

**The Social National
Economy**

The Social National Economy

The Social National Economy

Antun Sa'adeh, the founder of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party and a societal thinker of great depth, laid down the foundations of a democratic Syrian Social Nationalist State. This National State, he envisaged, must be built on modern, non-religious bases and must possess the economic, political and military power that forms the basis for a strong economic order capable of generating economic growth and achieving the happiness and well-being of the whole nation. In his eighth lecture, Sa'adeh provided an insightful discussion on economics and presented his ideas of social justice, production, wealth redistribution, and the state's role in fostering the nation's economic development and prosperity and in protecting economic actors through labour regulations and policies. This paper aims to introduce Sa'adeh's economic system, its key suppositions and its distinguishing characteristics.

Sa'adeh's economic tenets stem from his philosophy of

spiritual - materialism, known as *al-Madrahiyyah*, which views the nation as a social reality; a product of an interaction cycle fusing all the human elements, which settled and interacted with each other within a specific territory, into one life and one destiny. To Sa'adeh, the nation is the most perfect and most complete community (or natural society), whose members share a life of common interests and common destiny within a geographical environment with which they interact in the course of development to acquire characteristics and features that distinguish them from other human groups. The unity of the nation is achieved through the organic correlation between the nation (the people) and its homeland. Sa'adeh contends: "It is within the national territory that the unity of national life and participation in its activities, interests and aims are attained."⁽¹⁾ As a result of the interaction process, a socio-economic cycle develops within society and forms the basis for a union of life and for the progress of society.

In his *Nushu' al-Umam [The Genesis of Nations]*, Sa'adeh emphasized: "The democratic state is definitely a national state, since it rests, not on external beliefs or imaginary will, but on a public will resulting from a feeling of participation in the same socio-economic life."⁽²⁾ He also considered the "economic bond as the primary social bond in the life of man or the material foundation

(1) Antun Saadeh, *Nushu' al-Umam (The Genesis of Nations)*, Beirut: Dar Fikr, 1978, p. 157.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 130.

on which man erects his civilization.”⁽³⁾ Highlighting the importance of the economy, he contended that “social development is always consistent with economic development.”⁽⁴⁾ In similar words, he maintained, in a context of an interview, that “the economic interests form the foundation for every social and cultural progress.”⁽⁵⁾

National Economy:

Unlike the great liberal and Socialist economists, such as Adam Smith⁽⁶⁾, Karl Marx and John Maynard Keynes⁽⁷⁾, Antun Sa’adeh based his new model of economics on the idea of the nation; “one nation - one society”. Sa’adeh affirmed the actual national unity in his society despite the presence of boundary signposts between Lebanon and Palestine and between Lebanon and “al-Sham”. He stated:

(3) Ibid., p. 62.

(4) Ibid., p. 63.

(5) Antun Sa’adeh. *Mukhtarat fi al-Mas’alah al-Lubnaniyyah* - 2 (1947 - 1949) (Beirut: SSNP, 1976), p. 76.

(6) Adam Smith (1723-1790) was the great Scottish expounder of economic liberalism and the policy of laissez-faire. A philosopher and college professor, he is considered today as the founder or father of modern economics due to his vision of capitalism as an economic system that makes everyone better off. Inspired by the physiocratic doctrine, which embraced free trade and the supremacy of natural law, order, and wealth, Smith was led to study the nature of economic behaviour. How do poor countries become rich? This question was what inspired him to write *The Wealth of Nations* in the late 1770s.

(7) Keynes was born in 1883 in Cambridge, England. He was the son of a prominent economist and logician, John Neville Keynes. His macroeconomics theory outlined in his book *The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* reshaped modern economics.

In the Syrian entities there is an actual national unity in social life, and in the psychological and economic interests as well as in the whole popular destiny which no boundary signposts can ever cut off or partition.⁽⁸⁾

Sa'adeh labelled his model as a "national economy" per excellence. The centre of gravity of this national economy is the entire [Syrian] nation: Its survival and well-being, its development and progress, and its ability to excel in the struggle for existence. From this it follows that Sa'adeh aimed to integrate the various economies of the Syrian entities into one healthy national economy. When, in 1948, Lebanon signed a Monetary Accord with France, Sa'adeh stood against it warning that it would lead to financial separation and breaking the internal economic cycle between Lebanon and al-Sham and, consequently, it will harm the economic interests of Lebanon and make its political independence illusory. In his opinion, "it is very hard to find a genuine economic base for the Lebanese state outside the Syrian economic cycle."⁽⁹⁾ In his analysis of this Monetary Agreement, he clearly stated that the economic base for the Lebanese state lies within the national economy:

If an economic severance between Lebanon and "al-Sham" [proper Syria] as that between

(8) Antun Sa'adeh. *Mukhtarat fi al-Mas'alah al-Lubnaniyyah* - 2 (1947 - 1949), op. cit., p. 137.

(9) *Ibid.*, 74.

Lebanon and Palestine took place, then the Lebanese economy will suffer from a tremendous blow whose consequences cannot be predicted.⁽¹⁰⁾

Generally speaking, Sa'adeh's ideas shifted the whole focus of economics away from the great issue of social classes and their economic interests, which had been emphasized by Ricardo⁽¹¹⁾ and Marx, and centred economic theory upon the nation. To him, the nation and its interests are the major determinants of economic activity and economic progress. He conceived the whole national economic system as revolving around the nation; its needs and its progress. In short, the Social Nationalist economy is for all stakeholders who should participate in its activities and guide its direction. It is meant to be a servant of the people. Its function is to serve the nation (the people), not the people to serve the economy. Its purpose is to lift people's lives, to allow them to live a fuller and more complete existence as human beings. The main objectives of the Social National economy can be summarized as follows:

(10) Ibid.

(11) David Ricardo (1772-1823) was the apostle of capital accumulation. In his view, the growth of capital was the great source of economic expansion, and all economic policy should be directed toward promoting it. His theoretical contributions included the first fully developed theory of income distribution and the labor theory of value. His argument for free trade remains one of the bedrock principles of economics. He believed that through specialization, each county would gain from foreign trade. His book *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation* (published in 1817) had tremendous influence in its day.

- a) To engender a socio-economic renaissance that will create the conditions necessary for transferring the nation from a state of backwardness, weakness and underdevelopment to a state of advancement, competence and vitality; and to a major member of the global economic community.
- b) To serve the common good, provide high standards of living to all Syrians and maximize national happiness by expanding national wealth and achieving economic prosperity and abundance.
- c) To eliminate socio-economic inequalities and exploitation; particularly gender inequality and the oppression and deprivation of females, and to establish economic equality, social justice and fairness.
- d) To implement a more egalitarian distribution of the national wealth based on production in place of the prevalent unequal distribution of income.
- e) To advance further in the creation of an ideal, knowledge society focused on attaining the common good and meeting the aspirations of future generations.

Overall, Sa'adeh's vision is to create an efficient national economy that would generate economic growth and expand national income and, consequently, contribute to establishing a prosperous, secure, just and viable society in which human happiness, security and social justice prevail.

Social Unity:

The basis of the Social National economic order is the social and spiritual unity of the whole nation. This unity is imperative as it generates a sense of national concord and economic cooperation for shared values and, consequently, it leads to national revival. In the fifth basic principle of his national program, Sa'adeh maintains:

The absence of social unity entails the absence of common interests, and no resort to temporary expediency can make up for this loss. Through social unity, the conflict of loyalties and negative attitudes will disappear to be replaced by a single healthy national loyalty ensuring the revival of the nation. Similarly, all religious bigotry and their nefarious consequences will cease and in their stead national collaboration and toleration will prevail.⁽¹²⁾

Unlike Karl Marx (1818-1883) and Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), who wrote *The Communist Manifesto* urging workers to organize themselves for their own protection and to fight for socialism: "Workingmen of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains"⁽¹³⁾, Antun Sa'adeh called upon all his countrymen and women to unite and co-operate in order to

(12) Antun Saadeh. *Al-Muhadarat al-'Ashr (The Ten Lectures)*, Beirut: SSNP, 1976, pp. 99-100.

(13) Daniel R. Fusfeld, *The Age of the Economist*, 8th ed., Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Educational Publishers, Inc., 1999, p. 60.

achieve an abundant society, a sublime existence and a beautiful and happy life. In his eighth lecture, he highlights the importance of national unity:

The aim of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party is the achievement of a sound and strong national unity which enables the Syrian nation to excel in the struggle for existence and progress.⁽¹⁴⁾

Similarly, on the occasion of Labour Day on May 1, 1949, Sa'adeh issued an appeal to all producers of the national wealth [in his country] and to all builders of the nation's glory, in which he said:

Let's come together and be united as one collection working and fighting for our denied rights, which are rejected by the greedy capitalist and the voracious feudalist as well as by Communism and colonial Capitalism. We don't want our rights as a favour from the feudalist or the capitalist. We want them deservedly for our work and fight.⁽¹⁵⁾

Sa'adeh is quite clear where he stands. He is a strong proponent of spiritual unity. The nation, he argues, must possess real spiritual unity in order to achieve a free and independent life in which it can realize its lofty ideals. Without such a unity, it will be impossible to restore the nation's strength and vitality. Sa'adeh states:

(14) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten lectures*, p. 148.

(15) Antun Saadeh, *al-Nizam al-Jadid* (15), Beirut, 1951, p. 75.

We must stand together before the world as one nation united, rather than a conglomeration of heterogeneous elements of conflicting attitudes and guard against dissension. The existence of the present social and legal barriers which separate the various sects entails the persistence of obnoxious religious bigotries unity. These barriers must be demolished so that the unity of the nation might become a reality and the Social National order, which will restore the nation to health and energy, might be set up.⁽¹⁶⁾

Accordingly, restoring the nation's strength and vitality necessitates the achievement of the actual unity of society. This unity can be achieved by embracing the social national doctrine, which aims to: a) overcome the 'decadent beliefs' and 'conflicting traditions', which resist the national unity of the people; b) eliminate confession-alism, racism, tribalism and all contradictions and loyalties contributing to social disintegration; c) remove the social-legal barriers separating the various religious denominations; d) abolish feudalism; and e) overthrow the regimes of deprivation, which enslave people and obstruct or prevent their rising:

We must rise as a living nation and remove from our way all the obstacles that obstruct or prevent our rising; the most important obsta-

(16) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten lecture*, pp. 134-135.

cles that we must do away with are the obstacle of religious intrigue and the obstacle of socio-economic disturbance. Their elimination is possible by embracing the unifying principles of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party.⁽¹⁷⁾

Prevailing Ideologies:

Sa'adeh rejected all prevailing ideologies that had originated in the East and the West (such as Capitalism, Marxism and Fascism) and saw that they were not capable of meeting the needs of his society or adequately solving its problems. To him, the socio-economic theoretical formulations of Karl Marx, Engels and all the neoclassical and social economists had made solid advances in understanding the economic problems of humanity. Nevertheless, these formulations failed to meet the needs of human societies and to solve their complex social and economic problems. Both capitalism and communism have promoted rather than prevented wars and have created and perpetuated scarcity through misdistribution of resources, ruthless exploitation of nature, and waste of natural and human resources from wars and other forms of violence. Both systems are ripe for abuse and corruption. Riane Eisler remarks:

The conflict between nations with these two economic systems [capitalism and communism] led to the Korean and Vietnam Wars, and

(17) Ibid., p. 134.

even after the end of the Cold War, both capitalist and communist nations have manufactured, used, and exported ever more destructive and expensive weaponry, fuelling violence worldwide.⁽¹⁸⁾

Up till now, many chronic problems in the world remain unsolved. Economic hardship and its social and military consequences prevail around the world. There still exist unemployment and vast inequalities of wealth and opportunity between individuals and between nations. There is global poverty and hunger. There is injustice and oppression; and there are instability, financial crises, environmental degradation and pollution, and the violence of war and terrorism that diverts and destroys economic resources and blights so many lives. Indeed many of these problems have been the result of fascist, capitalist and communist economic policies. Sa'adeh maintained:

The world, which has come to realize, especially after the last World war, how destructive the partial philosophies and ideologies of Capitalism, Marxism, Fascism and National socialism have been, is today in need of a new social philosophy that can save it from the arbitrariness and error of these ideologies.⁽¹⁹⁾

(18) Riane Eisler. *The Real Wealth of Nations: Creating a Caring Economics*, San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2007, 32.

(19) Antun Saadeh, *Shuruh fi al-Aqida*, p. 132.

Sa'adeh was not concerned about the fate of "individualism", "capitalism" or "communism". These ideologies were responsible for confusing his society. His concern was for the triumph of his cause, which reflected all the truth, all the good and all the values of which his society was in need of to rise. He maintained:

... We are fighting for the sake of a great cause; we are fighting to establish a new order for the whole society. Therefore we are not responsible for the Ideologies that confused our society and disrupted our reality and our awareness of our reality. We are only responsible for this cause, which is a sacred cause to us, because we believe that it reflects all the truth, all the good, all the beauty, all the welfare, all the friendship, and all the values of which our society is in need of to rise and begin to secure good life for all its citizens.

The followers of other causes are absolutely responsible for it. We cannot be questioned about the fate of "communism" or "individualism" if we triumphed. We can be questioned only for what we believe in.⁽²⁰⁾

Short descriptions of some of these ideologies are offered in the following:

The Philosophy of Individualism is based on Darwin's natural selection model of evolution. It views progress

(20) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten lecture*, p. 26.

and social good within society as the outcome of competition between individuals. Herbert Spencer (1820 - 1903), an English philosopher and evolutionist before Darwin, maintained that “all social systems develop and change by a natural process that results in a maximization of individual welfare.”⁽²¹⁾ He invented the phrase “survival of the fittest” and saw that progress is made by the strongest and “best” fitted to their environment. An American sociologist: William Graham Summer⁽²²⁾; a follower of Spencer (1820 - 1903), argued that individuals within the social system rise to the top or fall because they are “unfit” or capable of making enough contribution to the social order to survive. Social and economic interaction is survival of the fittest. He maintains:

The person with ability, intelligence, and drive will rise to prominence by successfully competing with all others. The lazy, ignorant, and weak will fall out of sight. The emergence of leading individuals brings progress, because they are the ones who innovate, who think, and who develop new ideas. Competition between them results in both a more vigorous population and a better social structure.⁽²³⁾

(21) Daniel R. Fusfeld, *The Age of the Economist*, op. cit., p. 75.

(22) William Graham Summer was an Episcopal minister and Yale University economist who became one of the foremost sociologists of his time. His major work is a sociological classic, *Folkways* (1907).

(23) Daniel R. Fusfeld, *The Age of the Economist*, 8th ed., Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Educational publishers, Inc., 1999, p. 76.

The other aspects of Individualism can be seen in the conduct of people seeking their self-interests and constantly calculating to achieve their own ends without any consideration to the benefit of their society. Such “individualistic” people behave selfishly and are motivated only with regard to their own welfare. Sa’adeh attacked the selfish and individualistic tendencies in his country and from the outset saw that prevalent egoist ambitions had caused havoc in his society. He states: “Individual egoism and authoritarianism are the most serious of diseases and the toughest internal difficulty which we should overcome in order to be able to face the outside world as one strong entity with a united will.”⁽²⁴⁾ To him, local capitalists fit the profile of egocentric people whose concern is always constant calculation of gain and maximizing their material wealth in business dealings at the expense of the national interest and without any regard to people’s welfare. The greedy capitalist treats other people as means in order to achieve his selfish purposes. He does not care about the dignity of his workers and their alienation; he unjustly values their labour. Moreover, the greedy capitalist is willing to sacrifice the beautiful and cause uglification and destruction to the environment for the sake of his economic activity and the internal good of production efficiency. His motives are always to create large fortunes and become increasingly richer and richer. Large fortunes, to him, bring power

(24) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten lecture*, p. 41.

and prestige. Moreover, he is even willing to economically contribute to war and destruction and to join forces with foreign capitalism against the national interest of his people. Sa'adeh argues:

The capitalist [in our country] is the most among people detached and indifferent about any patriotic, national cause or about the destiny of his people. His planning is merely individualistic aimed to achieve just self-interest. Thus, he does not hesitate to ally himself with any collective foreign capitalists against the interest of the community to which he belongs.⁽²⁵⁾

In a series of communiqués issued during the Lebanese parliamentary elections, Sa'adeh attacked those egoistic candidates whose only concern was to promote their self-interests. In one communiqué, he stated:

Most political campaigners and candidates to parliament are not driven by national or general principles of any type, but by self-interests. Their personal benefits overpowered all political, social and national considerations⁽²⁶⁾.

In another communiqué, Sa'adeh appealed to the people of Lebanon:

Those of particularistic intentions who are not

(25) Ibid., p. 26.

(26) Antun Sa'adeh. *Mukhtarat fi al-Mas'alah al-Lubnaniyyah* - 2 (1947 - 1949) op. cit., pp. 36-37.

concerned about your predicament will not be able to put a wedge between us and preventing me from working for your well-being and future. I am but a Lebanese from your heart who wants to transform your entity into a fortress for ingenuity and for advancing the environment around you in a direction that is consistent with your progress and harmonious with your aims.⁽²⁷⁾

The Economy of Capitalism, also called a market economy, is a free-enterprise system that recognizes economic freedom and human initiative and gives more weight to private interests rather than public interests and to private property and ownership of resources and the means of production. In this economy, goods and services are produced and resources are supplied in competitive markets consisting of many sellers and buyers. Suppliers are self-interested and tend to produce their goods or services at the lowest cost in order to maximize profits as capitalism is driven by the profit motive. Employment is not guaranteed, and a certain level of unemployment always exists as labour is sometimes replaced with machinery. Workers are divorced from ownership and control of the production process. They work hard in order to earn enough money to eat and survive. Wages and the threat of unemployment are used to motivate workers.

(27) Ibid., p. 30.

The economy of capitalism is also characterised by an unending drive towards monopoly. Capitalists and large corporations, in particular, tend to monopolize the means of production and manipulate markets, through mergers and acquisitions on the supply side and through advertising on the demand side, so they can control the economy and make huge profits. Overall, the market economy, especially in the United State and Western Europe, is dominated by privately owned big corporations led by an elite group of business, political, and military leaders. This system has been a vital economic force in modern history. It has generated scientific innovation, economic growth, capital accumulation, automation and technological change. But despite its accomplishments, capitalism is certainly not free of serious problems and defects. In the past two hundred years, it led to the age of imperialism. Direct imperial rule resulted in the widening of income disparities among rich and poor countries and most of the globe had been divided among imperial powers. Furthermore, over the years, capitalism generated massive environmental pollution and deterioration and produced monopolies, unequal income distribution, abject poverty and starvation, homelessness, inflation, mass unemployment, insecurity, terror and significant, recurrent crises (recessions and depressions). Quoting a distinguished author: Michael Albert's words:

Capitalism is a thug's economy, a heartless economy, a base and vile and largely boring economy. It is the antithesis of human fulfillment and development. It mocks equity and

justice. It enshrines greed. It does not serve humanity.⁽²⁸⁾

Socialism:

In *The Communist Manifesto*, published in 1848, Karl Marx describes “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.”⁽²⁹⁾ This has been the case since the slave era, through the feudal era to our modern time. In a modern capitalist society, the two main social classes standing in opposition to each other are: The capitalists, or the bourgeoisie, and the workers, or the proletariat. The capitalists own the means of production (such as the machinery and the factories), control productive activity and earn profits. The workers, on the other hand, have nothing to sell in markets but their own labour power and, as a result, have to work for wages to survive. Hence, the history of capitalism, according to Marx, is the history of the struggle between these two classes. The capitalist can prosper only if the worker is exploited. The worker is not paid the full value of the products and services he produces. His labour time is transformed first into profits, to the capitalist, and from profits into capital, which is the property of the capitalist. In this fashion, the capitalist class grows increasingly wealthy out of the exploitation of the working class. This exploitation is accompanied by a persistent alienation

(28) Michael Albert. *Realizing Hope: Life Beyond Capitalism*, London: Fernwood Publishing Ltd, 2006, p. 2

(29) Quoted in Paul trathern. *A Brief History of Economics Genius*, New York: Texere, 2001, p.180.

that dehumanizes all personal and social relationships. Individuals start to suffer from a loss of freedom and self-respect; employment becomes a form of slavery and life, in general, becomes dehumanized and pointless. To Marx, an economy of abundance is possibly only in a radically democratic and class-free society; where there would be neither social or economic differences nor any exploitation of labour. In such a classless society; where communism is imposed following the overthrow of capitalism by the proletariat's revolution and where governments would become unnecessary and disappear, distribution of income would be based on the maxim "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his needs."⁽³⁰⁾

The Philosophy of Syrian Nationalism:

Sa'adeh proposed 'social nationalism' as a new philosophy for the future of Syria, in particular, and for the whole world, in general. This new philosophy believes in social interaction and contradicts the philosophies of individualism, capitalism and socialism; it offers new perspectives to cure the social, economic and political ills of society. It is a philosophy of "unifying interaction" that brings the human forces back together to create a more cooperative, peaceful society and a better future for the human community. Sa'adeh affirms:

(30) Daniel R. Fusfeld, *The Age of the Economist*, 8th ed., Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Educational publishers, Inc., 1999, p. 67.

Our Social National Renaissance is not to satisfy some pressing desires and limited particularities of our people. Rather, it is to resume the Syrian ingenuity to its action in repairing human society and guiding its advancement.⁽³¹⁾

By its nationalistic nature, the philosophy of social nationalism rests on the notion of people's confidence and aims to sweep away the prevailing culture of fear, submission and mistrust. It believes in the creative potentialities of the people and it inspires them to have unprecedented control over their lives. Nationalism, Sa'adeh emphasizes, "Is nothing but the confidence of the people in their selves and the reliance of the nation upon itself."⁽³²⁾ Thus, Syrian nationalism urges people to align their creative powers with their economic activities and stimulates them to devote their energies to the fullest extent of their abilities in order to better their life and to create a sublime existence.

Social Nationalism is not socialism or capitalism. It is not a reshuffling of past economic views and ideals. It rejects the economic practices of the past and of the present and offers new economic practices and an economic system of beliefs for the people better able to meet our material and spiritual needs than outmoded socialism or capitalism. This new economic model of the future aims to solve the economic problems of the nation-state by

(31) Saadeh fi Awwal Athar (Saadeh on the First of March), Beirut: SSNP Publication, 1956, p. 58.

(32) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten lecture*, p. 33.

replacing the dominant values of greed, selfishness, competition, conflict and inequities with those of solidarity, co-operation, justice, freedom, creativity, caring and compassion. It does not view progress and social good within society as the outcome of irreconcilable conflict between classes, but of co-operation and support between all citizens. Sa'adeh contends that "every form of production in society is genuinely a collective or a cooperative one."⁽³³⁾ Even in nomadic association, cooperation was a necessity, Sa'adeh asserts. He states: "We cannot imagine a society built on a base other than economic cooperation to satisfy needs indirectly."⁽³⁴⁾ Hence, the origin of society lies in the mutual and permanent cooperative endeavour of men to improve their circumstances and to satisfy the urge for the material and cultural advancement of mankind. Society, it can be safely stated, rests on cooperation. As a contemporary intellectual to Sa'adeh: the Austrian School economist Ludwig von Mises states: "Society is cooperation; it is community in action."⁽³⁵⁾ He adds:

Through cooperation men are able to achieve what would have been beyond them as individuals, and even work which individuals are capable of doing alone is made more produc-

(33) Ibid., p. 145.

(34) Antun Sa'adeh, *Nush' al-Umam (The Genesis of Nations)*, op. cit., p. 62.

(35) Richard M. Ebeling. "A Rational Economist in an Irrational Age: Ludwig von Mises", in Richard M. Ebeling (ed.) *Champions of Freedom (vol. 26) - The Age of Economists from Adam Smith to Milton Friedman*, Hillsdale, Michigan: Hillsdale College Press, 1999, p. 84.

tive.... Society exists only where willing becomes co-willing and action co-action. To strive jointly towards aims which lone individuals could not reach at all, or not with equal effectiveness - that is society.⁽³⁶⁾

Sa'adeh favoured beauty to be the economic activity's orientation in all aspects of society not only in the works formally designated as artistic. To him, "life and its beauty, goodness and loveliness are the ultimate end."⁽³⁷⁾ He also fostered an abundance mentality and a culture of cooperation and productivity for the sake of the whole nation. He was genuinely interested in the welfare of his society and he wanted his people to enjoy abundance, success and prosperity in terms of both material wealth and human spirit. His reformative plan postulates all citizens as equals in their duties and as responsible members of society. He takes the view that all citizens must participate in the joint struggle for progress and be engaged in production of mutual benefit. For production constitutes the crucial foundation for the national economy and without which we absolutely cannot think of the welfare of the people."⁽³⁸⁾ By the same token, Sa'adeh asserts that all citizens in society should be accountable, skilled and productive in order to achieve impressive economic miracles and provide physical well-being for the whole nation:

(36) *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

(37) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten lectures*, p. 173.

(38) *Ibid.*, p. 140.

All [citizens] must become productive and must work for a national economic, agricultural and industrialized renaissance that would overflow sufficient prosperity for this nation⁽³⁹⁾.

Productivity:

Sa'adeh's economic tenets promised abundance, prosperity and a secure livelihood for all. His social national economic order might be able to produce everything people could want. The ability of this economic order to provide prosperity and a high standard of living to all citizens, however, hinges on the productivity with which resources are employed and used efficiently. Without productivity there can be no remedy to poverty or just distribution of the national wealth. Equality in poverty is not a satisfactory condition accepted by Sa'adeh. He contends: "If the national wealth is small and the population is big, it would be of little benefit to the people to distribute a small amount that merely ensures their biological survival."⁽⁴⁰⁾ Therefore, the national economy must be organized on the basis of production, which is the only means for the attainment of a sound balance between the distribution of labour and the distribution of wealth. Productivity is almost everything and without which no economic growth can be generated nor can the problems and challenges of the economy be solved. Productivity, it must be noted, is not restricted to one

(39) Ibid., p. 150.

(40) Ibid., p. 140.

specific economic domain, but it must be understood in a wide sense as it relates to all human activities; it is agricultural, industrial, scientific, artistic and intellectual productivity. The objective of the national economy is to create the social and economic conditions that provide the freedom and opportunity for every capable citizen, as a mere possibility, to evolve to his or her highest state of being and be productive in all domains in order to initiate economic rebirth and achieve a national renaissance that would overflow sufficient prosperity for the whole nation. Thus, it can be safely maintained that at the heart of Sa'adeh's economic system is one factor: The drive to be productive and creative in order to fulfill our material needs and our deeper human needs of personal growth. Each capable citizen must be productive and must play a role in society's advance. No one can be left behind. Everyone is vital to the future of the nation. There would be no productivity without inventiveness and human creativity. National wealth will be the outcome of all producers' efforts and their abilities to produce material prosperity to the limits of their imagination and creative power. The question then to be asked: Do the Syrians have the creative power? Sa'adeh replies: "in the Syrian character are latent all science, philosophy and art in the world".⁽⁴¹⁾ He adds:

The Syrian mentality is capable by its inner self

(41) Ibid., p. 108.

(42) Ibid., p. 109

(43) Ibid., p. 109

to know, to perceive, to distinguish the target and to imagine the loftiest images of beauty in life. It is a mentality that functions consciously and is characterized by all qualities of general full perception of issues of life, universe and art.⁽⁴²⁾

Sa'adeh aimed at liberating the Syrian mentality from alien influences and unleashing the inner creative capacity of the Syrian citizen so he or she can contribute in a creative way to society's progress and to human development in general:

Unless the Syrian mentality is strengthened, and unless it is freed from dominating alien influences, the elements of real sovereignty will be wanting and Syria will fall short of its lofty ideals.⁽⁴³⁾

The Right to Work:

The greater the productivity, the more goods and services can be produced. Increased productivity, it can be inferred, is the foundation of the social national economic system and the key to its problems.⁽⁴⁴⁾ To achieve increased productivity, the whole nation's productive capacity must be enhanced to allow society to produce

(44) Ibid., p. 141.

(45) Antun Saadeh, *al-Nizam al-Jadid* (15), Beirut, 1951, p. 74.

(46) John Tippet. *A Philosopher's take on Economics*, Epping, NSW (Austyr-
alia): Delphian Books, 2012, p. 47.

(47) Quoted in *ibid.*

more of all of the goods it needs. The first step to increase productivity is to grant every citizen the right to work and produce. Without this natural and social right, all matters of wages, labour laws, and social security remain an illusion as these matters do not solve the problems of unemployment and poverty.⁽⁴⁵⁾ The direct utility of work is to increase production and “to make the resources of the earth suitable and available for human use.”⁽⁴⁶⁾ Life on earth is a continuous struggle. It is impossible without work. As a natural human function, work is essential, not only to the well-being and livelihood of everyone, but also to meet human needs and desires. It is essential to improve life, to achieve advancement and to feel happy for being involved in “doing things” and carrying out work you love to do. The ‘spiritual scholar’ Gibran Khalil Gibran wrote in his fascinating book *The Prophet*: “Work is love made visible.”⁽⁴⁷⁾

Sa’adeh wants all [capable] citizens to be productive and contributing to the national revival and prosperity. Thus, he stipulates that “every citizen of the state must be productive in one way or another.”⁽⁴⁸⁾ This implies that work is a social obligation and a vital means to individual

(48) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten Lectures*, p. 140..

(49) John Tippet. *A Philosopher’s take on Economics*, op. cit., p. 51.

(50) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten Lectures*, op. cit., p. 150.

(51) Vincent Frank Bedogne. *Economis of Fulfillment - The Obsolescence of Socialism and Capitalism and an Economic Philosophy for the Future*, Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2009, p. 31.

(52) *Ibid.*, p. 37.

liberty and self-fulfilment. It is a duty of the 'capable' citizen to work, first, to provide for himself or herself and their dependants; and secondly, to make a contribution to national production and to society's progress and prosperity; and thirdly, to find the opportunity for the practice and refinement of his behaviour and "the rise of the best of the natural human qualities: magnanimity, generosity, uprightness, compassion, humility, trust."⁽⁴⁹⁾ The unproductive person cannot take his or her share from production and be treated the same way as the productive person."⁽⁵⁰⁾ Therefore, it is the duty of citizens to seek work and be self-motivated, to possess vitality and to acquire qualities such as self-reliance, personal responsibility, boldness and willingness to take initiative. Conversely, granting the right to work means: a) that the opportunity to work is made readily available to every able-bodied citizen; b) that workers are entitled to the nation's natural resources: land, plants and minerals, which constitute the source of the nation's production, well-being and civilization. To produce, one author states, "we must have resources and opportunity."⁽⁵¹⁾ He adds: "the greater the level of opportunity we experience, the greater the degree and originality of our creative efforts, the more the goods and services that result, and the better the economy works."⁽⁵²⁾ However, active participation in the process of production, according to

(53) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten Lectures*, op. cit., p. 150.

(54) Saadeh, Antun. *Collected Works*. Vol 4 (1938), 1st edition, Beirut: SSNP Cultural Department, 1980, p. 54.

Sa'adeh, "is the condition 'sine qua non' for the enjoyment of public rights."⁽⁵³⁾

Women Are Equals to Men:

The second step to increase productivity is to treat women as equals to men. Indeed, Sa'adeh looked at women as equal partners to men and as participants in the activities of the public domain. Women, in his opinion, constitute half of society and they must be treated as equals to men. They should not be confined to the private sphere, but they should be active participants in production and national struggle. "National activity should not be restricted to men. Production cannot be considered national unless women participate in it and become active members of society."⁽⁵⁴⁾ In speech and writing, Sa'adeh addressed all Syrians without any discrimination and sought to mobilize men and women and win their full participation in the national struggle. In a speech at a social function organized by female Syrian Social Nationalists in 1938, Sa'adeh announced: "When I thought about the abilities of Syrian men, I thought also about the ability of the Syrian woman, which had been a fundamental factor in our progress and advancement in all periods of our particular history and in that civilization which we spread to the whole world".⁽⁵⁵⁾ Indeed, if we

(55) Ibid.

(56) See Saadeh, Safia A. "Saadeh and National Democracy", in Adel Beshara (ed.) *Antun Saadeh: The Man, His Thought - An Anthology* (UK: Ithaca, 2007), p. 533.

turn the pages of Syrian history, we find many a woman who became an able queen (such as Zanoobia, the 3rd-century Queen of the Palmyrene Empire who led a famous revolt against the Roman Empire; and Elissar, the founder and first Queen of Carthage), an effective leader and able politician, a 'brave soldier, a talented scholar, a reformer of a high calibre and exceptional courage.

It must be stressed that Sa'adeh was not a mere advocate of women's emancipation. Rather, he was a national reformer on all levels and concerned with the cause of the entire nation and its liberation from external and internal threats. The individual, be it a male or female, was to be freed from traditional constraints and to find liberty and realization through the nation and specifically through an open and integrated society; a society that strives for knowledge, justice, freedom and peace and that fights oppression and injustice.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Sa'adeh's solution, therefore, does not address women in isolation. Rather it targets the whole society and seeks its national integration and the general good and welfare of all its members. It aims to free his nation from colonialism; to create a secular, modern and democratic state void of racism, exclusion, oppression and discrimination of any kind; and to change the pattern of the

(57) Antun Saadeh, *Al-Muhadarat al-'Ashr*, op. cit., pp. 37 - 38.

(58) Saadeh, Antun. *Al-Athar al-Kamilah - 1938* (Complete Works), vol. 4, Beirut: Fikr, 1980, p. 38.

(59) Saadeh, Antun. *Al-Athar al-Kamilah* (Complete Works), vol. 1 (1921 -

social, economic and political life of his people. On many occasions Sa'adeh reiterated his position that principles exist for the sake of peoples and to assist society and improve its life.⁽⁵⁷⁾ He also emphasized that his goal is to "cater to the interests of his people"⁽⁵⁸⁾ and "to work for the public good within a peaceful and free context."⁽⁵⁹⁾ Hence, it can be safely maintained that the SSNP is an agent of change that aims to generate through its national doctrine a sense of self-confidence and national consciousness that would be essential for the complete crystallization of the nation and that would lead to its national renaissance. The aim of the national renaissance is to improve the lives of all Syrians and lead to the welfare and modernization of their society.

Nationalism:

What is the inspiring factor that drives the nation to sustain life, to improve its quality and to achieve prosperity? The answer to this question, according to Sa'adeh, lies in the presence of a national bond, bringing members of the national community together and generating among them a true feeling, or national spirit, which creates the will to sustain and enhance life through fondness for this communal life. This feeling is what

1931), Beirut: SSNP Information Bureau, 2nd edition, 1982, p. 342.

(60) Adel Beshara, *Syrian Nationalism: An Inquiry into the Political Philosophy of Antun Saadeh*, Beirut: Bissan, 1955, pp. 79-80.

(61) John Tippet. *A Philosopher's take on Economics*, Epping, NSW (Australia): Delphian Books, 2012, p. 22.

(62) Mark A. Lutz & Kenneth Lux. *Humanistic Economics: The New Chal-*

Sa'adeh terms as 'nationalism' or 'national consciousness', which is a unique sentiment functioning as an awakening factor that fosters solidarity and domestic cooperation in the face of external threats. He maintains:

Nationalism is a deep, living and cognizant sentiment; the source of affection for the homeland and the stimulant which fosters domestic cooperation in the face of external threats or to expand the resources of the nation. From nationalism flows a feeling of common psychological and material interests; it is the source of the will to sustain life and to improve its quality through a zealous commitment to it - a life whose prosperity is prosperity for the whole group and whose stagnation is also stagnation for the whole.⁽⁶⁰⁾

Sa'adeh stood in contrast to Adam Smith. The first put emphasis on national consciousness as a factor fostering domestic cooperation and contributing to the betterment of society at large. The latter espoused the doctrine of self-interest although his primary concern "was the well-being of people, not the promotion of greed and selfishness."⁽⁶¹⁾ In his most famous work *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Smith argues that every economic agent seeks only his own self-interest, but he is in this "led by an

lence, New York: The Bootstrap Press, 1988, p. 38.

(63) Quoted in *ibid.*

(64) Antun Sa'adeh, *Nush' al-Umam (The Genesis of Nations)*, *op. cit.*, pp. 13

invisible hand to promote an end which is no part of his intention.”⁽⁶²⁾ Smith’s complete statement is as follows:

[The economic agent] intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worst for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it.⁽⁶³⁾

Unlike Smith, Sa’adeh advanced the concept of national consciousness which he considered as “the greatest phenomenon in our era”. In the introduction of his sociological work *Nushu’ al-Umam*, he details the substance of the relationship of the individual to his society as driven by a sense of national consciousness requiring the individual:

To add to the awareness of his own personality an awareness of the personality of his group and his nation; requiring him also to feel, in addition to his own needs, the needs of his society, to complement his understanding of his own self with an understanding of the psychology of his social community, to link his own interests with those of his people and to feel with every member of his society, to care for it and to desire its

- 14..

(65) Antun Sa’adeh, *Al-’Athar al-Kamilah- 1944-1945* (Complete works), vol.

welfare like he desires his own.⁽⁶⁴⁾

Accordingly, it is the sense of national consciousness, not self-interest that drives the economic agent [or the individual] to try new avenues of thought and action and to promote the welfare of society and its interests. This driving force makes all citizens equals in their social responsibility:

National loyalty is the indispensable condition for rejuvenating the nation and achieving the welfare of the national society. This loyalty makes all equals: The worker, the manufacturer, the merchant, the scholar, the artist, the scientist and the soldier.⁽⁶⁵⁾

Moreover, to Sa'adeh, as it will be shown later, the interest of society will be realized and promoted, not by an invisible hand, but by the guardianship of the national state. This is not to imply, however, that the invisible hand of the market is replaced by the visible hand of the state as was the case in command socialism; where the government is the sole employer. It appoints the managers of all enterprises, which lack sufficient autonomy. It sets production quotas for each enterprise, prices and wages, the inputs and technologies to be used, and the labor to be employed. The guardianship of the national state in Sa'adeh's perspective will be elaborated later.

To Sa'adeh, the absence of national consciousness in

12, Beirut: SSSNP Cultural Department, p. 189.

Syria has not only contributed to the continuation of confessional loyalties and, consequently, to national disunity and the partitioning of the nation, but also to the loss of national sovereignty:

The absence of national consciousness in our people has deprived us of most of our important raw materials. There is the Mosul petroleum, the Jazirah area, and the petroleum of the "Negeb" (South Palestine). Add to that the salts of the Dead Sea which have been seized by the Jews. There are also the fertile lands of Cilicia, Alexandretta and Palestine which were wrested from Syrian sovereignty. All these raw materials are necessary to establish our manufacturing industry, to grow our crops and to produce our national wealth. We cannot attain abundance and prosperity by being deprived of these raw materials. ⁽⁶⁶⁾

The way to generate national consciousness, according to Sa'adeh, is by implanting the idea of the nation in the minds of the people through a process of national indoctrination and teaching the ethical principles of Syrian nationalism. These principles, it must be noted, aim to destroy the existing mentalities and to introduce a new

(66) Antun Saadeh, *al-Nizam al-Jadid* (15), Beirut, 1951, p. 73.

(67) Antun Saadeh, *Al-Muhadarat al-'Ashr (The Ten Lectures)*, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

(68) Antun Sa'adeh, *Nush' al-Umam (The Genesis of Nations)*, op. cit., p. 66.

(69) Ibid.,

life based on a new socio-political order. Their aim is not to replace an existing political system with a new one, but to unify the direction of the nation and change the whole life of the nation. In Sa'adeh's words:

The fundamental objective of the Syrian Social Nationalist Party is to unify the direction of the nation which exists in microcosm in it. If we say that the nation is the SSNP and the SSNP is the nation we will only be stating the literal truth, because the nation is a body which has attained full consciousness and achieved the lucid, sincere and rational conception of life, universe and art.⁽⁶⁷⁾

The Importance of Land:

No one can deny the economic importance of land in the process of the production of goods and services. It is a living provider of wealth and a source of the vitality of life. To Sa'adeh, man and life are meaningless without land. In his opinion, the existence of the earth "is a primary condition for the existence and survival of the human species."⁽⁶⁸⁾ "None of man's vital requirements can be satisfied", as he asserts, "except with what may be found on earth."⁽⁶⁹⁾ Sa'adeh adds: "we find that man's natural environment supplies him with the raw materials required to satisfy his need."⁽⁷⁰⁾ The existence of sufficient raw materials determines how a nation can devel-

(70) Ibid., p. 68.

op. Sa'adeh argues: "A nation is strong or weak, advanced or backward, in proportion to the economic capabilities of its environment and its ability to benefit from these potentialities."⁽⁷¹⁾ In fact, the Syrian fertile homeland is rich with vital resources and economic capabilities such as rivers, fields, salt, petroleum, natural gas, asbestos, chrome, iron ore, copper and other natural minerals. As noted earlier, the Syrian people have been deprived of most of its important raw materials owing to the absence of national consciousness.

The Syrian land is special for three distinct reasons:

First, it belongs rightfully to the Syrian people. It does not belong to this generation alone, but it belongs to the whole nation in all its present and future generations. Each Syrian has the same equal and inalienable right to the Syrian homeland and its natural resources. The Syrians should not be denied any access to any part of their land and its provisions. Their right to access and use their land is absolute and undeniable. It is necessary for their living and for conducting multifarious economic activities.

Secondly, land, as a natural factor of production, is fundamentally special because it is the basis of agriculture and civilization; life is impossible without it. It is the main pillar of the national economy. The following quotations from Sa'adeh's fifth lecture make this plain:

(71) *Ibid.*, p. 275.

(72) Antun Saadeh, *Al-Muhadarat al-'Ashr (The Ten Lectures)*, op. cit., p. 92.

Natural Syria consists of all those regions which, as has been shown, constitute one geographic-agricultural- economic- strategic unit. The Syrian Social Nationalist cause will not be fulfilled unless the unity of Syria is achieved.

The unity of the agricultural land is the basis of the unity of the Syrian civilization, and the unity of the Syrian production in all its varieties is the foundation of the national economy in Syria. The establishment of a new system for this [national] production and its purposes is the necessary formation for the fulfilment of the Syrian Social Nationalist renaissance and for lifting the Syrian nation to the peak of the good and honourable life.⁽⁷²⁾

Thirdly, the Syrian land is special for security reasons. As noted earlier, The Syrian environment constitutes a geographic - agricultural - economic - strategic unit. The protection of any part of this natural environment is vital for the protection of its remaining parts. Sa'adeh argues that the northern borders of the country are a matter of concern to the Syrians living in the south in the same way that the southern borders are a matter of concern to the Syrians living in the north.⁽⁷³⁾ He adds: There are certain centres on the borders; such as the Zagros, the

(73) Ibid., pp. 92 - 93.

(74) Ibid., pp. 93 - 94.

(75) Ibid., p. 93.

(76) Ibid., p. 86.

Taurus Mountains and the Cilician Gates, if for any reason are no longer under the control of the Syrian army, the whole country would be exposed to external incursions, colonization and humiliation. He clearly states:

Any military assault of the southern or northern strategic lines puts the whole of natural Syria at the brink of falling into the grip of the invading army... So, it is not possible to protect the integrity of the Syrian homeland except through classifying it as a belligerent unit within a strategic unit. Any army, occupying any small area within the border lines of this strategic unity can be counted as occupying strategically the whole country.⁽⁷⁴⁾

Moreover, for the protection of the Syrian shores from any enemy invading the country by sea, Cyprus, which is a portion of the Syrian land in the water, must be safeguarded.⁽⁷⁵⁾ This Island is strategically important to Syria and constitutes its shield from the sea side. "Its strategic location is very important to the security of the Syrian homeland", Sa'adeh asserts.⁽⁷⁶⁾ In conclusion, the Syrian land constitutes an inseparable geographic unity that has "provided for the nation the basis for its persistence in the struggle for life."⁽⁷⁷⁾ The secret of Syria's ability to survive in the struggle for existence and its persistence,

(77) Ibid.

(78) Ibid., p. 89.

as a distinct unit and an outstanding nation despite many foreign invasions, lie in “its marvellous geographic unity and the variety of its natural environment, which consists of plains, mountains, valleys, sea and coast.”⁽⁷⁸⁾

National Liberation:

Foreign capital, according to Sa’adeh, aims at subjugating the whole nation: the people, the land and its resources. Without liberating the nation’s natural resources and the whole of its land, it would be nonsense to talk about solving the problems of unemployment, poverty and underdevelopment. How thousands of unemployed workers can have the opportunity to find work while the imperialist powers dominate our land and plunder our resources by political and military means? It is pertinent to note that unemployment is indeed very costly to society. It is a kind of stagnation and lost production. It has led to emigration and exodus. Thousands or rather millions of Syrians have been forced to migrate and settle in different countries of the world owing to lack of employment and opportunity and to bad economic situation. Unemployment has also negative effects on the mental, emotional, and sometimes even the physical constitution of people concerned. John Tippet emphasizes: “It takes away their independence and the dignity associated with being independent, and

(79) John Tippet. *A Philosopher’s take on Economics*, op. cit., p. 50.

(80) Ibid.

(81) Antun Saadeh, *al-Nizam al-Jadid* (15), Beirut, 1951, p. 73.

renders them dependent.”⁽⁷⁹⁾ He adds: “Dependency, on the other hand, has the propensity to turn people into being irresponsible, lazy, lacking in initiative, and weak.”⁽⁸⁰⁾ Equally, poverty - the close companion of unemployment is a kind of death. Thus, the solution, according to Sa’adeh, lies in Social Nationalism, which aims to re-gain and secure all the national land and its resources under national sovereignty so "we can attain the great production by our labour and we can have abundance and felicity by distributing the social national production fairly."⁽⁸¹⁾

Sa’adeh criticized Communism for allowing the nation’s resources to be in the hands of the Jews. In his opinion, Communism did not distinguish between Syrian workers, who suffered from sickness, poverty, unemployment and deprivation, and Jewish workers, who seized the resources of the Syrian workers. All workers, as seen by Communism, are equals regardless of their Jewish or Syrian backgrounds. Moreover, Communism, Sa’adeh remarked, did not consider the cause of the Syrian homeland and its resources as the most important cause; rather it exploited Syrian workers for its political conflict with Britain and USA Capitalism and for the sake of realizing the political objectives of Russia.⁽⁸²⁾

On the contrary to Communism, Social Nationalism views the Syrian homeland as an integral element of its

(82) Ibid., p. 74.

(83) Haytham A. Kader. *The Syrian Social Nationalist Party: Its Ideology and*

sublime national cause. The third basic principle stipulates: “The Syrian cause is the cause of the Syrian nation and the Syrian homeland.” This principle entails an indissoluble bond between the nation and its territory and defines the framework of national struggle. As emphasized by Haytham A. Kader:

The SSNP does not struggle for independence in an undefined sense, but for the independence of the Syrian nation in its homeland, i.e., its political, economic, cultural, military and strategic independence in its completely liberated homeland.⁽⁸³⁾

Syrian nationalism, moreover, considers the Syrian homeland as the property of the whole Syrian people. “Syria is for the Syrians”, the first basic principle of the SSNP states, “and the Syrians constitute one nation”. This implies that the land of Syria belongs rightfully to the people of Syria. It also indicates that all Syrians must have the same equal and inalienable right to the land of Syria. Any individual, or any organization, or even any country that denies this principle is declared by Sa’adeh as guilty and criminal:

All those who deny that Syria is for the Syrians and that the Syrians constitute a nation complete in itself, are guilty of the crime of stripping the Syrians of their right to sovereignty over

Early History. Beirut: SSNP, 1990, 9. 33.

(84) Antun Saadeh, *The Ten Lectures*, pp. 54-55.

their own homeland. The Syrian Social Nationalist Party, in the name of the millions of Syrians yearning for freedom and struggling for life and progress, declares such people to be criminals.⁽⁸⁴⁾

The Syrian Social Nationalist Movement, accordingly, endeavours to secure the Syrian land and all its natural resources under national sovereignty. It aims to lay out a plan for social and economic reorganization and to give all producers their right to work and to receive their just reward.⁽⁸⁵⁾ By ensuring national sovereignty over the whole homeland and its resources and by re-organizing the national economy on a productivity basis, the Social National Movement promises to achieve economic revival and to improve the lot of millions of workers and farmers. Sa'adeh was strong on this matter when addressing his fellow Syrian producers:

No one can give the right to work except your social nationalism because it gives your land and its resources. No one also is able to save you from misery and humiliation, and from exploitation against your actual interest, except the [Syrian] Social Nationalist Movement. This movement endeavours and fights to secure the Syrian land and all its resources under national sovereignty for your own sake and for giving

(85) Antun Saadeh, *al-Nizam al-Jadid* (15), Beirut, 1951, p. 75.

(86) *Ibid.*

you the right to work and the right to receive your just reward. Social Nationalism means a distribution of richness, not a distribution of poverty. So, pursue social justice in the richness of the Social National Renaissance.⁽⁸⁶⁾

A Dual Fight:

The fight of social nationalism is a dual fight. It is a fight against internal enslavement perpetrated by the local feudalists and capitalists, and simultaneously against external enslavement executed by international feudalism and monopoly capitalism or, in other words, against imperialism in all its features (colonialism) and its allies: the local feudalists and opportunistic capitalists. Sa'adeh asserted:

It is possible to say that economic feudalism and unjust capitalism have become international. With regard to the world resources and raw materials, some countries have taken the place of the feudal families who control the resources of the nation and the homeland and the place of the individual capitalist in relation to production and international markets.⁽⁸⁷⁾

(87) *Ibid.*, p. 71.

(88) Antun Saadeh, *Al-'Athar al-Kamilah* (Complete Works) vol. 1 *Marhalat ma Qabl al-Ta'sis* (1921-1932) (The Stage Prior to the Formation of the SSNP), compiled by the Cultural Department of the SSNP, Beirut, 1975, p. 196.

(89) *Ibid.*, p. 169.

Sa'adeh was the great anti-colonialism. Before establishing his party, he enunciated the case against colonialism and the imperialist international class system with such clarity and force and saw that neither the international resolutions, nor the world organizations can eliminate this system. The only effective way to overthrow imperialism and its domination, according to his analysis, is through armed struggle and the national liberation wars alone. Thus, he saluted the "Revolution of the East" against the European colonialism and urged its peoples to adopt the philosophy of force and "practice it immediately and without delay, because the longer colonialism stays the longer is the life of humiliation, enslavement and many sufferings."⁽⁸⁸⁾ He also predicted the fateful danger of Zionism and its actions, stating: "The Jews are assembling in every quarter of the world to plot with the colonialists against us."⁽⁸⁹⁾ He then warned that the Syrians would be defeated "if they let the Zionists carry through their ends and dominate Palestine. If no movement counteracting the Zionist movement arises, then the latter's measures are proceeding towards success."⁽⁹⁰⁾ Moreover, Sa'adeh witnessed how his country became totally controlled and partitioned by Western colonialism and how Palestine and Alexandretta were captured respectively by the Jews and the Turks. The administrations of the governments of the newly established political entities in Syria were in the hands of French and British colonialists. Moreover, Syria's social, legal, educational, cultural and even religious life was moulded by alien hands and its economy was structured

to meet the needs of European colonialism. The tragedy of Syria was multi-facets: Colonialist partitioning, internal divisions, usurpation and Judaization.

In a speech delivered at the village of Deir al-Gazal, Sa'adeh portrayed a very huge, multi-headed dragon with so many claws, paws and sharp teeth representing the hostile imperialist - Zionist alliance and its internal agents: the greedy capitalists and feudalists who enslave the whole nation. He declared:

How tyrannical falsehoods are! How wicked the dragon that we have to encounter and crush is! It is a multi-headed dragon with so many claws, paws and sharp teeth. It is a very huge monster - a twofold dragon combining both debasement of humiliation accumulating over numerous generations in the life of this nation, and the foreign desires that ally with servility and corruption as they seep away through our plains and valleys as though trying to encircle and strangle us, to stamp out the honour that fills our souls and to deprive us from attaining the acme of glory and eminence.

These are the oil pipelines that are being sold to the foreigner by corruption, likened to creeping snakes squirting out their venom! They are the briberies lavished on the children of humili-

(90) Ibid.

(91) Published in Yussef al-Debs, *Fi Mawekeb al-Nahda*, Dar fikr: Beirut,

liation, on the heirs of injustice in the nation so as to declare not what the people want, but what the will of the foreigner imposed on the people in order to humiliate it.

They are the Zionist interests advancing under extensive and huge international armament! They are the private monopolies amongst our own people, the feudal system which converts some people into masters enslaving the whole! They are that smothering materialistic capitalism which reduces the worker and the peasant to slavery in this country, while they both are the whole country, and all the people.

All these are paltry material objects deserving to be trampled underfoot. Yet they are tremendous power to that malicious dragon! But we are a nation that was never in the past afraid of vicious dragons. Not now, not in the future will we be terrified by any huge, dreadful dragon.

We are a nation that slew in numerous dragons in the past and will not now be incapacitated to do away with this new dragon. The case of this dragon constituted a great danger within the menace of the various religious and tribal

1986, pp. 128 - 133.

(92) Antun Sa'adeh, *Al-'Athar al-Kamilah- Al-Rasa'il* (Complete works), vol. 6, Beirut: SSNP Cultural Department, 1983, p. 147.

(93) Antun Saadeh, "Haqq al-Sira' Haqq al-Taqaddum", (The Right to Struggle is the Right to Progress), *'Kull Shay'*, No. 107, Beirut, 15 April, 1949.

feuds, embittered by the various individual egotisms which take no notice of the fate of the people or the life of the nation.⁽⁹¹⁾

The road to economic independence, according to Sa'adeh, starts with political independence. After investigating the economic situation in Syria under the Mandate, he addressed his people and commanded: "Struggle to achieve your political independence, first, so you can accomplish economic independence and realize your aspirations for a free life full of abundance, prosperity and lofty ideals."⁽⁹²⁾ His appeal for national struggle against the occupiers and colonialists constituted a central theme in his writings. He conceived of national struggle as a means to achieve national liberation and maintained that "the nation that concedes the right to struggle concedes freedom, because freedom is struggle."⁽⁹³⁾ He also argued that the great and powerful nations were not so at their beginning: "They achieved this through struggle and by overcoming difficulties, through convenient circumstances and favourable opportunities and sometimes through good luck, colonialist wars, the industrial revolution and the national economy."⁽⁹⁴⁾ In an article published in 1921, Sa'adeh appealed to his "colonized" and "oppressed" nation. He wrote:

(94) Ibid.

(95) Antun Saadeh, *Marhalat ma Qabl al-Ta'sis* (1921-1932), op. cit., p. 16.

(96) Ibid., p. 196.

The time has come for the Syrian people to understand that independence will not be realized spontaneously, but depends on the ability of the people to liberate themselves and resist those who want to colonize and oppress them...⁽⁹⁵⁾

The only course of action, according to Sa'adeh, to liberate the nation's land and its resources from the occupiers was to adopt the philosophy of force and armed struggle through organized collective action. In his article "*The Revolution of the East*", published in 1925, prior to establishing his party, he says:

The East has now come to understand the philosophy of force and must practice it immediately and without delay, because the longer colonialism stays the longer is the life of humiliation, enslavement and many sufferings.⁽⁹⁶⁾

Following the establishment of the SSNP with the objective of reaffirming Syria's sovereignty and restoring its vitality and strength, Sa'adeh declared in his ninth lecture:

We have no reason to fear combating for the sake of stabilizing our right in life. We are not after building empires, but we are discussing our right in life, the right of living in the home-

(97) Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, op. cit., p. 166.

(98) Moueen Haddad, "Sa'adeh and Marxism", in in Adel Beshara (ed) *Anutn Sa'adeh: The Man, His Thought - An Anthology*, (UK: Ithaca, 2007), pp.

land, which is the possession of the nation.⁽⁹⁷⁾

Sa'adeh promoted the social nationalist war; the national liberation war, which has two inseparable and fundamental objectives: To liberate the homeland from external enslavement (colonization and Judiazation) and to free the fellow citizen from internal enslavement and all sorts of social ills. This war, ignited by national consciousness, is the road to "overthrowing the international stratified order" for the sake of a new international order founded on the equal rights of peoples to freedom and existence. Moueen Haddad describes this war by outlining the dual struggle of Syrian nationalism:

It thus engages in a deadly struggle to regain the land and unify the community. This is on the material plane. On the spiritual plane, social nationalism endeavours to establish a sense of national affiliation and, in working towards this end, finds itself in stark confrontation with sectarianism, tribalism, regionalism, entitlement and other impurities in the psychological structure, which act to obliterate nationalist consciousness.⁽⁹⁸⁾

The People's Movement:

Sa'adeh does not speak of conflicting classes in society; rather he sees all citizens as belonging to one class only

557 - 558.

(99) Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, op. cit., p.152.

(100) Antun Sa'adeh, *al-Nizam al-Jadid* (15), Beirut, 1951, p. 69.

and that is the class of producers in all fields of production regardless of their trades or professions. He says: "We do not advocate the war of unionisms or the war of classes because we promote a social national unity."⁽⁹⁹⁾ To him, the workers are not the only group that can be classified as producers. Every citizen working and making effort in any field of production is a producer. Hence, the peasants, the farmers, the traders, the manufacturers, the teachers, the doctors, and the intellectuals all can be classified as producers. In his appeal to all producers, he described them as "the veins of life and the arteries of force in the body of the Syrian nation" and as "the whole nation by their creation, production and construction."⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ Moreover, Sa'adeh believes that the producers' creativity is obliterated, their production is scattered and their construction is destroyed in the existing situation of national debilitation, which is the result of centuries of foreign subjugation.⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Sa'adeh wanted to end this era of subjugation and humiliation. He established his party as a national movement with the aim of liberating his homeland and leading his nation towards its welfare and glory. Elaborating on the nature of his national movement, he stated:

This movement is the movement of the people because it is the movement of the workers, peasants and toilers, whom Social Nationalism liberated from indolence, humiliation and self-surrender, so as to produce by their hands and pickaxes their people's well-being, and to ob-

tain, by their social nationalist struggle, the rights of their good life which no one of the feudal lords and swindlers can grant them. In addition it does not befit their sense of honour and self-respect to accept them as a grant or charity from a feudal lord, capitalist or quack, or as a promise of a donation from a foreign power.

It is the people's movement because it is the movement of the professionals and educated who work day and night in the production that is not subsidized financially or protected by a government, and whom the social nationalist movement has liberated from anarchy to work with their minds and skills, neither loitering nor begging, for a new era, in which confusion, fears and uncertainties are eliminated.

It is the movement of Social Nationalist talents in the service of the nation and the movement of the nation's resources in the new system which turns these resources into sources of welfare, health, prosperity and felicity for the national whole.

It is the movement that enables the nation to stand in the face of plutocracy and foreign capital which subjugates, not only one of the

(101) Ibid.

(102) Ibid., p. 24.

people's factions, but the whole nation and controls its resources through the surplus it casts to its allies who grab it as humiliated without embarrassment and hence bringing their nation down to the abyss of poverty, lowliness and disgrace.⁽¹⁰²⁾

But enabling men and women to work is only the first step in the solution of the production problem. They must not just be put to work; they must be put to work to produce goods and services that society needs and that adequately satisfy fundamental human needs. Thus, Sa'adeh's socio-economic and political system aims to generate the conditions for people to adequately satisfy their fundamental human needs. The first of these conditions is to abolish feudalism, which controls the national wealth and squanders the homeland.

The Abolition of Feudalism:

Sa'adeh rejects the exploitation of workers and the cruel and unjust treatment of peasants and advocates the abolition of feudalism and the protection of the rights of labour. His fourth reform principle clearly advocates "the abolition of feudalism, the organization of national economy on the basis of production and the protection of the rights of labour and the interests of the nation and the state."⁽¹⁰³⁾ Sa'adeh acknowledges that feudalism is not legally recognised in Syria. However, he maintains that a

(103) Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, op. cit., p. 137.

feudal state of social and economic affairs exists in different parts of the country that threatens the welfare of the nation and its sovereignty. As he puts:

There are in Syria substantial feudal estates which constitute an important part of the national wealth and which cannot be considered as private property at all. These estates are controlled by Beys, or feudal lords, who dispose of them or neglect as they chose, unmindful of the resulting injury to national interest. Some of them neglect their estates and go to such lengths in their mismanagement as to end up by succumbing to debts and forfeiting their lands to foreign banks, foreign capitalists and foreign plutocrats. The Syrian Social Nationalist Party considers that it is of the utmost importance that an end should be put to this state of affairs which threatens national unity and sovereignty.⁽¹⁰⁴⁾

Sa'adeh was so clear about the need for radical reform in his society in order for justice to prevail. He offered a package of reform principles and identified his party as a national movement on the offensive that opposes feudal landlords and their privileges and that attacks the inherent injustices of capitalism, the prevalence of monopoly

(104) Ibid., pp. 137-138.

(105) Ibid., p. 167.

(106) Ibid.

and the corrupt social and economic conditions. "We are not a defensive movement, but an offensive one", Sa'adeh affirms.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ He adds: "We attack the religious partisanship, we attack feudalism that is taking advantage of the peasants and we attack the oppressive individual capitalism..."⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Sa'adeh could not tolerate the existence of feudal estates in different parts of Syria on which thousands of peasants live in indignity, extreme poverty and enslavement. He warns:

On these feudal estates live hundreds and even thousands of peasants in an abject condition of poverty and serfdom. Such a state of affairs is not only inhuman, but also inconsistent with the safety of the state, because it reduces to a state of weakness the productive and battling forces of the people, thus endangering the safety of nation and homeland; in addition to freezing a considerable part of the national wealth. The Syrian Social Nationalist party cannot pass these conditions in silence.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

In short, Sa'adeh's economic views reveal his responsibility to serve the needs of his people and demonstrate his special concern and empathy for the poor, working people and the least privileged individuals. He clearly aimed to remove the social and economic bases of feudalism and to liberate thousands of peasants and

(107) Ibid., p. 138.

their families who have been subjected to unjust treatment and exploitation and to growing poverty and misery and who still live under excessive toil. To him, this state of injustice and misery is utterly unnatural, inhuman and unwelcome. It is a state of weakness enforced upon people. Equality in poverty is not a condition that can be accepted for his fellow citizens, particularly alongside of others living in luxury and extravagance. What can be accepted and sought out is a state of prosperity void of deprivation and exploitation. Sa'adeh asserts: "We promote justice and right which render the entire nation in a state of good and affluence where there would not be some people in heaven and others in hell."⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ His vision is to create a democratic, egalitarian and non-exploitive society; a viable society built on the foundations of social justice, equality, fairness, co-operation and brotherhood.

Social Justice:

People living together in a community may, all of them, not just some, enjoy prosperity, well-being, harmony and the opportunity to take and develop responsibility, if justice prevails. The absence of justice in society may result in dissatisfaction, bitterness, resentment and, sometimes, riots. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, published in 1759, Adam Smith contends that "justice is the main pillar that upholds the whole edifice. If it is

(108) Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, p. 152.

(109) Quoted in John Tippet. *A Philosopher's take on Economics*, op. cit., p. 56.

removed, the great fabric of human society must crumble into atoms.”⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ From his part, Antun Sa’adeh seems to advocate a similar moral view. The rule of justice is central to his economic system. Without justice, the whole system is deemed to failure and collapse. He asserts: The establishment of justice in the juridical social and economic sphere is a necessary condition for the triumph of the Syrian Social Nationalist Movement.⁽¹¹⁰⁾ As noted above, Sa’adeh stood solidly against the misery and injustice wrought on the lives of the workers and peasants and he straightforwardly called for the abolition of feudalism. He also rejected the unfairness of a prevalent economic system that benefited only the few at the top of the social scale. To him, social justice means putting an end to exploitive policies toward workers and peasants and to the rule of greed; the antithesis and perversion of justice, and providing good and just economic law that removes the possibility of gain without contribution. Social justice means also fostering the dignity of labour, protecting workers and peasants as providers from harm; treating them as citizens, not as slaves, safeguarding their civic and human rights and allowing them to have a greater say in organizing their work. Both employers and workers have equal moral rights to create a culture of trust and reciprocity, to make provisions that people value, and to be agents of

(110) Antun Sa’adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, op. cit., p. 148.

(111) Quoted in *The Syrian Social National Party: Idea & Movement*, SSSNP - Sydney branch, 1995, p. 36. See also Antun Sa’adeh, *The Ten*

progress. Every capable citizen must be guaranteed employment. Work is not only a duty, but a right that every citizen is entitled to. Workers must not be exploited, but must be rewarded and paid fairly based on their contribution to production through the application of effort, intelligence and skill. They must receive the product of their own productive efforts in full. This is justice. Unlike workers in the former Soviet system, who lacked the incentive to be creative and productive because their incomes were determined by state planners, workers and farmers in the Social Nationalist State are guaranteed to justly receive the fruits of their own efforts and productive contribution. In fact, resources, physical capital and all means of production are no longer privately owned by the wealthy and selfish capitalists who enslave people and only care about maximizing their profit, but are the property of the whole nation. Sa'adeh contends:

Production, on a collective basis, is a public, not a private right. Capital which is the guarantee of the continuity of production and its increase in so far as it represents the resultant of productivity is consequently, in principle, a public national possession; although individuals, acting as trustees, may dispose of it and exploit it for further productivity.⁽¹¹¹⁾

Sa'adeh specifies four criteria that must be implemented to ensure the prevailing of justice in the socio-economic domain: First, the classification of production and the producers, which will lead to more co-operation and

participation and consequently, to increased productivity; secondly, to regulate the just share of the labourers in production; It needs to be noted here that a just distribution of wealth does not imply an equal distribution. This latter would not be in accordance with human nature, and therefore not in accordance with justice. When production is not distributed justly, it means some workers are not receiving the full value of their contribution, while greedy employers are in receipt of other people's labour. They are living off their worker's efforts and they are accumulating their wealth through exploitation of workers. To put it bluntly, they are stealing, which is neither commendable nor just; thirdly, to disallow the absolute control of the capitalists over labour and production in order to avert the grave injustices perpetrated against labourers; and fourthly, to exploit the capital (or the national wealth) in the national interest and under the supervision of the national state. These criteria are elaborated by Sa'adeh in his explanation of the fourth reform principle:

Production and the producers must be classified in such a way as to ensure co-ordination and association to the widest extent possible and regulate the just share of the labourers in production and insure their right to work and to receive their just reward. This Principle will put an end to absolute individualism in production

Lectures, p. 149.

(112) Quoted in *ibid.* See also Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, pp. 140-

which may result in many social ills, because every form of genuine activity or production in society is a collective or co-operative one. Thus, were the capitalist given absolute control over labour and production, grave injustices are bound to be perpetrated against labour and labourers. The public wealth of the nation must be exploited in the national interest and under the superintendence of the national state. The spring of force and progressiveness in the state will not be fully developed except in this way and on the basis of this Principle.⁽¹¹²⁾

In this context, Sa'adeh elaborates that individual capital must not be abolished, but the selfish and careless usage of it must be disallowed. To put it differently, he wants to put an end to internal enslavement and exploitation and to the unjust usage of capital by any individual at the expense of the national interest. Hence, justice in the distribution of production and exploiting the capital in the national interest are important measures because they will contribute to the elimination of unemployment and to achieving higher standards of living; people as a whole would enjoy the benefits of living in a wealthy society. Sa'adeh pledges better outcomes by organizing the economy along these criteria:

146.

(113) *Ibid.*, p. 150.

(114) *Ibid.*, p. 147.

On the basis of such economic organization, we will ensure our economic revival, improve the lot of millions of workers and farmers, increase our national wealth and strengthen the Social Nationalist State.⁽¹¹³⁾

Industrialization:

In this age of industrialization, the nation suffers from external enslavement by the monopolist capitalists whom Sa'adeh regards as "enemies of the nation". Thus, Sa'adeh postulates that "it is imperative for the nationalist state to establish a state of industrialization with the objective of freeing the nation from the state of slavery to the capitalist system based on heavy industry in the advanced great nations."⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Sa'adeh asserts:

We do not avoid the use of machinery in the production process, but we advance towards it. We do not regard the modern machine to be a human misfortune or a cause for people's exploitation; rather it is a human grace and a means of liberation. But some people who have utilized the modern machine felt that they could extortion the people who fell short of possessing the modern heavy machines⁽¹¹⁵⁾.

He adds:

(115) Ibid., p. 153.

(116) Ibid.

(117) Quoted in Moueen Haddad, "Sa'adeh and Marxism", op. cit., p. 573.
See also Antun Sa'adeh, *Shuruh fi al-Aqida* (commentaries on the

The bad condition of the economy is not due to the machine, but to the evil system boosted by the individualistic viewpoint, irresponsible for the national destiny in employing the modern machine. Our renaissance intends to put an end to this slavery and the owners of private capital by which they enslave people.⁽¹¹⁶⁾

In a different context, Sa'adeh directed his criticism at the capitalist system, which led to man's enslavement instead of freeing him and multiplying his energies. He maintained:

The modern machine by its very nature and function does not enslave man and his energies but rather frees him from the chains of limited production. But it was the system which man created subsequently to the rise of the machine which put man in chains instead of expanding his freedom, activity and effectiveness.⁽¹¹⁷⁾

New Morality:

For the national socio-economic system to succeed, it must be based on the new morality introduced by the teachings of the SSNP. This morality, which emanates

Ideology), Beirut: SSNP Publications, 1958, p. 37.

(118) Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, p. 177.

(119) Ibid.

(120) Ibid.

(121) Ibid., p. 21.

from the principles of the SSNP, is the necessary condition for any political, military or economic plan deemed to succeed. In explaining the aim of his party, Sa'adeh asserts that any political plan or military strategy, no matter how creative or comprehensive it might be, cannot be implemented except through new ethics capable of carrying out such an endeavour.⁽¹¹⁸⁾ Without ethics the outcome is apt to be confusion, failure and disappointment.⁽¹¹⁹⁾ He adds: "Every system is in need for morality. Morality even resides in the heart of every system that is destined to remain".⁽¹²⁰⁾ Thus, Sa'adeh regards ethics as a set of principles or as a new mentality that must be adopted by every individual in society so we can live together in harmony and advance our life.

Sa'adeh's new mentality is embodied in his ethical principles, which signifies a new vision for a new society and which constitute a national, unifying cause that can be and must be adopted by the whole nation. Sa'adeh highlights the significance of this cause by asserting that it is "the cause for which we strive and for which we stand together or fall together."⁽¹²¹⁾ In a different context, he affirms: "This new ethical outlook, upon which we base our life through our principles, is the most precious contribution that the SSNP can give to the nation, to its intentions, actions and direction."⁽¹²²⁾

The National Interest:

(122) Ibid., p. 178.

(123) Antun Sa'adeh. *Mukhtarat fi al-Mas'alah al-Lubnaniyyah* - 2 (1947 -

The new mentality provides the clue to the sincerity of producers and directs their energies towards the interest of the nation and its welfare. The eighth basic principle of the SSNP stipulates: "Syria's national interest supercedes any other interest." Adherence to this principle, which Sa'adeh considers as the "most important principle in national activity", is the highest moral command because the interest of the nation embodies every citizen's interest. The inattention to the national interest has led, according to Sa'adeh, to the nation's humiliation and degradation and to the widespread of various social ills:

The greatest misfortune befell the Syrian nation as a result of periods of regression and degradation, caused by the absence of national politics, is manifested by the scourge of psychological ills and ethical degradation and the prevailing of self-interests and individual intentions as a substitute to national goals and the interest of the nation.⁽¹²³⁾

In fact, it is in the nation that individuals and groups find fulfilment, dignity, loyalty, companionship, sense of community and peace of mind. This moral principle, in particular, is the basis on which the Social National economy should operate. It is the sole motivator of economic activity. Thus, every citizen has a moral obligation to consider the national interest before his own personal interests, to have a sense of social responsibility that motivates him to act for the common good and

to promote the welfare of the nation.

No economic system can succeed without the participation, creativity, enthusiasm and imagination of the people themselves. All Syrians yearn for a better life. Yet, every Syrian has the potential to play a role in the economy and contribute to economic improvement. Thus, the Syrian people must be empowered by ethical principles that drive them to do their best, to strive for excellence and to act as morally responsible individuals in order to build an ideal society and serve the common good. Even the National State, which is run by expert and professional statesmen, must uphold moral principles that explicitly allow no exploitation, corruption, oppression and unfair wealth and that leave the people at rest.

Trust:

The new morality embodied in the philosophy of social nationalism motivates people to favour excellence and beauty in their economic activities and to engage in more egalitarian and creative forms of human co-operation and trust, which will always be the foundations of human economy and society. This morality is based on trust as a social capital as well as on love, clarity, honesty,

1949), op.cit., p. 103.

(124) Partha Dasgupta. "Trust as a Commodity", in Diego Gambetta (ed.) *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*, New York and Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988, p. 49.

(125) Diane Coyle. *The Economics of Enough: How to Run the Economy as if*

national brotherhood, tolerance, social harmony and societal consciousness. In fact, no true development can be achieved in any field without people driven by a sense of societal consciousness (or social responsibility), by trust and by a strong desire to overcome all inequities to guarantee maximum productivity, and to serve the genuine interests of the Syrian nation.

Trust, principally, is vital in every relationship. Without it, it is really difficult to achieve great outcomes. As argued by Partha Dasgupta, trust “is essential for the smooth functioning of society and for ensuring individual well-being.”⁽¹²⁴⁾ It is very essential, in particular, for an economy to function well and prosper and it is fundamental to any successful economy, at any stage in its development. Without it, the economy will not perform well. It is central to all transactions and it underpins economic growth. Diane Coyle asserts: “A high value economy is a high trust one.”⁽¹²⁵⁾

From an SSNP’s point of view, the principle of trust constitutes a firm foundation for the envisioned national society, particularly its economy. The philosophy of Syrian nationalism spreads the seeds of trust among its adherents and highlights its importance for the stability, efficiency and success of the national movement.

the Future Matters, Princeton: Princeton university Press, 2011, p. 151.

(126) Antun Sa’adeh *Al-’Athar al-Kamilah- Al-Rasa’il* (Complete works), vol. 1, Beirut: SSNP Cultural Department, 1978, p. 109.

(127) Antun Sa’adeh. *Collected Works*. Vol 4, p. 137.

Sa'adeh affirms that "one basic principle among the principles of the SSNP is that of trust. Our movement is built on trust and we struggle motivated by trust."⁽¹²⁶⁾ Hence, trust constitutes a firm foundation on which the success of the national movement rests. It is like the glue that binds Syrian Social Nationalists together. The SSNP strives to circulate this binding glue to build positive relationships in society at large, to unite all its members together and to allow them to focus and collaborate to achieve their common goals.

From the SSNP's perspective, moreover, trust is a prerequisite for practicing democracy and without it democracy fails. Sa'adeh asserts: "Trust is at the heart of the democratic system."⁽¹²⁷⁾ Democracy rests on the responsibility of citizens for their nation and their will to act conscientiously in society and to care about the public good. It requires absolute trust of citizens in each other and above all in their leaders, "for public welfare can only be achieved when the people trust their representatives."⁽¹²⁸⁾

In short, the new mentality, as embodied in the principles of social nationalism, aims to make existence more

(128) Ibid.

(129) El-Mohtar, Oussama. "Sa'adeh and the SSNP", in *Al-Mashriq*, Vol. 2, No. 8, March 2004, p. 48.

(130) Ibid.

(131) Antun Sa'adeh, *Nush' al-Umam (The Genesis of Nations)*, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

beautiful. It lays down the foundations for a productive and strong society. This ideal society, Oussama El-Mohtar asserts, is “a free society of free individuals united in their ideal and strong in their diversity.”⁽¹²⁹⁾ He adds, it is a society “of producers, builders and contributors to a better tomorrow for mankind.”⁽¹³⁰⁾

The Role of the National State:

The state is a political aspect of human association; a purely political aspect of complex society. It represents the political organization of society. Sa’adeh defines it as “a purely cultural matter because its function, from the modern point of view, is to handle society’s policy and arrange relations among its parts in the form of a system defining rights and obligations...”⁽¹³¹⁾ The national state is secular and democratic. Its democracy stems from its representation of the public will, the will of the nation and its existence together with its government rest on “the life and will of the community.”⁽¹³²⁾ Thus, the role of the strong, centralized state in the national economy is to plan policies and implement them in the interest of the whole nation. Its function, through the government, is to regulate and supervise the activities of the economy, mandate rights and responsibilities, protect all citizens and seek the means of securing to them the highest degree of happiness and felicity. It must intervene in the economy to facilitate its activities, to eliminate poverty, to provide employment and opportunities, to administer social services, to protect workers and to promote social

justice and welfare of the whole society. It will do so by promoting economic growth and productivity, by encouraging research and innovation, by investing in infrastructure and undertaking large public works projects, and by creating vast areas of economic opportunity.

The National State, moreover, must provide universal education and assure all citizens child care, housing and high-quality health care. It must also provide for security, the rule of civil law, responsible economic management, social inclusion, and political freedoms that are also means as well as the ends to improving the human well-being. Its object ought to be the happiness of all citizens united in society. All citizens would be assured to find social protection, high-quality education, moral development and physical comforts. Any development process implemented by the government must be about people, not about objects. It must develop people's skills and capacities and enlarge their choices to acquire knowledge, information and training, to have access to resources needed for a decent standard of living, and to lead a long and healthy life. In short, it must allow the greatest improvement in people's quality of life. More elaboration on some of the pillars and aspects of the national state are presented next:

a) Secularism:

(132) Ibid., 132.

(133) Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, pp. 132-133.

Sa'adeh envisaged the Social National State to be free from the direct and indirect interference of ecclesiastical bodies in civil and political matters and to have a rational and unified system of law so all citizens can be equal before the one law of the state regardless of affiliations and gender. Without equality among citizens, no civil society is possible:

The Social Nationalist state must have a uniform judiciary and a unified system of laws. Citizens must all be equal before the one law of the state. There can be no unity of character where the basis of life is in conflict with the unity of the nation.⁽¹³³⁾

Sa'adeh aimed to keep religion far away from socio-political matters, which should remain subject to change depending on the needs of the nation."⁽¹³⁴⁾ Religion, in his opinion, must be banished from the realm of worldly affairs and confined to spiritual matters (in a religious sense), worship and the salvation of man's soul. Similarly, the clergy should have no dealing with the social, political and economic problems of the state, as their religious knowledge does not allow them to contribute to the solution of our worldly problems. Instead, they should only address matters related to the province of faith and worship, to man's religious duties and to spiritual salva-

(134) Antun Sa'adeh, *Collected Works*. Vol 10, pp. 16 - 17.

(135) Sa'adeh, Antun, *Al-Mas'alah al-Lubnaniyyah* (The Lebanese Question), in *Silsilat al-Nidham al-Jadid*, Beirut: SSNP Department of Culture,

tion, and they provide guidance to those who seek it from them. He says:

For the clergy to deal today with the social, political and economic problems of nation-states would be like the clergy attempting, in old times - when the cleric was thought to possess a mysterious power over matter and spirit, originated from the ignorance of those primordial generations, to cure physical and psychological ailments. But as the advance of the art of medicine made it impossible for the magician cleric to take the place of the expert doctor... likewise the advance of sociology and the art of politics made it impossible for a bishop or patriarch to take the place of a sociologist or an expert on politics or economics.⁽¹³⁵⁾

The source of legislation in the national state, according to Sa'adeh, is human reason, which is the supreme and principal authority. God has given man this power of recognition and comprehension, not to be paralyzed or shackled, but to think about problems, to determine aims

1976, p. 121.

(136) Rabee'h Debs, "Secularism in Sa'ad's Thought", in Adel Beshara (ed.) *Antun Sa'adeh: The Man, His Thought - An Anthology*, op. cit., p. 327.

(137) Adel Daher. "Some Distinguishing Aspects of Sa'adeh's Thought", in Adel Beshara (ed) *Anutn Sa'adeh: The Man, His Thought - An Anthology*, (UK: Ithaca, 2007), p. 284.

(138) Ibid.

in life and to attain those aims. Social nationalism, Rabee'h Debs asserts, "accepts nothing but reason and science as laws in the temporal and practical affairs of life."⁽¹³⁶⁾ Hence, clergymen should not interfere in the political affairs of the state but devote themselves to divine matters and to preaching values.

To sum up, Sa'adeh called for secular reform in the political and the legal-judicial spheres and "saw secularization not only as a prop for social and spiritual unity in a multi-religious society, but also as something sanctioned by philosophical reason."⁽¹³⁷⁾ Moreover, in his torn apart society where all religious denominations were transformed into socio-political entities competing for political influence and for economic benefits, he conceived of the national state, firstly, "to be neutral vis-à-vis conflicting religious creeds or religious groups".⁽¹³⁸⁾ Secondly, "not only must it be neutral and refrain from making any religion its official religion, but also it must take on the task of actively fostering religious tolerance and combating sectarianism."⁽¹³⁹⁾ Thirdly, it must implement a secular operation, which eradicates all sectarian remnants and provides a new system of socio-economic justice, leading to improvement, freedom and mutual tolerance among citizens. In short, full secularism must be adopted to achieve national unity and to secure a modern, viable, equitable and integrated society where all citizens are united and treated equally.

b) Liberty:

The National State, Sa'adeh asserts, does not aim to abolish private property. Rather, it respects inviolable private property rights. The existence of private property, in his theorization, is essential for economic productivity. The National state, moreover, does not aim to confiscate the capital from individuals, but it allows them to utilize their capitals under its supervision as they will be regarded as trustees given the right to invest in whatever way they like within specified conditions. Hence, the National State must establish property rights, develop policies and decree the necessary laws for production. It must also allow all producers, who are regarded as trustees, to invest the capital for the benefit of the whole nation. It should be pointed out in this context that the National State rests on democracy and equality and it respects the liberty of each and every individual to be guided by his own purposes and plans. For liberty is essential to the individual's ability to grow and create and to feel the satisfaction that such brings. Thus, it intends to establish the proper institutional conditions for liberty to flourish because without liberty there would be no prosperity, economic growth and a rising standard of living for all. Indeed, we cannot reinvent ourselves and

(139) Ibid.

(140) Vincent Frank Bedogne. *Economis of Fulfillment - The Obsolescence of Socialism and Capitalism and an Economic Philosophy for the Future*, Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2009, p. 9.

(141) Ibid., p. 7.

(142) Antun Sa'adeh, *The Ten Lectures*, p. 28.

our world and aspire to higher states of existence without freedom. As Vincent Frank Bedogne states: “Freedom is the desire that when fulfilled - and that through the action of its fulfilment - opens the way into our future.”⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ Moreover, freedom is a prerequisite for creativity and without it we suffer and fail:

Freedom is the state of the universe where the creative process can function. Freedom is the environment that allows creativity to take place and humankind to advance. Freedom is central to the human experience. Without freedom, we languish. To deny freedom is to deny our humanity.⁽¹⁴¹⁾

Freedom, from Sa’adeh’s perspective is a societal ideal, which constitutes a fundamental pillar of the Social National State. In his speech of June 1, 1935, he illustrated the establishment of his party as the beginning of a “true history - the history of freedom, duty, organization and power.”⁽¹⁴²⁾ He also emphasized that the Social Nationalists, as they have become one community united together for the sake of the realization of the highest ideal proclaimed in the principles of their party and in its aim, are “seeking the beautiful free life” for a nation that “loves life because it loves liberty...”⁽¹⁴³⁾

(143) Ibid.

(144) Ibid., p. 149.

(145) Antun Sa’adeh, *As-Sira’ al-Fikri fil-Adab as-Suri (Intellectual Struggle in*

c) Innovation:

Cherishing freedom and seeing it as a higher ideal and as a prerequisite to society's progress and evolution, Sa'adeh is keen to provide the environment that allows creativity to flourish. He asserts: "individuals have the freedom to use their capacity of innovation and creativity to produce whatever they feel they want to produce, and to act freely within conditions and regulations laid by the State."⁽¹⁴⁴⁾ This means that workers would not be slaves to the national State, as was the case under the Soviet state. Rather, they would have control over their careers and economic activities. They would not be hindered by government control and regulations, but they would have incentives and capabilities to innovate and maximize their creative potential, to engage in creative and meaningful works, to express their ingenuity and social beliefs, and to produce quality goods and services in sufficient supply to meet demand. Innovation, as most economic literature agrees, is a critical driver of growth. Sa'adeh's clear vision for a better future as embodied in his new outlook onto life, the universe and art; which provides a clear sense of strategic direction and which conveys an idealized dream, is the light that sparks creativity, fills people's lives with the spirit of innovation and inspires them to seek "a better life in a more wonderful world characterized by lofty values".⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

Thus, the National State, as envisaged by Sa'adeh, would nourish innovation in all realms of life (art, culture, literature, agriculture, business, finance, technology,

etc...) and would unlock the innovation potential of all producers in order to guarantee economic prosperity and advancement. The national government, it can be inferred, would create an innovation strategy that can steer activity towards new emerging areas and technological breakthroughs which will benefit the whole nation and lead to a better future. Hence, by feeling free and trustworthy and by engaging effectively in the production process under the supervision of the State, which embraces freedom and establishes adequate conditions for the creative process and for evolution to take place, producers directly reap the rewards of their efforts, even though they do not own the means of production.

d) Specialization:

Science and specialization are also basic foundations of the Syrian national state. The function of this state and its effectiveness depend on the adoption of technical and scientific knowledge in every domain and in all activities of the national economy. It depends also on the specialisation of labour, which is a major support to production. The increase in production coming from specialised work carried out within the support and environs of a vibrant, healthy, co-operative community is very great. Specialisation is indeed a direct outcome of the existence of community, which facilitates and enhances the productive efforts of the individual.

Syrian Literature), op. cit., p. 69.

(146) Antun Sa'adeh, *Aal-Arab ALubnan* (Enemies of Arabs Enemies of

Sa'adeh envisages every citizen to be empowered not only by national consciousness but also by scientific knowledge, technical skills and critical mind. In fact, he is a strong believer in the methods of science and its findings. To him, scientific knowledge offers a practical value that provides unparalleled opportunities for understanding the 'pathologies' of society and for its emancipation and progress. His faith in knowledge and reasoned thinking was unshakable. Human knowledge, he believed, is power that can be used to change and improve the world. It is the cure of all ills in his society. It represents the capacity for social action. Therefore, he urges his countrymen and women to pursue knowledge for the benefit of their society and to keep pace with science and the contemporary age of progressive specialization. He is also in favour of engaging scientific experts in their respective fields. At one of his articles, he states out that "if some of his people were uninterested to accompany the age of science, it would be the duty of learned people not to shut their eyes from the power of scientific realities and allow specialized people carry out their works in their fields, be it social, political, technical or anything else."⁽¹⁴⁶⁾

Furthermore, Sa'adeh believes in logic and the authority

Lebanon) (Beirut: SSSNP Publications, 1979), p. 43.

(147) Antun Sa'adeh, *Al-Muhadarat al-'Ashr* (The Ten Lectures), op. cit., p. 127.

(148) Ibid.

of reason, which he regards it “the highest and essential law.”⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ To him, reason is man’s loftiest faculty and it “exists to know, to comprehend, to discern, to perceive, to set up goals and to act in this existence.”⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ Hence, overcoming the nation’s ills requires the adoption of a critical mind, a mentality characterized by its rational and pragmatic approach as well as by its intellectual initiative and freedom of thought. By adopting a pragmatic approach, experts of the national economy can address different socio-economic issues; they can abolish outdated laws and policies; and they can introduce reforms to the system by adopting ideas and policies that would serve the needs of the nation.

e) Democracy:

Democracy, it can be said, is a basic foundation of Sa’adeh’s national state. To him, nationalism rests on the democratic principle and the national state is a democratic state that “exists to serve the people.”⁽¹⁴⁹⁾

Sa’adeh’s democracy is grounded in the importance of human beings because, firstly, it expresses the will and interests of the people sharing the same existence in society. Secondly, it requires absolute trust of citizens in each other and above all in their leaders, “for public

(149) *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 50.

(150) Sa’adeh, Antun. *Collected Works*. Vol 4, p. 137.

(151) *Ibid.*, vol 5, p. 131.

(152) Sa’adeh, Safia A. “Sa’adeh and National Democracy”, in Adel Beshara (ed.) *Antun Sa’adeh: The Man, His Thought - An Anthology* (UK: Ithaca,

welfare can only be achieved when the people trust their representatives. Trust is at the heart of the democratic system.”⁽¹⁵⁰⁾ Thirdly, democracy rests on the responsibility of citizens for their nation and their will to act conscientiously in society and to care about the public good. Fourthly, it harbours the sovereignty of the people who should be permitted to progress freely and make their own decisions concerning their fate.⁽¹⁵¹⁾

In Sa’adeh’s analysis, accordingly, democracy is a good system for society to run itself because it allows people “to make decisions for themselves, freeing them from any kind of tutelage.”⁽¹⁵²⁾ It provides for liberty and the equal right of all citizens to be free. It also constitutes an inseparable component of modernity and a protection from tyranny. One of the negative effects of political oppression is the impeding of social mobility, denying the opportunity for the most qualified citizens to rise to leading positions in various fields. Sa’adeh stood against political oppression prevailing in Syria and autocratic regimes exerting censorship on the press and banning protests and demonstrations. He founded his party to fight injustice and oppression of the people by the rulers and the subjugation of his country by the French mandate.

Not only did Sa’adeh defend civic and human rights and freedom of political expression and association, but he also championed the right to vote freely, urging citizens

2007), p. 532.

for the largest turnout at the polls and encouraging women specifically to vote. He also condemned the attempts to deny emigrants the right to vote for sectarian reasons and demanded the government allow those Lebanese citizens living abroad, men and women, to vote as well. To him, the parliament can be truly representative of people when it allows the representation of non-sectarian parties with programs and when it relies on the support of the people and represents their will and interests. The parliament members, moreover, must be knowledgeable in the economic, social and political affairs; they must produce transparent and clear policies for the benefit of the people and for the advancement of society and they must place public interest above their personal interest. If the freedom to establish political parties is suppressed by the government and if competition during elections revolved around persons, not parties and programs, the parliament cannot be considered a representative body of the people.⁽¹⁵³⁾

The democratic nature of the Syrian Social National State is evident in Sa'adeh's defence of civil rights and the individual freedoms of citizens as well as in his condemnation of governments that censor public opinion and forbid citizens from expressing their points of view.

(153) Sa', Safia A. "Sa'adeh and National Democracy", op. cit., pp. 518 - 519.

(154) Sa'adeh, Antun. *Collected Works*. Vol. 2., p.195.

(155) *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 51.

(156) Quoted in Sa'adeh, Safia A. "Sa'adeh and National Democracy", op. cit., p. 521.

No government, according to Sa'adeh, should act as an oppressor and forbid the sacred rights of citizens. A nation would be living in abnormal conditions if denied freedom of political expression and association.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ He argues "a government that refuses to grant its citizens the freedom of opinion and association, and the freedom to create political parties, is a government that has no representative value."⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ He also affirms that the sacred rights of each citizen in the state, which include the right to think, and believe, and propagate his beliefs, the right to make public his thoughts and creed, and the right to associate in order to discuss those creeds and thoughts; the right to form an opinion about the government and its different systems, and convey such opinions to other citizens, must all be respected because they "would allow the people to progress towards a better system, better guiding principles, and better political conditions."⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ Furthermore, Sa'adeh urged for tolerance, mutual understanding and honesty among citizens within society. To him, "honesty is the beginning of the road towards reform. It paves the way for citizens to trust each other."⁽¹⁵⁷⁾

f) Education & Training:

Education is necessary for economic reformation. It is an investment with a future social, economic and ideological return. For citizens to function as effective producers, they must have the opportunity to learn what excite them in life and to acquire the skills they need to direct their creative energy toward that end. Specifically, the na-

tional educational ideology must emphasize creativity, responsibility and freedom of thought and expression. Moreover, it must provide students and citizens with the knowledge tools and the understanding they need to choose and pursue their central life interests, to create their place in society, to improve their position in the economy, to maximize their job prospects and their potentialities, to reflect on their personal mission in life and to maximize their personal role in society. National education, moreover, must recognize expanding human capabilities and must enrich individual intelligence by inventing new educational practices that respect individual freedom and foster creative individualism by allowing a person to be one's self and to exercise opportunities to realize self-chosen goals and to self-actualize. Education must be a part of our existence, available to everyone at every age and at every turn in life's path. It is the nexus of our personal evolution, the driving force that allows us to further the progress of the whole nation.

The Social National State envisioned by Sa'adeh, it can be inferred from his writings, would promote human development and devote resources to the education and training of workers, particularly disadvantaged individuals. It is well-known that increased education results in smarter workers, and vocational training provides speci-

(157) Sa'adeh, Antun. *Collected Works*. Vol. 9, p. 180.

fic job skills.

The best guarantee to civil liberties, according to Sa'adeh, is the capacity of the citizens to defend their rights against possible abuse. This capacity is certainly enhanced through education so the democratic spirit permeates every aspect of social life. Sa'adeh does not see democracy flourishing in an illiterate society. Hence, the education of citizens is imperative so they would be able to follow discussions concerning public issues and make rational decisions when voting. In addition, citizens can deal with change without fear of the unknown if they are equipped with the necessary skills, knowledge, information and education. "One of the main reasons for the establishment of his party", as Safia A. Sa'adeh asserts, "was to educate citizens about their political rights. In Sa'adeh's mind, democracy is intimately connected with rational discourse."⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Thus, education should develop reason and the capacity for rational thought and action. It should prepare individuals to question, to challenge and to think critically. It should also prepare them to understand and acknowledge others as subjects and be tolerant towards them.

Conclusion:

Sa'adeh's economic doctrine does not stem from the philosophies of individualism, capitalism or Marxism. Rather, it derives from his new outlook into life, the universe and art, which constitutes a complete social national philosophy. It is a doctrine that centres the

whole focus of economics upon the nation and that directs individual behaviour for the true human values of community, common good, morality and justice. Its grand function is to be a servant of people: to lift their lives to live happier and to allow the nation to progress and to have more wealth and abundance.

The objective of Sa'adeh's economic doctrine is to create the social and economic conditions necessary for transferring the nation from a state of backwardness, weakness and underdevelopment to a state of advancement, competence, vitality and development.

Sa'adeh's economic model, moreover, aims to eliminate socio-economic inequalities and exploitation by abolishing feudalism and by implementing a more egalitarian distribution of the national wealth based on production. Those who are troubled by injustice and economic inequality and who envision a more peaceful and cooperative society will desire to live under Sa'adeh's economic system that provides every member of the economy with the opportunity to be productive and to achieve his or her creative objectives.

Sa'adeh's philosophy believes in the social potentiality of the individual and provides the freedom and opportunity for every citizen to evolve to his or her highest state of being and that by doing so allows the whole nation to progress and prosper. His philosophy, moreover, directs our creative energy to serve the whole nation as everything we have is from the nation and everything we hold is for the nation. It provides the freedom to live as we

deem meaningful, empowered by our unity and cooperation, and to advance in the creation of an ideal and knowledge society focused on attaining the common good and meeting the aspirations of future generations.

Sa'adeh's economic doctrine engineers the road to our future and invites us to build the future to which we aspire. It initiates our economic rebirth and drives us to put the present behind us and open ourselves to the possibility that we implement a better system of economic beliefs and practices. It offers us a new economic system, based on national unity, citizenship, cooperation, productivity, and democracy; a system that adheres to the principles and ideals embodied in the philosophy of social nationalism and that allows us to create a more satisfying way of life that fulfils our material needs and our more deeply felt needs and aspirations.

Our future is clear. It stands before us, awaiting our inventiveness. We need only discard our disunity, our old way of life and our corrupt form of democracy. We then need relying on ourselves to control our creative energy and engineer the best possible path to the world of tomorrow. More precisely, we need to embrace social nationalism as our creed, which fosters solidary and domestic cooperation and which enables us to have confidence in ourselves and our capabilities.

Our future stands before us, awaiting our move. We

(158) Ibid., p. 518.

(159) Antun Sa'adeh, *As-Sira' al-Fikri fil-Adab as-Suri (Intellectual Struggle in*

need only adopt Sa'adeh's vision, which is rooted in the cultural-political history of Syria and which reflects the Syrian mentality and its ability to invent, to progress and lead other nations of the world. It is a vision that portrays a radical departure from the present unacceptable situation to a highly desirable future state in which Syria would enjoy a better life in a more wonderful world characterized by lofty values".⁽¹⁵⁹⁾ This vision of Sa'adeh, however, is not just a dream. It is a goal that promises to meet people's deepest aspirations and that expects their commitment and actions. It requires people's actions because vision without action remains a dream.

Furthermore, Sa'adeh's idealized vision, it can be said, is humanistic and linked to lofty values and ideals that are cherished by people and are associated with their ambitions, national pride and personality. It uniquely characterizes the Syrian mentality, by which Syria had always been guided to contribute to human civilization and to guide other nations of the world to carry the responsibility of peace, prosperity and creativity. He, thus, urged Syrian scholars and poets to embrace his vision:

Let us embrace a new vision, a new outlook onto life, the Universe and Art. An outlook by which we can revive our beautiful and great truth from its doldrums... Let us embrace such an outlook with a new understanding of

Syrian Literature), Beirut: SSNP, 1960, p. 69.

the human existence and the fundamental issues it faces; a new outlook that embodies our personality, ambitions and ideals.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

Finally, we know where we are, and we know where we want to be. The choice and the responsibility are ours.

(160) Ibid., p. 65.

Bibliography

Albert, Michael. *Realizing Hope: Life Beyond Capitalism*, London: Fern wood Publishing Ltd, 2006.

Al-Debs, Youssef. *Fi Mawekeb al-Nahda*, Dar Fikr: Beirut, 1986.

Bedogne, Vincent Frank. *Economics of Fulfillment - The Obsolescence of Socialism and Capitalism and an Economic Philosophy for the Future*, Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2009.

Beshara, Adel. *Syrian Nationalism: An Inquiry into the Political Philosophy of Antun Sa'adeh*, Beirut: Bissan, 1955.

Coyle, Diane. *The Economics of Enough: How to Run the Economy as if the Future Matters*, Princeton: Princeton university Press, 2011.

Daher, Adel. "Some Distinguishing Aspects of Sa'adeh's Thought", in Beshara, Adel (ed) *Antun Sa'adeh: The Man, His Thought - An Anthology*, (UK: Ithaca, 2007), pp. 267 - 313.

Dasgupta, Partha. "Trust as a Commodity", in Diego Gambetta (ed.) *Trust: Making and Breaking Cooperative Relations*, New York and Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988, pp. 49 - 72.

Ebeling, Richard M. (ed.) *Champions of Freedom (vol. 26) - The Age of Economists from Adam Smith to Milton Friedman*, Hillsdale, Michigan: Hillsdale College Press, 1999.

Eisler, Riane. *The Real Wealth of Nations: Creating a Caring Economics*, San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, Inc., 2007.

Fusfeld, Daniel R. *The Age of the Economist*, 8th ed., Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Educational publishers, Inc., 1999.

Sa'adeh, Antun. *As-Sira' al-Fikri fil-Adab as-Suri (Intellectual Struggle in Syrian Literature)*, Beirut: SSNP, 1960.

Sa'adeh, Antun. *Nushu' al-Umam (The Genesis of Nations)*, Beirut: SSNP, 1976.

Sa'adeh, Antun. *Mukhtarat fi al-Mas'alah al-Lubnaniyyah - 2 (1947 - 1949)* (Beirut: SSNP, 1976).

Sa'adeh, Antun. *Al-Muhadarat al-'Ashr (The Ten Lectures)*, Beirut: SSNP, 1976.

Sa'adeh, Antun. *al-Nizam al-Jadid (15)*, Beirut, 1951.

Sa'adeh, Antun. *Al-'Athar al-Kamilah- 1944-1945 (Complete works)*, vol. 12, Beirut: SSNP Cultural Department, p. 189.

Sa'adeh, Antun. *Shuruh fi al-Aqida (Commentaries on the Ideology)*, Beirut: SSNP Publications, 1958.

Sa'adeh, Antun. *Sa'adeh fi Awwal Athar (Sa'adeh on the First of March)*, Beirut: SSNP Publication, 1956.

SSNP, *The Syrian Social National Party: Idea & Movement*, Sydney: SSNP, 1995.

Strathern, Paul. *A Brief History of Economics Genius*, New York: Texere, 2001.

Tippett, John. *A Philosopher's take on Economics*, Epping, NSW (Australia): Delphian Books, 2012.