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MULTICOMMUNITARIANISM

Abstract

The text is an attempt to present the basic theories of multicomunitarianism - political theory and legal regulation of the cultural diversity of the contemporary immigrant societies. The outgoing standpoints of the main plotters of this stream are mostly affected by the presentation of the Islamic community as Umma. Multicomunitarianism is not just an extension of the argumentation of communitarians, but rather a kind of antithesis or critique of multiculturalism - especially in the output of multicultural engineering and closeness of minority cultural communities. Multicomunitarianism is trying to shift Western perceptions of the human community, and construct some new notions of community, by offering a different relationship between the community and the individual.

Key words: community, multiculturalism, communitarianism, multicomunitarianism.

1. Introduction

More than 35 years have passed since, for the first time in the political discourse the word “Multiculturalism”¹ appeared. The patent for this “legal – political discovery”² is prescribed to

¹ These time distance of the authors of the developed Western (liberal) democratic world –in political scientists, anthropologists’ philosophers and historians – enabled them enough space and time to develop a wide and productive debate for the nature and the (non) requirement of this new experimental legally political engineering. For most infrequent dimension of this debate, a good part of authors, consider it to be the (non) concurrence of the multiculturalism with the classical values of the liberalism and the institutions of the liberal democracy y. .First of all, while in the West, as a distilled quintessence of the absorbed potential of the civil republicanism, the multiculturalism is perceived with all its academic and scientific dedication for three and a half decades, it seems that the educated from the recently democratized countries of the former socialist block saw in it a good chance to surpass the ideological vacuum (characteristic for the transitional period), and in their typical way began from the multiculturalism to make profaned and simplified creations. For the curious and disciplined follower from the Western democracies, raised and educated in an environment with a proper democratic traditions (inter alia and

the Canadian Prime Minister at that time - Pierre Trudeau. Namely, the year 1971, besides being known in the world of theory, as a year when a highly influential book of John Rawls (*The Theory of Justice*) was published - which in the years that follow even up to this day has determined the pathways of the development of the normative political philosophy (especially in the Anglo-American reflective tradition), the same year, in Canada the Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau begins with the “federal language politics”. On this legally – political project with enormous political consequences (not only in Canada) precedes the formation of a Royal Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism, with which formally the efforts of the separatist inclined francophone from Quebec, Canada have been taken into consideration to be promoted as a federation of two separate societies (Canada-Quebec)³.

In the course of time, the official biculturalism would be supplanted by multiculturalism on the account of the necessity for legal regulation of the status, autonomy of the structure of the internal relations, the rights and obligations of the third significant cultural community in Canada - Aborigines, that is, the Inuites (Eskimos). Anyway, for the Prime Minister with history of

multicultural engineering), this socio-historical *novum* in the Eastern-European (read Balkan) societies, could resemble as the situation of “the sick from Bosworth” from a century ago, when the efforts for modernizing the Ottoman kingdom and the enthusiasm of the young Turks failed because of the uncritical and cosmetics takeover of the western model of army and state. The intimations such as for the empirical and a less theoretical introduction into the “model of evolving “ (although the Canadians even 35 years ago did not evaluate the multiculturalism nor as a new nor as a model that evolves, but as a name for a set of legal principles with which application, life, the cultural survival and approach to the public goods of the individuals who belong to the non-majority cultural communities, would become easier, and the compliance with the actual tendencies in the immigrants societies of the West, in the hilly Balkan, after all seem to get a reflection of a caricature. The western theoreticians following and contributing with their own opinions in the productive three and a half decade’s (dialectical) debate for the multiculturalism, have located numerous illogicalities of this legally-political concept: anti liberal axioms, group differentiated rights, deliberative democracy, paradox of multicultural fragility, the problematic application of the procedural liberalism and numerous other weaknesses which, in the last 5-10 years made them TO CONSIDER for an alternative concept as a base for policy *for recognizing the cultural particularity* – referred to as **multicommunitarianism**.

² Although it needs to be pointed out that Joseph Raz dates the first usage of the word multiculturalism even in the 50’s and early 60’s of the last century in the Oxford English dictionary, and as such is marked as new in the political theory (Raz.1998:194). The use of multiculturalism in this case, and for the needs of the proceedings, is referred to its legal and political dimension as policy for recognizing the cultural diversity and concept, which in its content significantly exceeds universalistic – contingent premises of liberalism.

³ The process of acquiring a special status in the frame of Canada, the province of Quebec had suffered long and difficult struggles during the centuries. The history of the Quebec’s efforts for defense and maintaining the distinctive cultural identity, illustrate a winding way, full of uncertainties, and this way begins with the act Quebec (1774) through establishing the federal political system (1867). Quebec’s retirement plan in 1965 where the sprouts of today’s ASSIMETRICAL federalism is noted. The last program and officially affirmed linguistically duality in the federation of Canada and the distinctive character of the Quebec’s society. With this decision- after which follows the formation of the Royal Commission for Bilingualism and Biculturalism-Quebec has been promoted in “a unique monolingual francophone province of Canada (Burgess, 2001:269-270).

Canadian regulation of the rights and obligations of the cultural community in the form of official politics and the acknowledgement of the diversity *ipso facto* it is understood that multiculturalism does not sustain artificial separation of its philosophical and theoretical basis on one side and its legal-political frame on the other side - a habit which is followed by a lot of modern authors and theoreticians about the rights of the minority cultural community in the pluralistic societies. (below, in the text are given more extensive argumentations relating this problem).

Abstracting from the developing way of the Canadian governmental formula for the survival and development of the minority cultural communities, a quick view on the contemporary social reality on the macro level, that is, on the contemporary world society, one would discover coexistence of very different (not-rarely mutual exclusive) cultural matrixes, in the frames almost in every nations-states and/or state-nations. Even today, after more than 35 years of the initial inauguration of the multiculturalism as a governmental policy for recognition of the cultural diversity there is an urgent need for healthy social and legal engineering for managing the multiculturalism.

Driven by the need of ensuring the naked existence and pushed in the logic of the consumerism and the consumer society, an enormous number of migrants live in Western Europe, USA, Australia and in the rest of the developed western countries. First as workers-guests, who, after the application for the citizenship status, thousands of immigrants from the developing countries and from the third world have flooded the western metropolis and the bigger industrial centers. The key parole and light motive on this "migration of nations" in today's era of globalization and new >>world division of labor<< is becoming *ubi bene ibi partia*. So it would not be surprising if on the streets of London, a city with millions of people, to hear the velvet voice of Sammy Yusuf – who with the help of the most modern musical instruments and discoveries of the musical industry, glorifies the Koran's ayets - and at the same time on one of the squares to meet the Sickies who gather together from the whole of Britain to celebrate their religious-national festival. In Copenhagen one could be present at a serious debate between the western and Islamic scholars for the offensiveness of the caricature, which as a figure of a prophet – a saint, a founder of the second, world's largest religion to which **fluster** the new and more restrictive laws of the Danish government for the naturalization and citizenship (initiated after the murder of the now cult – director Theo Van Gog). On the other hand, in the

USA, no matter how much one tries, cannot escape from the presence of the 11/9 syndrome with all of its idolatry, emotion and xenophobia with expressive Arabic-Muslim target. France is a story for itself, after the riots and the rebellion of the Asian and African immigrants in the suburbs of Paris (their revolt was an expression for the need of a more inclusive program for integration and approach to the public benefits⁴ of the second even third generation, migrants born and raised as French citizens), is far from the aura of the cosmopolitanism by which it was well known and recognized.

A contribution for the debate's escalation regarding the cultural differences between the east and the west – differences which most explicitly are noted in everyday life of the multimillion cities and countries in the EU - was given by the Pope Benedict XVI, when in his native country Germany, indirectly qualified the founder of the Islam nearly enkindled *odium theologicum* (Benedict XVI, 2006). For the omnipresent of the problem with the cultural heterogeneity of the social reality and initiating debates for its institutional and legal regulation,

⁴ For the actual demographic picture of France, which has a big contribution for the cultural heterogeneity and division of this society, there are indications that nearly one quarter (14 millions) of the French citizens have ancestors- immigrants with African or Asian origin. This situation is a subject of serious analysis in respect to the potentials (and the desire of the modern Gauls) for the integration of the immigrant groups in the society, which can be classified in two groups. The first group is comprised of authors who take a stand that the intergenerational gap in the immigrants' subcultures is the reason for the unsuccessful integration of the young French people who do not have Gallic origin – the second and third immigrant generation. More concrete as stated by the sociologist Jean Viard from the National Scientific Research Center: Their parents do not wish to integrate, but their children are born here, they have studied French, they have not learned anything else. They have been stuck between two desires". On the other side are those who look at the immigrants only a contingent from which the places for sportsmen are filled –athletes (the most obvious example is the dominant Afro-French soccer players of the champion representation in the World championship in Soccer in 1998) and the artists, whereas for those professions that a long term education and skills are needed, the immigrants are not interested. Patrick Weil, a history professor of the university in Sorbonne, is more explicit "The thing that bothers me is that those people say that immigration is good because it gives us athletes and artists. I would like to see businessmen, lawyers, teachers, intellectuals, men and women who create politics. We do not see anything of such things". The rest of them tightly hold themselves to the institutional and politic values, which are part of the French Republic's tradition and refuse any possibility for a compromised political identity with multicultural characteristics. The sociologist Bernard Katella argues that "the next ten years will be the phase of the multicomunitarism. We do not have mental reflexes or institutions to be multiregional, multicultural society. That is not only a problem with the immigrants but also with the regional societies: the Corsicans, the Basques. We will pay a high price for all these centuries of centralization. There is a great danger for the French society: implosion (unexpected and quick closing-A J) in the social macro groups". (Sanction 2006) The last claim partly clarifies the difference between the multiculturalism and multicomunitarism as a difference between politics of the official governments, which promises integration of the minority cultural communities in the society (with official recognition and protection of the cultural diversity through affirmative programs in which implementation of minimum liberal principles and industrialized perspective is possible)" before the point of boiling " and an answer to the deprived minority communities who " after the explosion" reject even the most generous offer for improving the socioeconomic situation accompanied by the most extensive support for cultural revival. Said in just one word, they become deep rooted in their immigrants sub cultured ghettos. It is not difficult to assume that this communication of deaf as an expression of description between desires and possibilities, contributes for the increase of the social deviations accompanied by stigmatization and marginalizing the immigrants as criminals, lazy, dirty, dishonest etc.

the media has given their contribution (written and electronic) for which the best witness is a show on BBC (August 2006) dedicated on the necessity and efficiency of the Commission for Multicultural United Kingdom. Actually, seriously following the argumentation of some eminent professors and respected editors of some of London's newspapers, one could get the impression that a significant part of the hot topics of the discourse for multiculturalism and multicultural engineering (and the multicomunitarism) were initiated. These were: supplementing the units of the popular Bobbies with British of Indian origin, introducing school curriculums where the cultural heritages of the immigrants from all over the world would be studied, dressing up in the traditional costumes and publicly showing the symbols that express non majority ethnic and religious affiliations and so on. On this landscape lacks the contribution of the post-socialist ethnic cleansing, slaughter, civil wars, which until recently were daily routine of the Balkan people – in order to form a whole picture of the modern world society in the first decade of the third millennium. A society which is deeply burdened with cultural divisions and opposing valuable systems. Finally the need for conceptualizing of a tenable theoretical system as a comprehensive explicative approach towards these problems imposes itself as a imperative with the highest urgency. This text, is trying to point out the internal logic of both solutions which most seriously plead for that – the multiculturalism and the multicomunitarism in their epistemological depth, mutual intertwines and oppositeness.

Methodological approach

Determining the basic objective portraying the multicomunitarism as a new paradigm in the research of the reasons, factors, principals, and the procedural arrangements for maintaining the cultural heterogeneity of the modern society – it seems that the mainstream methodological paths of the most popular “systematic theories” of the social science are inadequate for that purpose. If one seriously objects on the functionalism (even on the non-functionalism) about its static analytical perspective, where the equilibrium between, and in the social subsystems are notions in the categories of function, role, status (exceptionally in the frames of one historical and spacious restricted society, without alternative opportunities for comparative comprehensions); and on the other hand, the conflict theory (in insisting to reach a

transcultural affirmation for its class base line), the social development is being reduced on domination, that is, controlling one social groups(classes) over others then it becomes obvious why these theoretical –methodological approaches are inadequate. The outdated of the second theoretical-methodological position in the recent conceptualization on the more and more expressed and expanding cultural diversities of the modern societies, it could be noted that Joseph Raz states it in the assessment for the non-functionality of the basic scheme of the liberal democracy, where the constitutional guaranteed and elective-procedural governing minority is governed by the majority. In the modern societies this dichotomy is exchanged with a lot of groups which comprise the pluralistic society.

We have to learn not to think of our societies as comprised of majority and minorities, but as constituted of many cultural groups. (Raz, 1998: 197)

If one adds on this evaluation the contemplation of one of the most significant liberal egalitarian John Rawls that in a considerable number the different social groups are cultural communities, in which not very often one could find individuals with overlapping membership, and the enlargement of the immigrant communities from day to day, strictly feed and found their different cultural identity on the religious “comprehensive doctrine” – it becomes clear that multicomunitarism could be approached only with a method that is characterized with a considerable dynamics and feeling for sequencing the socio-political instant. A part of the authors who are engaged in this problem consider John Elster’s socio-mechanistically approach as such. That is a methodological approach, which is utilized inter alia and the postmodern authors, who in certain aspects share similar starting points of view about the construction and genesis of the pluralistic societies with the multicomunitarist authors. *The socio-mechanistically approach* is characterized with analytics and strictly qualitative position, explanatory direction without aspiration for revealing the comprehensive historical or anthropological insignificance of the social reality. Such an approach tends strictly towards “presenting abstract or intangible picture about the ratio between the explainer and the explained (Elster,1999). So, this methodological approach is of a particular benefit in determining the mutual conditionality of the multiculturalism and multicomunitarism, as well as in the determining the degree and depth of the influence that the authors-communitarist have done on the final personification of the theoretical standpoints of the liberal pluralists and multiculturalists. The socio-mechanistically methodological approach researching the meta

theoretical problems of the modern cultural plurality of the societies, is imposed as a serious tool in the demystification of the modern social (politically –legal) engineering that is present in the theoretical concepts and analytical reflexes of the multiculturalists and multicomunitarists authors. Pursuant to that, it could be pointed out that the comparative and evolutionary presentation of the continuum multiculturalism - multicomunitarism which is a general epistemological aim of the text- it sequences the appearance of the new paradigm as a solution to the problem. As Tomas Kuhn, the recent attitude of the multiculturalism and multicomunitarism suits on the “before paradigmatic period” when the temporal limited solutions of the normal science (theories of the multiculturalism) faced a serious crisis and were an object of critics because of the unsuccessful applicability. Hence, it is necessary to be supplemented, and after exchanged through reconstruction of the paradigm, with the rules and solutions of the new paradigm (multicomunitarism)⁵. Said only with one word, in absence of a research consensus and the inability of the old scientific paradigm to respond to the newly obvious theoretical (and empirical) challenges, the sprouts of the new paradigm are found.

The Islam: a tool that lacks for the understanding of the multicomunitarianism

⁵ As a reminder, Thomas Kuhn defines the paradigm as an universally accepted achievement, which in a given scientific community of practitioners (and theoreticians-A J) for a certain time ensures model-problem and solutions”. The paradigm, also means mutual term that covers a spectrum of concepts, while the acceptance and recognition of a theory as a paradigm from the larger scientific community, depends whether it offers solutions that are more durable and more convincing from the solutions of the competitors’ paradigms or from the “normal science” itself, although it is not obliged to offer solutions for all the problems (Кун, 2002; 9, 32, 42). For a spoiled reader it would be quite interesting to follow the civilized-cultural descriptions in the scientific debate between the western authors—multiculturalists - who the problem with the cultural diversity and the groups’ rights are considered in the contours of the Christian (protestant) inspired liberal discourse for the individual as the only legitimate legal object and economical subject; and the authors –multicomunitarists – born and socialized in the Islamic societies where the built in unity and determination of the individual strivings and achievements in the everyday life are under restrictive religious control. Lately, this control is more obvious in the immigrants minority communities, present in the modern western societies, where the strict distinction between the public and private sphere (for example, the government and the church) has been depreciated for ages with a liberal product- civil society. Being configured in a strict hierarchical structure with a shown vertical, this institute and inter medium, seems that the Islamic umma and tevhid do not recognize.

It seems after all the evaluation prevails that the attitude of the authors of the Christian west towards the experience of the Islam and the Islamic societies, over the centuries notes crisis of amazement, precaution, fear, antagonism and hostility. No matter whether it is a fiction essayistic-critical or scientific-analytical approach, almost in all of them the intention is observed, to portray the Islamic society- meanwhile including a great number of institutions, norms, values, taboos and other meanings that define it as *sui generis* social fact. Anyway, the thing that the recent interest for the Islam and the societies that are organized and function according to its basic principles, makes it different from all other previous studies of the Orient (from Champolion, Renan up to the offensive –deoffensive Edward Said) is a position of an unavoidable and indirect touch with the Islam in the western socio-cultural surrounding and socio-political context. There is no more the need of expensive scientific expeditions to the Orient or long term readings and translations of the Arabic (Islamic) authors in the suffocated archive departments of the libraries, it is enough only to look at the newly migrated Indonesians (Muslims) in the neighborhood, the sincere conversation with the parents of your child's friend- who are from Morocco or to get to the schedule of the activities of the Muslim community; in order to start with the initial drafting of the research for the socio-cultural and political indications of the Islam- this time as the non-circumvention other of the modern Europe, USA, Australia, and so on.

The first contact with this culture or religious matrix, more precisely with the members of this civilized frame, it is possible to cause to feel uneasy within every researcher. Such uneasiness in most cases is a reflection of the ambivalence behavior of the Islam and Arabic culture as two different things. As noted by the famous anthropologist Clifford Geertz" every acquaintance with a Muslim does not mean one gets acquainted with the Arabic way of life". (Geertz, 2001:2). This starting position enlightens couple of moments, out of which certainly the most important for the theme of interest is the fact that, cultural diversity of the western societies could not be placed under the classification for Christian-Islamic coexistence as a clear dichotomy of known and unknown. This is a simple reason which, the internal heterogenic of the unknown is possible to hide epistemological challenges which exceeds the initial curiosity towards the integral experience of the Islam as something else. Today it is inconceivably to deny the reality of the enormous number of non-Arabic Muslim communities, which populate the western civilization hemisphere, as migrant ethno-groups. A part of them with their own mother

countries and homelands (real or imaginative) in the “hilly Balkan” and the expanse that separates (or connects) Europe and Asia (Albanians, Bosnians, Turks, Chechnians etc.)⁶.

The Penetration of the Islam in the Western Europe (this time without violent and invasive methods but in a way of an economically motivated immigration) is an irrefutable fact which, not many would have the courage to deny. However, the thing that is more important is that it is not equally the same in what kind of forms it is strengthening and developing in – with centuries dominant –Christian soil.

It is quite different when one country’s politics for promotion and developing cultural diversity (pressured by the expanding social plurality) needs to foresee mechanisms for more inclusive approach to the ethnic group which, skillfully practices its religious difference in the sphere of privacy, and then when the minority cultural community – in its vernacular conduct- openly manifests the aspirations of shifting the current outer borders of the *Umma’s* who, as it is known, with centuries have been living horizontally of Indonesia across the secularized Turkey (Ataturk) and up to the countries of Magreb. In the second case, it is more than certain that the current ideas of the western authors for tolerance need to be seriously re-examined, and together with it the philosophical frame of the legal-political engineering –the so called multiculturalism.

From the all abovementioned, it is obvious that there is a need for a closer introduction and resolving certain meanings which, the Islam and the Koran as a holy book, are providing in keeping their Muslim believers in one homogeny religious community called Umma. These semantic sequences although are only small traces in the demystification of the base’s academic impulses of the multicomunitarists, allow a more referential angle of looking and perception of their theoretical and conceptual novum.

⁶ The indicated and rudimentary division of Arabic and non-Arabic Muslim communities, is only the first from many of them according to which there is a possibility of internal division and differentiation between them. A classic example of it could be the degree of political modernization of the ethnic and cultural identity, which seriously separates them- for example, the Albanians from the Bosnians. The separation of the religious path and the prime-dialistic connection to the Koran on the second would enkindle them to that level, that they would become the plunder of the assimilative appetites of their recent blood enemies (while today by the case’s force are their fellow-citizens). Serbs and Croats- by the way, with who they share the same origin (Slavic) and a very similar language- something that has never been called Serbo-Croatian, or Croatian –Serbian language.

As it is explained by Bernard Luis in his prestigious study *The political language of the Islam in time of crisis*, states of emergencies, the Muslims have always shown a tendency of greater loyalty in order to find their basic identity in the community, in other words in one entity, that would be defined from the Islam, and not from the ethnical origin, the language or the country in which they live” (Луис, 2006:8).

Although the exegesis as a method that could offer an opportunity for enriching the interpretative approach towards the vernacular practices of the members of a given religious or cultural community has been criticized⁷⁷ as inadequate, it seems that only a little explanation regarding the basic institutions and institutions in the Islam (even the Arabic) tradition, significantly would facilitate the reception of the fundamental postulates of the multicomunitarism.

Umma as a term and aspect of the Muslims' life is only one of the many with which the existence of the Muslims in a heterogenic socio-cultural environment is explained. The thing that, for the western communitarists represents community- as a starting analytical perspective and the most relevant ontological reality, for the Islamic educated (multicomunitarists?) is the Umma.

Looking at it etymologically, the umma is a afore Islamic term, with Arabic, that is, Semitic origin and is marked as a country and a community(not rarely melting them both – in the west clearly defined frames of the humans' existence and mutual reference), but the most relevant definition for the Umma is that it represents “ the only universal Islamic community which comprises all the countries where Muslim governing is constituted, and where the Islamic law prevails” (Лунис, 2006: 48) However, besides the intention towards unification of the total socio-political life of all Muslim-believers under the shelter of the sole Umma, the reduction of the oriental interpretative diapason only in this term would be wrong. Moreover, that the closest alternation of the Umma is the “caliphate”, in other words, a term with which the Islamic legal professionals from different schools describe the qualifications, functions and duties of the sovereign. Later, under the influence of the translations of the works of the Greek antique philosophers, in the dictionary of the Arabic philosophy the word ‘medina’ appears with a meaning as a state structure or political society (polis, politea) which , at the same time means *city* , that is, a narrow city nucleus of the under Sahara's megalopolises. From the 18th century onwards, many other terms appear which show the enriching influence of the Orient with the

⁷ The affirmation for the internal heterogeneity of the Islam- beginning from the differences between the normativity of the Koran and the tradition developed by the prophet Mohamed through dynastic-doctrinaire divisions between his closest friends and followers-caliphs (after his death) Abu Beker and Ali, the hostility and rivalry directly initiated the “schism’ in the Islamic world of Sunni and Shia; up to the modern reforms in the Islam, such as the Wahhabism and the studying of Said Kutb (who inspired the anti-western operations of the Talibans and Al-Qaeda)- the best is expressed in Edward Said's argument, who the totalitarianism of the Islam and its religious backwardness defends from the simplified orientalist's critiques (Сайд, 2003).

West (Oxidant) . As such are considered, divla (country) millet (non-Islamic community of believers) vilayet and so on.

Without further thorough studies of the Islamic terminology, the Koran's exegesis or the Arabic hermetic, it is more purposeful to explain the nature, the manner of functioning and the borders of the modern umma, in the convulsive attempt to transplant and take roots in the West. As it was indicated by Earnest Gelner in one of his latest books "Conditions for freedom".... The concept of the society and the community in the Arabic world, contrary of the Western world is done in far more rigid and static conditions:

Umma in the center, the local community in the periphery and religious competition of the community of the lower levels of the social hierarchy. The central power was mainly was connected with the first religious style and the local communities with the second. In Europe the contrast between the community and the society is the same as the one between the past and the present: we pass from community towards society. In the Islam , these two are constantly in the present and are one timers; the community is found on the margins, while the society gravitates towards the center. (Гелнер, 2003: 45)

Gelner, together with other western authors stand on the position that in contrast of the western countries, the secularization as a trend in the Islamic societies not only does not intensify in the last 100 years, but also it does not exist there at all. The sociological assumption for this is that the expressed religiousness is an expression of the lower social strata responds to the reality of the Orient's societies. The absence of the religious excuse for the strict social stratification in the Islam and between the Muslims is a significant factor of the longevity and compactness of the Umma. But, there is a psychological moment, which contributes towards the stability of the relationship between the believer –individual and the umma (community). Namely, it is about a principle in the Islamic philosophy, law and canon and is referred to as tevdih. According to this principle, the strict observance towards the Islamic norms in the daily procedures of the believers urges them to rebut the western division on public and private, that is, all the procedures to correlate and assess according to the religious ethics. As Al Banna and Said Kutb have noted – the first founder of the "Muslim brothers" in Egypt (whose military successor is Hamas) in his study insisted that the Islam is a total way of life, and the religion could not be limited on private sphere, as in the West. As long as they copy the other nations the "Muslims –considers Al Bena-will remain cultural half breed" (Армстронг, 2006: 166). But Kutb, in the middle of the last century, seriously problematized the connection of the mind with the religion, emphasizing that

the arrogant and deceitful belief in the mind, characteristic of the western people- beginning from antique Greece up to the modern theoreticians, seriously erodes the wholeness of the human psychical constitution, leading up to a schizophrenic (divided) individual of the western technologically-robotized person⁸. “The “schizophrenic” of the western man, Kutb most graphically locates it in the discretion between “natural person’s yearning towards God and divinely good life; and from other side, man’s natural desire for knowing the material universe. The church against science, the scientists against the Church. Everything that the Islam had known as one the Church had divided it into two. And at the end, the European notion had split” (cited in Берман, 2008:88)

Al Bana and Kutb are only two little grains from the enormous sandy immenseness of the Arabic-Islamic authors, who lead by the conviction for correct Islamic interpretation of the total human existence, they denunciate the individual autonomy in functioning, deprived of the relationships and directed towards the community(Umma). Looked from this angle and initiative reference, the modern theorizations of the multicomunitarists offer a sharpened and nuanced dioptric towards the forms and formulas of the coexistence of the Umma surrounded by the communities of the “schizophrenic” individual from the West. Weather in this constellation of theological and structural-diametric opposing communities, a place exists that could canalize the sharp differences, and weather that role could be successfully played by the institutions of the civil association – which at first it seems that it is unknown outside the western Christian boarders- is only one of the questions to which the multicomunitarism must give an answer, especially that the civil association is an unknown medium in the life of the Umma.

⁸ The reflection of such ethnocentric and civilized relativization how to provide own impression in the Benedict’s XVI statement in Regensburg (2006), with a difference that now the position of the one who is criticizing is changed. For an example , besides the mentioned Kutb there are other Arabic (secular) authors from the Islamic world, who affirm the uniqueness and connectivity between the sanity and the religion. Hasan Hanafi argues that “ the sanity is the base of the religion and it could be not only deductive, but also inductive, to deduce the reasons for human’s behavior from the textual sources (Koran, different schools, and directions in the Islam) as well as again to induce from the human’s behaviours.” The Islam, understood in this way, represents “ a religion which as a glue connects the individuals in a unity. Actually, and the Islamic ideal is based on the concept for unity. The unity of God is expressed in the unity of the Umma. The unity of the internal world- feeling and thinking- and the outer world –talking and working-makes the human individual one, free of fear, from the ambiguous speech, hypocrisy, in other words, it creates a free individual”(Hanafi, 2002: 176, 181)

It is not unknown that every approach of the unknown authors towards the conceptualization and understanding the civil society, is accompanied by serious skepticism. As a secular and antireligious concept, many people consider that the civil society is strange for the Islamic authors. The basic function of the civil society – to limit the power of the country for penetration in the private sphere - is present in the Arabic societies, and as the most obvious manifestations of its vitality is considered in the autonomy of the *ulemas* (Islamic educated people who interpret the Sharia - law) and the rulers' judges (the Imam, the Sultan and the Caliph). In the form of checks and balance the civil association according to Hanafi, exists in the Islamic societies, more precisely as a part of the Islamic culture, and depending of the geographical position, the time and degree of the implementation of the modern model of the civil law; the civil society could be identified through three forms: westernized, fundamental, and reformative, that is, modern model (Hanafi, 2002:172). The last type is significant-reformative model, because it represents a balance between the western idea for civil society and dictations of the Islamic law. The independence of the ulemis and the judges, and the traces of non-governmental unreligious amalgamation in different forms of brotherhood, neighborhoods, and subcultural groups and so on, are the first rays of the association illumination in these Islamic societies. Such colorfulness contributes towards a core conceptualization of the Muslims as a politically –religious community with a dispersed power between its constituent parts at the same time strongly and tightly dedicated to the religion. Unavoidable is the impression that a trend exists in the Islamic societies towards an incarnation of a particular form of the civil society and development of skills of civility, but even besides this, there still are domains of man's secular social life, which seem to be quite closed and resistant. An example for this, surely is the family law and the place of the Muslim women, for what, a great number of the authors agrees does not follow and adopt the emancipated tendency legislation. A certain movement towards a more liberal path is emphasized with the transition and total supplanting of the traditional Arabic (before-Islamic) law, pursuant to the women were not a subject of the law and the rules at all, whether the Islam introduced certain relief for the women - as it is by the Koran the regulated law of inheritance and giving gifts in cases of divorce. The sensitive situations of the abusing and not respecting of the individual's rights in the frame of the community (Umma) no matter how normal they seem to be and a long term practiced reality in the Islamic societies, it is impossible to be unnoticed, that is , not to get a reaction in the western societies-where the

Umma is trying to stay. Although even at the communitarists a tendency to emphasize the core solitude, the totality of the individual and the dedication to the society, there are certain discrepancies regarding the defining the nature, the borders, and the internal life of the community *vis a vis* the multicomunitarist, what on the other hand, opens a great debate for the compatibility of the meaning of the cultural universals.

Conclusion

All things considered, the epistemological consensus, which is clearly recognizable in the shared position on the communitarists, multiculturalists (authors of the western world) as well as on the multicomunitarists (of the Islamic societies) that the community is the key medium, determinant and context from where and from what, the individual develops and fulfills his interests, aspirations, and goals and according to that, that the governmental programs for nurturing and development of the cultural diversity, must be seriously taken into account. The community as an addressed law carrier object - does not mean that these three theoretical orientations reach consensus that should exist around the core of the community and the internal relations and positions of the members. The authors, multicomunitarists, actually are the loudest in the total realization of the social correctness through insisting of the totality of the two-sided medallion (right and responsibility), where openly they plot the idea for transcultural adoption of the Universal Declaration for the men's' responsibilities (towards the community).

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