

**SPEECH BY  
YAB DATO' SERI ABDULLAH BIN HAJI AHMAD BADAWI  
AT THE PERDANA GLOBAL PEACE FORUM DINNER AT PWTC, KUALA LUMPUR  
16 DECEMBER 2005**

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ASSALAMUALAIKUM WARAHMATULLAHI WABARAKATUH, PEACE BE UPON YOU, AND GOOD EVENING

YBHG TAN SRI AZMAN HASHIM  
CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, PERDANA LEADERSHIP FOUNDATION

EXCELLENCIES

DISTINGUISHED GUESTS

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

IT IS A SPECIAL HONOUR FOR ME TO SHARE THE STAGE AT THIS PERDANA GLOBAL PEACE FORUM WITH SO MANY DISTINGUISHED SPEAKERS WHO HAVE DEDICATED THEIR LIVES TO HUMANITY'S GREATEST CAUSE – PEACE. NOTHING IS MORE NECESSARY NOR ITS EFFECTS MORE NOURISHING THAN THE QUEST FOR PEACE. I THEREFORE COMMEND THE ORGANISERS OF THIS PERDANA GLOBAL PEACE FORUM FOR THIS IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO BUILDING AND SUSTAINING PEACE THROUGHOUT THE GLOBE. MAY YOUR EFFORTS BE REWARDED BY GOD ALMIGHTY, AS WE SEEK LASTING PEACE, HARMONY AND TRANQUILLITY IN THE WORLD.

2. TODAY, NO COUNTRY CAN BE TOTALLY IMMUNE TO THE EFFECTS OF CONFLICTS EVEN IF THEY OCCUR FAR WAY FROM THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL BORDERS. NO STATE, HOWEVER POWERFUL, CAN PROTECT ITSELF ON ITS OWN FROM THE PRESENT DAY THREATS TO SECURITY. I AM REFERRING OF COURSE TO THE THREATS OF TERRORISM..

3. HOWEVER, WE MUST NOT BE SWAYED BY THE DOOMSAYERS. THOSE WHO INSIST IN THE INEVITABILITY OF A CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS ARE PEOPLE WHO HAVE LOST TRUST IN THE RATIONALITY OF THE HUMAN PERSON. NO RELIGION PREACHES EXTREMISM OR VIOLENCE. IT IS ONLY THE TERRORISTS WHO PERPETRATE HEINOUS CRIMES. THE POINT IS THAT NO ONE SHOULD BE POINTING THEIR FINGERS AT THE ASCENDANCY OF RELIGIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS THE CAUSE FOR THE RISE IN EXTREMISM AND ANIMOSITY BETWEEN PEOPLES. WE SHOULD NOT FORGET THAT IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD, RELIGION AT THE HANDS OF PROGRESSIVE ACTIVISTS HAS BEEN USED TO LIBERATE, RATHER THAN OPPRESS, SOCIETIES.

4. NONETHELESS, EXTREMISM AND RADICALISM HAVE INDEED BECOME A SCOURGE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD. THEY MUST BE CONDEMNED WHEN THEY ARE MANIFESTED IN THE FORM OF TERRORISM. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT

JUSTIFIABLE TO ASSOCIATE TERRORISM WITH ANY PARTICULAR RACE OR RELIGION. THROUGHOUT HISTORY, ALL RELIGIONS AND RACES HAVE HAD THEIR RESPECTIVE SHARE OF TERRORISTS.

5. WE NEED TO POINT OUT THAT TERRORISTS WHO COMMIT CRIMES IN THE NAME OF ISLAM ARE VIOLATORS OF THE TENETS OF ISLAM. THEY CERTAINLY DO NOT SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE RELIGION. ISLAM AND MUSLIM COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT BE MADE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THEM. MUSLIMS AS WELL AS NON-MUSLIMS MUST ALSO NOT FALL PREY TO THE CONFUSION CREATED BY PEOPLE WHO CARRY OUT DREADFUL DEEDS AND LATER CLAIM THEM AS A RELIGIOUS ISLAMIC OBLIGATION. TERRORISTS MUST BE SINGLED OUT ONLY BY THEIR ACTS OF TERROR AND NOTHING ELSE.

6. THE FIGHT AGAINST INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM MUST BE AN INTERNATIONAL EFFORT, PREFERABLY UNDER THE BANNER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. THERE MUST BE UNITY IN OUR APPROACH AND SINCERITY IN OUR DETERMINATION TO FIGHT AND ERADICATE IT COMPLETELY FROM OUR DAILY LIVES. BUT, THE FACT REMAINS THAT IN ORDER TO DEFEAT THE ENEMY, WE MUST FIRST KNOW THE ENEMY. WE MUST FIND AND IDENTIFY THE ROOT CAUSES OF TERRORISM.

7. MALAYSIA HAS, IN THE PAST, FOUGHT A LONG WAR AGAINST SUBVERSIVES WHO USED TERROR TACTICS TO INTIMIDATE THE POPULATION AND OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT. IT TOOK US SOME 20 YEARS TO FINALLY DEFEAT THE TERRORISTS AND SECURE A FORMAL SURRENDER. THANK GOD WE WON THAT WAR!

8. THE IMPORTANT LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM THE MALAYSIAN EXPERIENCE IS THE FACT THAT WE SECURED VICTORY BY PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE AS MUCH AS WE DID BY MILITARY ACTION. WE WON THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE PEOPLE. IT IS ON THE BASIS OF THIS DOCUMENTED SUCCESS THAT MALAYSIA HAS BEEN CALLING FOR AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROOT CAUSES OF TERRORISM.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

9. ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT FOUNDATIONS FOR CREATING A STABLE INTERNATIONAL WORLD ORDER IS THE PREVALANCE OF STABILITY WITHIN NATIONAL SOCIETIES AND NATION STATES. IN TURN, IT IS MY FIRM BELIEF THAT GOOD GOVERNANCE IS KEY TO STABILISING NATIONAL SOCIETIES AND NATION STATES.

10. IT CANNOT BE DENIED THAT ISLAM HAS BECOME AN INCREASINGLY POWERFUL IMPERATIVE FOR MUSLIMS TO ACT TODAY. MUSLIMS FIND IT COMPELLING AND OBLIGATORY TO ACT IN THE NAME OF GOD AND FOR THE SAKE OF THE RELIGION. SADLY, THIS GREAT IMPERATIVE HAS RESULTED IN ACTIONS THAT ISLAM PROHIBITS AND CONDEMNS. KILLING INNOCENT PEOPLE AND BOMBING HARMLESS

TARGETS ARE ALL ACTS THAT HAVE BEEN WRONGFULLY COMMITTED IN THE NAME OF GOD.

11. IT DEMONSTRATES, HOWEVER, HOW POWERFUL AN IMPERATIVE RELIGION CAN BE. IN MALAYSIA, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS COMPULSION TO ACT BECAUSE OF RELIGION CAN BE DIRECTED TOWARDS GOOD, TOWARDS PROGRESS, TOWARDS DEVELOPMENT. WE CALL THIS APPROACH ISLAM HADHARI, LITERALLY CIVILISATIONAL ISLAM, OR AN APPROACH TOWARDS A PROGRESSIVE ISLAMIC CIVILISATION. ISLAM HADHARI IS DEFINITELY CONSISTENT WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF CREATING A STABLE INTERNATIONAL WORLD ORDER.

12. IT IS NOT AN APPROACH TO PACIFY THE WEST. IT IS NEITHER AN APPROACH TO APOLOGISE FOR THE PERCEIVED ISLAMIC THREAT, NOR AN APPROACH TO SEEK APPROVAL FROM THE NON-MUSLIMS FOR A MORE FRIENDLY AND GENTLE IMAGE OF ISLAM. IT IS AN APPROACH THAT SEEKS TO MAKE MUSLIMS UNDERSTAND THAT PROGRESS AND DEVELOPMENT ARE ENJOINED BY ISLAM. IT IS AN APPROACH THAT IS COMPATIBLE WITH MODERNITY AND YET FIRMLY ROOTED IN THE NOBLE VALUES AND INJUNCTIONS OF ISLAM. IT EMPHASISES THE IMPORTANCE OF APPRECIATING THE ROLE OF SCIENCE AND REASONING IN THE LIVES OF MUSLIMS, JUST AS IT IS IMPORTANT TO UNDERSTAND THE LAWS OF ISLAM AND ITS TRADITIONS. IT IS AN APPROACH THAT VALUES SUBSTANCE OVER FORM.

13. ISLAM HADHARI POSITS TEN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES WHICH MUSLIM COUNTRIES MUST DEMONSTRATE, NAMELY:

- FIRST, FAITH AND PIETY IN ALLAH;
- SECOND, A JUST AND TRUSTWORTHY GOVERNMENT;
- THIRD, A FREE AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE;
- FOURTH, A VIGOROUS PURSUIT AND MASTERY OF KNOWLEDGE;
- FIFTH, BALANCED AND COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT;
- SIXTH, A GOOD QUALITY OF LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE;
- SEVENTH, PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS AND WOMEN;
- EIGHTH, CULTURAL AND MORAL INTEGRITY;
- NINTH, SAFEGUARDING NATURAL RESOURCES AND THE ENVIRONMENT;
- TENTH, STRONG DEFENCE CAPABILITIES.

14. WE DO NOT PRETEND THAT MALAYSIA HAS ALL THE ANSWERS TO THE MANY PROBLEMS OF THE MUSLIM WORLD. WE ARE ALSO AWARE THAT DIFFERENT COUNTRIES NEED DIFFERENT SOLUTIONS TO THEIR PROBLEMS BUT I DO BELIEVE THAT MALAYSIA CAN BE A SHOWCASE OF WHAT IT IS TO BE A SUCCESSFUL, MODERN MUSLIM COUNTRY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

15. I BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE AN INCREASING NUMBER OF MUSLIM COUNTRIES IN THE O.I.C. THAT RECOGNISE THE SHORTCOMINGS AND FAILURES IN THE MUSLIM WORLD. SOME ARE EMBRACING THE INITIATIVES TOWARDS GOOD GOVERNANCE AND AN INTELLECTUALLY MORE OPEN AND VIBRANT UMMAH. BUT THESE STEPS CANNOT BE TAKEN IN ISOLATION NOR CAN THEY ONLY FALL UPON MUSLIM COUNTRIES. REFORMS IN THE MUSLIM WORLD MUST BE ACCOMPANIED BY VISIBLE AND MEANINGFUL CHANGES TO THE FOREIGN POLICIES OF KEY WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE POLICIES OF CERTAIN OF THEIR FRIENDS. I AM OF COURSE ALLUDING TO THE BURNING ISSUES OF THE DAY WHICH INVOLVE MUSLIMS AND ISLAMIC COUNTRIES SUCH AS THE ISSUE OF PALESTINE, IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

16. ISLAM HADHARI IS ALSO CONCERNED WITH ERADICATING POVERTY. THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE IS KEY TO ELEVATING THE POOR FROM POVERTY. FURTHERMORE, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, AS WELL AS RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, ARE KEY TO UPLIFTING COUNTRIES AND NATION STATES TO BECOME DEVELOPED AND MODERN ENTITIES. EDUCATION AND THE POWER OF KNOWLEDGE IS THE GREATEST EQUALISER AMONG INDIVIDUALS IN SOCIETY AND THE GREATEST LEVELER WHICH CAN BRIDGE THE DIVIDES AMONG THE NATION STATES IN THIS GLOBALISED WORLD.

17. WE IN MALAYSIA FEEL THAT WE ARE WELL PLACED TO BEGIN THIS JOURNEY OF REFORM AND RENEWAL. THIS IS BECAUSE WE CAN AND SHOULD BUILD UPON THE TOLERANCE WE ALREADY OBSERVE AND THE INTER-FAITH CO-EXISTENCE WHICH WE ALREADY PRACTISE IN MALAYSIA. WE WOULD LIKE TO SHOW BY EXAMPLE THAT A MUSLIM COUNTRY CAN BE MODERN, DEMOCRATIC, TOLERANT AND ECONOMICALLY COMPETITIVE. ISLAM CERTAINLY DOES NOT ENJOIN US TO TURN OUR BACKS AGAINST THE REST OF THE WORLD. IN FACT, ISLAM TEACHES US TO FIND SUCCESS NOT ONLY IN THE HEREAFTER BUT ALSO IN THIS WORLD.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

18. UNDERLYING THE WHOLE MESSAGE OF ISLAM HADHARI IS A CALL FOR TOLERANCE TOWARDS PEOPLE OF OTHER FAITHS, IN ACCORDANCE WITH GOD'S INJUNCTIONS: FOR YOU YOUR RELIGION, FOR ME MY RELIGION. IN MALAYSIA, WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN BRINGING ABOUT NATION-WIDE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS WHO PROFESS DIFFERENT RELIGIONS. THIS IS THE RESULT OF A COMMON REALIZATION BY ALL MALAYSIANS OF VARIOUS RACES AND VARIOUS FAITHS THAT THERE IS REALLY NO ALTERNATIVE FOR US BUT TO MAINTAIN INTER-COMMUNAL AND INTER-RELIGIOUS PEACE THROUGH DIALOGUE AND COOPERATION. WE HAVE SUCCEEDED IN FORGING A COMMON NATIONAL

PURPOSE THROUGH A SYSTEM OF POWER SHARING IN THE GOVERNMENT. IT IS A SYSTEM OF GOVERNING WHICH UPHOLDS THE PRINCIPLE OF DECISION-MAKING BY CONSENSUS, SO THAT THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE MINORITY IN THE GOVERNMENT ARE NEVER MARGINALIZED OR OUTVOTED. THIS IS PERHAPS ONE OF THE STRENGTHS OF DEMOCRACY IN MALAYSIA WHICH HAS WORKED EVER SINCE WE ACHIEVED INDEPENDENCE IN 1957. THE COALITION GOVERNMENT OF 13 POLITICAL PARTIES, WHICH REPRESENT DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS WITH DIFFERENT RELIGIONS, AND WHICH HAS BEEN IN POWER IN MALAYSIA SINCE 1957, IS THE EMBODIMENT OF TOLERANCE IN THE PURSUIT OF OUR NATIONAL OBJECTIVES. ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY HAD NOT BEEN A LIABILITY FOR THE COUNTRY. IN FACT, WE CELEBRATE THIS DIVERSITY AS A VALUABLE NATIONAL ASSET. IT PROVIDES FOR DOMESTIC PEACE AND STABILITY WHILE GIVING MALAYSIA A GOOD NAME INTERNATIONALLY AS A TOLERANT SOCIETY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

19. UNDOUBTEDLY, THE UMMAH, WHICH IS A COLLECTIVE TERM IDENTIFYING ALL ADHERENTS OF THE MUSLIM FAITH, MUST ALSO SOLVE ITS OWN INTERNAL PROBLEMS. EXTREMISM MUST BE RENOUNCED, RADICALISM ERADICATED AND ALL SECTARIAN VIOLENCE MUST BE STOPPED. ISLAM CAN TAP INTO ITS OWN RICH INTELLECTUAL TRADITION AND CHALLENGE DIRECTLY THE EXTREMIST DOCTRINES THAT HAVE LATELY BECOME LINKED, QUITE UNJUSTIFIABLY, TO ISLAM. MUSLIM LEADERS AND MUSLIM SCHOLARS MUST SUCCEED IN REVIVING FULLY THE TRUE SPIRIT AND THE TRUE TEACHINGS OF ISLAM. THE TRUTH MUST PREVAIL THAT ISLAM ABHORS EXTREMISM AND CONDEMNS TERRORISM.

20. HOWEVER, THE MUSLIM UMMAH ACTING ALONE ON ITS OWN WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ACHIEVE TOTAL SUCCESS. ISLAMOPHOBIA MUST ALSO BE REMOVED AT THE SAME TIME. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY MUST TAKE A STAND TO STOP ACTIONS WHICH CONTRIBUTE, DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY, TO THE PERPETUATION OF INJUSTICE, OPPRESSION OR AGGRESSION AGAINST MUSLIM COUNTRIES AND THE MUSLIM UMMAH, ANYWHERE AND EVERYWHERE. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAS A CLEAR DUTY TO DISALLOW THE MARGINALISATION OF MUSLIMS AND INSTEAD ENABLE THEM TO TAKE PART IN INFLUENCING AND SETTING THE INTERNATIONAL AGENDA. THE INCREASING GULF AND MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE WEST AND THE MUSLIM WORLD MUST BE BRIDGED. BUT IT REQUIRES BOTH SIDES TO WORK IN TANDEM TO CLOSE THE CHASM.

21. THE PATH TO BE CHOSEN IS NOT NECESSARILY THE PATH OF UNILATERALISM OR VIOLENCE. IT IS IMPORTANT TO EMPHASISE THIS POINT, FOR MANY PARTS OF THE MUSLIM GLOBAL COMMUNITY SEEM TO THINK THAT THE WEST IS A SINGULAR ENTITY, WITH A SINGULAR VOICE AND AGENDA. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR MUSLIMS TO REMEMBER THAT THERE REMAIN COUNTRIES IN WESTERN EUROPE THAT HAVE A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, AN APPROACH THAT EMPHASISES MULTILATERALISM RATHER THAN UNILATERALISM, DIALOGUE RATHER THAN THE USE OF FORCE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

22. INTER-CIVILISATIONAL DIALOGUES CAN TAKE PLACE AT THE OFFICIAL LEVEL BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS AS WELL AS ALONG THE "SECOND-TRACK" AT THE NON GOVERNMENTAL LEVEL. THIS IS POSSIBLE BECAUSE THE SUBJECT OF THE DIALOGUE CONCERNS HUMAN RELATIONS BETWEEN PEOPLES OF DIFFERENT CREEDS AND RELIGIONS. THE NON-MUSLIM WORLD, ESPECIALLY THE WEST, MUST BE PREPARED TO DISCARD THEIR PREJUDICES AGAINST ISLAM AND BE WILLING TO ENGAGE IN GENUINE DIALOGUE.

23. IN THE WIDER INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE TO SEEK AND ESTABLISH INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, LET ME POINT OUT TO YOU THAT THE 57 MUSLIM COUNTRIES, MEMBERS OF THE ORGANISATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE, WOULD BE WORTHY PARTNERS BECAUSE THEY ARE IMPORTANT NOT ONLY IN THE REALM OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS AND DIPLOMACY BUT ALSO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMICS AND FINANCE. THE 1.4 BILLION MUSLIMS IN THE WORLD MAKE UP ONE-FIFTH OF THE GLOBAL POPULATION. IT IS ESTIMATED THAT THE FINANCIAL SURPLUSES OF ARAB AND OTHER MUSLIM COUNTRIES, IN THE U.S.A AND OTHER WESTERN BANKS, IS AROUND \$800 BILLION. O.I.C. MEMBERS PROVIDE 70 PER CENT OF THE WORLD'S ENERGY REQUIREMENT AS WELL AS 40 PER CENT OF GLOBAL RAW MATERIAL EXPORTS. THE WEST CAN THEREFORE LOOK UPON THE MUSLIM WORLD AS A PARTNER FOR DEVELOPMENT AND PROSPERITY, CERTAINLY NOT AS AN ADVERSARY.

24. AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THIS LARGER DIALOGUE FOR ESTABLISHING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY, LET ME HUMBLY SUGGEST THAT WE MUST BEGIN BY ACCEPTING TO ADOPT A PARADIGM SHIFT WITHIN OUR OWN THINKING AND IN THE FORMULATION OF SECURITY POLICIES BY NATION STATES. I THINK WE SHOULD WORK TOWARDS BUILDING GENERAL CONSENSUS ON CERTAIN CORE FUNDAMENTALS FOR ESTABLISHING DURABLE PEACE.

25. I WOULD LIKE TO DWELL ON FIVE SUCH FUNDAMENTALS INVOLVING FIVE FUNDAMENTAL SHIFTS.

26. FIRST AND FOREMOST, AMONG THE FUNDAMENTALS FOR A DURABLE PEACE, I THINK, WOULD BE THAT THE SECURITY ORDER MUST BE A MORAL ORDER. IT MUST BE A FUNDAMENTALLY ETHICAL ORDER. THE RULE OF LAW MUST PREVAIL, PROTECTING EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD WITHOUT DISTINCTION AS TO RACE, RELIGION OR WEALTH. ALL STATES LARGE AND SMALL, POWERFUL OR WEAK, SHALL BE ENTITLED TO EQUAL SECURITY AND AN EQUAL SAY IN COMMON SECURITY. STATES SHALL PURSUE NOT ONLY THEIR OWN LEGITIMATE INTERESTS BUT ALSO THE COMMON INTERESTS OF THE WIDER REGIONAL OR GLOBAL COMMUNITY. THE QUESTION MAY BE ASKED, HOW IS MORAL PURPOSE TO BE INTRODUCED INTO THE INTERNATIONAL ORDER? GOVERNMENTS CAN APPLY PEER INFLUENCE UPON EACH OTHER. CIVIL SOCIETY WITHIN COUNTRIES AND ACROSS STATES CAN EXERT SUSTAINED PRESSURES UPON THEIR OWN AS WELL AS OTHER

GOVERNMENTS TO CONFORM TO RECOGNISED MORAL STANDARDS AND BE ACCOUNTABLE FOR THESE STANDARDS. IN EXTREME CASES, FOR OUTRAGEOUS BREACH OF THE BASIC MORAL STANDARDS, INTERNATIONALLY APPROVED SANCTIONS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IF OTHER MEANS FAIL. THE POINT IS WE SHOULD SHIFT MORAL PURPOSE FROM THE SIDELINES OF INTERNATIONAL CONDUCT TO CENTRE STAGE.

27. THE SECOND FUNDAMENTAL FOR DURABLE PEACE, IN MY VIEW, WOULD BE THE ABSOLUTE CENTRALITY OF PEOPLES WELFARE IN ANY ORDER FOR SUSTAINABLE SECURITY. THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE MUST LIE AT THE HEART OF ALL OUR STRUGGLES, NOT LEAST THE STRUGGLE FOR SECURITY. IN PRACTICE, THIS MEANS MANY THINGS. THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE PEOPLE MUST BE ADDRESSED AND THEIR LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS FULFILLED. THE PEOPLE MUST HAVE BASIC FREEDOMS. THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECURITY OF THE PEOPLE MUST BE ACCORDED THE HIGHEST PRIORITY.

28. THIRD, THERE NEEDS TO BE A SHIFT IN FOCUS FROM NARROW NATIONAL INTEREST TO ENLIGHTENED NATIONAL INTEREST. THIS IDEA IS BEST CAPTURED BY LORD ACTON WHEN HE ASSERTED THAT IN THE LIFE OF STATES, THERE ARE NO PERMANENT FRIENDS, ONLY PERMANENT INTERESTS. I AM NOT SUGGESTING THE ABANDONMENT OF THE PRIMACY OF THE STATE AND THE PRIMACY OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE CONDUCT OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS. I AM ONLY SUGGESTING THAT STATES SHOULD VIEW THEIR INTERESTS IN MORE ENLIGHTENED TERMS AND PURSUE THEM ACCORDINGLY. IN THIS WAY, THERE WILL BE A STRONGER IMPETUS TO DISCOVER COMMON INTEREST AND SEEK COMMON CAUSE WITH OTHERS.

29. THE FOURTH FUNDAMENTAL IS A SHIFT FROM A CONFLICT APPROACH TOWARDS SECURITY TO A COOPERATIVE APPROACH TOWARDS PEACE. DIFFERENCES AND CONFLICTS OF INTERESTS DO NOT HAVE TO DEGENERATE INTO VIOLENT CONFRONTATIONS AND BE RESOLVED, IF AT ALL, BY FORCE. THEY CAN BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY. THE PEACEFUL PURSUIT OF SECURITY AND THE PACIFIC SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WILL BE GREATLY ENHANCED IF STATES BEGIN TO REGARD SECURITY AS MUTUAL, COMMON AND INDIVISIBLE. WHEN STATES BEGIN TO PERCEIVE THAT THEIR SECURITY CANNOT BE ATTAINED AT THE EXPENSE OF EACH OTHER BUT WITH EACH OTHER, IT WILL THEN FOLLOW THAT THEY WILL PURSUE PEACE THROUGH COOPERATIVE RATHER THAN CONFLICT APPROACHES. IN FACT, THERE IS HOPE BECAUSE THE REALITY OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN A GLOBALISED WORLD WILL TEND TO FORCE STATES TO CONSIDER THE COOPERATIVE ROAD TO MUTUAL PEACE AND MUTUAL PROSPERITY NOT MERELY AS AN OPTION, BUT AN IMPERATIVE.

30. I BELIEVE THAT THE FIFTH FUNDAMENTAL WOULD NEED TO INVOLVE A SHIFT FROM A NARROW PRE-OCCUPATION WITH MILITARY SECURITY TO A WIDER CONCERN FOR COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY. IN ESSENCE, SECURITY ENCOMPASSES THE SECURITY OF ALL THE FUNDAMENTAL NEEDS, CORE VALUES AND VITAL INTERESTS OF- THE INDIVIDUAL, THE SOCIETY AND THE STATE. WHEN WE BEGIN TO SEE OUR SECURITY IN SUCH COMPREHENSIVE TERMS, THE LOGIC OF

COOPERATING FOR MUTUAL SECURITY IN AN INTERDEPENDENT WORLD WILL BECOME EVEN MORE PERSUASIVE AND COMPELLING.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

31. LET ME END BY RETURNING TO WHAT I HAVE SAID IN THE BEGINNING. THE PREDICTED CLASH BETWEEN CIVILISATIONS NEED NOT BE, AND IS NOT, INEVITABLE. THE HIGHER, TRUE VALUES OF ISLAM ARE THOSE ADHERED TO BY THE MANY. NO ONE SHOULD JUDGE MUSLIMS ON THE BASIS OF THE EXTREME DEEDS COMMITTED BY THE FEW. MUSLIMS BELIEVE THAT IF YOU HAVE GOOD INTENTIONS, GOD ALMIGHTY IS ALWAYS THERE TO LEND YOU A HELPING HAND AND ASSIST YOU IN YOUR QUEST TO DO GOOD. DIFFERENCES IN OPINION MUST BE ACCEPTED AND TOLERATED. WE MUST NOT CEASE TO APPRECIATE THE DIFFERENCES THAT EXIST BETWEEN PEOPLES. THE QUR'AN STATES THAT GOD CREATED THE UNIVERSE AND CAUSED IT TO BE INHABITED BY MEN AND WOMEN AND PEOPLES AND TRIBES SO THAT THEY MAY KNOW EACH OTHER. WE MUST PROACTIVELY SEEK PEACE BETWEEN CULTURES AND RELIGIONS BY DELIBERATELY SEEKING NON-VIOLENT ADJUSTMENTS, DIALOGUE AND NEGOTIATIONS. ABOVE ALL, WE MUST NOT FEAR DIFFERENCES. THE PROPHET MOHAMMED SAID, "DIFFERENCE IN OPINION IS ... A SIGN OF THE BOUNTY OF GOD".

I THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION.