

**SPEECH BY
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"ISLAM, INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY"

EXCELLENCIES, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

MORE THAN TWO THOUSAND YEARS AGO, THE ATHENIAN HISTORIAN THUCYDIDES HAD ALREADY WARNED MANKIND THAT BELIEF IN THE INEVITABILITY OF CONFLICT CAN BE ONE OF ITS MAIN CAUSES. REGRETTABLY, IT SEEMS TO BE IN VOGUE TODAY TO TALK ABOUT AN INEVITABLE CLASH OF CIVILISATIONS BETWEEN THE ISLAMIC WORLD AND THE WEST. QUITE CLEARLY, IT IS NOW THE DUTY OF ALL PEOPLE OF GOODWILL TO COME FORWARD AND TAKE STEPS TO PREVENT THIS IDEA FROM BECOMING A SELF FULFILLING PROPHECY.

2. THE 20TH CENTURY WAS INDEED VERY BLOODY. OVER 100 MILLION PEOPLE PERISHED IN ARMED CONFLICT. POLITICAL VIOLENCE CLAIMED ANOTHER 17 MILLION HUMAN LIVES. FOR THIS 21ST CENTURY, I HOPE WE CAN BE MORE OPTIMISTIC. HOWEVER, IF THE PAST FEW DECADES ARE ANY INDICATION, I FEAR THAT WE MAY HAVE INSUFFICIENT CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM. VIOLENT CONFLICTS WITHIN NATIONAL BORDERS HAVE CONTINUED TO TAKE PLACE. ARMED CONFLICT BETWEEN NATION STATES HAVE CONTINUED TO HAPPEN. ONE THING IS CERTAIN. THE CAPABILITIES OF INFLECTING DESTRUCTION HAVE BECOME GREATER. HUMANKIND CAN YET UNDO ITSELF IN THIS CENTURY.

3. FOR THE NATION STATES OF THE WORLD, IT SHOULD BE QUITE OBVIOUS THAT THERE IS ACTUALLY NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO SEEK AND ESTABLISH A WORLD ORDER THAT IS PEACEFUL AND SECURE. IN A GLOBALISED INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT, SUCH AS IT IS TODAY, NO COUNTRY CAN BE TOTALLY IMMUNE TO THE EFFECTS OF CONFLICTS EVEN IF THEY OCCUR FAR WAY FROM THEIR GEOGRAPHICAL BORDERS. FURTHERMORE, IN TODAY'S WORLD, NO STATE, HOWEVER POWERFUL, CAN PROTECT ITSELF ON ITS OWN. THIS IS STATED BY NO LESS THAN THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS IN HIS REPORT TO THE HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THEIR SUMMIT MEETING IN NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER 2005.

4. 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. THIS MAY BE AN EXTREME VIEW IN ITSELF. IT MAY BE TRUE, AS THE SAYING GOES, THAT GUNS DO NOT KILL BUT THAT PEOPLE DO. THEREFORE, WHEN SPEAKING ABOUT RELIGIOUS EXTREMISM, WE MUST ALSO ACCEPT THE FACT THAT 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, WE HAVE SEEN CASES WHERE RELIGION AT THE HANDS OF PROGRESSIVE ACTIVISTS HAS BEEN USED TO LIBERATE, RATHER THAN OPPRESS, SOCIETIES.

5. 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. THE RELIGIOUS WARS OF EUROPE, FOR INSTANCE, HAD LESS TO DO WITH QUESTIONS OF FAITH AND BELIEF BUT MORE TO DO WITH POLITICAL POWER AND THE CONTESTATION OVER IT.

6. 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.

7. 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.

8. MALAYSIA HAS, IN THE PAST, FOUGHT A LONG WAR AGAINST SUBVERSIVES WHO USED TERROR TACTICS TO INTIMIDATE THE POPULATION AND OVERTHROW THE GOVERNMENT. THE TERRORISTS BURNED HOUSES AND RUBBER FACTORIES, DERAILED TRAINS, AMBUSHED PASSENGER BUSES, ATTACKED POLICE STATIONS, MURDERED INNOCENT PEOPLE AND GENERALLY STRUCK FEAR INTO THE DAILY LIVES OF THE POPULATION. IT TOOK US SOME 20 YEARS TO FINALLY DEFEAT THE TERRORISTS AND SECURE A FORMAL SURRENDER.

9. THE IMPORTANT LESSON TO BE LEARNED FROM THE MALAYSIAN EXPERIENCE IS THE FACT THAT THE WAR WAS NOT WON BY THE USE OF CONVENTIONAL MILITARY FORCE ALONE. 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

10. 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 GOVERNMENT IS KEY TO STABILISING NATIONAL SOCIETIES AND NATION STATES.

11. I HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THERE IS MUCH INTEREST ABOUT THE ISLAMIC DIMENSION TO ALL OF THIS. 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.

12. 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.

13. 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.

14. 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.

15. THESE PRINCIPLES ARE ACCEPTABLE TO OUR NON-MUSLIM POPULATION OR FOR THAT MATTER, TO OUR NON-MUSLIM COLLEAGUES IN THE MALAYSIAN GOVERNMENT. WITH THESE PRINCIPLES TO GUIDE US, WITH OUR CONSISTENT AND CONTINUING RECORD OF IMPROVING GOVERNANCE FOR THE PEOPLE, AND BY PRACTISING AND OBSERVING A HIGH COMMITMENT TO PUBLIC ACCOUNTABILITY, MALAYSIA OFFERS A MODEST WORKING MODEL OF RENEWAL, REFORM, AND PERHAPS, RENAISSANCE IN THE MUSLIM WORLD. 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,

16. THIS IS THE FIFTH OCCASION THAT I HAVE SPOKEN ABOUT ISLAM HADHARI TO A MAINLY NON-MUSLIM AUDIENCE, IN A NON-MUSLIM COUNTRY. I DO SO TODAY BECAUSE GERMANY ABIDES BY THE CULTURE OF READINESS TO GIVE OTHERS A HEARING AND BECAUSE I CONSIDER GERMANY AN OPEN COUNTRY WHICH IS COMMITTED TO DEFENDING THE DIGNITY OF THE HUMAN PERSON AND DEVOTED TO FOSTERING PEACE AND GOODWILL AMONG NATIONS.

17. TODAY, I SPEAK ALSO AS THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE ORGANISATION OF ISLAMIC CONFERENCE, A GROUPING OF 57 COUNTRIES, REPRESENTING THREE CONTINENTS NAMELY ASIA, AFRICA AS WELL AS EUROPE.

18. MALAYSIA CHAIRS THE O.I.C. AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE FOR THE MUSLIM WORLD. 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.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

19. THERE ARE MANY PRIORITIES TO CONSIDER, BUT ISLAM HADHARI PLACES A HIGH PREMIUM ON THE ABILITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO PROVIDE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AND ON THE CAPABILITY OF THE PEOPLE TO HAVE ACCESS TO EDUCATION. INDEED, THE PROMINENCE GIVEN TO EDUCATION IS NOTHING NEW

IN ISLAMIC CIVILISATION. IN THE 10TH CENTURY, BAGHDAD HAD SOME 300 SCHOOLS. ALEXANDRIA IN THE 14TH CENTURY HAD 12,000 STUDENTS. UNIVERSITIES SUCH AS AL-AZHAR WERE ESTABLISHED LONG BEFORE THOSE IN EUROPE.

20. TODAY, 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.

21. THE ERADICATION OF POVERTY IS HIGH IN THE PRIORITIES OF ISLAM HADHARI. IN THIS CONNECTION, I HAVE CALLED UPON THE RICHER MUSLIM COUNTRIES TO TAKE THE LEAD IN PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO THE POORER MEMBERS UNDER A NEW "CAPACITY BUILDING PROGRAMME FOR O.I.C COUNTRIES" WHICH WAS LAUNCHED IN MALAYSIA EARLIER THIS YEAR. THE IMMEDIATE PURPOSE IS TO GENERATE INCOME AND PROVIDE EMPLOYMENT. THE LONGER TERM OBJECTIVE IS TO ASSIST THESE O.I.C COUNTRIES IN UPGRADING THEIR GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT EFFORTS.

22. 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.

23. WE ARE CONFIDENT THAT ISLAM HADHARI CAN HELP BRING MUSLIMS INTO THE MODERN WORLD AND INTEGRATE THEM IN THE MODERN ECONOMY. ISLAM HADHARI PROMOTES TOLERANCE AND UNDERSTANDING, MODERATION AND PEACE, AND CERTAINLY ENLIGHTENMENT. I MIGHT ADD THAT ISLAM HADHARI IS ENTIRELY CONSISTENT WITH DEMOCRACY BECAUSE ISLAM HADHARI IS ABOUT LIVING PEACEFULLY AND RESPECTING EACH OTHER IN SOCIETY.

24. I WOULD LIKE TO RE-EMPHASISE THAT ISLAM HADHARI IS MEANT FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL IN MALAYSIA, REGARDLESS OF THEIR RELIGIOUS OR RACIAL IDENTITIES. IT IS CERTAINLY AN EXHORTATION TO THE MUSLIMS TO TREAT THEIR FELLOW NON-MUSLIM CITIZENS FAIRLY IN ALL THEIR DEALINGS. I HAVE ALWAYS STATED THAT THE APPROACH OF ISLAM HADHARI WOULD BRING EXCELLENCE, DISTINCTION AND GLORY TO ALL MALAYSIANS, MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS ALIKE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

25. 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 IS NEVER MARGINALIZED OR OUTVOTED. THIS IS PERHAPS ONE OF THE GREATEST 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, ECONOMIC PROSPERITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, WHILE GIVING MALAYSIA A GOOD NAME INTERNATIONALLY.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

26. 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.

27. 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.

28. IN THIS REGARD, GERMANY HAS AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY. GERMANY HAS SHOWN, OVER RECENT YEARS, THAT THERE IS IN FACT ANOTHER APPROACH TO ADDRESSING CERTAIN PROBLEMS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA, AND THAT 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. GERMANY'S PRINCIPLED STAND ON CERTAIN MATTERS, FOR EXAMPLE ON THE INVASION OF IRAQ, IS SOMETHING THAT OFTEN GETS FORGOTTEN IN THE MUSLIM MEDIA. IT IS IMPORTANT FOR MUSLIMS TO REMEMBER THAT THERE REMAIN COUNTRIES IN WESTERN EUROPE LIKE GERMANY THAT HAVE A DIFFERENT APPROACH TO DEALING WITH INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS, AN APPROACH THAT EMPHASISES MULTILATERALISM RATHER THAN UNILATERALISM, PASSIVE DIALOGUE RATHER THAN THE USE OF FORCE.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN

29. 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. I BELIEVE GERMANY IS ONE OF THE COUNTRIES WHICH IS ACTIVELY PROMOTING SUCH DISCUSSIONS. THE NON-MUSLIM WORLD, ESPECIALLY THE WEST, MUST BE PREPARED TO DISCARD THEIR PREJUDICES AGAINST ISLAM AND BE WILLING TO ENGAGE IN GENUINE DIALOGUE.

30. 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.

31. 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.

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

- FIRST, A SHIFT FROM A SECURITY ORDER BASED ON AMORALITY TO ONE BASED ON MORAL PURPOSE.
- SECOND, A SHIFT FROM STATE SECURITY AS THE CENTRAL OBJECT OF THE SECURITY ORDER TO PEOPLE SECURITY AS THE CENTRAL OBJECT.
- THIRD, A SHIFT FROM THE PURSUIT OF NARROW NATIONAL INTEREST TO ENLIGHTENED NATIONAL INTEREST.
- FOURTH, A SHIFT FROM CONFLICTUAL SECURITY TO COOPERATIVE SECURITY.
- FIFTH, A SHIFT FROM A FOCUS ON NARROW MILITARY SECURITY TO A FOCUS ON WIDER, COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY.

33. ALLOW ME TO ELABORATE BRIEFLY ON EACH OF THE ABOVE. 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.

34. 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.

35. 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.

36. 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.

37. 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,

38. 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.