

ISLAMIC DAWAH IN EUROPE

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PROF. KHURSHID AHMAD



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Dr Manazir, my very dear brothers in Islam. I regard this retreat as extremely important because my dear brothers who are engaged in Islamic dawah in Europe and also are deeply concerned with the future of Islamic movement in BD in particular and in the entire world in general. And belong to different professionals, field of specialisations and provide intellectual leadership to the Muslim Ummah and Islamic Movements are here to consider some of the challenges that confront us. Globalization is something which has become a slogan, a crishape, also a major objective and target in the current phase of world politics and being defined as a phenomena in which the entire world is becoming like one fix. Nation state, progressive spread of the human race, distances of time and space are becoming as if irrelevant. If it, we have entered tlie phase and because of interaction, integration and interdependence, entire globe is heading towards one system, one civilization, one economy. It has been described as a process of globalization which has become a kind of historical imperative, any tiling for which nations, countries, peoples cannot escape. And as such we have to accept it and abject ourselves, accommodate ourselves into this new world order, when the whole world is becoming one market place. Their free movement of goods, services, ideas, human beings, flow of capital, all of them is in a very new economic, political, technological and cultural situation. In a world like this where we stand that is the core issue. Is it any inevitable process, is there any choice, we are at the receiving end. It is the process or in fact a project in which all are being set in - that is the question. As a Muslim Ummah for every Muslim people, it is a very important issue. You must try to understand the dynamics of this process and project and develop our strategies to face the challenges that are coming in this wake. So that is the problem.

My second submission is, if facing the globe something really new, are we not over shooting? A time to go deep into history, but we all know that even from the days of Prophet Noh (a.s.), when the first major migration of human history took place. And contact and outreach had always been perhaps through three channels. First and foremost human migration. It is not merely bird that migrate, it is not merely animal that migrate, human being also migrate. And human habitation over the entire globe are primarily the result of that migration. And that is why civilian justice phenomena at almost none of the major civilizations or group of the people in human history almost no one is unfamiliar with the story of the great flood during the time of Hazrat Noh (a s.) Whether you go to the history of the Maccican times or remote desert of Africa, or the central part of the world which have been the Craminal .civilization, Asia and Eurasia, you will find some form of the story of.... being there. So that was the global phenomena. Ibrahim a.s., while many profits were for the people and the area where they were raised say Ibrahim a.s. was the first universal leader. Even in the secular history the Phoresians, who were based in what is now Iraq were the first people who have been credited for global trade and they had established trade centres from Lebanon to Spain, to Europe. Even Kremlin and Britain had been one of the trade roots and trade centres of the Phoresians. Alexander and then Romans they were able to establish their rule in many parts of the world. On the one hand coming to the shores of Wales on the other going to Atlantic Mehaco they were a global phenomena the Ambassador of Rasolullah s.a.w.

was addressed to the entire mankind. We are of not merely, but worlds (A 'lameen) and Muslims reached almost all parts of the known world...within the first century; even during the time of Prophet s.a.w. we find sahaba going to the far places of Canton in China, in Chechnya, in Lanka, in the different parts of the world they were able to reach. So the three major forms in which human beings have reached the globe had been migration, trade or conquests. In all these three there is a rich historical tradition. And the Muslim Ummah by definition is a noble Ummah. We are Shuhada a 'lan Nas. And empirically speaking the presence of the Muslims is a reality, is a fact in all parts of the world. Factually, historically and contemporary presence, this Ummah is global. So for us this is not something new. And even in the history of the Western civilization, crucial phase i.e. from 18th to 20th century, we find that imperialism, European colonial powers they were able to reach different parts of the world and the global colonial system was established under the hegemony of the Western powers. Vast migration took place, perhaps the greatest migration in the human history took place between 1815 and 1914. Some 91 million people migrated from different parts of the world of whom over 60 million migrated from North and most from America Let us fair, let us partial. It is free international trade was the system introduced after industrialization and 19th century had been allegedly a century of industrial trade. And once trade that carried the imperialist banner got through merchandized back, the imperial powers were able to establish their rule of hegemony on far off land. So migration, grade and conquest - all of them have been not only a part of history but of major phenomena during the 19th century. So that what is new? Why this hue and cry? This hullabaloo about globalization? Let me put it rather bluntly. Mobilization is the new name for a new colonial order. It is nothing really new about it, it is only new close that have been put above the old colonial imperialistic hegemonistic order; same old wine, only the new bottle. There is something new also on it. First new is effect that with the collapse of Communism and Soviet Empire, the fall of Berlin Wall, a new situation has emerged in which the world is left with only one super power. During the colonial period, there were five major contending powers - British, French, Italian, Spanish and Dutch. Even on the periphery, Portuguese were also there. German tried to carve out a niche for them in Africa, so what the Belgium. But the major powers were only those confronting each other, competing each other. And America emerged as a super power in the beginning of the 20th century. So did Japan, Russia. After the Second World War, Russia and America and two blocks, along these two polls, the whole world was divided into the areas of influence of these two powers. And cold war had the tone for over relations. So the fall of Berlin Wall in 1989, the consequent disintegration of the Soviet Empire and Russia as a super power, that created a new scenario. And in that scenario America has emerged as the only super power, heading towards a uni-polar world away from the earlier models, paradigms of multi-polar or bipolar . And America also a super power because of not the area it directly rules, it has only 6% of the world landscape. Yet its military power, its economic power and consequently its political influence makes it the only super power. As one dimension of what is new and that is why we are talking of globalization which is a short title for Pax-Americana. That is not the only dimension that is new. Along with the America being the only super power, at the ideological level, the main contender ideologies have left the era. And it is now assumed or alleged that with the collapse of Communism there is only one major political and economic ideology, world system that remains. Of course this was grown out of proportion by Francis Faqihama, who in his famous article "The End of History" and then the latter book "End of the History

and the Last Man" suggested that now liberalism with democracy as its political programme and capital and market as its economic programme, has achieved a final victory over all other ideologies and systems and now the future belongs only to this ideology of humanism and Yet because of the absence of socialism and capitalism and any other major contender and despite some murmurs about the third way, often raised by British, German and French, globally we find that political system a. dominant one is by and large one that is liberalism, with democracy and capitalism as its major That is three dimensions of what is new. Third dimension of what is news is the technological, communication and information revolution that has taken place, with the result that the quickness and the speed with which ideas, goods, capital, armed forces can travel has been shortened, shortened to an extent that this quantitative change has assumed the nature of a qualitative change. The inter-change has so increased, billions of dollars can move on the push of a mouse from one part of the globe to the other part. Stock markets which were operating in setellites are now interacting in a manner that slight change in New York is immediately responded in Frankfurt, London, Farmusa, Tokyo. So this technological information and speed element is new. So these are three dimensions: that is only one super, that is allegedly only one system, and third the speed with which this inter-action change influence can take place. Even armed forces can be moved rapid deployment forces from one part of the world to the other part of the world, has made that new phase of globalization distinct and unique, despite the background I just referred to.

Having said so, let us now spare few minutes to look upon what are the main elements of this globalization? The most important dimension that is being emphasized, played upon, discussed and projected is Economics. It was Reagan's phase that we are now faced with the magic of the global market place. That is whole world has become one market. The liberalization of trade, removal of trade barrier, global movement of capital, goods and services, that has made the whole world one market. It is not merely a dream or a desire. As I said, it is also a design and a project, and what is distinct is that from the first time in world history this liberalization in the economy is being institutionalized. That is international institutions are being created and made operational which are driving the world towards this system. Brakenwood, after the second World War was the first major move in that direction, with the result that the World Bank, IMF, International Financial Corporations and GATT were established to show influencing all the world that a global economy from the 20th century being moving in that direction, but last fifteen years they had moved fast and are approaching a situation where any part of the world economy can be influenced by global movements. Major instances are the influence on Pound with the result that UK has to come out of the European Monetary System. The rush of France on the Frank,by Germans, Mexico, Korea and then the historic East Asian Finance crisis be melt down. All these are symptoms of that global reach of the big financiers where any movement of money can destroy any economy in World Trade Organisations established in 1995 and whose real consequences would be felt in the 5-8 years having 13 years probationary period. WTO is the new trade architecture of the world, the new institution because of which all countries of the world who are to it would have to open their domestic economies to international movement of goods, services and capital. And restrictions, regulations aimed at protecting national sovereignty, national priorities are melting away. So this is institutionalization of liberalism. So nationalism is not merely a waive which is

controlled by the force supply and demand, it is more than that. A new international architecture has been built in which whole of the world has been exposed to this movement. It is not merely economics, it very important political and cultural dimension. So this liberalization is not merely a free movement of goods, services and finance. It does not merely rest upon the financial the de-regulation of capital flow of the world. It has a very important political dimension and that is why the so-called emphasis on human rights, on freedom, on democratization, on tightening terrorism - all these are essential ingredients/elements of the new paradigm. It is not merely economic liberalization, it also means harmonization of the political system on the basis of the liberal philosophy of the Western civilization which are far individual against the state which emphasizes secularism as against religion-based politico-social system which emphasizes in the name of freedom, a life style that the religion from the tradition, from moral values, from social framework of society which opens itself to westernization in the name of modernization and liberalism. So this is very important political and cultural agenda. And with the changes in technology, communication and information, the micro-chick that lies at the root of the new information revolution is one of the major instruments and vehicles or stream rolling cultures, societies, values, framework and establishing the hegemony of one dominant ideology of western liberalism over the entire human race. Globalization is actually one of the most vicious and more devastating onslaughts on humanity, on human culture, religion and society. So the object is to have one global market, one dominant ideology, one cultural paradigm, civilizational paradigm and the political hegemony of America over the entire world. Presently America has economic wherewithal which controls 24.5 percent of the world GDP - the only country which has armed presence in all parts of the world and also its budget on military expenditure and command over technology is one and America can reach any part of the world, whether it is Gulf War or the recent in China. They are symptomatic of the global and military reach of America. And China's protests does not relate merely to the loss of a plane and a pilot. The critical issue is national sovereignty and America's alleged right to have presence in any part of the world - a claim that trade routes through which economic wherewithal is supplied to Europe. America and Japan must be safe for them. We can safe it only in the military umbrella. So it is a question of political hegemony over the entire world. And even this is just migration and the footnote this hue and cry about terrorism. If you go deeper, you will find it is not a question of any other country which is challenging America or they have military power to confront them. Somehow Allah has His own designs. As a small ant can kill an elephant, in the same way in the word of "warfare" also there are certain procedures for which even a super power can be threatened by small acts of terrorism and their entire military machine is paralyzed In fact Huntington, who is known for his "Clash of Civilization" thesis and his Book "Clash of Civilization and the New World Order", there is one beautiful sentence which somehow slipped from his pen and there he says, "Terrorism is the weapon of the weak against the stronger and, if terrorists could also have access to the nuclear technology, then this would be the greatest threat to the strongest in the world". So that is the clue why so much clamour, because what they are doing by spending billions and billions and billions can somewhat be undone by what they call So any way this was about just migration.

The point I was trying to bring home was that globalization means one market, one dominant ideology of liberalism, which translated into political and economic terms means Western democracy and hegemony of capitalism, one cultural paradigm. The Western civilization is like its values, its framework and political supremacy, shots by the only super power America. Whether this can be achieved by consent or by coercion, whether this is projected as a kind of fatalistic situation. Every one has surrendered to it or chose to join it. This is what is being aimed at. That gives you analysis of what globalization is, what are its targets!

Now a few words about how it is being achieved - the means, the methodology and the instruments! Of course as is the case with all major movements in the history, the first major instrument is thought, idea and .. .belief that supremacy of the idea can be established both by projection, articulation, research and showing that it is superior to any other idea. And then the technology, the means to reach. The internet is not only means - ended words, electronic media all are at their service. And this revolution that has been brought about by CNN and other networks is part of the game. It is very important that on the one hand they claim freedom of press, yet the fact is that media is controlled and manipulated as part of this globalization programme. Only five networks that control over 90 percent of world media. "Time" magazine, "Life" magazine. CNN - all of them are part of that network and these are four or five networks that all over the world which are bed rooms to influence us and set a tone.

The first major instrument is idea, thought and the capacity to reach people, communication and information. All this is coloured, painted, manipulated and engineered whatever be the claims of objectivity, scientism and impartiality. Second is this whole process of privatization. Privatization is a three pronged attack. First attack is state - the information state, economic management of a society, of a country through its national, political institutions. All of this state is being challenged not only in America, but all over the world. There is some substance in the sense that Communist model failed, it failed both on efficiency and equity. Public sector has not been able to yet but the move from public sector to total privatization. This transition has very important economic, political and moral consequences enterprise may not have succeeded, yet the role of the state to protect vital interests, security concerns, to check national priorities and to ensure mode of justice in economic relationships has a definite role to play. But privatization means all economic powers in the hands of the capitalists in the private sector. As earlier discussed, that would be primarily geared to gaining profit, not providing means, meeting national priorities, ensuring justice. So privatization without state regulations, social control, moral control would be a major form of exploitation, have been so and cannot be otherwise. So one target is to destroy state power - the regulatory mechanism in a society. Privatization also means not only domestic private capital, but also opening to foreign capital. And the thrust of privatization in the wake of globalization. The emphasis is on freedom of movement of capital. And through this movement to control economies all over the world and to make the economy of every country dependent on these global movements and these global movements would be so volatile that the state becomes helpless, society becomes helpless. It would be like a it may come, it may retreat, it may overtake, it may destroy. And this is what is happening to an extent that all the main of the western system like Sorrows in his work "The Future of Global Capitalism", he says that this movement of capital

ought to be a blessing, but if it is not regulatory and controlled it can destroy. The privatization second name is opening upon global capital, destroying national independence or sovereignty. But the third dimension of that is establishing the control of world financial institutions - World Bank and IMF may make because this privatization takes place through the mechanism of these institutions. So privatization only means denying the people of the country the right to decide their priorities and these priorities to be dictated by not only foreign capital, but building the dependence of all the countries of the world over the global financial institutions, the lenders, the investors. So this is the second major instrument "privatization" which is the mechanism for the control and hegemony over the world and creating a system of dependence for the entire human race. Along with privatization and dependence there is another very important instrument and that is multi-national corporations or state power is being diminished. The state's roles in economy is being marginalized, the new players would be the multi-nationals. Multi-nationals means big corporations, 60 percent of which are from America, remaining from Europe and Japan and now some from China and India. There are about 500 multi-national corporations bigger ones and they control 60 percent of world trade. They talk of free trade, but it is not free trade, it is in the hands of these multi-nationals. Some of those multi-nationals are so big among the top ten, each one has a capital and turn over which is more the combined budget of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, which is more than the combined GDP of 48 developing countries of Africa and Asia. And 4 or 5 of them control world trade to an extent that in sugar industry it is only 5-6 corporations that control 60 percent of world sugar trade, 70-75 percent of banana trade, 75 percent of crude oil, 80 percent of tin, 80-85 percent of copper and bauxite; wheat, coffee, cocoa, cotton and jute 85-90 percent, pineapple 90 percent and iron ore 90-95 percent, controlled by only six multi-national corporations. They have a production system in which they exploit the world economy, go for the cheapest labour and, I give you one example, this famous likely shoes and sports goods they have major institutions in China, Indonesia, Thailand, South East Asia, the cost of one pair of shoes including the raw material, labour, finish every thing, comes to \$ 1.1 and it is sold between \$ 50-60. All this is profit of multi-national organisations. This is one example. The pricing policy they follow even where stock like that, they would import raw material at their price, manufacture and then export at their price in a manner that one of their subsidiaries, who first imported at a low price and then marketed it at a high price in the world market. This is called transfer pricing. And almost 70 percent of the sale price is manipulated in this way. So multi-nationals are more powerful than state. They call shots, they influence their elections, they appoint the rulers, they chalk out their agreements as they want and it is their network which is the new form of instituting the hegemony in globalization. This is third major instrument.

The fourth major instrument is NGOs. These also are part of the design and very cleverly thought one. It was thought that government sometimes show resistance. There are popular pressures in government affairs. Although they have been able to plant leadership, manipulate them, yet there is a possibility of their resistance and there is every revolution and changes and then some of the governments have refused to toe. So the new strategy is that ignore the government, go to the people and control them. Also not merely because of the resistance on the government by passing them, they have also realized that governments in these countries have not been successful in westernizing the people fully and to an

extent that the globalization programme demands. So now they want to reach the people through NGOs which are financed, guided and supported, manipulated from outside. And these NGOs are reaching the grass route through family planning, through micro-credit, through education, through health, through a number of other functions and roles.

So my friends and colleagues, this is the new colonial programme and they are acting upon it with great design, planning and cunningness, and finding instruments, collaborators from within the rest of the world to play their game. Globalization is the new form of colonialism. Having said so, is it that map, is their any choice, are we merely going to be at the receiving end and do what they want? As a student of history, my answer is infinite 'No'. Colonialism is not a new phenomena, all major civilizations tried in their days to control and manipulate others. History tells us that no world power has been able to continue hegemony for ever. Every hegemonistic system has seeds of its destruction in its bosom. And that is why history is a graveyard of some 30 world powers. And there is no reason why the current one would be an exception. Yet the fact is that at the moment they are dominant and America expects challenge to its power from two major directions - one from within the countries which are parts of its civilization paradigm America, Europe and Japan are the three regions about which there are apprehensions that as powers have emerged from within the same regions in the past, challenges can emerge in the future from Europe. France has shown greater concern than many others. Yet European Union, European Bank, European integration and one of their thought of having European forces distinct from NATO. American apprehensions increased and there are serious ruptures, intentions where it is thought that pax- Americana could be challenged from Europe. Similar is the case with Latin America, although no real competition at the moment, yet there is an area. And Japan also has been looked upon despite the fact that it has been demilitarized altogether and even its economic power - some of the biggest economic power in the world - for the last 12-13 years have been in a situation which is not made of Japanese make, which is designed to address containment Japanese economic influence. But more serious, they assume could come from Islamic Ummah and China. These are the two civilizational aliens which can be the challenger for the future despite our present weakness. So this is how they are looking upon it.

The second element is that although they talk of competition, they talk of liberalization, but they forget one very fundamental issue and that competition assumes a degree of equality among the competitors, the equality of opportunity and possibility to compete, to challenge, to become the alternative. But the fact is that the Western capitalistic system and the Western colonial system has not only tried to dominate and exploit but also ensure transfer of resources at a scale that has destroyed the balance of economic power in the world. Romans, as I said, reached the farthest corner of Africa and Morocco. They were in different parts of Europe. But the transfer of economic and manpower from the colony to the mother country had never taken place at that level. The Islamic paradigm is only different, Islam never tried to colonize - whether Islam reached in developed region, it has been the only Western model of imperialism, starting with the Spanish that deliberate transfer of resources had taken place. And this has reached the height during the 19th and 20th centuries and even today this whole

dependence syndrome which I have referred to, is actually a mechanism through net transfer of resources from the poor to the rich.

Let me give you few facts. All this show that Europe in 1750 had 23.2 percent of the world manufacturing output, America in 1750 only 0.1 percent of the world manufacturing output. The Third World countries - so called poor countries of today - they had 73 percent of the world manufacturing output in 1750. And in the advent of 20th century, i.e. in 1980 the situation has so changed that Europe had 62 percent of world manufacturing output, America had 23.6 percent and the Third World countries were left with only 11 percent. This is how the resources were transferred. But this process has continued in a very sophisticated manner. Even now and last 10 years we find that in 1990 the 22 industrialized developed countries of the world had 85 percent of the world GDP, and the remaining 150 countries of the world had only 15 percent. The 1999 World Bank Report says that now the position that these 22 developed countries have 87 percent of the world GDP and the rest of the world has only 13 percent. And of these 13 countries, the Muslim world has only 5 percent, although we are almost one fourth of the world land area and over one fifth of the world population. But our position in the world GDP is only percent. This is a competition which is unequal and which is bound to lead to injustice. More transfer of resources from the rich to the poor, and strangely enough this is a process at three levels - from poor countries to rich countries, from poor regions to rich regions and poor persons to rich persons in every part of the world wherever capitalism dominates. Even in America this process goes on. And as I said earlier, this has a seed of its own destruction at its bosom that leads to rebellion, alienation, confrontation, revolution and change.

Now, having said that, the time is unfortunately coming to close, let me come to the last part of my submissions. And that is Muslim Ummah has some sources of strength and some weaknesses. The source of strength - the fact that we occupy 25 percent of the world area and the area that is strategically important; we have more than 21-22 percent of the world population in 56 countries and over 80 Muslim communities all over the world. We have some of the important natural resources, particularly energy, agriculture, water resources. Of these 56 countries, at least a dozen are at a level of education, technology, industrialization that can be helpful in developing a self-reliant economic cooperative model within the Muslim countries. Geographically, these countries are contiguous in two major blocks - one from Morocco to Kazikistan and the other from Bangladesh to Indonesia. These are two major clusters within which there can be regional integration, economic cooperation, political coordination and they can become a challenge by pooling their resources and managing them properly is their faith, their ideology, their civilization, the message they have for the mankind which is based on Godliness, justice and humanity, brotherhood, and equality. These are their major sources of strength. And major weakness is that, despite freedom they are not free; they are not in a position managing their own resources; they are rules by people who are collaborating with powers beyond serving interests which are not with the interests of the Ummah of their country; level of education of Islamic understanding; command over technology, of economic power, military strength. All these are at a low ebb. not that they are incapable of achieving these. Somehow the situation as it exists, they are responsible for the weakness in all these areas.

Now in this context comes the role of the Islamic Movements. What is Islamic Movement? Islamic Movement represents a creative response on the part of some of the leaders of the Muslim Ummah, civilizational challenge that confront the Ummah. Vision of the Islamic Movement in the contemporary phase was articulated immediately after the collapse of the Caliphate in 1924. That they represent the lowest water mark in the history of contemporary Islam, and as against the strategy of merely conserving and preserving the Islamic tradition and that tradition, that reaction also served some good purpose, it was not futile. Yet it was not enough to face the challenge.

Islamic Movement represents a creative response, in my view, based on these three principles. First and foremost Quran and Sunnah are the sheet anchor of the Muslim Ummah - the source and guidance - and in the very sequence fiqh. history, tradition, all of them are important. Ummah must go by Quran and Sunnah for its vision and for its dynamism. The vision that Quran and Sunnah give for an individual, a family, a society, state and the Ummah. It is one in which personal piety and social good, public honesty, justice in relationships for doing economic, technological, political power to more ends has to go together. That has been beautifully put by Iqbal. I am reflecting upon the Great Me'raj - Isra event of Prophet s.a.w., when the Prophet s a w. reached to the highest of the highest and was close to Allah S.W.T. that the angels had to stay behind. This highest ma 'arefah that one could think of and attain. And a great Muslim has said that had I been in place of Syedena Mohammad s.a.w. I would have never come back, because having reached that close to Allah S.W.T, to think of leaving that station is impossible. Iqbal says that is the difference between a Muslim and a Prophet, because after reaching that height the Prophet comes back. He has entered the stream of history. As like he has received the usage to live in the world, produce a new man, a new history and this is Islam. And the great Shi'ah thinker has also put it very beautifully.. Mulla.... He has put it in four very beautiful words. He says the first stage of Islam is Min-al-Khalq il-Allah. "Min-al Khalq" means the world, the people, so we are living in the world. But we must move from this state of secularism to Allah. Second is "ma-Allah". when we reach to Allah we have to go deeper commitment having "sibghat-u-llah" so that we become emerged in this. But after "ma-Allah" we have to move "min-Allah il-alkhalq". So we must move back to the people, to the world. But now with a new vision min-Allah il-alkhalq". So with "ma-Allah" whatever you have achieved, take it to the people. But he says there is still a fourth phase, and that is "ma-alkhalq il-Allah". So you do not have to leave the people. Now you have to work among them, mobilize them, make them a force and bring the whole system to Allah. So from the first phase "min-alkhalq il-Allah" then "ma-Allah", then "min-Allah il-alkhalq" and finally "ma-alkhalq il-Allah". So that is the vision that Islamic Movement has given. This is the second element.

And the third element equally important is that Islamic Movement has emphasized is that we are not working in a vacuum, and our mission is not merely "neki kar kliuwein men dal". We have to assess the situation and we have to analyze the times in which we are living, the civilization with which we have confrontation; who are our friends and who are our enemies; what is our strength and what is our weakness; what is dynamic and what is static. We do not depend on status quo. We respect the tradition but are not prisoners of tradition. Instead we have to have new living tradition, so that we

develop that expertise, that organisation, that manpower, that economic, political, intellectual, scientific educational power with which you can bring about the desired change.

So these are the three-dimensional approach of the Movement, which alone can ensure Ummah to face the challenge of globalization.

PROF. KHURSHID AHMAD