eliminate poverty. In the name of this doctrine, the state becomes a permanent evil, and if it is difficult to completely dispense with it, its role must be constantly reduced and its "bureaucracy" taught the methods of business management. As for our position as Arabs, it can only be identified within the "Third World" which is the sum of the countries that were subjected to various periods of ancient colonialism and which, accordingly, only knew partial development that was distorted and directed to serve the outside, and in which the majority of its people still live in varying levels of poverty. They are what Western thinkers out of shame call "developing countries" because underdevelopment is an insult. Which in the language of the United Nations is called the Group of Seventy Seven, and although its current number exceeds that number by nearly double, it is spread in the three southern continents. Our countries are an integral part of the Third World, which, despite the tangible progress of some of its countries and the regression of others, remains subject to exploitation and dependence. Exploitation in the sense of leaving a large part of the economic surplus realized from the work of the people of the country to go to the advanced industrial countries through uneven exchange and transfer of loan interest and profits of foreign direct investment, and finally the investments



of the people of the third world abroad. Dependency, in the sense of external constraints on the freedom of the national will in making its decisions, and the intense media and advertising influence in changing cultural values and forms of behavior in trends that often harm the cause of development (the most dangerous of which, in my estimation, is the attempt to emulate the wasteful consumption patterns that prevail in Western societies). Emphasizing belonging to the third world is a necessity to understand the risks and opportunities of Arab development<sup>(14)</sup>.

We can demonstrate this affiliation if we look at the middle income levels in our countries according to the classification of the World Bank. In the "World Development Report 1997" issued by the World Bank, we find among the fifteen high-income countries (more than \$9,000 per year) three Arab countries (Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar) with a population of 6.4 million out of the total population of the Arab countries of 252 Million in 1995 (Unified Arab Economic Report 1996). As for the rest of our countries, including the largest oil exporters, the World Bank distributes them as follows: Five countries do not have enough data to know the size of the gross domestic product and thus determine the average per capita income (Libya, Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, Djibouti) and the lack of data in itself is evidence of underdevelopment because the successful are proud declaring their relative success. We find both Yemen and Mauritania among the lowest income countries in the world (less than \$770 per year). It is estimated that the average income in Yemen is 260 dollars, and in Mauritania 460 dollars. The rest of the Arab countries fall into the middle income group, which varies between \$790 (Egypt) and \$7,040 (Saudi Arabia). Our countries vary more in poverty than in wealth. In light of this, we present successively to the increasing polarization between the rich minority and the poor majority in the constellation era. Then we review the most important elements of resistance $(^{15})$ .

## - 1Concentration and marginalization

The phenomenon of the constellation arose and grew in the second half of the twentieth century.

(<sup>14</sup>) المصدر نفسه ، ص39.
(<sup>15</sup>) المصدر نفسه ، ص39. وكذلك يمكن النظر : اسماعيل (<sup>15</sup>) المصدر نفسه ، ص43. وكذلك يمكن النظر : اسماعيل صبري عبد الله : "العرب والعولمة : العولمة والاقتصاد والتنمية العربية ، العرب والكوكبة " ، مصدر سبق ذكره .

A passenger ran on a third passenger. It is well known that the term economic development means poor countries until they catch up with the train of superiors, even if it appears at its back in politics and economy after World War II 1945.

The United Nations Joint United Nations Development Program (UNDP) was established on the island in the 1960s. And the countries knew the development aid that the governments of the third world countries get. Amidst the development of neighboring countries as a result, there are two contemporary phenomena: constellation in the north and development in the south. And it was an issue in the issue of catching up with the university, in the event of an attempt to narrow the gap between the North and the South, which seemed to be a hoped-for thing for many politicians and the majority of the majority of intellectuals. We can now test with the figures documented in the World Bank to write the truth of things. From the reality of development reports issued by the World Bank on a weekly basis since the late seventies, we can compare the figures for the gross domestic product of the world and for the majority of its countries during the thirty years between 1965 and 1995. 1988 as an average year. The seven major industrial countries:

We have arrived at the following next table, which is next on the other hand in terms of the industry of the major industrialized countries, and the totality of the third world countries, including the oil countries and the Asian tigers, and on the other hand. Focusing on the seven countries (the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and Canada) has the advantage of showing the effect of concentration even within the industrialized countries themselves. Read more Read more Make photos of your friends from countries looking for high quality ratings. This is what carried some writers to the top of the seventies in managing the world economy. On the other hand, in 1996 those countries spent on "research and development work" research on transforming applied knowledge into production techniques, an amount of \$345 billion measured between the state and the private sector. Enjoy high technology. (16)

It is noticeable that the annexes are an essential aspect of the activities of the constellation.

<sup>(&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup>)Ismail Sabri Abdullah: "The Constellation: Post-Imperialist Global Capitalism," a previously mentioned source, p. 41.



Hence, I focused, on, the latest, most recent images of that group's group of companies. Therefore, the list is in the previous section. In the insurance activity of its various types, the list mentions 47 companies, 37 of which are within the Group of Seven. In the field of investing in global financial operations and major stock exchanges that actually appear in an active market that is open all the time. Twenty-four hours. Cairo Due to a lot of talk about the communications revolution, the "Fortune" list lists the names of 22 planetary companies, 19 of which are in the G7 countries. And in the year of the information revolution in 2004, year, year, year, year, coming from the United States. It is clear that the noticeable increase in the share of the services sector in the composition of the gross domestic product in the industrialized countries is due to the activities we have just presented.

It flies between north and south. The limited decline in the share of the G7 was in favor of industrialized countries (the rest of Europe) and China. It is useful here to point out the place of the Arabs in all of this. The unified Arab record (1996) came in which the total GDP of Arab countries reached 7,528 billion dollars in 1995. This figure is the figure of 9.1% of the world's total. For comparison purposes, we add that the homeland comprises 4.4% of the total world population.

This roundness in the field of international trade is reflected in the field of international trade, the International Monetary Center, the World Trade Organization. Third world countries are suffering from the disease. And bad reputation among the peoples and the writings abounded in their criticism. A newborn is qualitatively more dangerous. We are dealing with a law governing international services in the financial sector and assets. It is difficult for any country, any country, or the largest, or the economy to come out without a heavy loss. He discussed an international bill of labour. The arbitral tribunal, the arbitral tribunal, and, finally, has a judicial testimony in this section. It is based on the rules of international and domestic dealings that satisfy it. But this market ideology enabled dangerous activity. The average volume of international trade, given in daily dealing, is just over 4 trillion per year (1995). In these speculations, fortunes estimated at tens of billions are accumulated, not matched by any in-kind production. Its price data, its data, its data, its data, its data, its data, its brands and its credit card data. credit. (17)

Thus it turns out that the mechanisms of the constellation work mainly for the benefit of the planetary corporations that we have honestly called multinational. But these companies necessarily arose where capitalism was stable and well-established, where physical, financial and communication infrastructures were available, and where they benefited from huge state funding for scientific and technological research, where qualified labor was available and labor productivity reached the highest levels. Thus, we found the headquarters of 426 of the largest companies in the world that are affiliated with or associated with the Group of Seven. It is also known that more than two thirds of capital flows from one country to another are concentrated during four decades in what we might call cross investment among the seven mentioned countries. This concentration on the level of the entire world economy was mainly in favor of the forces that achieved it. It also has a great price within the societies of those countries, which is represented in high unemployment rates and the increase in the number of people living below the poverty line and stripped of the social insurance cover, and these countries have begun to witness economic growth that is not accompanied by new job opportunities.(18).

The major companies have entered into the so-called restructuring, downsizing the size of their administrative bodies, abandoning the method of large industrial complexes, and spreading components industries in sub-contracting companies. The high concentration of ownership and control is matched by the narrow specialization of industrial production units. Thus, the gap widened between the highest and lowest incomes, and in the rich industrial societies, groups of the new poor were formed, whose fate must preoccupy us, as it is possible that the racist, reactionary, anti-democratic political currents may be nourished, which may open the door to a new fascism. With all the poor of the world.

Poverty, dependency and marginalization:

The great reservoir of the poor of this planet is the third world whose share of the world's GDP has declined during the past three decades, as we have seen in numbers. Despite the ideology of the market economy and the neoliberal policy, the phenomenon of persistent poverty in the world and the steadily increasing number of the poor obliged the World Bank to abandon one of the most important postulates of liberalism, which is the so-called "trickling down

<sup>17</sup> () المصدر نفسه ، ص ص41-42.



effect," according to which the increasing wealth of the rich will automatically and gradually eliminate the phenomenon of poverty because wealth Increased means increased investment and the creation of increasing numbers of job opportunities so that unemployment and the resulting poverty are confined to the lazy and the disabled, and this can be treated by doing charity, i.e. what the rich donate. In this conceptual framework, the state has little role beyond maintaining order. Accordingly, the Bank has adopted the necessity of directly addressing the issue of poverty, direct attack on poverty, and that among the components of the economic policy of each country there should be measures that alleviate poverty on society. This trend prompted the Bank's management to try to count the numbers of the poor and classify the degrees of poverty(<sup>19</sup>).

The bank has assumed that the destitute is the one who receives an income of less than one dollar per day, calculated on the basis of comparing the purchasing power to the corresponding exchange rate of the local currency, or the so-called purchasing power parity of the two currencies, each in his market. It was estimated in 1995 that the number of landless people in the world is 1180 million. His experts believed that 80 million of them will exceed this limit upwards by the year 2020. He added that they will be Asians and Latin Americans. As for "Africa and the Middle East", they expected a significant increase in the number of the landless. If we rise from one dollar per day to three dollars per day (i.e., 1092 dollars per capita income annually), we find that the average per capita income is lower than that in 57 countries (according to the data of the World Development Report 1997), which includes 6.3576 million people, i.e. 63% of the total population of our planet. All of these countries are in the southern continents except for three Europeans whose total population does not exceed 10 million ((Moldova, Macedonia, Albania)). Including, of course, many Arab countries (Yemen, Mauritania, Sudan, Egypt...). Given the prevailing distribution patterns of national income is not poorer than the poor of poor countries. This means that countries where the average per capita income exceeds the \$1,092 we randomly choose have large numbers of poor people. One of the painful and

admittedly bitter facts is that income inequality is lower in the rich industrial countries than in the less poor third world countries. If we consider the determination of the share of each income category on the assumption that the total national income is 100 as well as the total income of citizens, and that the search is for the share of every tenth of the population that constitutes a category of income from the gross domestic product, contained in the World Development Report just referred to, we note important things. In high-income industrialized countries, we find that the share of the ten with the highest incomes ranges between 8.20% of GDP (Sweden) and 9.29% (Switzerland). On the other hand, the lowest income quintile takes a share of no less than a percentage ranging between 4.4% (Australia) and 7.8% (Japan). In the Third World, the low and middle-income countries include 107 countries, of which 89 are from the Third World (18 European countries were socialist). The Bank found no way to estimate the distribution of national income for 40 of those countries. Hence, its published data was limited to only 49 countries. In ten countries (including India), the share of the richest tithe ranged between 25 and 9.29% of the gross national product. On the other side are nine countries in which this share exceeded 40%, including Chile, which has an average per capita income of 4,160 dollars, but the richest ten took 1.46% of the gross national product. Nevertheless, the liberals market it as a model of economic success. In Brazil, where the average income is 3,640 dollars, the richest tenth took 3,51%. It is not enough to compare the share of the rich tithe with the share of the poor tithe, because poverty is more serious than that and includes at least one-fifth. We find the lowest share of one-fifth (1.2%) in Brazil and Guinea-Bissau. On the other hand, the highest share of 5.9% is in Rwanda, Bangladesh and Laos.! If we choose a modest and reasonable percentage, such as 5%, we find that the share of the poor fifth in 20 countries is less than that, including rich countries such as Malaysia, Mexico, and of course Chile and Brazil... in addition to the Russian Federation. In 19 countries, the percentage ranges between 5% and 9%.(20).

Arab governments and official statistics agencies are not concerned with the issue of the distribution of national income between income groups. Most of those in decision-making positions do not know something called the Lorenz curve or the

(<sup>20</sup>) Ismail Sabry Abdullah: "The Constellation: Post-Imperialist Global Capitalism," a previously mentioned source, p. 43.

Ismail Sabri Abdullah: The Arabs and (<sup>19</sup>) Globalization - Globalization, Economy and Arab Development: The Arabs and the Constellation. Aforementioned source, p. 33.



Gini coefficient. Although most Arab governments are bound by agreements, loans and conditions with the World Bank, its experts found data suitable for publication only on six countries: Mauritania, Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia and Jordan. And its image does not depart from what was previously described from the countries of the Third World. The share of one-fifth of the poor in Mauritania is 6.3% and in Egypt is 7.8%, and the four countries fall between these two limits. It goes without saying that these countries do not include the richest (high-income) or poorest (such as Somalia or Yemen) Arab countries.

In sum, the Arabs are like the peoples of the Third World, most of them live in poverty, and a large number of them fall into the chasm of deprivation. Since most of our countries may return to obtaining financing from rich countries, we must refer here to a new phenomenon in this field. The success of the constellation and the failure of development at the same time led to a tendency among the "donor countries" to liquidate the so-called "official development aid", that is, grants and soft loans provided by one country to another, symbolized in English by the letters ODA. A major shift has taken place in European and American public opinion to the effect that the corruption of third world governments has wasted many billions, while the poor have not The spread of stable benefited in anything. unemployment and increasing poverty among the peoples of the donor countries supports the claim that it is better to help the poor at home than the poor outside. But more important is the behavior of global corporations. It was known that the bulk of the aid goes to donor countries' companies. Now, in the context of the decline in the role of the state or the dispensation of global capitalism from the mediation of governments, these companies prefer to deal directly with our societies, from the government to the public sector to the private sector, because they do not need the support of the headquarters countries to open the door to them, so the people of the south are rushing to knock on the door from their side. Hence the new concept called partnership, which is concerned with providing frameworks of international relations that facilitate constellation operations. It is fair to mention that in rich societies, individuals and groups are distressed by what they see on television screens of human trials and tribulations. That is why decision makers say that they encourage "humanitarian aid" in cases of natural and human disasters that befall countries from the third world. Although it is possible that good faith does not prevent corruption from succeeding in importing expired foodstuffs or

medicines, or from handing over important parts of humanitarian aid to a local mafia that hides behind a political claim or a social name. On the other hand, we read what some of the people of the West write of the doctrine of the market economy and its Darwinian philosophical basis, that he who cannot manage his food by his own effort does not deserve to live. They add that the progress of humanity over thousands of years was through the disappearance of weaker societies and civilizations and thanks to the predominance of people of determination, ability and creativity. Some of them go so far as to say that helping those who are unable to manage their own food makes them a heavy burden that hinders the progress of those who are able to conquer planets neighboring the Earth. (21)

Thus, we reach the beginning of dispensing with many countries and pushing them to the margins. The end of the Cold War and the impossibility of war between the advanced industrial countries made all countries of the world lose the strategic importance associated with the possibilities of war. The confrontation between East and West during the decades that followed the Second World War brought the people of the West, especially the United States, to the point of maintaining any ruling regime in the third world countries, whatever its crimes, as long as it declares its hostility to communism and does not even care about a normal relationship with the Soviet Union. The surface of the earth is like a chessboard in which there is hardly a square that is devoid of the influence of one of the poles, so that the other rushes to replace it as much as possible and according to the military choices before the ideology. Now the prevailing ideology is the market economy, and thus the calculation of profits and losses for every political move or military commitment. The doors of the Third World are all open and its countries welcome the Western economic presence without the slightest need for an expensive military presence. Also, the raw materials produced by the countries of the South lost what they had played a decisive role in the days of building the great empires. The share of the raw material today in the price of any commodity does not exceed 10%. All commodity prices are heading in a long-term or horny direction, as it is said, through their fluctuations in the markets in the short term. Modern

<sup>(&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>) Ismail Sabry Abdullah: "The Constellation, Independent Development, and the Arab Confrontation with Israel," Cairo, The Authority The Egyptian General Book, 2007, p. 73.



technology has succeeded in creating new materials that have basic advantages over raw materials, and are characterized in all fields by the low component of energy and raw materials in the value of the commodity or service. Exporting oil to those who are hostile to us, and that OPEC managed to double the price of oil several times during a period not exceeding seven years. In the nineties, the West punished us by banning the import of oil from some of our countries. Then we realize how "black gold" became a corrupt weapon, such as the one that King Farouk supplied to the Egyptian army in the 1948 war. We also have to realize the facts of things, as the price of oil today does not exceed five dollars in 1973, and the numbers that the media circulate about an increase in prices should not deceive us. . In the field of capital movement, we did not wait for the stability of foreign banks and companies in our country, but we rushed to invest in the West. I am not talking here about the oil countries because the phenomenon of investment abroad is evident in all Arab countries and in the poorest of them. I know that the investments of the Egyptians in the West are greater than the investments of the people of the West in Egypt, and I think that more than one Arab country is in the same situation or close to it. There is no need in the West for third-world labor, and the evidence here is the "Great Wall of China" that the European Union and the United States are building against immigration from the south to the north. But it picks up from us the highly gualified (in American and Canadian universities in particular) or selected high expertise (transnational companies), and of course those who have wealth in the country to which they immigrate. (22)

To the extent of this increasing dispensation, the interest of Western countries in supporting the regimes of the Third World has faded, which, with the support of Western money and peace, were able to inflict the torment of poverty, ignorance, humiliation and humiliation on their peoples. The disappearance of the effective foreign bond heralded the collapse of the

(<sup>22</sup>) Ismail Sabri Abdullah: "The Words and Ma'an: Comprehensive and Steady Development", Cairo, Dar Al-Arabi for Publishing.

Distribution, 1st floor, B.T. Pg 65 Likewise, Ismail Sabri Abdullah sees: "Egypt What We Want: A Political Report and a Progress Program, Cairo, Dar Al-Shorouk Publishing And Distribution, B.T., p. 93.

"sovereign state" and not a just rule replaced an unjust one. It was natural in the face of the collapse of the corrupt and unjust state that people would regress from patriotism to tribalism, and that disputes would acquire the character of violence, and civil wars and border wars would spread. This hadith is not an anticipation of a future we fear, but a present we live in. Where is the state in Somalia, Rwanda, Burundi, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo (former Zaire), Sierra Leone, Liberia and Afghanistan? Why do we go far? Didn't the civil war in Lebanon last 15 years, during which the state's authority disappeared and many promised its end and the state's return to existence as a kind of miracle? And who can predict an imminent end to the civil war in Sudan without it being divided into several countries, or the non-renewal of the civil war in Yemen? We do not want to say more in this regard so as not to reveal wounds that are still bloody. However, events - unfortunately - proved the correctness of what we said before the second Gulf War, that the Arabs' lack of orientation towards integration and unity threatens to further fragmentation within a number of our countries. We have said a lot against the dependence and responsibility of the rulers of the third world countries, and we are now in a worse situation, as the state has already been lost. And the first and last beneficiaries of these wars are arms dealers. And there always remains a question that needs further research, is who finances these wars, some of which have lasted more than a guarter of a century, such as the war in Angola, which has not stopped completely until now? There are elements to the answer represented in some apparent cases. The leaders of the warring "Mujahideen" in Afghanistan encourage the cultivation of opium and sell it cheaply (less than what is paid to buy the opium of the Golden Triangle). Leaders of the separatist UNITA movement in Angola also sell diamonds to multinational companies for less than half the price that South Africa gets. And the rush of an American company to conclude an agreement with Kabila before Mobutu was expelled and entered the capital, Kinshasa, because his army had already taken control of the Katanga region, the largest exporter of diamonds in Africa and perhaps in the world. The issue deserves attention and research. Money is the nerve of war. And every war that lasts for several years must have a funder or parties. And so, in any case, societies destroy themselves rather than develop them  $(^{23})$ .

(<sup>23</sup>)Ismail Sabry Abdullah: "Towards a New Global Economic Order: A Study of Development



# Conclusion

Finally, we conclude from the foregoing, if we agree that Ismail Sabri Abdullah, presented

With regard to democracy, Mahdi Amel believed that it was not a grant, one day, but rather the result of a struggle and a response to this struggle, times by force and times by 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 it, and thus it 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.

With regard to the concept of globalization, which became a realistic political, intellectual and economic reality after the collapse of the leftist and socialist system led by the former Soviet Union at the hands of the United States of America, the leader of the free and capitalist world, promising the spread of the values of democracy, market economy and liberalism. The Arabs are like the peoples of the Third World, most of them live in poverty, and a large number of them fall into the chasm of deprivation. Since most of our countries may return to obtaining financing from rich countries, we must refer here to a new phenomenon in this field. The success of the constellation and the failure of development at the same time led to a tendency among the "donor countries" liquidate the "official to so-called development aid", that is, grants and soft loans provided by one country to another, symbolized in English by the letters ODA. A major shift has taken place in European and American public opinion to the effect that the corruption of third world governments has wasted many billions, while the poor have not benefited in anything. Ismail Sabri Abdullah has concluded that globalization is the problem of our third world countries, because of the power of multinational companies that have imposed their influence on the countries in which they are located, so that the matter

Issues, Economic Liberalization and International Relations," The Egyptian General Book Organization, 1997, pg. 53., translated by Ahmed Fouad Balbaa, reviewed by Ismail Sabri Abdullah, "The World of Knowledge Series, Kuwait, 2000, p. 291.. has come to overthrow the political regimes of developing countries and this is what happened in many third world countries.

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