

- (5) - F. Sabbelli, l'insoutenable légèreté de la coopération dans: inpassés et promesses, l'ambiguïté de la coopération au développement. Ed PUF 1996 (p. 159).
- (6) - F. Zaakariya, les arabes à l'heure du choix. Ed. Laphonic Bouchène 1991.
- (7) - The expression is that of Arkoun. op. cit.
- (8) - On this issue, littérature is abundant going from M. Rodinson islam and capitalism to M. Ssibai "at islam wa al-istitirakiyya" note the excellent study done by A. Merad on the ideologisation of islam.
- Laroui on his part concludes his "islam et modernité" stating that islam rises above ideologisation and stands irreducible.
- (9) - Father H. Sanson has coined this term in his study of the Algerian society on the columns of l'annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord.
- (10) - Arkoun. op. cit. (p. 203) where he states: "the confrontation between Islam and the Occident should be perceived, conducted and lived as a perspective to that ever lasting struggle inaugurated by the prophets in order to give a sense and a meaning to human life etc...".
- (11) - This is a consensual reading among jurists of article 2/1 of the UN charter.
- (12) - A. MAHIOU, the international colloque of Algiers on int. development law. OPU 1976 (p. 312).
- (13) - H. DJAIT, la personnalité Arabo-islamique, Ed. Seuil 1977.
- (14) - M. BEDJAOUI, le non alignement et le Dr international RCADI 1976.
- (15) - LAROUÏ, op. cit. conclusion.
- (16) - L. BINDER, islam: liberation: a critic of development ideologies, univ. of Chicago 1988.

Occident has never given its chance to islam. It looks wrongly at it as the "anti-thesis". The rival who one day will take away leadership from it and will chase it from the "olympus".

It curiously enough manages to get along very well with that other vasaized islam which diligently agrees to keep its oil-tap open. To this good pupil, Occident is ready in defiance of good sense, to award him eulogistic credits in the promotion of human rights.

LAROUÏ, invoking a reflexion by J. BURKHARDT recalls us of how, islam, which is the simplest of all religions can be difficult to assume even by its own people.

L. BINDER thinks that the new islamic wave is a promising trend which will bring about an Arabo-islamic political system of the liberal type which will reconcile islam with modern times.

For our part, we believe that time has come to leave aside our differences and work mutually for the achievement of a strong partenariat between all the people of the Mediterranean.

"A partnership as described by the Copenhagen declaration adopted the 09/03/95 which gives priority to culture and to the options and politics of development elaborated by developing nations. It is to be reckoned, that it is within cultural adversity that new forces, new actors and new systems could be found and implemented.

NOTE

(1) - The original title of this monumental work of Ibn KHALDOUN is: *diwan al ibar, wa al muhtadas, wa al khabar fi tarikh alajami, wa al arabi, wa al barbar, wa men assarahum min dhawi, essoltane al akbar*. "widely known as the *maqaddimah*". "the *protogomena*".

(2) - *Doveraor* of Egypt during the reign of Omar and muawiyya.

(3) - See, Ibn khaldoun, *op. cit.*

(4) - M. Arkoun, *penser l'islam aujourd'hui*. Laphamic ENAL 1993 (p.33).

this revolutionnary phase highlites, through the liberation war of Algeria, the glory and the bravery of this phase. Once independance achieved, the new Arabo-islamic nations states settled to recover their economical assets through nationalisation and the construction of their economies. As BEDJAOUI has put it "it is never the right time for us to acclaim our full sovereignty".

The secon phase recovers all the turnoil of the saga for independence. The Arab states led by Egypte and Algeria launched a truggle for liberation and the heroic fight which lasted seven years in Algeria represents the paroxysm of national patriotism.

Once independence achieved, the Arabo-islamic community attempted to fortily its unity through Nasser's Pan-Arabism and the Baath party.

In order to reinforce their political independence Arab states organised a compaign for nationalisations and invested heavily in order to succeed in the take-off of their development.

At the international level, Arab states deployed a lot of energy within the UN frame and leaded the 77 group. They also dynamised the Non-Aligned mouvement and took the initiative from the great powers in the management of international affairs.

The third and last phase begins with the outburst of Imam al-khomeiny into the world scene and the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran.

This remarquable event shacked the world order deep into its foundations and swop over the mythical arian fantasies of the Chah replacing once again Islam at the heart of international politics.

The islamic revolution in Iran send a strenuous wave of religions fervor all throughout the Arabo-Islamic world. The Occident, instead of helping to integrate this old newcomer into the concert of nations, has done all it could to transform it into "the green peril" in order to fill up the vaccum left by the disappearence of the "devil empire".

The composed idiom of the expression "Arabo-islamic" still remain unclear to many specialists. Since, it is neither the place and perhaps nor the moment to dwell on that profound meaning, we will follow the footsteps of the scholar who in the early seventies has forget that expression in his brilliant on the "Arabo-islamic personality". Thesis which despite the years has preserved the integrality of its charm.

So by Arabo-islamic community we refer to the Arab world in all its richness and variety. The Northern part of this world recovers all the South coast of the Mediterranean and that makes of the Arab world an indispensable partner in any Mediterranean scheme.

Today, the twentieth century seems unable to finish its course with the collapse of the Soviet empire and the "pre - eminence" of "pax - Americana". The world enters a wide restructurational phase and departs at the search of a new equilibrium.

The Arabo-islamic community is in a very bad shape. Desunited as usual, ravaged by violence and terrorism, its states and institutions suffer heavily from corruption and the lack of legitimacy. In brief it does constitutes an easy prey for unified and cartelized alliances.

The integration into the world community of the Arabo-islamic entity has evolved through out recent history across three different stages.

The first has been that formal adhesion by the then six states community to the platform of the United Nations in San Francisco 1945. That integration was purely formal as has observed Juge BEDJAOUÏ and consisted merely in the granting to the Arabo states of a flag and a seat in the UN's frame. The attitude of impassibility pruned by Arab voice states during the partition plan of Palestine in 1948 is the more eloquent expression of that stage.

The second phase of the integration of the Arabo-islamic community into the world order is the main phase of a forceful liberation movement which through sacrifice and martyrdom has paid a heavy price to win its place within the concert of nations. The paroxysm of

The international community faces today a long list of challenges. War is ravaging the heart of Europe and the far East of Asia. Drugs are annihilating latino America. Hunger and civil wars have layed down Africa. The nervous march of Mercantilism consumes all found energies and destroys varaciously our vital space and environment.

Our world instable as ever is in an urgent need for a new international order which will put an end to this long agony and that an everunding cycle of violence and disorder.

It is high time to restitute to the Mediterraneea its central position in the world so that it can perform its real function of a mediatory force capable of annihilating focuses of tension and instauring peace and justice in the world.

We are badly in need of a credible world order wiithout which our hope to overcome predictable coming challenges will vanith like the wind.

Two decades ago, Prof MAHIOU has the first tried to cern the implications economical as well political of the new world order.. Among these he found out that a real democratisation of international relations in the prior condition for the succes of any betterment.

The great powers however refuse any changes and require as guarantees to the world balance, the democratisation within the "regimes" ruling the Third world. The vanishing of the communist bloc has opened the door for new hopes.

THE ARABO-ISLAMIC COMMUNITY DISABLED, SEEKING NEW REFERENCES

The art of story teller is disappearing appalingly nowadays. To relate to you in this circumstance the story of the Arabo-islamic community may seem a little bit irrelevant. It is an artcraft to which only a few addicts fond of history remain attached. Yet, we are going to discourse today about the future of this community.

All the people of the Mediterranean bowl aspire to a better way of life without denying this basic right to their "vis-à-vis".

In conformity with international law; each state enjoys the right to live in honor and dignity. It is a duty to all of us, to promote peace and harmony within the Mediterranean, whose people have to react effectively to the sordid intrigues of the great powers for whom the bowl is an abandoned pitch where they can easily deverse their arms and drugs traffics, while watching carefully the flows of oil.

The sea- siders are called on to assume their destiny and the only consistant way to do that is through an eloquent expression of their will to build up a mediating cultural pattern capable of mobilizing all people and energies in the Mediterranean and elsewhere for the promotion of universal values such as: human rights, democracy, tolerance and international cooperation and solidarity.

A cultural task - force rich by its differences complementary in its inequalities, eager to stop pollution, hunger, drug and arm races and ready to face the challenges of modernity.

A harmanious Mediterranean entity is not a threat to the world order but a determining constituent. Its achievement is a releif to an exhausted Africa ravaged by hunger and fratricid civil wars. It is a blessing to the M. EAST where peace finally may conquer the hearts of its people. It is last but not least, a strong Europe unified and master of its own destiny.

THE MEDITERRANNEAN: PLAT FORM FOR A NEW WORLD ORDER

It is indeniable that the Mediterranean constitutes since ever the center of the world. Geopolitic rivalities and the stream of history have shifted that centrality sometimes South someothers North.

These outbursts dicted by the will for power have engendered but more wars and more instability and as a consequence more injustice throughout the world.

The intellectuals more than any other social groups are requested; as Arkoun has put it "the Mediterranean intellectual cannot be that erudit absent in the history which is at work in his society nor that unconditional supporter of strategies for power to the benefit of this or that group or dictator".

In sum, as many observers have pointed out: "Unless there is a truly cultural revolution, cooperation for development between the two coasts will remain trapped into that utopical dream of an impossible perfectibility".

ARKOUN locates the point of rupture between the two coasts in the triumph of enlightenment and the spread of secularism throughout Europe.

"Lacity", is the trade mark which divide the two worlds apart. Many since then have been led to think that an incommensurable abyss prevents their meeting.

F. ZAKARIYYA for instance believes that the Arabo-muslims face today a cruel choice. They have either to adopt laicity in order to enter the modern world or stick to their old dogma and live as marginals for ever.

Such clear cut positions in a such delicate issue as religion seems to us unsounded "voire" irrelevant. The religion of islam is endowed of multiple devices which allows it to adopt ingenuously to the whims of time.

There exists within islam what a wise "Prelat" has labeled, an "islamic laicity" capable of absorbing the essential of the laic imperatif without denying to the dogm neither its legetimity nor its santimonious ethical appeal.

The issue is elshwere. ARKOUN knows that the problem resides in the disemberment of the Mediterranean entity which is torn apart by the political ambitions of great powers.

The challenge is how to reject the artificial breaches inflicted upon the Mediterranean bowl by the international powergame as well as how to promote a new spirit in the modern mind through a deep reformation of Universities and schools programs.

flooded majestuously on all the cheap-boats cruising on the flows of the Mediterranean sea.

Then, came the times of decline. The Arabs running out from "Andalousia" recovered by the Spaniards came to settle on the Southern coast where the Ottomans tried for a while to preserve the authority of the "old sick man" of Europe.

The Northern people revigorated by the spirit of Capitalism were soon to invade all of the Southern coast which they divided into small colonies. The North African people had to resort to war and pay a heavy price of blood and martyrdom in order to recover their independence.

It looks like the meeting of the two rival coasts of the Mediterranean is doomed to a violent encounter such as that which is taking place between the two tectonic plates - bed and which engenders quite often, bursts and earthquakes in the North as well as in the South.

On the other hand, everything seems to favor the bringing together of all the people of the Mediterranean sea. Isn't it the cradle of civilisation. The sea on which coasts has been cultivated the most refined of all human values?

Nowdays, the hope is great to see finally established between the two coasts good relations of neighbourliness and fructuous cooperation based on mutual understanding, reciprocity, equal, opportunity, competition and fair play.

The spirit which during the Olympic games seduces us by its ingenuousness and spontaneity should remain overwhelming our desire for peace and shared prosperity. The key word "partnership" is raised as the new deal which the Mediterranean people seem determined to achieve. Such a blessing goal, dedicated to the construction of a better world may require a new spirit and an intellectual attitude free of all annihilating "prejugés".

Architects and Contractors motivated by the urge of restoring to the Mediterranean Arena its central place in the world and animated by good will good faith.

THE ARABO-ISLAMIC PERCEPTION OF THE MEDITERRANEA

Ahmed KHAROUA *

Ibn KHALDOUN reports in his "DIWAN AL IBAR" also known as the "Muqqadimah": That when Muawiyya requested from the caliph Omar Ibn AL KHETTAB, permission to set on an expedition in order to conquer the Northern parts of the Mediterranean. The Caliph terribly annoyed by such an unexpected request turned to the wise "Amr Ibn Al-Ass" for counsel. Amr obtemperated and wrote immediately a letter to the Caliph in which he described the Mediterranean as follow: "It is a huge space' being within which is lost a small tiny being who like an earth-worm hooked on a piece of wood endures the storms and risks to be swallowed at every moment".

When the Caliph saw this alarming picture he decided abruptly to postpone the expedition.

This apprehension by the Arabs of the Mediterranean and its Northern border may seem today largely justified. The Arabs however were soon to become master of large parts of the Northern coast of the Mediterranean: Constantinople, Sicily, Cyprus, Spain and the Southern border of France were all overcome by the Arabo-muslims and the banner showing the maxime "there is no god except the almighty"

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