

ISLAMIC WORLD: THE FUTURE

PAK-GERMAN DIALOGUE: SPEECH

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(In the name of Allah, Most Gracious & Most Merciful, All Praises to Allah and Peace be upon His noble Messenger)

Mr Chairman, Admiral I.A.Sirohey, Dr. Dembinski, fellow analysts, ladies and gentleman.

I feel honored to participate in this dialogue and I am happy that we are not confined to Pak-German relations; almost all the major global issues are being discussed in this dialogue. To me the unique significance of this dialogue lies in the fact that Germany has had a long history of close friendly relations with the Muslim World throughout the Ottomon period. Going upto the First World War, there had been close cooperation between Muslim World and Germany. I also feel that when we are talking with the German scholars, we are not discussing things under the shadow of the colonial legacy which very much continues to haunt us when we are dealing with the major colonial powers, ex-colonial powers or contemporary hegemonistic powers. So that brings freshness in our discussion. It is also my feeling that Germany has played a pivotal role in the shape of contemporary honor and is destined to play a very important role, not only in Europe but in global politics, directly and through Europe. I share the concern of Prof that NATO as a military arrangement is destined to collapse. It grouping for a new role political and economic. I am not sure how far it would be able to achieve that and to what extent it would. Somehow the competitive or stepping on the doors of other European institutions which are developed not only in the economic field but also in the political field, greater political unification and the development of expected defence and security umbrella within Europe. And I am also has a feeling that the unique polar one in which we are presently, is not going to last long. For most of the reasons the next century is bound to move towards another multi-polar scenario in which Europe is destined to play an important role and the emerging Muslim World, despite its present weakness, stands a chance to play an important role. So it is in this context that I am making my presentation.

The area is very vast and I would be very quick and short. The Islamic World is not although ideologically, culturally, historically, economic complementarities geographically contributed, all those factors are there. Yet the contemporary Islamic World cannot be looked up as a homogenous organized monolysis. It is diversified and I would call it would be first of 53 independent Muslim states with around 850 million people and occupying around 23 percent of the land area of the world. With major concentration in Asia and Europe, but an existence in the East and Central Europe. But just along with that there are about 450 million Muslims living in 80 communities in other parts of the world as Muslim minorities are around 1.3 billion that goes to become a contemporary Muslim population in the world.

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As geographic phenomena I regard five areas important - Arab countries. Middle East, Central Asia including Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, countries.

In the context of this discussion I am shifting the emphasis from South Asia to Central Asia. That goes to make up a continuous harmonious Muslim area. ASIAN countries along with Bangladesh, African countries and small yet important Muslim regions in the East and Central Europe. What is unique about this Islamic World is that, although it consists of these major regions, there is a global dimension. And in the context of a world which unfortunately or fortunately had been steeped in the tradition and faced with the of the nation state phenomena. This Islamic World represents on the one hand a reality which is routed in states, yet an appreciation, idealism, an ambition which goes beyond that. And it is not against the current history as such even the confederation of Europe. Similarly emergence of other regions is something in line with that. So it has a global dimension. While the geo-economic and Geo.-political and geo- strategic are there.

The other aspects that deserve to be noted are that this Islamic World is still emerging Islamic world. After a distinguished career as a world power for only 1000 years, last two centuries had been centuries in which Muslim World was and almost dominated by different European colonial regimes. It has re-emerged from that, yet despite political de-colonization the effect of economic colonialism, of cultural colonialism and the dependence in the fields of science, technology are a reality. And as such this Muslim World to me is not so much a reality as a reality in the. And towards that direction efforts are being made at the intellectual level as were made by like before the European political union came into existence, and also at the institutional level. Although weak, yet new institutions are coming like OIC which has 53 Muslim states and it has perhaps half a dozen as observer states, IDB, 48 Muslim states trying to coordinate the finance and economics. Gulf Coordination Council and some other regional organizations Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry, COMSEC, Islamic ISESCO and so and so forth.

So it is an emergent reality. But we have to realize that while resource rich Muslim World is technologically and economically poor and dependent. A few equally the data available for 49 OIC countries, prepared by the Institute in Ankara shows that 19 of them are low income, 15 middle income and 15 oil rich exporters are financially rich yet economically dependent and not developed. The composition of GDP and index of that: the average for 1983-93 reveals 25 percent of GDP is agricultural based. Only 11 percent is 21 small industries, 43 services. This is also reflected in the export position. Muslim countries taken together are exporting 45 percent of all its exports in fuel and in energy; 25 percent agriculture. Raw material is 8 percent and manufacturing and the industrial taken together are all 20 percent.

Perhaps another interesting statistics would be the relationship between within the Muslim World and the rest. And in the economic field if we analyze the imports and exports, we find that while during last 15 years intra-Islamic World trade has more than doubled, yet the average with OIC countries is only 10.7 percent exports and 10.2 percent imports. The largest partner is European Union - 26.4 percent exports and 34.2 percent imports. Japan comes next with export 15.7 percent

but import 12.8 percent, and America 13.7 percent exports and 12.7 percent imports. Taken together with the developed countries, Muslim World is exporting 59 percent of its exports to developed countries and importing from them 66.4 percent of their exports.

Let me now quickly move to the other major issues that I would upon. And that is in my view the present day Muslim World is passing through a phase of creative tension. It is yet trying to re-discover this identity. There are three major trends - one superficially dominant one, that their leadership which inherited power from the colonial rulers somehow had credit affinity with the colonial rulers. And as such they represent the trend of westernization, secularization; sometimes I may call it modernization. The other trend is that all conservatives who in the past had been the back bone of resistance against the colonial rule; yet their most concern had been preservation of the tradition and not so much positive creative response which arranged to build a new. The third major trend is the resurgence and re-assertion. Without abdicating the past and severe relationship and tradition they want to move ahead to strengthen their Islamic identity, but also face the challenge of modernity. These are the three major trends that we find in contemporary Islamic world. And I call this as re-discovering their identify. They are trying to come to terms with the post-colonial situation, both internally and externally. Internally if we compare Europe with the Muslim World in the middle of 18th century, we find in technology, in economy that they were roughly at par with each other. Trade relationships again we find at par with each other. Major changes have taken place during the last two centuries, which have changed the entire global scenario, with the result that now Europe and America, including Japan, with 16 percent of the world population control almost 80 percent of the world wealth, 82 percent of world trade, 95 percent of research and development. 500 multi-national corporations, based entirely in the developed world, control 50 percent of the world population. On the other hand the Third World countries in general, including Muslim World, some islands of affluence with real economic strength, notwithstanding the total GDP shared by these countries, not only a fragment- all the contemporary researches are showing that relatively it is going down. And that burden is increasing with the result that now around 2.2 trillion dollars is being internationally indebtedness of the Third World countries. And for the last decade gradually there is a reverse flow of resource financial from the Third World countries towards the developing countries.

Globalization in this context is not an unmixed blessing. Globalization becomes an instrument for the perpetuation of the inequalities, inequities which are important of this situation. Globalization amongst the equals or near equals is a different phenomenon. But globalization in this context has to be. So it is in this context that Muslim countries are trying to have their own house set in order domestically, ideologically, economically and politically. And externally also they are trying to come to terms with the given realities but not accepting a position of permanent dependence and subjugation. They want to come to terms with morality but also they want to have a space in the New World Order not merely as at the receiving end and accepting a kind of hegemony of America and the developed countries.

That leads me to the four major issues on which I would reflect. First, in my view, there is no territorial conflict between the West and the Muslim World has no territorial ambitions Europe or the western world. Yes, there are issues on which Western interests and our interests' may not emerge and do not emerge. Political issues like Palestine, Cyprus, Bosnia, Kosovo, Seljuk, whole Baltic region economic issues, energy resources who has sovereignty and on what? And who has to benefit? Trade is to the benefit of both, not one. But if trade is used on manipulated to exploit some and benefit a few, it becomes an instrument of imperialism and not a fair trade. But territorial disputes I do not see any.

And here is the foot-note I would say, here I am committed with the of the argument from German side. I do not believe that the new nuclear deterrence is the thing of the past. I believe in the 21st century nuclear deterrence is bound to play a very important role to eliminate war, global and regional, and it is here that I regard America's concern to monopolize nuclear power as one of the instruments of hegemonization in the 21st century.

While the prospects for a real war free world, in my view, for the first time in the history are going to become a reality because of the nuclear deterrence. I also beg to differ that the nuclear arms are the only instruments of mass destruction. When there were within a week 2000 sorties on destroying the whole region. Was that not mass destruction? Were the difference between Hiroshima and was destruction? If I remember correctly even the human toll in the case of destruction was around 200,000 persons was not an issue of mass destruction. So I submit that perhaps nuclear deterrence, if not monopolized, would be a safeguard for war free world in the next century. In that context I think cooperation and competition in the freedom of ideas, values, economy, politics increases and that becomes the area where competition would lead to enrichment of humanity.

Here I would very frankly submit that democratization is an important issue but democratization in the Muslim World has been misunderstood. And democratization and Islamization, in my view, are two sides of the same coin in the Muslim World. Because freedom, human rights, participation in the political process give the people an opportunity to fashion their social, political and economic life in accordance with their values and ideals. And that how democratization is bound to lead Islamization and Islamization is bound to lead to democratization. Unfortunately this has not been appreciated in the West. At the theoretical level there has been a lot of discussion that Islamization is in combative of democracy, but at the practical level efforts have been made to have dictatorial regimes in the Muslim World, both domestic output and foreign supported and protected. And if I quote three important studies in this respect a leading social scientist of America about three decades back said that in the Muslim World secular laws cannot be introduced without having despotic dictatorial regimes. That was the experiment in Turkey, Egypt everywhere. DR Smith, a Canadian, he said that Islamization and democratization must go together and any different try to drive or between the two would be impossible in the Muslim society. And John Espito involved in their study in the same conclusion and just my submission that democratization and Islamization would go together.

Finally, I would suggest, as a very humble thought, but I think the only way to ensure harmony in the world and Muslim World and other civilizations for co-existence need a new vision of the world as a pluralistic world. Imperialistic thinking has left us with a conscious or unconscious view of one idea, one power dominating and calling the everywhere. And that is what the fall of Berlin Wall unfortunately meant to a number of western American intellectuals, politicians, rulers. I think that is a recipe for disaster of the future. New World Order is to be a Just World Order only. If it is a pluralistic, only we are prepared to accept plurality of cultures, of religions and of political regimes. Then only it would be possible to have a give and take. Then it would only be possible to coexist. And this is the vision of the Islamic World that we want to have a pluralistic society within, so that Islamic majority does not mean denial of rights of others. But you want the same at the global level so that there is no clash of civilization and there is no end of the history. But the history has entered a new phase with a pluralistic world.

ISLAMIC WORLD: THE FUTURE

I. Pakistan-German Dialogue:

- Rich tradition of German-Muslim cooperation particularly in the context of long and varied relationship between the Ottomans and Germany.
- Absence of direct colonial legacy.
- Pivotal role of Germany - in the shaping of Europe's present and future.
- Europe as a countervailing power - expected multi polar scenario for the 21st century.

II. The Islamic World- Concept:

- Not a monolith
- A conglomerate of 53 independent Muslim majority states with over 850 million people living in these countries. These Muslim, states occupy around 23 percent of the land area of the world. Main concentration in Asia with presence in East and Central Europe.
- Around 450 million Muslims living as minority community, with significant presence in some 80 countries of the world.
- Islamic world is not a mere geographic phenomenon, although there are strategically important regions with Muslim preponderance like:

- a) Arab countries/Middle East,

- b) Central Asia including Pakistan, Iran, Turkey/ECO countries,
- c) ASEAN countries and Bangladesh,
- d) African countries,
- e) Muslim countries/regions of East and Central Europe.

III. Unique situation:

- There is a regional as well as global dimension,
- Along with geo-economic and politico-strategic dimensions there is a strong religious, cultural, ideational and universal dimension,
- Re-emergence of the Islamic World — after two centuries of decline, eclipse and subjugation,
- Development and consolidation of independent Muslim states and efforts towards coordination, and regional and global cooperation via institutional infrastructure like Organization of Islamic Conference, Islamic Development Bank, Gulf Coordination Council, Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry, COMSEC etc.

IV. Present State of Islamic World:*

A. Resource rich yet economically and technologically poor and dependent,

49 OIC Countries:

19 Low Incomes,

15 middle income,

15 oil exporting

- Composition of GDP Average 1980-1993:

25 % agriculture

11 % manufacturing

21 % small industry

43 % services

* Source Journal of Economic Cooperation among Islamic Countries, Ankara, 16-20 (1995) pp 1-110.

- Exports:

45 % fuel/energy

25 % agriculture

8 % raw material (non-agriculture)

20 % manufacturing / industrial

	<u>Exports (Direction)</u>	<u>Imports</u>
OIC	10.7 %	10.2 %
EU	26.4 %	34.2 %
USA	13.3 %	12.7 %
Japan	15.7 %	12.8 %
Developed Countries	59 %	66.4 %
Developing Countries		
Including Muslim		
Countries	37 %	31 %

B. Primary Concern: Setting its own house in order: Creative Tension.

- Rediscovering its identity,
- Coming to terms with the post colonial situation-internal/external,
- Regaining control over its resources,
- Facing the challenge of modernity,
- Seeking a space in the New World Order.

C. Global Role:

1. No territorial conflict with the West - no territorial ambitions.
2. Cooperation not subjugation-Reservations about globalization and hegemonization.
3. Democratization and Islamization.

4. Concerns about demonization of Islam and the Muslims - Duplicity and lack of appreciation of the Muslim concerns - Current Disparities at the root of world problems.

V. Future Scenarios:

- Isolation
 - Confrontation
 - Cooperation
 - Vision of a pluralistic world:
 - Domestic
 - Global
 - Need for a new global political and economic infrastructure to ensure peace with justice, development and dignified existence for all, competition without control and manipulation.
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