Egyptian PublicIntellectuals and their 'Wests'

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Western (European and North-American) constructions of the West tend to identify human rights, democracy, and freedom as key Western values. Were we to take these premises to be the characteristics of the West, we would find that the West is highly appreciated throughout the Arab and wider Muslim world: recent opinion polls have shown that the majority of respondents from Morocco to Indonesia also value human rights, prefer democracy to dictatorship, and favour freedom over repression.

It is clear that there is something spurious in the above postulation. The mistake lies not so much in the opinion polls, as much as it lies in the premise: while Western publics may generally identify the West with human rights and other lofty ideals, “non-Western” publics may hold different opinions. To further investigate this difference of opinion we could again turn to opinion polls, yet for a more thorough understanding of the ideological meaning of the West in the country of my particular interest—Egypt—I will zoom in on the public debate as shaped by popular intellectuals of various ideological trends.

The intellectual landscape in the Arab world today resists a straightforward categorization. The long-established lack of political and press freedoms smothers the display of intellectual debates which otherwise could be monitored freely. A conventional division employed both within and outside the Arab world is between “Islamist” and “secular” discourses. Others have opted for a more comprehensive categorization comprising Islamic, Marxist/leftwing, nationalist, and liberal intellectual trends. In this contribution I discuss three recent publications of authors belonging to various trends. Galal Amin, Muhammad Imara, and Rida Hilal are all prolific authors of carefully published books, and have been regular contributors to the country’s major newspapers for at least a decade. While the economist Galal Amin and the jurist Muhammad Imara continue to be quite productive, the journalist Rida Hilal has not been heard of since he mysteriously disappeared in August 2003. The three publications fall loosely within certain broad trends: “left-wing nationalist,” “Islamic,” and “liberal” respectively. The following exposé highlights a number of common strategies in Arab appreciations and representations of Europe and the West.

The way in which the West is portrayed is to a large extent determined by ideology, and that none of the three ideological trends hold the West to be unequivocally identifiable with the aforementioned lofty ideals.

**Galal Amin: unabated Western imperialism**

In 2002 the first Arab Human Development Report was published. This UNDP-sponsored report, drafted by a team of prominent Arab scholars and intellectuals, described with great candour the major problems in the contemporary Arab world. While the report was praised by many, some vehemently opposed the report for serving Western interests. Rather than elaborating on what was wrong with the Arab world, the authors had better focused on the oppressive role of external actors. One of the more prominent Arab intellectuals to attack the Report was the Egyptian economist Galal Amin of the American University in Cairo. To Amin, the report almost constituted treason, since it played on the premise: while Western publics may generally identify the West with human rights and other lofty ideals.

Amin rejects everything that does not fit the image of a noble, well-to-do Arab world. To him, the images of plunder and “non-Western” Arab reality are “inside-job.” His main aim however, lies in alerting Arabs and Muslims to the smearing campaign against them and reminding them of the justness of their case. In The Era of Muslim-bashing, Amin rejects everything that does not fit the image of a noble, well-to-do Arab world. To him, the images of plun-
der in Baghdad that followed the American invasion must have been part of the greater ploy to defame Arabs, for the footage of looting Iraqis fitted the profile of the “barbaric Arab” all too well. The image of the West as presented by Amin remains rather vague, which is perhaps necessary if it is to be blamed for the wide range of wrongs in the world that Amin perceives. Perhaps unsurprisingly, since he is an economist, the West is defined by Amin primarily in economic terms: capitalism and imperialism are the hallmarks of the West. The end of the Cold War has left the world with a new situation, Amin argues, in which capital-
ism has re-emerged in its original, crude form. While during the Cold War capitalism was diluted, our present era is characterized by the kind of capitalism that was prevalent when Karl Marx lived. Amin is far from alone in levelling his critique against the West in economic terms. With the demise of the Soviet Union and the communist alternative to liberal capitalism it would seem that capitalism is no longer ideologically challenged and that, thus, anti-Westernism is a mainly culturally in-
formed antagonism. But Amin and other leftwing Egyptians show the continued relevance of ideologically informed economic criticisms of the “capitalist West.”

Muhammad Imara: inconvertible civilizations

In recent years, increasing attention has been paid to so-called “mod-
erate Islamists” or “Islamic reformers,” sometimes also referred to as is-
lamists of “the middle way,” as distinguished from fundamentalists. It has been suggested that this trend has emerged from within Islamic fundamentalism, and that contrary to their radical progenitor, the Is-
lamists of the middle way are willing and able to compete in a liberal democratic setting. Although some have challenged the description, Muhammad Imara is one of those Islamic thinkers commonly catego-
ized as “moderate Islamist” (in Arabic the word used is mu’tadil), mean-
ing “balanced” rather than “moderate.” Through his various weekly col-
umns and appearances on television, he is an important contributor to Arab public opinion. In a recent publication he focuses on the relations
between Islam and the West. Imara takes it as a matter of fact that the
relations between the two have always been at best problematic, and at worst, bloody. Much like some Western authors who present Islam as a
civilization that, since its inception, has opposed the West (or Europe, Christianity, or the “Judeo-Christian civilization”), Imara portrays the
West as a civilization that has never really changed in its position to-
towards the Orient (or Islam, or the Arabs). The West, according to Imara,
has always been imperialist: it oppressed “the Oriental and the Oriental
peoples for ten centuries, from Alexander the Great … to the seventh
century [Byzantine emperor] Herakleos.” All this only ended, Imara ex-
plains, when Islam came on the scene and liberated the Orient from
Western oppression. From that moment on, the West had been at odds
with Islam. This historical narrative serves two purposes. Firstly, it pro-
vides a reader with an image of the West as a “Judeo-Christian civilization”
which is imperialist simply because imperialism is what Western civiliza-
tion happens to produce. Secondly, and partly as a consequence of the
first lesson, there is nothing Muslims can do to alter the bad image that
the West has of Islam. The West has exercised its oppression over the
Orient before Islam emerged, which is seen as proof that the West will
be aggressive towards the Orient regardless of Islam. This point is made
elsewhere in the book, when Imara again stresses that the West cam-
paigned against Islam long before 2001, and that clearly September 11
cannot be seen as the justification for Western attacks upon Islam. Imara’s
portrayal of the West is different from that of Amin in that Imara fo-
cuses more on the idea of a religious conflict, in which the West stands
opposed to Islam as a revolutionary religion and as an alternative to
Western secular political systems. Though Imara does have economic
grievances against the West, he stresses the cultural and civilizational
differences between the Western and the Islamic worlds. In this sense
his discourse echoes Huntington’s theory of a “clash of civilizations” as
well as Bernard Lewis’s representation of East-West relations as charac-
terized by perennial conflict.

Rida Hilal: the West’s double speak

While “the West” has conventionally denoted Europe and North America, ever since the end of World War II it is the United States that has commonly been viewed as its primary component. The liberal in-
tellectual Rida Hilal goes further and tends not to speak of the West or
Westernization, but of America and Americanization. In his recent book Americaization and Islamization, Hilal calls for a marriage of
Islam and democracy to take the place of the current situation in which
rigid Salafi Islamization is coupled with American consumerism. Inter-
estingly, Hilal contrasts the current process of Americanization with the pre-World War II process of Europeanization. He argues that whereas
the Arab world today is taking but the foam of America, leaving aside
its true riches, i.e. its values, the previous age of Europeanization was
much more constructive: “Egyptians took from the Europeans the rule
of law, constitutionalism, parliament, journalism, theatre, and cin-
ema.” The result was that Egypt could vie with the most progressive
of the world’s nations, and Cairo could face up to Paris or London. This
so-called renaissance-period, Hilal argues, was eventually frustrated
both by British imperialism and by the rise of Islamic fundamentalism.
This nostalgia for pre-revolutionary Egypt, when Cairo was known by
many as “Paris along the Nile,” is common to many liberals in Arab. A
common understanding, not limited to liberals, is that Europe or the
West in general contains certain highly commendable qualities with
regard to governance and personal freedoms, but that Westerners show
these qualities in their foreign policy towards the Arab and Muslim
world. Hilal claims that for a solution to “the Middle Eastern crisis” to be
reached it is merely necessary “that America should honour the Ameri-
can values, most prominently the value of democracy.” This is reminis-
cent of the way in which Arab nationalists from before WWII attacked
European colonialism without rejecting the project of cultural and po-
itical Europeanization. As Hourani wrote of this disposition: “While the
nationalists condemned British or French policy, the conclusion they
drew was not that England or France were intrinsically bad but that they
were being untrue to themselves.”

Policy emerging from the “real West”

The study of occidentalism in Egypt yields images of the West as di-
verse as the various competing ideological trends among the Egyptian
intelligentsia. There appears to be little agreement on the meaning of
the West, especially when compared to the often-lamented uniformity
and consistency of Western images of the “Orient.” The three authors
disagree in particular about the background to detrimental Western
foreign policy. While Amin views unwelcome policies as the logical
outcome of a malicious economic philosophy dominant in the West,
Imara sees the West acting according to a supposed deeply-rooted
anti-Islamic nature. Hilal, however, believes the West is acting in a man-
ner unbecoming of its “real” values, and evokes the notion of an ideal,
universally desired West.

There are, however, also striking convergences in these occidentalisms. In all three accounts, the West is perceived to be of paramount importance for Egypt and the wider Arab world. While only Hilal seeks the solution to the region’s problems in an assertion of the “true West,” all three authors agree that the main source of the region’s prob-
lems lies in policies adopted by the “real West.” This distinction between the ideal and the actual may also help us to understand the discrepancy between Western self-identifications and the image of the West elsewhere in the world.

Notes

4. Ibid., 6.
5. Ibid., 10.
10. Ibid., 33–34.
11. Ibid., 15.