Ph.D
Dissertation

A Historical Analysis of Trans-national Integration Movements:
A Comparison of the European with the Muslim World Experience

By

Saad S. Khan
Prof Dr Azra Asghar Ali

Chairperson
Department of Pakistan Studies
Bahauddin Zakariya University
Multan
In the name of Allah, the most compassionate, the most merciful
DEDICATION

To my sons

Momin

&

Sayem
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CERTIFICATE

It is certified that this work is the candidate's original work and the same has not been submitted anywhere else for grant of any degree.

SAAD S. KHAN

PH. D CANDIDATE

26 DEC. 2009
CERTIFICATE OF ACCEPTANCE

I, DR AZRA ASGHAR ALI, AS THE SUPERVISOR OF THE CANDIDATE, HAVE TODAY RECEIVED THE DOCTORATE DISSERTATION OF MR SAAD S. KHAN AND HEREBY APPROVE ITS SUBMISSION AND ACCEPT IT FOR AWARD OF PH.D DEGREE.

DR AZRA ASGHAR ALI (SUPERVISOR)

CHAIRPERSON/

DEPT OF PAKISTAN STUDIES

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Ph.D Dissertation

A Historical Analysis of Trans-national Integration Movements: A Comparison of the European with the Muslim World Experience (1970-2000)

ABSTRACT

2000 words

By SAAD S. KHAN

Submitted to Prof. Dr Azra Asghar Ali

Chairperson, Dept of Pakistan Studies

Bahauddin Zakariya University
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Over 1.5 billion Muslims inhabit the globe; two thirds of them live in the 57 Muslim states while the rest live as minorities worldwide. The Muslim world, a generic term for the collectivity of Muslim states, spreads over large parts of Asia and Africa with a sprinkling of a few small countries in Europe (Albania, Bosnia, and the newly independent Kosovo) and Latin America (Surinam and Guyana) too\(^1\). This huge diversity, if anything, makes the politics of the Muslim world a bit complex.

Islam, like other Divine religions, has given its followers a collective self-identity by declaring all the believers as brothers and sisters. The concept of *ummah*, that is quintessentially unique to Islam, declares Muslims to be a single nation. *Ummah* is not nation in the ethnic or nationalistic sense. The root of this word, *Um* means mother or source, in Arabic. Thus, the believers are treated to be people of the same (ideological) flock. They have mutual rights and responsibilities, as belonging to the same fraternity.

This concept of *Ummah* also translates and manifests itself into calls for unity right from the dawn of Islam up till the present day. Upon his *Hijrah* (migration) in 622 A.D, the Prophet laid foundations of the first ever Islamic State which lasted as a political unity for around one century and a half. This included the last ten last years of Prophet’s own life until his death on 3\(^{rd}\) June 632, the era of the first three of (what are called) the *Right-

\(^1\) The definition of ‘Muslim State’ has been adopted from Kettani (1993) that every State that joins the Organization of the Islamic Coöperation (OIC) self-identifies itself as a Muslim state and hence may be counted as such. The Muslim world, under this definition, consists of all the member-states of the OIC.
guided Caliphs (literally: the Deputy to the Prophet) to whom the political leadership of the Muslim community had descended; the Ommayyad dynasty (661-750 AD), and finally, the first ten years of the Abbasid dynasty (r. 750-1258). The exception was the rule of the fourth Caliph, Hazrat Ali (r. 656-661 A.D), when the then Governor of Syria, Amir Muawiyah raised the banner of revolt, chipping away the control of half of Islamdom under his grip. After Ali’s death, Muawiyah was able to assert his authority over the whole known-Muslim world of that time which was retained, mainly through repression and coercion, by the (Omayyad) dynasty he founded. However, within the first ten years of the successor Abbasid dynasty, this semblance of single command was lost with the secession of Andalusia (now Spain) and political unity of the Muslim world has remained elusive ever since, till the present day. The institution of Caliphate has lasted in one form or the other upto as recently as 3rd of March 1924, when the last Ottoman Caliph was deposed. Thus till the first quarter of the twentieth century, in the person of Caliph--- a rough equivalent of the Roman Catholic Pope--- there was a symbol of spiritual unity of the Muslim world.

It is no surprise, therefore, that in the four and a half decades that followed, since 1924, the calls for unity seemed to come with renewed passions. The institution of Caliphate could not be restored but the Muslim world managed to establish an institution, called the Organization of the Islamic Conference, in 1969, that augments, reflects and articulates the interests of the Muslim world on international forums. The OIC alone was deemed not sufficient for bringing “solidarity” in the Muslim world, so a whole panoply of

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In 2010, the Charter of the Organization was amended and the name has been changed too as the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation. But since the dissertation was submitted in 2009 and research work took place in preceding years, the new name does not appear in the doctoral dissertation.
institutions were created under its tutelage for the purpose. Interestingly, the word “unity”
does not appear anywhere in the Charter of the OIC in its list of objectives or otherwise,
unlike the founding documents of, say, European Union and the African Union where
unity was the main founding objective. Be that as it may, these institutions and
organizations under the OIC umbrella have had their contribution in bringing the Muslim
world closer in the areas of politics, economics, and culture etc. However, the dream of a
pan-Islamic Union, which has a powerful following among the Muslim masses, has
remained a far cry up till now.

There have been many instances in the history of the world where states have come
together for a march towards a common destiny. United States of America, which started
from 13 states in 1776, has today 50 states in the Union, and is the most powerful country
on earth. The erstwhile Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was another example
but the structure of repression associated with it could not outlive the demise of the
Communist system. With the end of cold war, the USSR disintegrated and all its 14 in
republics, besides Russia, regained their lost liberty and identity. And here lies the point--
- the main argument of the present dissertation--- that no Union can survive unless it has
the backing of the people. The notion of a “United States of Europe” propounded by
Monnet and Schumann more than half a century ago, despite all the hurdles and
handicaps, continues to move towards an “ever closer Union”. There is no unanimously
agreed or clear sketch or roadmap for a “United States of Islam” as yet. However, the EU
template with a common visa regime, same currency, identical taxation and revenue
structure, free mobility of persons and goods between the nations, etc may serve as a
model for those aspiring for the unity in the Muslim world. Why have the ideas of Monnet and Schumann triumphed in Europe and why have similar notions for unity by the likes of Iqbal and Jamaluddin Afghani failed in the Muslim world, needs further investigation that the present dissertation aims at delving into.

The phenomenon of a political and economic Union in Europe, unlike that in the world of Islam, is of fairly recent origin that started from a Coal and Steel Community between just six nations, in 1951, after the Second World War. It moved on to become a Union through the Treaty of Maastricht 1992, shortly after the end of cold war. The success of the European Union, from the ashes of two centuries of warfare in Europe including the Cold War that divided Europe through an iron curtain for nearly half a century, makes the failures of the Muslim world/ OIC more evidently, and (at least, for the proponents of pan-Islamism) somewhat depressingly, comparable.

The European Union started with humble beginnings and modest aims. It expanded on the wave of freedoms that the people enjoyed and cherished, while keeping religion at bay from Statecraft. The route to political integration came through cooperation in the field of energy, and ultimately, economics. The Schumann Declaration of 9 May 1950, clearly starts with a vision of market as an instrument of freedom which and includes everything from the movement of goods and services to the exchange of ideas. In the decades that followed, the rule of law, accountability of rulers through regular elections, a vibrant free press, equal participation of women in national affairs, all contributed to rule-

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3 The doctoral dissertation has been written prior to recent economic turmoil in Ireland, Spain and Greece, and may be seen in that light
based pan-European governance. Freedom of expression helps governments in avoiding mistakes where throttling dissent is not in the menu of options. Public participation in integration process through frequent referendums leads people to own the pan-European scheme, which in turn garners public enthusiasm for (and sometimes against) and commitment to, the process of integration.

In contrast, the integration efforts in the Muslim world, under the OIC-framework, started with grandiose aims trying to rely heavily on religious dogmas, rather than practical considerations. Religion alone has hardly ever sufficed to forge unity among co-religionists, in the recorded history, at least. Lack of public participation meant that instruments of cooperation remained under control of the rulers who rarely represented the peoples. Of course, there were individual vested interests that tried to mould and manipulate integration efforts to their ends. This has resulted in a hotch potch of institutions and policies, with little concrete output from a whole lot of input activities. It relied heavily on political rhetoric, with a vain hope of translating it into economic unity, instead of establishing an economic symbiosis first that would have made political solidarity inevitable.

The focus on politics rather made the OIC an arena for competing aspirants of leadership in the Muslim world notably, between Iran and Saudi Arabia, but also varyingly serving the interests of countries like Malaysia, Pakistan, Turkey etc who had claims over prominence in the comity of Muslim nations. The role of the United States and --- during the Cold War eta--- that of the Soviet Union did not help the matters either. But this last
factor was more pronounced in Europe where Cold War divisions denied the EU an opportunity to expand Eastwards for a long period.

The research is restricted to the first three decades after the genesis of the OIC (i.e. 1970-2000) and analyses five areas of cooperation in the Muslim world, spear-headed by the OIC. It is not out of place to mention here that as the dissertation is submitted to the Department of Pakistan Studies, Pakistan’s role in these pan Islamic schemes has been accorded a separate mention in all five areas:

In the domain of political cooperation, the OIC had no permanent institutions such as the European Commission and the European Parliament. The Muslim world’s collective decision making emanates from the OIC’s twin fundamental organs; the Islamic Summit Conferences that meet triennially, and the Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers meeting annually, for a few days each. The political coordination has thus been ad hoc and issue-based, although, in all fairness, it must be accepted that more often than not, such efforts did show results as in the crises of Bosnia, Afghanistan and South Philippines etc. In the realm of economic cooperation, there has been significant improvement in intra-Muslim trade in the three decades under review (1970-2000), but how far, such increase owes to pan-Islamic sentiments is unclear.

The cooperation in the field of science and technology suffers from lack of scientific advancement in Muslim countries; they have hardly anything to share with each other. Another area studied in my work is cultural cooperation in the Muslim countries under
the umbrella of the OIC during the same period ranging from documentation of Islamic History, organization of intra Islamic sports competitions, coordination in architecture, calligraphy, and performing arts etc. And finally, military cooperation in the Muslim world which sometimes takes the form of intelligence sharing on terrorists or even political dissidents opposing autocracies in some Muslim countries--- hardly the job of a professional army. The only real noteworthy coordination was during Bosnian civil war 1992-95 where the Militaries of leading Islamic countries like Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Malaysia and Pakistan coordinated their support for Bosnian army.

Relying basically on secondary sources, the dissertation shows that while the efforts towards cooperation since the inception of OIC and upto 2000 have brought the Muslim States closer, than would have been the case, had there been no OIC. But that does not make the Muslim world anywhere nearer to where the EU stood in 2000, in terms of achieving goals for unity, especially after the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) and the Treaty of Nice (2000).

After analyzing the five areas of cooperation in the Muslim world, the dissertation looks at the history of European integration, especially the main milestones achieved during the period under review i.e. 1970-2000 and argues that despite its failings, the EU experience has been a much greater success with a single parliament, a common market, a common visa regime, a coordinated foreign and security policy, among many other trappings of a meaningful Union.
My work delves into the reasons for this disparity in the outcome of two contemporary integration efforts and concludes that the failure of the Muslim world owes to unrealistic aims, undue emphasis on theological rationale for unity (as opposed to practical gains for national interests) and because of the democratic deficit where the citizenry is not involved into the decision making. It follows that all the endeavors in like direction by the OIC may remain isolated unconnected events unless the Muslim world embraces the modern trends towards democracy\textsuperscript{4}, rule of law, education, tolerance of free debate and respect to human rights, including gender equality, as done by the European Union.

Unity in the Muslim world may follow proactive actions towards the fundamental freedoms and the supremacy of law, rather than precede it. Mere rhetoric and sloganeering is a road to nowhere! Though not in the purview of the period under study, it may be said to the OIC’s credit that, lately, it has done some reorientation of its focus with a distinctly reformist character. The Charter has been amended substantially in 2008 to include focus on Human Rights and Good Governance. An Independent Permanent Human Rights Commission (IPHRC) has been established --- the first ever in the Muslim world on human rights. And what is more important to note is that references to Sharia have been abandoned altogether in its founding Statutes unlike the Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (Cairo; 1990), quarter of a century earlier, which referred to Sharia, and not the universally accepted valued enunciated in the international human rights instruments and protocols, as the “sole source of reference”. The direction is right but proof of pudding is in its eating. The IPHRC remained conspicuously inactive during the

\textsuperscript{4}The research work was done before the present Arab uprising of 2011-12 that has so far swept dictators from Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen, and the fate of ruling juntas Syria and Bahrain appear doomed.
glaring trample of human rights during the Arab spring in many countries. To be able to do something for the Muslim peoples, the OIC will have to make itself relevant to them first!

Saad S. Khan
Doctoral Candidate
18 March 2012
FOREWORD

“A Historical Analysis of Trans-national Integration Movements: A Comparison of the European with the Muslim World Experience (1970-2000)”, for me, is not merely a topic for my Ph.D Dissertation, but the manifestation of a deep academic interest that I had in the subject. Its submission to the Department of Pakistan Studies, Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, is a culmination of my efforts and desire to find out why Europe, with a history of internecine bloodshed spanning over centuries was so successful in fostering a political and economic union that had hardly a parallel in human history. On the other hand, the Muslim world with centuries of experience of fraternal relations, as well as, in the form of Caliphate, an institution of spiritual and temporal centrality that lasted for thirteen centuries, failed to achieve anything closer to a Union.

This topic of research is one which, I believe, has immense practical and policy relevance in addition to academic significance. Research into the topic delves into several questions related to the role of religion in matters of politics and state, as well as those of international relations. European Union now rests on solid secular foundations, and in fact, when role of Church in State was too pronounced as in the Middle Ages, Europe saw incessant warfare and internecine conflict on competing religious ideals. This led many scholars to believe that religion is more often a divisive than a unifying factor in international politics. Then, a legitimate question follows, is it a right approach for the Muslims to take recourse to religious injunctions in the hope of fostering a pan-Islamic union? If yes, then why have the Muslims not achieved more than a semblance of institutionalized cooperation? If no, then what is the alternative? Should the pan-Islamic
ideals take inspiration from the views of secular leaders like Ata Turk, Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Ahmad Soekarno, or those of theologians like Syed Qutb, Hassan al Banna and Abu Alaa al Mawdoudi? We can move to more basic questions such as whether there are any tangible advantages that any pan-Islamic union may bring to the Muslim world. Is there any non-rhetorical rationale for such a Union? Can EU model, more or less accepted as *sui generis* be replicated in the Muslim world? This dissertation is a humble attempt at answering all these conundrums.

Coming to Europe one can start with the notion that every adversity has an opportunity. So it will be argued that the two world wars and the cold war, where Europe was the centre of bloodshed had, by destroying most of Europe, also engendered opportunities for further collaboration for the Europeans. The last four centuries were the bloodiest in human history, in general, and the European History, in particular. Starting from the notorious *Thirty Years War* (1618-48), on to the Napoleonic wars of early 19th century, then the Crimean war (1854-56), the Balkan wars of 1880’s and again of 1911-12, down to the two world wars (1914-18 & 1939-45), there was hardly any plain left in Europe which had not been the site of a bloody battle. In fact, Europe could be compared with a vast graveyard of fallen men losing lives on the basis of competing ideologies, rival religious or sectarian interpretations, and antagonistic national (and territorial) claims.

The generation that lived through and survived the two World Wars in Europe was exhausted and fed up with jingoism. Peace was a buzzword as well as the principal--- if not the only--- desire of the people in mid twentieth century. Little wonder, that with
leadership like that of Monnet and Schumann available, the chart towards harmony --- and eventually integration --- was marked.

The Muslim world too has gone through many a turmoil and tribulations in the last century by undergoing colonization, but that is not even remotely comparable to the testing times that Europe had undergone through the world wars. While the Europeans’ pride in their ethnic or political identities led to these conflicts, the elite of the Muslim nations, then colonized by the Europeans, took to emulation of the West, confusing modernization with Westernization. Slavery begets slave mentality and this malaise has afflicted the Muslim world. Most of the Muslim countries have attained political freedom in the past few decades but have yet to attain mental freedom--- the freedom to think beyond the systems, preferences and values of the former colonial masters. Thus while the experience of “nationalistic wars” in Europe helped nations attain maturity and goaded them towards cooperation with each other on the basis of sovereign equality, the independence struggles (military or otherwise) undertaken by the Muslim countries failed to galvanize them towards such path. Rather than looking at their fellow Muslim nations for cooperation, they continued to look back towards their erstwhile masters for guidance and support. Prime Minister Hussain Shaheed Suhrwardy of Pakistan was not alone in being dismissive about Muslim unity by suggesting that the sum of many zeroes still remains a zero.

Hence, all the rhetoric on Islamic unity notwithstanding, the Muslim world remains divided and fragmented. While Europe holds a summit level meeting of heads of state
and government twice every year (European Council), the OIC fails to adhere to its own statutory requirement of convening an Islamic summit meeting once every three years. While the Europeans can now sing a single pan-European anthem, the Muslim ulema are seldom able to pray before a single Imam. This leads one to argue that pan-Islamic unity, if that is to come about, needs to be market driven to be solid and lasting, rather than theology driven.

As I have found in my research for this PhD dissertation and the same has been argued in the next 300 pages or so, there have been serious efforts towards cooperation in the Muslim world in the recent past, especially the 30 years under review i.e. 1970 when the OIC became functional till the end of the twentieth century. Why such initiatives are not so much known is because of, what is aptly called, the “CNN factor”. That is to say that reporting (or the lack of it) by leading news channels (such as the Cable News Network--the CNN) worldwide moulds the perception of human minds on the existence or non-existence of certain facts, events, or even phenomena. That is to say that if the loss of life in terrorist attacks in the West are given more coverage on electronic media, while casualties by the US drone attacks elsewhere are not covered (for want of local interest by the Western viewer-ship of their channels) it does not mean that the latter incidents did not take place or that worth of the life of a person meeting violent death in a developed country is more than that in a developing country. Hence, the influence media has on public minds in shaping opinions goes without saying. 5

5 As a footnote, one may add that there is no intention to imply that Palestinian or Afghan version on Israeli forces’ excesses and US drone attacks respectively does not reach the audience at all. In fact, the non-mainstream media projects causes and opinions that usually carried by the mainstream channels.
It follows that if instances of intra-Islamic cooperation do not find much time on media footages, this does not mean that no progress has been made in Muslim world towards greater solidarity. On the contrary, as I attempt to document in this treatise, the realization for greater affinity in the Muslim world has increased after the humiliation at the defeat in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war and the loss of Jerusalem. The arson at Al Aqsa mosque, on 21 August 1969, stimulated the first-ever summit of heads of state and government of the Muslim world, the following month in Rabat, the capital of Morocco. A pan Islamic organization, called the Organization of the Islamic Conference (now renamed as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation), better known by its acronym, the OIC, had its genesis at this very conclave. As time passed on and things moved on, the OIC became an umbrella over wide panoply of institutions working for pan Islamism in their respective fields.

The OIC’s approach had been derided as “Oh, I see!” in many analyses and critiques, but it is fair to argue that OIC has not been an utter failure. The institutional progeny of this pan Islamic body has sowed the seeds of institutionalized cooperation in the Muslim world in a variety of fields and disciplines. Today, the Muslim world is cooperating in the field of politics, and diplomacy, trade and economics, science and education, religious matters and cultural affairs, among others. The present dissertation will give a bird’s eye view of the extent of pan Islamic cooperation in these major areas, and explore potential and prospects for future cooperation. A comparison will also be made with related institutional activities of the European Union. Here, at the end of this Foreword, a brief on the chapterization of this dissertation seems to be in order:
The FIRST CHAPTER, as required and expected from all dissertations, is an introduction to the whole treatise. It underlines the significance of this research, discusses the research methodology adopted and reviews the existing literature on the subject. It makes a case why this particular topic was needed for research and what contribution it is likely to make in the available literature on the subject. The second part of the chapter creates the theoretical framework for the work by explaining and analyzing the concept of ummah i.e. a global community or fraternity of the believers. The introductory chapter thus places the debate that follows in the subsequent chapters in a proper theoretical perspective.

The SECOND CHAPTER discusses the political and diplomatic cooperation in the Muslim world during 1970-2000. The will to have coordination at political and decision-making levels, is what would determine the success or failure of the whole struggle for pan-Islamic solidarity. It must be appreciated, though, that on the one hand, political cooperation is a very broad term, and on the other, no single definition can limit the scope of the chapter as there are two many instances of political cooperation or lack of it, in the contemporary history of the Muslim world. Thus, in order to be focused, I have limited myself to a few case studies in political cooperation to demonstrate the extent, modus operandi and impact of political cooperation in the Muslim world. I have chosen Palestine and Jerusalem issue, the Kashmir issue and the Muslim minorities’ issues in non-Muslim countries, as examples of political synergies.
The Economic Cooperation is the subject matter of our THIRD CHAPTER below. I have argued that most efficient route to political union is by taking economic cooperation as a starting point as borne out by the genesis and success of the European Union. Many regional organizations, even within the broader Muslim world, such as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC), the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and others are operating under this philosophy. The chapter discusses the role of leading intra-Islamic organizations in this field and finds the efforts towards an Islamic Common Market making some headway. One is not sure, however, if this ICM would make economic sense for the Muslim world, but it shall definitely be a political milestone.

Closely related to economic cooperation is that in the tools for economic development, i.e. science, technology, and education., that is our focus in the FOURTH CHAPTER. The issue is discussed with reference to the present-day situation, involving the standing of the Muslim world in terms of research and the extent of cooperation efforts. The role of the OIC’s standing committee on Science and Technology (COMSTECH) is of particular relevance here, as well as that of many other institutions and organizations in the field.

FIFTH CHAPTER devotes itself to military cooperation which is conspicuous by its near absence. This is nevertheless important from theoretical as well as practical point of view. The concept of Jihad (or holy struggle) and its most current though erroneous identification in public minds with military struggles only, makes military cooperation a
critical vantage point to gauge the potential for a future Islamic Union. In any case, many Muslim countries are facing civil wars and some Muslim countries (Iran-Iraq, Senegal Mauritania, and Iraq-Kuwait, for instance) have fought wars with each other on their international borders as well. This underlines to make a case for a pan-Islamic peace force but it also needs to be understood that military cooperation is the most complex, most expensive and most difficult part of inter-State cooperation. And even the European Union is still far from realizing its Helsinki Headline Goals of creating a 60,000-strong rapid deployment force. It also needs to be added that military role in the 21st century has seen revolutionary changes from its traditional role of a war machine, as understood from the mental moulds of the histories of world wars, to nation building and peace keeping institution.

Last, but not the least, is the centrality of Cultural cooperation that is analyzed in the SIXTH CHAPTER. Here again, the cooperation is evaluated from the study of 30-year performance (1970-2000) of some intra-Islamic bodies in the realm of culture, although its definition has been broadened to include information, religion and society. Ten themes, including architecture, painting and calligraphy, urban planning, news dissemination, broadcasting and electronic media, issuance of religious edicts (fatwas), and others have been defined as major pillars of cultural harmonization.

The SEVENTH CHAPTER, one must admit, is more of a chronological narration of the History of European integration, upto the Treaty of Nice (2000), from secondary sources and not as such a primary research-oriented effort. As evident from the foregoing,
research was made to dig out, consolidate and document solid endeavors made by Muslim world for unity. The seventh chapter lays the groundwork for comparison of European experience with that of the Muslim world---the comparison and conclusions *per se* have been made in the eighth chapter. It is highlighted that European cooperation started from that in industrial (Steel) and energy (Coal) sector and moved on to economic cooperation through creation of European Economic Council (EEC) in 1957 through the famous Treaty of Rome. The political union that emerged from the Maastricht Treaty of 1992 is a much recent development.

The EIGHTH CHAPTER summarizes the conclusions and research findings of my work. The major weaknesses in the Muslim world’s quest for integration have been identified as unrealistic and too ambitious targets, an overdone emphasis on religion (or dogmatic foundations) for cooperation instead of practical (read: economic) ones, and the absence of democracy, rule of law, universal education and gender equality in the Muslim world.

A particular mention has been given to the role of Pakistan in fostering the Muslim world cooperation in the chapters 2 through 6, as the dissertation has been approved by the Department of Pakistan Studies at the Bahauddin Zakariya University and the Pakistan dimension merits a pride of place in the treatise.

I hope this Ph D dissertation will be a humble contribution to available knowledge on pan Islamic cooperation efforts. It will also serve as a reference for future researchers in the
field and finally it serves my own commitment to document the integration related efforts of the Muslim countries in one single volume.

I also hope that comparisons provided and lessons drawn from the experience of the European Union in this work shall prove useful for the opinion makers and policy formulators in the Muslim world as might be the conclusions and recommendations that I have deduced from this research.

I thank the Almighty for granting me success in this endeavor. I am also indebted to all my teachers and especially my Ph.D Supervisor for her constant encouragement and guidance.
Acknowledgments

Although, some may think that preparing the section on *Acknowledgment* has become a routine exercise for all research works, yet it must be underlined that due to enormity of knowledge seen in conjunction with the limits on time for each job, no individual can accomplish the gigantic task of a major research endeavor spanning over many years, all by him/herself. Doctorate level research is one such challenge in a scholar’s life which, although a single-handed undertaking in itself, that cannot be accomplished without help and cooperation from around. In my case too, there are many figures, each of whom had helped in ways that were indispensable for completion of my work. Had any one of these links been missing I would had to bury my dream of getting a doctorate at least for the time being.

First and foremost, I owe bundles of thanks to my Supervisor, Prof Dr Azra Asghar Ali, a noted scholar in her own right and a gem of a person. She tolerated my slackness, delays on my part and many a times, inklings of negligence, with such open heart and magnanimity that all her help will remain part of my fondest memories throughout my life. She genuinely wanted to get me through this PhD and her help at every stage had been decisive in moving ahead. I pray for her eternal success.

I am honored to name the Prof Dr Zafarullah Khan, the former Vice Chancellor of the Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan, Prof Dr Alqama Khairuddin, former Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences (presently Vice Chancellor) and Prof Dr G.R. Pasha, ex-Director Students Affairs (now retired), all of whom showed a degree of personal interest
in the confirmation of my provisional PhD enrollment that had been significantly delayed
due to my stay abroad at Cambridge leading to belated submission of research progress
reports.

Prof Dr Tahir Abbas and Prof Dr Ashraf Chaudhry who have been known to me for many
years now have also a defining contribution for my PhD, their unique encouragement
bordering personal interest in my research, had made me indebted to them, like my true
benefactors.

I would be failing if I do not mention my first supervisor Prof Dr Qalb-e-Abid and his
wife and my co-Supervisor, Prof Dr Musarrat Abid, the previous Chairperson of the
Department of Pakistan Studies, for their guidance in the initial years. Even after they
both have joined the University of Punjab and moved accordingly to Lahore, their interest
in my research has not dwindled.

I must also thank three of my personal friends each of whom contributed in his own way
in my work like Assistant Prof Dr M Tahir Akhtar at the University of Electro-
Communications, Chofu, Japan, who was kind enough to spare time for vetting the first
draft of each chapter for me. Mr Fayyaz Ahmad Sumbul PSP, the then Additional
Superintendent of Police of Multan, who have been instrumental in doing all the logistics
for me from travel and stay in Multan. Mr Jawad Nasim, kept assisting me with all the
housekeeping affairs related to research, here in Islamabad. I owe all three of them lots of
thanks.
Two more mentions are in order before I move on from this section on acknowledgements. And as my remarks will help explain why they are so important. First, of all I feel that trend towards research is dwindling in the civil services of which I am a part. As an officer of the Central Superior Services (CSS) of Pakistan, in the cadre called Pakistan Administrative Service (P.A.S), I feel pained at noticing that not only research (which is to some extent understandable) but reading and writing too (which is neither comprehensible, nor excusable) has almost wholly been abandoned by the public service officers and left to the universities and academia to take care of. There is hardly any spark left for knowledge-seeking. Immersed in files, civil service officers, called bureaucrats, seldom show interest in research endeavors. My own hectic commitments as a full time public servant but a part time PhD candidate explain (though certainly not excuse or justify) the occasional missing of research deadlines (that I hinted above). In the final few months, I, nevertheless, needed exclusive time to write down my research. I must, therefore, mention the appreciation and understanding shown by my superior authorities in the Federal Ministry of Health, Government of Pakistan, Islamabad, where I have been working as Deputy Director General, in facilitating me to complete my work with a peace of mind. I thank Mr Khushnood Lashari, the Federal Health Secretary, Mr Khwaja Siddiq Akbar, Additional Secretary, and Mr Sher Ayub, the Joint Secretary for their kindness and cooperation.

Secondly, I am reminded of Prof Dr Brendan Simms at the University of Cambridge who had once pointedly told us that PhD was a lonely experience, unlike any other school or
degree in the candidate’s previous or subsequent life. From play group or kinder garden, all through the school level, right up to Masters/MPhil level in the University, study is a collective experience. A whole class reading for the same subject from same teacher attends lectures together. There is sharing of notes, of ideas, of sympathies and of travails together. PhD is a unique experience as there is no class level activity or even one remotely similar to that. Each dissertation topic is unique and for years each candidate is supposed to dive into oceans of knowledge and wisdom to fish for relevant material and arguments to support his contention in the research. This loneliness sometimes becomes too burdensome and that is why, last but not the least, I want to gratefully and lovingly acknowledge the support and solace that my wife, Sara, offered in all these years for my PhD.

In the end, I bow my head before God whose bounties cannot be counted and whose succor has made me pass through all the hard times.
### List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AJK</td>
<td>Azad Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
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<tr>
<td>AL/LAS</td>
<td>Arab League /League of Arab States</td>
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<tr>
<td>APHC</td>
<td>All Parties <em>Hurriyyat</em> (freedom) Conference</td>
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<tr>
<td>ASG</td>
<td>Assistant Secretary-General</td>
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<td>BJP</td>
<td>Bhartia Janata Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFSP</td>
<td>[EU] Common Foreign and Security Policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>CIS</td>
<td>Commonwealth of Independent States</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMCEC</td>
<td>[OIC] Committee on Commercial and Economic Cooperation</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMIAC</td>
<td>[OIC] Committee on Information Affairs and Culture</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMSTECCH</td>
<td>[OIC] Committee on Science and Technology</td>
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<tr>
<td>EAEA</td>
<td>European Atomic Energy Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECHR</td>
<td>European Court of Human Rights</td>
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<td>ECJ</td>
<td>European Court of Justice</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECO</td>
<td>Economic Cooperation Organization</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Council Of West African States</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECSC</td>
<td>European Coal and Steel Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>EEC</td>
<td>European Economic Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>EMU</td>
<td>[EU] Economic and Monetary Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>G-7</td>
<td>Group of Seven (most industrialized nations)</td>
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<tr>
<td>GCC</td>
<td>Gulf Cooperation Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAS</td>
<td>Islamic Academy of Sciences</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICCI</td>
<td>Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICDT</td>
<td>Islamic Centre for Development of Trade</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICE</td>
<td>Islamic Council of Europe</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICECS</td>
<td>Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social Affairs</td>
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</table>
ICFM  Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers
ICIC  Islamic Commission for International Crescent
ICPICH  International Commission for Preservation of Islamic Cultural Heritage
ID  Islamic Dinar (basic monetary unit of the IDB)
IDB  Islamic Development Bank
IINA  International Islamic New Agency
IIT  Islamic Institute of Technology
IMF  International Monetary Fund
IRCCICA  International Research Center for Islamic Culture & Arts
ISBO  Islamic States Broadcasting Organization
ISEESCO  Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
ISF  Islamic Solidarity Fund
ISFF  Islamic Solidarity Sports Federation
IULA  Islamic Union of Legislative Assemblies
IWA  Islamic Women Association
JHA  [EU Policy on] Justice and Home Affairs
LDC  Least Developed Countries
LDMC  Least Developed Muslim Countries
MEP  Member European Parliament
MWL  Muslim World League [Rabita al Alam al Islami]
NAM  Non-Aligned Movement
NATO  North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NIEO  New International Economic Order
NPT  Non-Proliferation Treaty
OIC  Organization of the Islamic Conference [now: Cooperation]
OSCE  Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe
PLO  Palestine Liberation Organization
SESRTCIC  Statistical, Economic & Social Research and Training Center for Islamic Countries
SG  Secretary General
UN  United Nations
<table>
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Name</th>
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<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNCIP</td>
<td>United Nations Council in India and Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNPROFOR</td>
<td>United Nations Protection Force (for Bosnia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WMC</td>
<td>World Muslim Congress [Mutamar al Alam al Islamic]</td>
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Chapter 1

1

Introduction

Justification, Methodology, Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

The first problem of any research is definitional; unless one defines the concepts, constants and variables that are being studied, the research becomes unfocussed and hence unworthy. To study Muslim world, we first need to define what we mean by the term, before we proceed further to the justification for such study and methodology to be adopted.

1.1 Defining Muslim world and defining Europe:

The Muslim world today comprises of 57 sovereign states, a couple of, what one may safely call, non-sovereign states\(^1\) and a host of Muslim minority communities worldwide. The Muslim majority states include such diverse nations as Indonesia and Lebanon, Maldives and Albania etc. A restricted definition of Muslim world would include all the Muslim countries into the term (whether non-Muslim citizens of a Muslim nation are also part of the Muslim world and/or that of the *ummah* is another debate that we will address below). Since a third of all Muslims live as minorities, a more generous definition will

\(^1\) Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, under the tutelage of Turkey, and the Pakistan-backed State of Azad (Liberated) Jammu & Kashmir can safely be placed under the definition of the term “non-sovereign states”
include the population of the Muslim countries as well as Muslim population of non-Muslim countries

In either definition, when Muslim world is defined as a collectivity of Muslim states, a subsidiary academic problem will be to define what a “Muslim state” is. An obvious idea would be to label the Islamic states (where Islam is the state religion and/or Islamic/Shariah laws are in force) as Muslim states. Such a definition would lead to secular states with Muslim majority (like Turkey with 99% Muslim population), being characterized as non-Muslim states, which would be grossly misleading. An alternative solution, more plausible at the first glance, is to deem any state, where Muslims constitute a simple majority (more than 50% of the population), as a Muslim state. The closer we come to this definition, the more blurred it becomes. Firstly, there is the problem of the high unreliability of the statistics regarding religious composition of population in most developing states. And secondly, such a rigid criterion would lead to the exclusion of many borderline cases like Bosnia (with 47% Muslims) from the definition of Muslim state.

Hence, we need to look for a more comprehensive and scholarly definition. A noted scholar on Islam, M. Ali Kettani, gives the definition of a Muslim state as the one “that is a member of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation”.² While the Charter of OIC suggests that every Muslim country is eligible to apply for membership but nowhere does

² M. Ali Kettani (1990), Muslim minorities in the world today, Lahore, Services Book Club, p. 160. Kettani is so rigid in this definition that he terms Uganda with 20% Muslims as a Muslim state (p. 163) while Nigeria, which according to his research has 60% Muslims as a Muslim minority state (p. 164 in ibid) since Nigeria was not a full member of the OIC at that time.
it define the term ‘Muslim state’. So we find ourselves in a circular argument where we define the Muslim State to be one that is a member of the OIC and the OIC’s sole criterion for admission of a new member is that the applicant state should be a “Muslim state”. Thus one needs to search for the answer in the conventions adopted by the OIC, regarding the induction of new member states. Only then, we will be able to outline the Muslim world as per Kettani’s definition. We discern four criterion of membership adopted by the Islamic Conference:

i. Islamic states (Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia etc.)

ii. Secular states with Muslim majorities (Indonesia, Turkey, Syria etc.); even if the head of state may occasionally be a non-Muslim (Chad, Nigeria etc.)

iii. Countries where Muslims and non-Muslims are almost equal but the Muslims have a significant share in government (Kazakhstan, Lebanon etc.)

iv. Non-Muslim majority countries, provided that:

a) the Muslims are the single largest community or form a substantial minority (Surinam, Togo); and

b) the head of state is a Muslim or has converted to Islam (Gabon, Uganda\(^3\) etc.) and the State, under his rule, is friendly towards the Muslim world

Thus, for purpose of this dissertation, we assume each OIC member to be a Muslim state and the total OIC membership to be the Muslim world. The wide diversity of the Muslim world, if anything, complicates the efforts towards cooperation, unification and integration. It must be noticed that we have, for the purpose of this treatise, taken the first

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\(^3\) Even after the overthrow of Idi Amin, as President of Uganda, the country has remained in the Islamic Conference.
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of the two definitions given at the outset, and thus excluded Muslim minorities in non-Muslim countries from our study of cooperation in the Muslim world. The Muslim minorities may be part of the ummah in theological terms, as we shall see in the conceptual discussion later in this chapter, but in a more political sense, the states are unit actors in international relations and hence we will focus our study on the collectivity of Muslim states and how they tried to cooperate with each other and then try to make our comparison the pan-Europeanism that developed between the European States.

Here we can make a point that European Union’s induction criterion invites any “European State” that agrees with the values and the ideals of the Union to apply for membership. Since Europe is a geographical factum, it is relatively easier to define a European State. Still confusions arise with each expansion request. Island nations in the Mediterranean like Malta and Cyprus were easier to be included in Europe in the 2004 expansion (our study is limited to the period ending 2000) but in the coming years there can be more debates on where (geographically) to put a full stop on expansion.

Many of Warsaw Pact allies of the erstwhile Soviet Union such as Romania, Bulgaria, Slovakia and Poland are now EU members. If Russia is considered too at some hypothetical time in future whose three fourths of land mass is in Asia, EU boundaries would touch China and Mongolia to the East. In any case, many of the now-independent ex-Soviet republics are now in Eurasia or Asia proper. From Ukraine to Uzbekistan, they are members of another pan-European initiative—the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).
Same is the case with Turkey that has membership aspirations since as early as 1963 and which despite having a history spanning centuries of presence in Europe—howsoever unpleasant in European minds—extends into Asia. It has succeeded in joining other pan-European arrangements such as the NATO and is subject to the jurisdiction of European Court of Human Rights. In the 1970’s, Iran, under the pro-West government of the Shah, too toyed with the idea of joining both the NATO and the EEC (as EU was then known as). In the early years of European integration, France had insisted on special relationship with its overseas colonies in North Africa, deeming them to be integral part of French State, such as Morocco and Tunisia. Today EU’s special relationship across Mediterranean continues by several treaties although these countries got independence from France decades ago.

The values that the EU wants itself to be defined by, are well-defined themselves --- democracy, free market, rule of law, and respect for human rights including equality across gender lines and sexual orientation, for instance. Yet sooner than later, the EU will have to define “European State” in clear geographical terms, failing which, further European expansion and integration too may become unwieldy and unsustainable in times to come. The EU success in deeper integration owes partly to higher scrutiny of new membership aspirants and accession negotiations can take from years to decades for each new member state.
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The point being made here is that with a broad and inclusive definition of Muslim world, the cultural diversity and geographical dispersal of Muslim states across the continents, has made the challenge of integration or union much more complex in the Muslim world, than that was or is the case with Europe. It has not helped matters that induction to new members in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation does not require any intrusive scrutiny or negotiation on values—any values, for that matter. The induction process is fairly swift and usually half an hour of discussion in the annual Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM) is enough to arrive at a decision about admission. So dictatorships and democracies, Muslim-majority or (sometimes) Muslim-minority states, free market economies and controlled economies, theocracies and staunchly secular states, stand together as members of the OIC/Muslim world. This complicates the identity of being part of the Muslim world and makes what integration or solidarity means for each partner, much more intricate.

1.2 Significance of the Study:

The Muslim world, as defined in the preceding section, for the purpose of our study, thus consists of the 57 countries that are members of the OIC. This Muslim world comprises of just under one third of the world community (i.e. the 192 members of the United Nations), around one fourth of the world population and one fifth of its area. The OIC is the second largest inter-governmental bloc, in the world, after the United Nations. Meaning thereby that the Muslim bloc is the largest political grouping in the United Nations. None of the other formal groupings such as the European Union, African Union,
Organization of American States, Arab League, G-20, G-8, D-8, Gulf Cooperation Council, OPEC, NATO and all other military, political, regional, economic blocs have 57 or more members. Thus the sheer size of the Muslim bloc, and the fact that it is the largest single alliance and a potential union, makes its behavior a vital subject of study for academics and policy makers alike.

Secondly, the subject has theological and doctrinal relevance, as Islam gives the concept of *ummah* as the bedrock of collective identity of the community of believers. The institution of the Caliphate, embodied and personified the singleness of the community. The Caliphate ended on 3rd of March 1924 and has not been revived despite efforts by ideologues and some quasi-political religious parties and movements such as the *Khilafat* Foundation in Indonesia, *Hizb ul Tahrir* in Jordan and noted scholar late Dr Israr Ahmad’s *Nida-e-Khilafat* in Pakistan. Even if the position of Caliph, who was a rough equivalent of the Pope in the Roman Catholic world, is not likely to be back in place, the spirit of Muslims being a fraternity (*Ummah*), that we will discuss in the next section, is embedded in the fundamentals of the Muslim religion. How far or how less, does the conceptual foundation of *ummah*-hood, impacts the practical efforts towards pan-Islamism, adds a new dimension to the significance of the present study.

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4 Literally: the Voice for Caliphate. Dr Israr’s movement based in the city of Lahore, but with branches across the country and beyond, also brings out a fortnightly magazine with the same name.

5 Islam does not have an institutionalized hierarchical clergy and as such the comparison is not totally accurate. In any case, the institution of Caliph as it evolved since the death of the Prophet into the subsequent centuries was more of a political office with ceremonial religious trappings. Unlike that, the office of the Pope is ecumenical and religious, without disputing, of course, that highest religious offices such as the Pope or the Dalai Lama, give enough political clout to the holder. The Roman Catholic Pope does have a political capacity as well, being he Head of State of the Holy See (Vatican City State).
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Thirdly, any casual perusal of the vernacular newspaper content, or television or radio talk shows, or debates in university seminars and even hearing discussions at kerb-side tea stalls from the streets of Jakarta to Casablanca may surely reveal a deep passion amongst the Muslim masses for the ideas of Pan Islamism. One may hear arguments such as “the only reason the Muslims have not been able to dislodge Israel has been the lack of unity”, “most Muslim leaders are American stooges”, “Muslim world has all the resources but they are weaklings only because the leaders fail to form a United States of Islam”. I will not go into the merits of any of these statements or workability of the ideas as such, but they are revealing to the extent of showing the emotional attachment of the Muslims towards the notion of political and economic unity. Thus, a systematic study of the efforts and potential for unity in the Muslim world, will fill the void created by near absence of serious studies, in contrast with polemical ones, on the subject.

Fourthly, the “CNN factor” noted in the Foreword, that is, the absence of mention of Islamic cooperation in the world news channels, has shrouded the developments from the public eye. Since the communication revolution emanated in the West and most of the leading Television news channels (such as CNN but also CBS, ABC and Fox), most reliable radio news channels (like the BBC which broadcasts news in a number of major languages of the world that are treated as authentic) and most news agencies (Reuters, AFP, AP and others) are based in West and thus may have somewhat a West-centric view of the rest of the world. It makes commercial sense, therefore, that many initiatives at cooperation in the Muslim world are not considered by them as news worthy enough to merit any mention. This does not mean that no concrete progress has been made towards
pan Islamism in the recent past. And documentation of all such efforts in five areas; political, economic, scientific, defense-related and cultural, in a research work, such as this PhD, is like doing justice to History, or at least, the history of the last three decades of the twentieth century. It is also a service to knowledge that this aspect of contemporary Muslim history gets properly noted and documented which is, I would argue, under explored and under reported in other works.

Fifthly, any effort to understand cooperation will be fruitless, even if not meaningless, if a comparison with a success story is not made. Politics is too complex a phenomenon that would or could be understood in isolation, i.e. every case as a stand alone process. As several regional initiatives for cooperation enhancement (that may well lead to political unions or a common market), are underway in different parts of the world, integration of Europe, in the form of European Union, had been the sole success story. Hence, a comparison of the Muslim world only with the EU experience could have been instructive enough to draw parallels and deduce lessons.

The dissertation attempts to answer the queries not only in the minds of those who might have nurtured some sort of emotional attachment to the concept of *Ummah* (the universal Islamic fraternity), but also those who would like to know more about this purely for academic reasons. Many of the regions around the world in East Asia or sub Saharan Africa, in the Arab Middle East or Latin America have seen ideas or initiatives of regional integration but the same has so far remained a far cry everywhere but in Europe.
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Coming back to our topic of Muslim world, there are many questions that beg answers. How, one may be forgiven to wonder and ponder, have the Europeans who for centuries had bled each other white in ethnic and communal conflicts assembled under a single banner, a pan European Anthem, a common parliament, a single currency, a combined visa regime and lately, a Union President as well. And why--- and this question appears as a natural corollary--- the Muslims whose religion claims to have trampled all distinctions and discriminations based on narrow concepts of race, language and color, fourteen centuries ago, find themselves in internecine squabbles and conflicts, rather than in symbiotic cooperation between their nation-states.

Sixthly, and lastly, the role of Pakistan in the integration movement, if we may label the process like that, cannot be discounted. Indubitably, Pakistan has had its own share of problems over the History which kept it embroiled in a host of domestic issues and, in any case, it is not at all amongst the richest of the Muslim countries. On top of it, Pakistan has seen rule by a number of secular-minded leaders such as Hussain Shaheed Suhrwardy, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, and lately Pervez Musharraf, who saw Pakistan’s destiny in allying with the developed West and remains skeptical of over-emphasis on its ties with the Muslim world; yet, due to a strange mix of historical, political and ideological factors, Pakistan seemed destined to play a leading role in pan-Islamic endeavors. Apropos it is safe to argue that Pakistan, in its own right, has been bedrock of support, a .lynchpin and a source of strength for the efforts towards pan-Islamic cooperation.
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There are many reasons for this: first of all, she is perhaps the only country in the Muslim world that was created purportedly in the name of Islam. It must also be noted that Pakistan was the first ever Muslim country in post World War II to get independence from Western colonialism\(^6\) which placed a unique onus on Pakistan to support liberation movements of other Muslim countries, which it did fairly diligently. Be that the independence struggle in Algeria or that in Indonesia, Pakistan was the loudest voice in the United Nations and other international forums, in support of de-colonization. Moreover, for around the first quarter of a century of its existence, Pakistan was population-wise the largest Muslim country in the world--- and this fact alone bestowed a sense of “natural leadership” on Pakistan.\(^7\)

Another factor that cannot be ignored in Pakistan’s context is its central geographical location in the Muslim world. The three main regions of the Muslim world are the Middle East/ Arab region, the Central Asian region and the South and East Asia. Pakistan happens to be located at the cross roads of all these Islamic blocs. Thus, a combination of factors rooted in History, Geography and Ideology, have given Pakistan a pride of place in the comity of Muslim nations. There seems to be a national consensus in the country that Pakistan can and must play its preeminent role in forging and maintaining cohesion in the Muslim world. There has been little work on Pakistan’s relations with Muslim

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\(^6\) Officially Indonesia declared independence on 15 August 1945, from the Dutch occupation. However, the civil war continued and liberation was finally achieved in 1949, two years after Pakistan’s birth. Pakistan supported Indonesia in her independence struggle and even cancelled the license of Dutch International Airlines, called the KLM, for landing and re-fuelling facilities in Karachi as it was being apprehended that the KLM flights used to take rations and supplies for Dutch forces fighting against the independence movement supporters in Indonesia.

\(^7\) In 1971, East Pakistan, which was population wise 56% of Pakistan, seceded to form an independent country of Bangladesh, thus Pakistan lost its population primacy over the Muslim states. It now is second most populous Muslim country in the world, after Indonesia.
world, as we shall see in our section below, on the review of literature, however, it is
clear from our discussion, that a study of Pakistan’s role in Muslim world is as important
as the role itself.

1.3 Research Methodology:

Research methodology is of critical importance in any research where smallest of error or
omission can sometimes lead to inaccurate findings. Research in social sciences has its
own demands and limitations. In any case, a scholar is constrained to limit his tools or
use thereof in consideration of time constraints. Research cannot be expanded too much
that it would spread in all directions and it may become difficult to summarize,
consolidate and bring it towards some logical research findings within 3-5 years that is
the usual time for a full time PhD.

On the direction of, and in consultation with, my Supervisor it was decided to limit the
scope to the time bracket between 1970 when the OIC was established to the ninth
Islamic Summit Conference (Doha; 2000). In case of the European Union, it roughly
corresponds with the first major ever expansion of the European Economic Community
(EEC) beyond its founder members in the early 1970’s to the Treaty of Nice (2000) when
its membership had grown from the founding six to fifteen. Since international politics is
a constantly evolving and changing process, with events happening every day, in order
for a historical analysis to remain focused, one needs some benefit of hindsight. Admittedly, the year 2000 seems an arbitrary cut off point-in-time, but at the time of
registration as a doctoral candidate, the landmarks of Doha Summit (OIC) and Nice Treaty (EU) seemed recent enough to make the discussion relevant and far enough to enable one to find enough literature on their analyses.

As for the methodology, it was deemed prudent to concentrate mostly on primary sources, like official publications and press releases of various Islamic inter-governmental organizations, Government Publications of Muslim states on their policy issues and speeches and statements of the Muslim leadership of the time. A complete list of original sources is given separately in the Bibliography at the end.

In the beginning, a choice had to be made between three options: one, to write directly to the Governments of Muslim states and try to find out their policy towards Islamic integration and their efforts in this regard. Two, to write to inter-governmental organizations of the Muslim world, and from their responses, one could try to decipher their efforts towards Islamic integration. And three, writing to pan-Islamic non-governmental organizations like the Mu’tamar al Alam al Islami (the World Muslim Congress), the Rabita al Alam al Islami (World Islamic League), Islamic Council of Europe, the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), the Jamiah al Da’wa al Islamia (the World Society of Islamic Call) and others to assess the non-governmental role in fostering pan-Islamic cooperation.

It could have been anticipated, not the least because I am myself an officer in the Civil Service, the governments and bureaucracies are very slow in responding to communications, even from other governments, what to speak of an individual researcher.
from another country. And if there was any doubt left, the same was cleared within the first year of my enrolment as not a single foreign ministry in any Muslim country responded to my questionnaires, not withstanding that I had got them translated in Arabic for Arabic-speaking Muslim countries and in French for Francophone African Muslim states. The third option of writing to non-Governmental organizations did not have any bearing on furthering my research objectives in this dissertation as the material they provided was not of relevance on how the Muslim states saw pan-Islamism.

The second option was both viable and beneficial. I directly contacted the inter-governmental Islamic organizations such as Islamic Development Bank (IDB), the Islamic International News Agency (IINA), the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ICCI), Islamic Solidarity Sports Federation (ISSF) and others. It is gratifying to note that most of the Organizations did respond by furnishing valuable publications, compendium of speeches and resolutions and other useful resources. The first hand information gave valuable insight into the inter-governmental cooperation in the Muslim world and most of the knowledge that I have compiled in my research, I may safely claim, my work is the first such compilation of pan-Islamic cooperation initiatives, in terms of its kind, depth and scope.

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8 As seen from the opening section of this chapter, we had limited our definition of Muslim world to the collectivity of Muslim states, and furthermore, for the definition of Muslim state, we have adopted the definition of one of the pioneering Islamic scholar on contemporary Muslim world affairs--- Mohammad Ali Kettani--- that every member state of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation is a Muslim state. Now the third option, that of studying the efforts at non-governmental, private or individual level, are irrelevant and infructuous for our purpose in this dissertation, hence, that route to research was abandoned.
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Now, I will discuss below, at some length, the sources and resources used for research as well as the methodology and tools adopted for the purpose:

1.3.1 Primary Sources: As alluded to earlier that in order to make the work original and to break fresh ground, heavy reliance was placed on primary sources. A number of intergovernmental organizations were short-listed for contact, most of them under the umbrella of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation, but also some which were autonomous but nominally associated with the OIC. The Organizations were taken from a wide variety of activity areas such as economic cooperation, trade facilitation, cultural exchange arrangements, sports organizers and those functioning for religious or Da‘wa (preaching) functions. They were requested to provide copies of their Charters, Statutes or any other founding documents, the activity reports and other memorial or anniversary publications, which could include, but were not limited to, compendiums of speeches or that of resolutions adopted.

The documents gave insight into the working of pan-Islamic cooperation and also identified the areas of weakness. Facts and figures from multiple sources were interpolated and correlated, in order to draw a complete and coherent picture. The information was narrated chronologically. Further research was done to fill in the gaps or to avoid jumps in the narrative.

1.3.2 Reference Material: There are a number of reference materials available like the Encyclopedia Britannica, the Encyclopedia Americana and the Encarta. Then there are
two dependable and reliable historical series; (1) *Facts on File*, published by company with the same name, i.e. “Facts on File Inc.”, New York (USA). (2) *Keesing’s Contemporary Archives* (now renamed Keesing’s Record of World Events) brought out regularly by Keesing’s Publications Ltd. (Longman Group) from Harlow (UK). Fortunately for me, complete archives of both were available at the Reference Section (4th/top floor) of the Raziuddin Siddiqi Memorial Central Library of the Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad.

Two yearbooks, namely, *Europa Year Book* of Europpa Publications Ltd. UK) and the *Statistical Yearbooks on Muslim Countries*, published each year by SESRTCIC, the Statistical research arm of the Islamic Conference at Ankara, were useful for collection of updated data for the Europe (EU members) and the Muslim world (OIC members), respectively. The SESRTCIC also brings about the *Yearbooks of Socio-Economic Indicators of Muslim Countries* which were sometimes consulted in the passing. But those figures could have been very useful for a study on the economic development of Muslim countries but of little help in the scope of my work, which was about the incidence and extent of cooperation taking place in the Muslim world.

Another source that could have been very handy if the research had been limited to a time span ending in the mid-1980’s, is the ten-yearly *World Muslim Gazetteer* that used to be published from Karachi by the World Muslim Congress from 1965 onwards. Its updated editions were published in 1975 and 1985 but, the ones due in 1995 and 2005, could never see the light of the day. However, another book published by WMC, but written by
an individual scholar, Mohammad Ibrahim Qureshi, under the title of *World Muslim Minorities* (Islamabad: 1993) is rich in statistics on Muslim minorities and, therefore, I count it as a reference material rather than in books and monographs. This has helped in comprehending the strength, standing and problems of Muslim minorities.

1.3.3 Books and Monographs: Books are the secondary source of knowledge and no research can be deemed to have been completed without consulting books on the relevant subjects. However, as the reading trend has dwindled in our part of the world, the prices of books have risen astronomically as economies of scale do not work when the publishers print limited numbers of each title. This further reinforces the whole cycle and the net result is fewer titles hitting the market. A scholar working from a developing country finds himself at a loss to find many required readings at any price.

I have been fortunate to use the Libraries of *Bait ul Hikmah* established by late Hakeem Mohammad Saeed in his education city, called *Madinatul Hikmah* (literally; city of wisdom) in the suburbs of Karachi, in Mangupir area. Likewise, the library of Pakistan Institute of International Affairs (PIIA), also in Karachi, is a boon for researchers and writers in international affairs. I made liberal use of this library too.

The books that were consulted have been listed in the bibliography and cited within the text too. Every author and scholar has his/her own view on pan-Islamism and using multiple sources widens one’s horizon as well as gives understanding of a subject from
multiple angles. The books I relied on were related to the OIC, the European Integration movement, on the international organizations in general and on Islam’s role in international politics.

1.3.4 Newspapers and periodicals: Newspapers are a very valuable source of information for such type of history-based social science research. The Government of Pakistan has established two institutions that are, inter alia, tasked with maintaining an archive of important daily newspapers of Pakistan since the country’s inception. Both located at Islamabad, the Press Information Department (PID) and the National Archives of Pakistan (NAP), have archives of leading national newspapers from 1949 and 1953, respectively.

The international news pages were read for taking notes of news related to pan-Islamic cooperation and the national news’ pages were instrumental in giving a view of Pakistan’s role in the Muslim world. Sometimes a statement from a politician, or coverage of a meeting, conference or event, or rarely even op-ed comments on editorial pages was helpful for my research.

1.3.5 Website and Online sources: The internet is the most easily and cheaply accessible source of information and a number of websites (list given at the end of Bibliography) gave information which was both valuable and indispensable.
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The only drawback of web-based research was the inclination of some scholars (not necessarily students alone, but also from academia) to find plagiarism as an easy way to complete research works through cut-and-paste strategy, without quoting original sources. The provision of anti-plagiarism software by the Higher Education Commission to all the Universities has largely solved the problem.

The official websites of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, of the European Union and the Government of Pakistan, in addition to Islamic news website, online encyclopedias and inter-Islamic organizations’ homepages were useful.

1.3.6 Compilation and Analysis: The collected data was analyzed to find common threads and common weaknesses. The role of democracy and rule of law was found to be the most prevalent problem afflicting the Muslim world and it is, we shall argue in this work the biggest impediment in the progress in all fields including progress towards unity. How the findings were arrived at will be clear in these 300-400 pages, suffice is to say that both inductive and deductive approach was used, depending on nature of data available, for its analysis.

1.4 Review of Literature:

Abul Hamid Abu Sulayman (1987) has done pioneering work on the role of Islam in International Relations. His title “The Islamic Theory of International Relations: New
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Directions to Islamic Methodology and Thought9, traces the origin of scholarship in international politics by Muslim political scientists. The subject was called Ilm-e-Siyar in the Middle Ages. Islam is still relevant in international relations and has its own worldview on it, according to him. Abdullah al Ahsan (1992) has written “Ummah or a Nation? Identity Crisis in the Modern Muslim World”11, which deals with Muslims’ identity and status on the world stage but his work appears slightly more polemical, than objective. On the other hand, John L. Esposito (1984), very capably explains the linkages of religion in Muslim world politics in his “Islam and Politics”12, and the use and abuse of Islam for political ends.

A more focused approach towards pan Islamism is by Noor Ahmad Baba (1994) who restricts his pan-Islamism discourse to the role of the OIC in his book titled “OIC: Theory and Practice of Pan-Islamic Cooperation”.13 The book gives an insight into the origins of the OIC but contributes little on analysis. It was published in 1985 and covers OIC’s activities till the early 1980’s.

Besides Baba, three more books, take OIC as a starting point for study of contemporary efforts towards pan-Islamism. Paucity of literature on OIC is evident from the fact that both Ghulam Sarwar (1997) of Pakistan in “OIC: Contemporary Issues of the Muslim World”14 and Mohammad el-Sayed Selim (1994) in “The OIC in a Changing World”15

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9 Herndon: International Institute of Islamic Thought.
10 Siyar is the plural of Seerah (which means way or path in Arabic). The Ilm (branch of Knowledge) dealing with Siyar i.e. ways, means ways of interaction with other States or Kingdoms.
11 Leicester: Islamic Foundation,.
12 Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.
13 Karachi: Oxford University Press.
14 Rawalpindi: FRIENDS.
have done no more than edited collection of essays by independent writers. The third work with OIC as a starting point is my own: “Reasserting International Islam” (2001). At the risk of being viewed as self praise, I am tempted to suggest that it is the only work on the subject that gives a comprehensive outline of the working of Organization of the Islamic Cooperation and many of other pan-Islamic organizations working under its purview or beyond. How my present dissertation fills the gap is twofold; one, that my previous work was organization-centric i.e. each organization was discussed with respect to its objectives and activities. The present work is issue-centric, for instance, economic cooperation is an issue we intend to study. Now, we try to see what has been done in the Muslim world for economic cooperation by all the Muslim States or leading Organizations for the purpose. Secondly, the previous work was more of a narrative, the present one is aimed at being more analytical. By comparing the Muslim world experiences with the European one, we tend to dig out the reasons of success and failure in one process or the other.

Some scholars have seen Islamic unity from the perspective of Middle East only, or through the lenses of Arab Unity. Fouad Ajami (1981) is one of them whose book “The Arab Predicament: Arab Political Thought and Practice Since 1967” takes the humiliation of Arab Armies in the six-days war with Israel as a starting point and takes us through the changes in Arab political thought over the following decade, including the rise of Islamism in many Arab states. The pronounced secularist such as the Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser, Ajami aptly points out, also turned more and more

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15 Cairo: Cairo University.
16 Karachi: Oxford University Press.
17 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
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towards Islam, after his defeat and till his death in 1970. Similar approach is also taken by Michael Curtis (1981), whose book “Religion and Politics in the Middle East”\(^{18}\) is a collection of essays by various experts on Arab thought and politics. On the other hand James P. Piscatori’s (1986) “Islam in a World of Nation-States”\(^{19}\) takes a worldwide approach towards Islamic political scene, rather than confining the prognoses to the Middle East alone.


There are a few other books that study the prospects of a pan-Islamic Union or a Commonwealth that are somewhat outdated and cannot be of relevance in the post-cold war situation. The arguments given on the so-called “oil-weapon” that became a fascination in the wake of the oil embargo by Arabs following the 1973 Arab-Israel war, is irrelevant in the present knowledge-based economy of the world. One such study was

\(^{18}\) Boulder (Colorado): Westview Press.
\(^{19}\) Cambridge: Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge.
\(^{20}\) Herndon: International Institute of Islamic Thought.
\(^{21}\) Islamabad: National Science Council, n.d (no publication date given)
\(^{22}\) Islamabad: COMSTECH Secretariat,
\(^{23}\) Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute.
conducted by the World Muslim Congress and published by Umma Publishing House, under the title of “Studies on Commonwealth of Muslim Countries”, way back in 1964. A Pakistani journalist Zahid Malik (1974) edited a work “Re-Emerging Muslim World” in the wake of the second Islamic summit conference of Kings and Heads of State, held at Lahore in February 1974. This was funded by Pakistan Government and published by Pakistan National Centre. Afzal Iqbal’s (1985) “Contemporary Muslim World” (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture) is both old and rhetorical.

Another polemical volume is that of renowned Islamist ideologue and pedagogue Mawlana Abu’l Aala Mawdudi (1967) whose “Unity of the Muslim World”\textsuperscript{24}, though published nearly half a century ago, even before the establishment of the OIC, is still relevant not for its historical content, of which there is none, or political analysis, which is no more than superfluous, but for its ideological moorings. The traditional arguments for a Islamic unity, that the Mawlana gives are the same that are repeated \textit{ad nauseum} by people who take unity in the Muslim world more as an ideological than a political and practical enterprise. We have referred to this book in the discussion on theoretical foundations of \textit{ummah} concept below in this chapter in sections 1.6 and 1.8 also. A mention of these books in this review is merely to illustrate the point that in an area, where rhetorical literature is galore, the need for objective non-theological analysis, such as my present work aims at providing, is a contribution to knowledge in its own right.

This leaves us with books on Pakistan’s relations with the Muslim world which are conspicuous by their absence. However, many of Pakistan’s Foreign Ministers (Gohar

\textsuperscript{24} Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd.)
Ayub, Sartaj Aziz, Hamid ul Haq Chaudhry and Feroze Khan Noon etc) and some of the Foreign Secretaries (such as Sultan Mohammad Khan and Abdul Sattar) have written their memoirs that give reflections on Pakistan’s view of the Muslim world. The common under current in all these memoirs seems to be the perceived indispensability of Pakistan’s role in the whole pan-Islamic paradigm. Whatever Pakistan’s impact on Muslim world politics, these books give an insight into the Pakistani policy makers’ mindsets about her place amongst the peer Muslim states.

My own previous work on Pakistan’s relations with the Organization of Islamic Cooperation was titled “Friends Indeed: Review and Reference on Pakistan-OIC Relations” (200). It is the only work to my knowledge that explores and documents Pakistan’s relations with the largest pan-Islamic body. Since the purview of present work included Pakistan’s role in fostering cooperation within the Muslim world, rather than its cooperation with the OIC per se, hence, my own work on that account has hardly been cited.

The review of existing literature above suggests that any comprehensive work documenting the cooperation and integration efforts in the Muslim world in major dimensions such as political field, economic arena, scientific research, defense matters and the cultural sphere, was the need of the hour. The present work tries to fill this void in available literature on pan-Islamism.

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25 Mr Noon later remained Prime Minister of Pakistan for a brief stint of 10 months from Dec. 1957 – Oct. 1958.
26 Islamabad: NIHCR.
1.5 Ground conditions for Unity: Islam vs Europe

The integration efforts of Europe rest on very sound and clear twin foundations of sovereign equality of nation states system and cooperation based on geographical contiguity, and take the market as the starting point. The concept of nation state in the modern sense originated in Europe having its roots in the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 that ended the most brutal sectarian conflict in the human history--- the aptly called *Thirty Years War* (1618-48). Through the treaty, nations recognized each others’ sovereignty and pledged not to interfere in each other’s domestic matters.

The state-based nationhood failed to give stability to Europe as is evident by the wars of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries including the two World Wars; both of them had their origins and the main theatres of battles in Europe. The death and destruction brought about by the two great wars, influenced the noted poet-philosopher Allama Mohammad Iqbal (1877-1938) to say:

_In taza khudaoun main sab se bara watan hai_

_Jo pairhan uska hai wo mazhab ka kafan hai_

(Tr. The greatest of modern gods is the nation-state. Its clothes, i.e. glory, is the shroud, i.e. death, for religion)

Europe is mostly Christian and Christianity is as divided as the Muslim world on sectarian and theological issues, although, seen from a distance, both religions may
appear as monoliths to the lay person in the other community. Although it is easy to underestimate the role of Christianity in European integration, a contrary argument also exists suggesting that religion was indeed one of the subtle motivating forces in EU process too. In fact, Spain and Greece had abortively tried to include reference to common Christian heritage as one of the foundations for the Union, in the preamble of the EU constitution. It can be more than an accident that none of the four Muslim states in Europe has so far been successful in getting membership of the Club. However, it cannot be gainsaid that Europe has a common geography, shared history and a distinct heritage. None of these commonalities of Europe finds presence in the broader Muslim world that spreads across ten different geographical regions in four continents; Asia, America, Africa and Europe:

1. Arabian peninsula: Saudi Arabia, Yemen, UAE, etc.
2. South Asia: Pakistan, Bangladesh, Maldives.
3. Iran and the Caucasus: Iran, Azerbaijan.
4. Central Asia: Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan etc.
5. East Asia: Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei.
6. North Africa: Libya, Algeria etc.
7. West Africa (Sahel region): Guinea, Senegal, Gambia etc.
8. Horn of Africa: Mozambique, Djibouti etc.
9. Europe: Turkey, Albania, Bosnia, Kosovo

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27 See the serial no. 9 in the list in the para below for the names of the four Muslim nations in Europe.
28 We have included Turkey in Europe, though it is as much a part of Asia as of Europe. The better part of its land and people is in Asia, but politically and culturally, Turkey is drifting towards Europe. In any case, Turkey, which remained the seat of Caliphate for well around four centuries, may play the role of a bridge between the European and the Islamic worlds.
10. By granting membership to Suriname and observer status to the Republic of Guyana, the OIC has now got a foothold in the American continent as well, meaning thereby that the Muslim world, as per definition being used for this study, now extends to the South American continent.

Thus any debate on integration of the Muslim world must take into account its great diversity. In fact, there is no common denominator that cuts across the Muslim majority lands, save for the religion, that too with varying and conflicting interpretations. And there are few instances in history, if any, where religion alone has glued together such diverse nations. In fact, there is plenty of historical evidence to the contrary suggesting that religion per se has been more a divisive force than a unifying one.

1.6 Conceptual Framework for Islamic Unity:

While there is no serious initiative at uniting all Christian countries of the world (the EU is a territorial, nor religious, initiative, as noted above) into a single Union, or for that matter, all Buddhist countries into another similar Union, one has to justify what, if anything, distinguishes Islam from other religions, to the extent of supposing that a union at world level across ten different regions and 900 different languages and as many different cultures and sub-cultures can work. This is where the concept of ummah comes into play that we will try to explain in the coming paragraphs.
The traditional concept of *ummah*, more or less, refers to the feeling of affinity, that of belonging to the same community, among the Muslims. But this does not imply that the OIC is a religious body in the strict sense of the word. But we need to analyze the classical Islamic concepts of *ummah* and its scope to understand why talk of an Islamic union seems to make sense for many in the Muslim world.

1.6.1 *The ummah Identity: Problem of definition:* Though the term *ummah* has been widely and extensively used in the texts addressing the topic of Muslim world, including the literature of the OIC, it is all the more difficult to translate it, or to define it in simple terms. *Ummah* means a "community or a nation," but not in the modern sense of nation. According to a scholar, "The Arabic word the Quran uses *ummah* is often treated today as synonymous with nation. Yet if there is one thing the Islamic *ummah* is not, it is a nation, in either Roman or the modern sense. What was significant about the *ummah* of Muslims in history was that it transcended national and tribal loyalties rooted in the accident of birth, and was a community of believers, bound together in a brotherhood more vital than that of blood."

This term's association with the word "*umm*" (mother, source) seems plausible, and acceptable to the native Arabic speakers. R. B. Serjeant proposed that "*ummah*" referred to a "confederation around a religious nucleus", well before the dawn of Islam. But the term is so extensively used in the Quran, to give a clear picture of what Islam means.

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ummah to be, rendering all pre-Islamic contexts of ummah irrelevant from the scope of the present work.

1.6.2 Ummah and the Quran: The word appears 64 times (13 of which in plural form umam) in the Quran. The primary meaning of the word, as the Quranic commentator Mohammad Asad puts it, is "a group of living beings having certain characteristics or circumstances in common."\(^{31}\) In the study of Quran, we find ummah used in the following contexts; the whole human community was a single ummah (ummatan wahidatan) in the beginning because the mankind originated from a single source (10:19); all the prophets followed divine guidance, therefore, they belonged to one ummah (21:92); and followers of each prophet constituted an ummah (10:47). The Quran also uses the word ummah to mean a belief (43:22-23) or a person exemplar of an ideological group (16:20). Thus the Quran declares ummah to be a group of persons distinct from the mass because of ideology or conviction. In this way, the holy book draws a clear line between qawm (nation or community in general sense) and ummah (the particular group within that nation) in different verses. For instance:

"Among the folk of Musa (qawm), there have been people (ummah) who would guide others in the way of truth and act justly in its light." (7:159)

At another place, the Quran says:

"When he (Musa) arrived at the wells of Madyan, he found there a large group of men (ummah), who were watering (their herds and flocks)."

(28:23)

\(^{31}\) Mohammad Asad (1980), Introduction to Quran, Gibraltar, Dar al-Andalus, p. 177.
Now by the first verse we saw that ummah was that specific section of the qawm which was acting justly and guiding others, and in the second verse we see that the people Musa found were an ummah, because (a) all the men were of the same profession (herdsmen) and (b) were doing the same thing (watering).

So the Quranic concept of ummah can be explained as a committed ideological group amongst the people (nas) doing the same [right] thing or believing in the same [just] belief\textsuperscript{32}, for the same [righteous] cause.

1.6.3. The Prophet's interpretation of ummah: The Quran says, "Verily, the believers are but brothers" (49:10). The prophet Mohammad thus declared, "In relation to one another, the Muslims are like a building. Every unit reinforces and is reinforced by others." Anas Ibn Malik reports the prophet as saying, "None of you truly has faith, if he does not desire for his brother Muslim, that which he desires for himself."\textsuperscript{33} Abdullah Ibn Umar quotes the Messenger of God as saying, "The Muslim is the brother of Muslim: he shall not do him wrong or let wrong be done to him; if he comes to his brother's need, Allah shall come to his needs;....and if he shields a Muslim, Allah shall shield him on the day of resurrection."\textsuperscript{34}

Prophet Mohammad laid the foundations of his new state at Madina on this concept of brotherhood. His companions who had fled from Makkah in Hijrah (migration of the

\textsuperscript{32} Not necessarily a theological belief
\textsuperscript{33} Bukhari, Book 2, Bab 9
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, Book 46, Bab 3
Muslims to Madina), had been deprived of all their belongings by the pagans at Makkah. Through his decision of *Mu'akhaat* (fraternity), he declared each one *Mohajir* (Muslim migrated from Makkah) as a brother of one *Ansar* (Madenite Muslim). Thus each *Ansar* was supposed to help his *Mohajir* brother till the time the latter became financially well-established in the new city. The prophet's emphasis on this fraternal relationship continued till his farewell sermon at the last pilgrimage (*Hujjat-ul-Wida*), just a couple of months before his death, when he summarized his teachings and re-emphasised the Islamic concepts of equality, fraternity and justice.

1.6.4 The *ummah* concept after the Prophet's death: An institution of Caliphate was established after Prophet Mohammad's death. The Caliph or *Khalifa*, literally “the deputy (of the prophet)”, became the embodiment of the Muslim central authority, and under him the *ummah* ranks swelled. Parinder notes that "after Mohammad, the spread of Islam across much of the ancient world led to *ummah* being enlarged from Arabic people to all Muslims and this has created a strong sense of community which has characterized Islam."  

True, the Muslim world did not remain a single political entity for long. The Caliphate degenerated into a dynastic monopoly. In 758 A. D, less than one and a half century after the establishment of the Islamic state, a relatively short span in the history of nations, the first infringement on the temporal authority of Caliph was witnessed when an Omayyad prince Abdul Rahman became the independent ruler of *Andulusia* (now Spain). By the

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tenth century, three separate dynasties had assumed the mantle of Caliphate, namely, the Abbasides of Baghdad, the Fatimides of Egypt and the Omayyads of Spain. The famous Muslim traveler, Ibne Batuta of Morocco, passed through twenty-two independent Muslim kingdoms during his travels (1325-54). But all this had, in no way, eroded the ummah affinity or the respect to the symbol of Islamic unity, the Caliph. Many independent Muslim rulers and Sultans got a sanction from the Caliph to legitimize their ascendancy to the throne. The famous Muslim scholar Maulana Mawdudi writes:

"Differences on the basis of nationality, race and tribal conflict did crop up now and again....But the idea that the Muslims of the world constitute one ummah remained intact....A Muslim from any part of the world could go to any Muslim land without any restrictions, move freely in that country, stay there as long as he wished, engage in any trade, get married without difficulty or secure a high position in the court.”  

Thus, according to the theologian Mawdudi, the Islamic ummah concept was never held hostage to the quarrels and tensions among the believers. His understanding of ummah was supported by non-Muslim experts on Islamic history too. H. A. R. Gibb, for instance, has remarked:

"There were plenty of obstacles: fanatics who vindicated their convictions of being the only true heirs of Mohammed by rebellion and slaughter, \partisans of rival claimants to the government of the community, disputes over principles and details of legal development. But it is precisely

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through these experiences that the concept of ummah gained in clarity and
significance.”

1.7 The ummah in the political sense:

It is instructive to note that Prophet Muhammad did not destroy the fabric of tribal
identities. In times of crisis, he used to summon the chiefs of different Muslim clans to
confer with them. Even when Muslim troops were marching towards the final deliverance
of the holy city of Makkah from pagans (630 A. D), each of the tribe (some of them
reportedly non-Muslim tribes) was being led by its chief holding the standard of the tribe.
Thus the Holy Prophet's vision of ummah did not entail the destruction of tribal identities
(asa'biyah) but changed the hierarchies of a person's loyalties where loyalty to faith stood
above that to one’s clan or tribe. This was perhaps the first major experiment of unity in
diversity.

Such practices of prophet Mohammad has led the historian M. A. Shaban to argue that
ummah was “a political, not a religious, concept.” This confusion has arisen due to
misinterpretation of the Medina Charter, a pact between the Prophet and the Jews of
Medina, whereby the authority of the former, especially in matters of dispute, was

37 H.A. R. Gibb (1963), The Community in Islamic History, Journal of American Philosophical Society ,
No. 107, April 1963, p. 173.
38 See Martin Lings (1983), Muhammad: His life based on earlier on earlier sources, London, G. Allen &
Unwin, and also see Shibli Naumani, (1985), Seerat-un-Nabi (Urdu), Vol. 1-2, Lahore, Services Book
Club, for a detailed account of Mu‘akhat and the conquest of Makkah.
accepted, and both sides, the Muslims and the Jews, undertook to defend Medina jointly in case of an external attack. Shaban, in his analysis of the Medina Charter, believes that "the members of the new commonwealth, both the Muslims and the Jews, belonged to the same ummah, as long as they accepted the authority of the Prophet." Thus the citizens were one ummah (political community) with different din (way of life).  

Shaban's analysis remains debatable and other scholars like R. B. Serjeant and Frederick Denny have pointed out that the Jews did not belong to the single community, referred to as "ummah" in the Medina Charter. Nevertheless, even if we accept Shaban's view of ummah being a community of Muslims and non-Muslims, under the suzerainty of the former, we come closer to the present structure of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, which is an association of the Muslim-majority states, not just the Muslim majorities of those states.

1.8 Theoretical Bases of Pan Islamism in pre-modern and modern scholarship:

The scholars in the past two centuries have written a lot on pan Islamism. The first name that comes to mind is that of Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, whose name and whose writings are considered as synonymous with modern pan Islamic movements. His disciple and follower Mufti Mohammad Abduh of Egypt also has also worked with him in bringing out

40 Ibid.
41 Ibid. It must be underscored here that even the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) and its subsidiary institutions do not agree on what we mean by the human resource of the Muslim world, and by extension, the ummah. We will discuss it further in Chapter 3 on economic cooperation that there are four prominent conjugations, one, Muslims living in Muslim States; two, all Muslims of the world, regardless of the fact they live in the Muslim States or otherwise; three, total population of Muslim countries including their Muslim and non-Muslim population; and four, Muslim and non-Muslim citizens living in the Muslim States plus all the Muslims living elsewhere as minorities.
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the pan-Islamic journal *Urwatul Wusqaa*. Another name worth mentioning is that of Rashid Rida. The common thread in the thinking of all these scholars was that they did not consider modernity and Islam as being contradictory, incompatible or even mutually exclusive. They exhorted the Muslims to adopt modern education and embrace scientific development.

South Asia, that is, the pre-partition Indo-Pakistan region, had had its share in the scholarship on pan-Islamism. The Ali brothers, Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and Maulana Shaukat Ali were the torch bearers of the Khilafat Movement, who wanted the continuation of the institution of Ottoman Caliphate as embodiment of Muslim world’s unity. The thoughts of poet-philosopher and thinker Allama Mohammad Iqbal also had many phases in his life. Just like Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, Iqbal too had been a staunch Indian nationalist in the formative years of his political and intellectual career. His famous poem “*Sarey jahan se achha hai Hindustan hamara*’ [tr. Our India is best place of the world] are his reflections of early twentieth century. By 1920’s and later well into 1930’s, he became a pan-Islamist. His poems *Shikwah* and *Jawab-e-Shikwah* are sort of a conversation from a disillusioned Muslim man to his God and God’s reply to him, respectively. He also nostalgically writes on the past glory of Muslims such as in his poem *Masjid-e-Qartaba* [tr. The Mosque at Cordoba]. This was a time when even Iqbal wanted “*Ek houn Muslim Haram ki paashani ke liye*” that Muslims (from the banks of river Nile to the Islamic stronghold of Kashghar in modern day China) should be united to defend the holy sites of Islam (i.e. *Harem*).
In the post World War II when the institution of Caliphate had become old enough to be receding and fading from public memory, especially that of the young generation, ideologues such as Egypt’s Syed Qutb, a disciple of Hassan al Banna (the founder of Muslim Brotherhood), and Pakistan’s Maulana Mawdudi started writing prolifically on the concept of *ummah* and the need for Muslim unity. Mawdudi’s views have been mentioned in a previous section above. His views on the Islamic *ummah* throughout the History are instructive of his worldview, nay, wish list for the present Muslim world too:

“Islamic history is replete with instances where a Muslim went out of his land and stayed in another Muslim country for decades. He might have studied in one country, engaged in business in another, become a minister or a commander in-chief in the third one, and yet he may go to another country, settle and get married there.”

Mawdudi and his likes would settle for nothing less than the above for the present Muslim world too. Citing several of Qutb’s writings would be repetitive as his views on *ummah* are fairly identical to his Pakistani ideological counterpart. Both Mawdudi (d. 1979) and Qutb (d. 1965) died before the Treaty of Maastricht (1992), which brought for the Europeans, benefits such as free mobility, single currency, joint defense policy and so on, that these ideologues had so passionately wished for the Muslim world. Had they been alive in 1992, this might well have made the two gentlemen envious of Europeans.

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42 Mawdudi, *op. cit.* p. 15.
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1.9 **Ummah concept as a potential basis of unity efforts**

The world is rapidly turning, if has not already turned, into a global village where isolation is simply out of question. Postal, communications and meteorological fields are known to be of international dimension since the last century. Now human rights, health, environment and a lot more issues have also shifted to the realm of international concern. The need to evolve common and integrated strategies on these issues has become all the more imperative.

We have been seen above that the feeling of affinity, that of belonging to one single community, was born concurrently with the dawn of Islam. All the religions give their followers a set of rituals as well as guidance towards leading a life of piety. But Islam inherently gives a good doze of emotional attachment towards one Allah, the holy book and to a universal brotherhood. This is not to deny that other religions also inculcate feeling of goodwill for each other amongst the followers, but there is nothing like, the or near to, the Islamic concept of *ummah* elsewhere. For centuries, the *ummah* consciousness among the Muslims was embodied in the institution of Caliphate. It is precisely for that reason that the abolition of the institution by the Kemalist regime of Turkey in March 1924 was resented by the Muslim public all over the world. At that time, most of the Muslim regions were under colonial subjugation and a unified stand on the issue was therefore out of question.
In the first two decades after the end of the World War II, most of the colonies got independence but under the framework of modern nation-state system. During that time the modern concepts of nationalism became the major challenge to the traditional concept of ummah. Now if the very idea of returning to the colonial domination was an anathema to the new nationalist leadership, they were equally unwilling to sacrifice the hard won independence at the altar of universal theories of ummah. They established the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) based on sovereign equality of nation-states. This makes the OIC intrinsically handicapped torn between the State interests of individual countries and transnational aspiration of the Organization. State system, on which the OIC is founded, may seem an antithesis to the ummah concept espoused by the above referred scholars to be a borderless community of believers.

One may also underline that unlike “nation-state” which is a political concept, ummah is a theological construct. And theology is prone to many competing interpretations. Sunni and Shia are the two main sects of Islam and hardliners on both sides would exclude the other sect from the concept of ummah. This division has hampered the growth of Islamic unity as much as the jealously guarded “national interests” of Muslim nation-States.

The European Union too is a State-based system but it does not try to bring together independent states on the basis of any theological concept. The starting point for European integration is the market and the four freedoms that an ideal single market may entail: freedoms of movement of capital, of labor, or goods and of services.
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The fundamental argument of the present dissertation is that *ummah* concept alone may not suffice to shape a Union of the Muslim countries. EU success story shows that market may be a good starting point. The Muslim world is much more diverse than Europe and economic disparities may make it difficult to import Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) template from Brussels and Berlin and expect it to succeed in the Muslim world.

The economic union may start with a pilot grouping of core OIC-member states which can be expanded gradually. No economic model is going to work, let alone be successful, unless it is backed by a robust legal system to enforce the rights and responsibilities. What now constitutes the Muslim world has a long way to go to establish the rule of law.

Change comes from a vision coupled with a will, both of which seem to be missing at present in the Muslim world. It shall be argued in the next five chapters that the Muslim States have made progress in institutionalized cooperation in many fields. But given the lack of clear direction, unsustainable focus areas and untenable policy aims, it appears unconvincing and implausible that Muslim states may be forming a Commonwealth, on the pattern of the EU, any time soon.
2

Political Cooperation in the Muslim World

2.1 Introduction

Political cooperation is the first step toward political union but there are no permanent or standing institutions for such cooperation in the Muslim world. Throughout the post-decolonization history of Muslim states, such cooperation has mainly remained issue-based. There is no framework for general political cooperation except the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). As discussed in the preceding introductory chapter of this PhD dissertation, the OIC has a membership comprising 57 “Muslim” states.

It has already been noted that the Muslim world remained a political unity, beginning the founding of the first ever Muslim state in Medina by Prophet Muhammad for more or

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1 The OIC official website www.oic-oci.org gives a complete list of Muslim nations.
2 It has been argued in the introductory chapter that a State’s decision to be admitted to the OIC that has a pan Islamic Charter is a manifestation of her self-identification with the Muslim world. Thus, to say that all Muslim states are members of the OIC is synonymous with saying that all states that are members of the OIC are Muslim states. Both ways, it is the same 57 states.
less 140 years in all. This is hardly one tenth of the 1400-year history of Islam but it has such an impact on Muslim mindset that the Urdu word for capital city of any country is still *Dar-ul-Khilafah* [literally: the seat of the Caliph]. The first break-away from Caliph’s empire was the far away province of *Andalusia* (the present day Spain, which is now a member of the European Union). During the next five centuries or so, the influence of Caliphal control saw many vicissitudes--- in fact, at one time there were two rival claimants to the Abbaside Caliphate at Baghdad; one, the Fatimid dynasty at Cairo (Egypt), and the Omayyads’ second dynasty in Cordoba (Spain) was another ³.

By the time of the fall of Baghdad in 1258 at the hands of Halagu Khan’s Mongol armies, the temporal authority of the Caliphs hardly extended beyond that city. After the ravage, one surviving Abbaside prince fled to Egypt and founded the second Abbasid dynasty in Alexandria (the Fatimids had long been swept away from power), in 1261. The rulers of Egypt found the presence of Caliphs politically advantageous as long as the Caliphs would not dabble in administration or politics. This titular Caliphate was wrested from them by the Ottomans in early 16th century. This last dynasty of Caliphate was deposed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1924. The Caliphs used to symbolize the unity and identity of Muslim *ummah* for thirteen centuries. ⁴ The quest for an institution to Islamic Cooperation (OIC), 45 years later in 1969. ⁵

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³ Abdul Rahman I, the last surviving prince of Omayyads had founded an Emirate in Andalusia (Spain) around 758 A.D. but never assumed the title of Caliph. He used to be called Emir (ruler or King). However, more than a century later, one of his directed descendants, also named Abdul Rahman III declared himself Caliph. His rule laid the foundation of the second Omayyad dynasty in Spain.

⁴ Except probably between the tenth to twelfth centuries when owing to three rival claimants of Caliphate, this institution seems to reflect the ideological divisions of the *ummah*.

⁵ For a discussion on how to an extent the efforts for revival of Caliphate, after its abolition in 1924, culminated in the founding of the OIC and how the OIC was construed as a replacement of the Caliphate, see Saad S. Khan (2001), *Reasserting International Islam*, Karachi, Oxford University Press, pp.28-30.
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The phase of de-colonization started in the wake of the second World War, when even Britain and France, who were on the victorious Allied side, were too exhausted by the war, to be able to hold on to most of their overseas domains. The political leadership of Muslim states returned to the indigenous leaders and politicians, and so did the onus, to protect the political interests of their citizens. Whether the interests could be better protected at the individual State level or at the supra national level of Muslim world, is a conundrum not yet answered. This post-colonial leadership has often been accused, sometimes quite unfairly, of not doing enough to foster political cooperation in the Muslim world. Admitted, many post independence leaders did believe that interests of the nations they led, and their own personal ones too, were better served without subordinating them to some higher authority or entity, in the name of Islamic unity or Arab unity or any other abstract notion. It cannot be gainsaid either that still there have been a number of Muslim leaders such as King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, President Nasser of Egypt, Dr Mahatir Mohammad of Malaysia, Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan, and others, who have strived for intra-Muslim world cooperation. Yet, without institutional support, there is no way out to accomplish cohesion, and, as we shall argue below, the OIC does not have any standing mechanism for political coordination. It does not even have any standing dispute resolution mechanism or any legal or enforcement system.

We shall also argue that without strong economic cooperation, political cooperation becomes less meaningful. In other words, without a win all situation that only an
economic union can provide, the arenas for cooperation also become arenas for competition between rival ideological claimants for Muslim world leadership, say, between Iran and Saudi Arabia, and between leaders too, such as Saudi King Faisal (d. 1975) and Egyptian President Nasser (d. 1970) etc.

2.1.1 Al Aqsa incident and beginning of political cooperation

The first major instance of political coordination in the Muslim world in contemporary history, in my view, was the coordinated reaction to the incident of arson at the third holiest shrine of Islam--- the Al Aqsa Mosque--- on 21st August 1969. The then King of Saudi Arabia (King Faisal) and the then King of Morocco (King Hassan II) invited the heads of state and government of all leading Muslim countries of that time to a conference in Rabat, Morocco, that was held between 22-25 Sept 1969 to coalesce response of the Muslim world to the incident deemed to be an outrageous provocation.6

In the second Arab-Israeli war in June 1967, Egypt had lost the Sinai desert, Syria lost Golan Heights and Jordan lost all its territory on the West Bank of the River Jordan including the [Arab] East Jerusalem. The city of Jerusalem is holy for all three Divine religions (Islam, Christianity and Judaism) and it is no surprise that many in Israel still consider the 1967 victory as fulfillment of the Divine promise about the return of holy lands to the Jews. Two years later, in 1969, allegedly a mentally deranged Jewish citizen set alight the Al Aqsa Mosque. This caused agony and anguish in the Muslim world and prompted their leadership into taking the first step coordinated diplomatic response.7

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6 Imran N. Hussain (2000), Istanbul se Rabat tak (Urdu), Lahore, Quran Academy, pp. 75-95.
7 See Keesing’s Contemporary Archives, 1969-70, p. 23689 for the immediate development leading to the first Islamic Summit at Rabat in Sept 1969.
Figure I: Map of the Muslim World
2.1.2 The OIC and its fundamental weakness

This first conclave of Muslim leadership not only condemned the arson but also decided to form a body on a permanent basis for such cooperation. This gave birth to the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)--- re-named since 2010 as the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, with the same acronym. The Organization has no permanent bodies for political cooperation; so there is no Islamic parliament a la European Parliament and there is no European Commission type central authority. There is a provision in the Charter for an Islamic Court of Justice but that is not functional.8

Of the four principal organs9 of the OIC, the Islamic Summit Conference is the strategic decision-making body but it meets once every three years, that too, for 5-6 days, at the most. Till 2000, nine regular and two extra ordinary Islamic summit conferences had been held. Then comes the second principal organ of the OIC--- the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, commonly called ICFM. It is the executive decision making body of the Organization, and meets once a year. Till 2000, twenty seven such Conferences of Foreign Ministers from Islamic countries have been held. There is a permanent General Secretariat located at Jeddah but that is the operational organ, not the decision making one. It has to implement the decisions of the Islamic summit conferences and the Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers.

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8 The Islamic International Court of Justice (IICJ) is, according to the Charter fourth principal organ of the OIC, to be seated at Kuwait city, with eight permanent Judges. The first three permanent institutions of the OIC, namely, the Islamic Summit Conference, the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM) and the General Secretariat are functioning already. As for the IICJ’s Statute approved in 1985, it can start operations only if and when two thirds of the membership of the OIC ratifies it. Only eight of required 38 states have so far deposited the Instrument of Ratification of IICJ Statute. Hence, IICJ only exists on paper thus far.

9 Charter of the OIC, Article III.
Table-I: List of Islamic Summit Conferences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Place</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>September 22 - September 25, 1969</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Rabat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>February 22 - February 24, 1974</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Lahore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>January 25 - January 29, 1981</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
<td>Makkah Al Mukarramah and Taif</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>January 16 - January 19, 1984</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Casablanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>January 26 - January 29, 1987</td>
<td>Kuwait</td>
<td>Kuwait City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>December 9 - December 11, 1991</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Dakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>December 13 - December 15, 1994</td>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>Casablanca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt; Extraordinary</td>
<td>March 23, 1997</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>Islamabad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>December 9 - December 11, 1997</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>Tehran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>November 12 - November 13, 2000</td>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>Doha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt; Extraordinary</td>
<td>March 5, 2003</td>
<td>Qatar</td>
<td>Doha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>October 16 - October 17, 2003</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>Putrajaya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3rd Extraordinary</th>
<th>December 7 - December 8, 2005</th>
<th>Saudi Arabia</th>
<th>Makkah Al Mukarramah</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11th</td>
<td>March 13 - March 14, 2008</td>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>Dakar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Extraordinary</td>
<td>Dec 6- Dec 9, 2009</td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Istanbul</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hence, we see that there is no *permanent* mechanism for institutionalized political cooperation. Conferences are held periodically and are mainly restricted to adopting resolutions. This is not to detract from the worth and significance of resolutions adopted by such high powered inter-governmental forums. Such resolutions do reflect the concerted viewpoints of nations-states and do have varying degrees of impact on ground realities. However, unless and until the OIC forms permanent bodies for institutionalized political decision making, little meaningful cooperation can be expected.

Besides the four fundamental organs, the OIC also has around 30 or so attached subsidiary permanent institutions\(^{10}\), but those are in the economic, cultural, educational, and scientific fields and are the subject matter for subsequent chapters. In this chapter we restrict ourselves to political cooperation.

Political challenges that the OIC/Muslim world faced during 1970 to 2000, such as Israeli military actions in Palestine, outbreak of Iran-Iraq war, Soviet occupation of

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\(^{10}\) The Organization of the Islamic Cooperation has 48 organs, institutions and committees in all. There are four principal organs as already noted in the previous footnote. Of the remaining 44, there are 30 permanent institutions, either as subsidiary organs or affiliated bodies, all in the socio-economic, cultural and educational fields, and hence, subject of our subsequent chapters. That leaves us with the remaining 14, which are standing committees or ad hoc committees.
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Afghanistan, Iraq’s invasion of Kuwait, existential threat to Bosnia, and any kind of state repression of Muslims in the non-OIC world etc are far too many that it may be well nigh impossible to cover even a fraction of them in one chapter.\textsuperscript{11} So I am confining this chapter to three major case studies in order to demonstrate how political cooperation works or has worked in the Muslim world.

The status of Jerusalem and the problem of statehood for the Palestinian people lie at the core of the OIC objectives and is its \textit{raison d'être}. So the first section below will concentrate on pan-Islamic cooperation on \textbf{Palestine} issue. From Pakistan’s point of view, the cooperation it receives from the Muslim fraternity on \textbf{Kashmir} issue is also of critical interest, hence, I have selected Kashmir as my second case study. The third case study relates to the response of Muslim states to the condition of \textbf{Muslim minorities} in the non-Muslim world, especially where they are discriminated against. This subject also is of primary importance, both from academic and practical points of view, as the persecuted Muslim minorities often look to the Muslim majority states for protection and succor. I shall argue that the OIC has mostly came into action when there was some imminent crisis facing the Muslim world as these three cases amply demonstrate. This issue-based activism, brought the Muslim world to act in concert with varying degrees of success or failure. We shall discuss the political cooperation on all our three cases studies one by one:

\textsuperscript{11} For detailed discussion on political cooperation of the Muslim world on the issue of Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq war, Kuwait crisis, Muslims of Mindanaoregion in Philippines, Cyprus conflict, conditions of Bulgarian Muslim minority and a host of other international crises, see Khan (2001), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 65-130.
2.2 Case Study I: Political Cooperation on PALESTINE ISSUE:

The city of Jerusalem has a unique significance as it is revered by all the three divine religions of the world. For the Muslims, it is not only the first *Qibla*\(^{12}\), but also the third holiest shrine. The Prophet Muhammad, the Muslims believe, started his famous journey to the seven heavens, called *Mairaj*, from there. Since its conquest by the Muslims under Caliph Omar, back in the early 7\(^{th}\) century, Jerusalem has remained under Muslim control\(^{13}\), till Britain got over “Mandate” from the League of Nations to administer it, in the aftermath of Turkey’s defeat in World War I, and the consequent disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, in the first quarter of the 20\(^{th}\) Century.\(^{14}\)

The events following the Balfour Declaration (1917) till the creation of the State of Israel are too well-known to warrant any repetition here, such as the fact that the Israelis had to fight against the forces of several Arab and Muslim States to establish their State in 1948 and when they did proclaim it, most of the Muslim member-states of the United Nations of the time, voted against Israel's admission to the world body. Though the war aims or the diplomatic objectives were not achieved by the Muslim/Arab side at that time but the very fact of their efforts is indicative of their involvement with the Jerusalem/Palestine issue.

\(^{12}\) *Qibla* can be translated as Shrine towards which all Muslims face while praying five times a day. This *Qibla* was changed to the *Ka’aba*, located in Mecca, in the scone year of *Hjra* towards which Muslims pray now.

\(^{13}\) Save for the brief interregnum between 1099 and 1186 A.D.

\(^{14}\) The Mandate system of the League of Nations, a precursor of and akin to the Trusteeship system of the United Nations, granted Mandate to strong nations to help develop infrastructures of countries and territories not yet ready for independence, to become capable of self governance.
The 1967 war--- a preemptive strike by Israel on the Arabs--- was also the net result of persistent Arab-Muslim hostility to Israel and the consequent security paranoia of the latter. The Arab defeat resulted in the loss of many Arabo-Islamic lands to Israel including the Arab East Jerusalem but this occupation was never recognized by the Muslim world, and in fact, Palestine/ Jerusalem issue became a catalyst in efforts for bringing the Muslim world politically closer.

2.2.1. The OIC and the Jerusalem Question: When we talk of the Muslim World response to Jerusalem, we take the OIC policies and actions as a starting point. The problem of Jerusalem is the *raison d’être* of the emergence of this Organization and it has remained its single dominant obsession. Besides the facts noted above, there are several other indicators of the OIC's commitment to Jerusalem. At least seven of the OIC organs/specialized committees exclusively deal with the Palestine issue while statutes of most of the rest require them to promote the cause of Palestine in the respective fields of activities. The State of Palestine is ex-officio permanent member of the Governing Boards of Islamic States Broadcasting Organization (ISBO), Islamic Heritage Commission (ICPICH), Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC), among others.

Ever since the founding conference in 1969, the Palestine/Jerusalem issue has remained the top agenda item in all the OIC conference. It was the OIC, which recognized the
Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, even before the Arab League did so. Again, it was the OIC that gave political and material support to Palestine and gave Yasser Arafat a head of state protocol, when most European governments treated him no more than a ringleader of a terrorist outfit. And it was this Organization that internationalized the Middle East problem in the true sense of the word.

The 1\textsuperscript{st} Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Jeddah; 1970) unequivocally held Israel responsible for 1967 “aggression and continued illegal occupation” of Arab lands. It decided to observe 21 August as Al Quds [Jerusalem] Day every year. And it entrusted the Muslim states with, one, extending moral and material support to Palestinian struggle, and two, facilitating the representation of Palestinian liberation movement in Islamic countries (the PLO was not mentioned by name). In a very important resolution, the conference denounced the Zionist movement as “racial, aggressive and expansionist”.\textsuperscript{15} The 3\textsuperscript{rd} Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Jeddah; 1972) decided to set up an office within the General Secretariat to support the Palestine/Jerusalem cause. It was the first inter-governmental conference of Muslim states that \textit{condemned} a particular Israeli action--- its military incursions in Lebanon in this case. Also for the first time, specific economic measures were suggested for support to Palestine, namely, creation of a Palestine Fund and economic boycott of Israel.\textsuperscript{16} The letter of the Chairman of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers to the PLO Chief, assuring full support to the Palestinian struggle, further testifies the emerging consensus in the Muslim states about

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{15} Haider Mehdi (1989), \textit{OIC: A Review of its Political and Educational Policies}, Lahore, Progressive Publishers, p.42
\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid}, p. 43.}
PLO’s credentials to represent the whole of Palestine. \(^{17}\) The formal recognition however came the following year at the Lahore Islamic Summit conference of Feb 1974.

During these initial years, the Muslim world had clearly wedded the Jerusalem and the Palestine issues into a single problem and identified it to be the core issue of the Middle East conflict. Most of the decisions made at the level of Islamic Conference had been successfully implemented; contributions were received for Palestine Fund and re-directed to the PLO, economic boycott of Israel as far as Muslim states were concerned was nearly universal, and a resolution sponsored by the Muslim bloc equating Zionism with racism was soon to be adopted by the UN as well. The Muslim states started harmonizing their policies towards the problem at all international forums including the United Nations. Jerusalem Day was observed in most Muslim states on Aug. 21, every year, and is still being observed in many Muslim countries today. The PLO was soon able to set up offices in most of the Muslim States.

At the 6\(^{th}\) Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Jeddah; 1975) the Muslim diplomats were more direct in calling for the liberation of the Arab lands *occupied in 1948 and 1967* [emphasis mine]. In the previous year’s resolutions the OIC had been calling for the liberation of only those Arab territories that were occupied in 1967 war and the restoration of the sovereignty of Egypt, Jordan and Syria over them.\(^ {18}\) The change of language in 1975 (by inclusion of Israel of the 1948 borders also as the area to be

\(^{17}\) *Ibid*, p. 45.

liberated) implied, *strictu sensu*, that there was theoretically no room for Israel in these lands. Beginning from the second Islamic Summit of Kings and Heads of State of Muslim countries (Lahore; 1974), the leadership had started referring to the pre-1967 Israel as the actual Palestine whose liberation struggle they were supporting. The lands occupied in 1967, were to be returned to Jordan (West Bank), Syria (Golan Heights) and Egypt (Sinai Desert and Gaza), from whom they were captured. Thenceforth, there was no country called Israel, as far as the Islamic bloc was concerned. There was a “racist, aggressive and expansionist Zionist entity”, to quote from the Islamic Conference jargon noted earlier, that was in illegal occupation of Palestine since 1948 and that of territorial portions of another three Islamic states since 1967. The references to Jerusalem that had earlier meant the Muslim dominated East Jerusalem, started meaning the whole city, from 1974-75 onwards. Now the leaders from the OIC platform also started haranguing that it would not rule out military means to root out Zionism from *all* the occupied lands. [emphasis mine]

This policy by OIC was unrealistic as Israel’s existence had become a fact that could not be reversed as History has shown that OIC had to retract its own policy in 1994, when the Palestinians themselves signed the Oslo Peace Accord. One must hasten to add, that Oslo accord forms the realistic basis for a lasting peace through its Declaration of Principles. Israel’s right to exist in areas on which it was proclaimed in 1948 has been recognized by the Palestinians. That the future state of Palestine is to consist of West Bank and Gaza, the Palestinian majority parts captured from Jordan and Egypt in 1967, respectively, that these countries are no longer interested in taking back, has been, in turn acknowledged by
Israel. The unrealistic and misguided policies of OIC regarding Palestine issue in the early decades did not speed up the process of attaining Statehood for Palestinians but the rhetoric highlighted the Palestinian suffering as the core of Middle East conflict.

Be that as it may, let us come back to OIC’s policies in the 1970’s on Palestine issue. Now, if Israel was not a state, it had no right to be represented on the international bodies. The Muslim countries had successfully blocked Israel’s induction into the international and regional Organizations, except the United Nations and its bodies. All the Muslim member states of the UN had voted against Israel’s application for membership, back in May 1949, but their number was small at that time. By the mid-seventies, Muslim states representation in the UN General Assembly had increased manifold. In pursuance of the Islamic Conference decision, the Muslim states succeeded in getting an observer status for the PLO. Within months, Arafat was invited to address the UN General Assembly where he was received as a head of state. He even kept wearing the holster of his revolver during his hard-hitting speech. The General Assembly gave a historic verdict supporting the inalienable rights of Palestinian people to Statehood with 93 votes against 18. The Muslim bloc succeeded in getting passed, with the help of many developing and non-aligned states, another resolution from the General Assembly on 10 Nov. 1975 with 75 votes to 35, equating “Zionism” with “racism”. The Israeli ambassador called it “an evil deed …. an obscenity …. a day of infamy”.

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And for the next eighteen years, Israel, the US and their allies continued to decry this “anti-Semitic” resolution, often detracting the world attention from the real issues in the Middle East. Apparently, the Islamic bloc or the PLO had no strategic objectives in mind by adoption of this resolution. Apparently, they lacked the potency to harm Israel in any other way at that time. In any case, the Muslim bloc moved to its next agenda, to expel Israel from the United Nations. It had already managed to expel Israel from the UNESCO, an Agency of the United Nations. But then Washington had serious concerns about it and declared that it would stop all its contribution to the UN budget if Israel were expelled from the world body itself.\textsuperscript{21} (The United States had practically quit the UNESCO following Israel’s expulsion). This deterred many third world countries from supporting this particular OIC sponsored resolution. The Muslim bloc rescinded the resolution for Israel’s expulsion from the General Assembly but contested Israel’s credentials as a state at the UN’s Credentials Committee on the grounds that an “aggressive and racist entity” and a “violator of all UN resolutions” could not be a member of the United Nation.\textsuperscript{22} The Committee rejected this point of view of the OIC bloc.

The 7\textsuperscript{th} Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Istanbul; 1976) reiterated the 6\textsuperscript{th} ICFM resolution on Israeli expulsion from the UN and pledged to work for it when the situation became “conducive”. It devised a common strategy for the exclusion of Israel from all international bodies in future. After the decision of 10\textsuperscript{th} Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Fez; 1979) to this effect, the Muslim bloc again tried to expel Israel from the

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Facts on File, 1975, p. 177.
United Nations in 1980 but narrowly fell short of requisite numbers and “temporarily”, as it said, dropped its plans.

The United Nations was not the only forum for the Muslim world’s political efforts in support of Palestine. The Muslim group internationalized the issue employing all forums, all channels and all means. There was not a single meeting of the OIC that had not condemned Israel’s policies in harshest terms possible. The 6th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers had formed a 9-member “Jerusalem Committee”. Its membership was raised to 15 and King Hassan of Morocco made its Chairman at the 10th Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference. Two years later, the 12th Foreign Ministers’ Conference (Baghdad; 1981) made the monarch the Committee’s Life Chairman. The Committee is mandated to study the situation of Jerusalem, to follow the implementation of decisions taken by or at the Islamic Conference, to contact other international bodies which can help in the protection of Jerusalem, and to put forward proposals to the Member States, as well as all institutions concerned on measures to be taken to ensure the implementation of the OIC resolutions on Jerusalem.

The Committee meets on the request of its Chairman, the King of Morocco, or that of the OIC Secretary General, and presents annual reports to the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. This Committee has played pivotal role in internationalizing the Jerusalem issue and guiding the Muslim world reactions to Israel’s policies. The

23 The Islamic countries are trying to run the pan-Islamic organizations in the same way, as the countries are run---through hereditary rule, regardless of whether the head of State is called a President or a King. As if the decision to make the King Hassan as the Life Chairman of the Jerusalem Committee was not enough, after his demise, the Chairmanship of the Committee has been bestowed on his son, and the present King of Morocco, Mohammad VI.
Chapter 2

Committee, in response to Israeli settlement policies in occupied areas and its military incursions and bombings in the neighboring Muslim states has made two subsidiary (but fancifully named) committees; (i) Experts Committee for Devising Means Aimed at Combating the Dangers of Zionist Settlement in Palestinian Lands; and (ii) The Islamic Committee for Surveillance of the Actions of Zionist Enemy. As of the year 2000, the members of the latter committee were Bangladesh, Egypt, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco (Chairman), Niger, Pakistan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Syria.

Throughout the 1980’s, on the political front, a separate division of the OIC Secretariat, headed by the one of the Assistant Secretary Generals, pointedly named ASG (Jerusalem Affairs), was entrusted with devising the political strategy. The Muslim bloc in all these years continued to support Palestinian struggle, condemn “Israeli repression” and counter all Israeli “designs”. For instance, they condemned Israeli air attack on Iraqi nuclear installations (1981), condemned it invasion of Lebanon (1982), decried the US-Israel security pact as jeopardizing regional security (1984), supported Tunisia’s demand for reparations against Israeli air raids killing 70 people, censured the exodus of Ethiopian Jews to Israel and castigated the Israeli action of shifting the 1,200 Lebanese Muslim detainees to Israeli prisons (1985), criticized Israel’s nuclear ambitions and took strong exception to the abortive attempt of hoisting the Israeli flag on Al-Aqsa Mosque (1986), expressed solidarity with Saudi Arabia over Israeli threats to its missile installations (1988) and finally, kept expressing full support to Palestinians for, what it called, their “heroic steadfastness and sacrifices” in the “Intifada” movement launched by them in the
occupied Gaza strip and the West Bank, and continued to “condemn”, what it believed was, the Israeli repression as “inhuman Zionist actions” (1987–onwards). No need to mention that all these resolutions of support (to Palestinians) or condemnation (of Israel) were adopted from the platform of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation, in its summit or foreign ministers’ level meetings.

When on 15 Nov. 1988, the 430-member Palestine National Council (also known as the Palestinian parliament-in-exile) declared the establishment of the State of Palestine, needless to say, prompt came the recognition by the Muslim bloc. Another major event of the same year was the closure of the PLO Mission at New York by the US government accusing the PLO of supporting terrorism. The OIC deplored the American decision, termed it as “illegal” and decided to make efforts to influence the White House to reverse the same.

In addition, the Muslim world took some stances a number of times that were purely symbolic. To quote one instance, when the 10th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held in the historic city of Fez in Morocco (1979) was swayed by the then Moroccan King Hassan's passionate determination to offer prayers in Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, the conference considered and discussed a rather bizarre idea of a foot march of millions of unarmed Muslims to Jerusalem, led by the Kings and the Presidents of the Muslim states, to liberate the holy Jerusalem.24

2.2.2. -Diplomatic offensive by Muslim world on Palestine: The Muslim World continued the battles on diplomatic fronts as well, where its record is significantly better. In a multi pronged attack, the first objective of the Muslim States was to gain legitimacy for the PLO for representing the State of Palestine, which it managed in a very short span. It has been already noted that the PLO became an observer at the United Nations, and Yasser Arafat was accorded head of state status at his address to the General Assembly which also passed several resolutions in Palestine’s support in the subsequent years with thumping majorities. The OIC’s call for diplomatic isolation of Israel met with equally encouraging response. Iran threw out Israeli staff and gave the premises of Israeli diplomatic missions to the PLO. Even the non-OIC states towed the line and in the first few years, Palestine missions had been established in 106 states. We have discussed above that Israel was expelled from UNESCO, nearly expelled from the UN also and forced to back out from its decision regarding the status of Jerusalem.

The Muslim World's aggressive offensive tried to convince the world that Jerusalem issue was not an Islamic issue but a religious issue in the broader sense for the Muslims, Christians and Jews alike and for this purpose, it maintained close liaison with the Vatican and World Council of Churches. The Islamic Conference never failed to stress the humanitarian dimension of the conflict, turning all the so-called “anti imperialist” radical third world states to its side. The Muslim bloc countered every Israeli move on the diplomatic front by invoking the UN Charter and the provisions of the international law against racism and colonialism, and thereby exploiting world concerns for peace and

25 Ahsan, op. cit. p. 61
security. The Muslim states declared every plan or pact that did not guarantee the Arab-Islamic status of Jerusalem as null and void.

To cut a long story short, it may not be out of place to narrate the episodes of 1979–80, when the Muslim World faced two severe credibility tests on Jerusalem and succeeded in passing both of them.

2.2.2.1 *Egypt's solo flight for peace:* The first challenge was the Egypt-Israel peace process that culminated in the Camp David understanding (Sept; 1978) and the formal agreement in Washington (March 1979). This was apparently a major dent in the unity in the OIC ranks as one of the frontline states, exhausted by decades of hostility, had decided to go it alone, make peace with Israel, give it recognition, and in return, get back its part of Israeli occupied lands. The OIC states met at the 10th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Fez; 1979), which was aptly named the “Session of Jerusalem and Palestine”.

The Muslim states declared the Camp David Accord as “null and void” as it did not guarantee Palestinian rights and legitimises the Zionist aggression. The OIC, which had long been rejecting the UN Security Council resolution 242 (adopted in the aftermath of 1967 Arab-Israeli war), as “incompatible with Arab and Islamic rights and inconsistent with the basic parameters of peaceful conflict resolution in the Middle East”\(^{26}\), reiterated its rejection of the Reagan Plan also, insisting that it would reject all future accords, plans

\(^{26}\) It is another debate altogether whether the rejection of Resolution 242 by the OIC helped the Palestinian cause or this obduracy did more harm than good to their struggle.
and resolutions that did not ensure restitution of occupied territories, guarantee Palestinian rights and restore Jerusalem back to Arab sovereignty. The harshest resolutions of condemnation were adopted against the United States and Israel. Egypt was accused of being a “traitor” and made a pariah. It was charged with betraying all Islamic and Arab causes including the Jerusalem cause, and of violating the OIC decisions and the UN Charter. It was expelled from the OIC, all its affiliated bodies and the Arab League. The Muslim States were directed to sever diplomatic relations, cancel all bilateral agreements and withdraw all subsidies to Egypt. This was perhaps one of the harshest punishments ever meted out against a fellow country in post-World War II era by an international organization.

It is interesting to note that there is no provision in the OIC Charter that would allow it to expel or suspend any member state, but it did expel Egypt, though, legal justification for the measure cannot be derived from the Charter. It may be added here that Egypt continued to say that it had not violated the OIC Charter in any way and that any decision to expel Egypt would be illegal since the Charter does not allow expulsion of a member state. The 10th ICFM, however, noted that Egypt had violated Art. II (A/5) of the OIC Charter, which had declared the support to the Palestine cause, as an objective of the Islamic Conference. It said that Egypt had made a “mockery of the Muslim World's commitment to the Jerusalem question”. The conference condemned the Camp David agreement, which had “neither solved the Palestine problem, nor determined the future

27 Mehdi, op. cit. p. 54-55 & 69.
status of Jerusalem”. Egypt, on its part, insisted that Palestinians were invited to attend the Camp David talks but they remained adamant in staying away.

The Muslim World thus managed to retain its unity as well as its tough posture against Israel. Egypt’s isolation gave a clear warning to other Muslim states that could have contemplated embarking upon such a course. Most of the intended affects of the accord were nullified and within four years, Egypt itself was forced to concede [sic] that Camp David was a “dead letter”.  

2.2.2.2 Israel’s decision to shift the capital to Jerusalem: The second major challenge before the Muslim World was the Israeli decision to declare Jerusalem as its permanent capital. In disregard of the UN Security Council resolutions 446, 452 and 465 the status of Jerusalem, Israel had started shifting its offices and moving foreign missions to this city.

The stated position of the Islamic World had been that Jerusalem was to be the capital of a free Palestine state and the headquarter of the OIC, and there was to be no question on that. The 11th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Islamabad; May 1980) gave any country that supported Israel’s decision to alter the status of Jerusalem a stern warning of serious consequences. The conference declared 1980 as the “Year of Palestine and Jerusalem”. It also decided to observe a week to express solidarity with Palestine and to use it for awareness campaign about the significance of Jerusalem.  

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29 Mehdi, op. cit. p. 66.
The Muslim Bloc largely succeeded into turning the general world opinion in its favor so much so that on 30 Jan. 1980, the UN Security Council, for the first time in History, condemned Israel for its decision with a 14-0 margin.\footnote{Facts on File, 1980, p. 491.} Even the United States felt compelled to abstain rather than veto the resolution. Nevertheless, Israel went ahead with the plan and several countries, mostly Latin American that were unaware of the gravity of the problem, moved their embassies to Jerusalem. The Muslim states held an emergency session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Amman; July 1980) giving ultimatum to these countries to move back their embassies to Tel Aviv or face the music. The conference requested a special UN session to consider the problem and decided to stiffen its economic boycott of Israel by asking the European Community member states to join in. This had a very positive affect as a number of European states openly censured the Israeli decision, the Church also joined the chorus of condemnation against Israel, Switzerland refused to sign an agreement with Israel in the city of Jerusalem and, more significantly, one European but ten Latin American states complied with the OIC ultimatum and withdrew their embassies back to Tel Aviv.

Still, Israel was adamant and decided to go it alone by formally making Jerusalem as its capital. So the Muslim world met in another emergency session of Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Fez; Sept. 1980) which noted with “pride and satisfaction” the successful outcome of the decisions taken by the previous ICFM emergency session, held two months earlier. It also took note of the UN Security Council resolution 478 of 20 Aug. 1980, demanding Israel to move back its capital from the disputed holy city of
Jerusalem, and requested the Council to take positive military action against Israel. This special ICFM session decided to renew efforts to expel Israel from the United Nations. In a rather bizarre and somewhat irresponsible move, it also asked member states to withhold loans and contributions to the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, unless they granted observer status to the PLO. The meeting also noted that only two countries El Salvador and Costa Rica had not shifted their missions back to Tel Aviv. Following a later recommendation by Jerusalem Committee, all the Muslim states, including Egypt which was no longer an OIC member, broke all kind of relations with these two states. 31 Consequently Israel was forced to live with the reality of Tel Aviv as its *de facto* capital. [Officially, Israel still maintains Jerusalem to be its capital but this is not internationally recognized] Thus the Muslim world won this crucial battle.

Once again, in March 1984, a resolution by the US Congress asking the government to shift its embassy to Jerusalem caused alarm in the Islamic circles. A six-member Muslim envoys committee, led by the Ambassador Ejaz Rahim of Pakistan, met the then US Secretary of State George Shultz, to discuss the matter. Shultz categorically assured the mission that the United States had no intention of shifting its embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv. The OIC even opposed any kind of international agreement being signed with Israel, by any international actor (State or International Agency) with Jerusalem as the venue, since it may appear to give legitimacy to Israel’s assertions about Jerusalem being its capital. The adamancy of Israel to stick with Israel as the capital, and Muslim world’s reaction to it, became irrelevant in the wake of developments in 1989-90 when the cold war ended and contours of a new emerging world order started appearing.

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31 Keesings, 1984, p. 32824.
2.2.3 Peace Accord between Israel and Palestine: The end of cold war and the demise and disintegration of the Soviet Union brought about enormous changes on the world scene. Since Israel was being supported by the United States as a bastion of stability and democracy, as they put it, in a sea of autocracies all around, the Arab neighbors such as Egypt and Syria could count on Soviet support in case of conflicts. Egypt was the first country to abandon confrontation in 1979, through unilateral peace treaty with Israel, at Camp David, to concentrate on its internal problems. As noted above, Egypt was expelled from all Islamic and Arab bodies including the Islamic Conference and the Arab League, almost all the Muslim nations broke diplomatic relations with it, and the heavy subsidies that Egypt used to receive from wealthy Arab/Muslim nations also came to an end. This was compensated by the United States which made Egypt its second largest aid beneficiary in the world after Israel. The Sadat years brought Egypt to the American camp, a break from the Nasser era, when Egypt was hobnobbing with the Soviet Union. Israel, on its part, reaped its dividends from the Camp David Accord. It had secured its Western front and had to take care only of its Eastern and North-Eastern borders with Jordan and Syria, respectively. Lebanon in the North, was too weak to be of any threat to Israel.

The end of Cold War made several nations re-consider their relationship with Israel. In 1993, Jordan also made peace with Israel, so with peace on its Eastern borders also, all four sides of Israel, were now safe, save for a small territorial dispute with Syria over the strategic Golan Heights that were in the control of Israel any way. Palestinians had no
choice but to move for peace. Even as early as 1991, secret talks were being held at Madrid between the representatives of Israeli and Palestinian leaders that subsequently culminated in the Oslo Peace Accord of 1994. Israel and Palestine recognized each other and the principle of “land-for-peace” was conceded by both sides. That placed the Muslim states in a quandary that their long term stand of non-recognition of Israel had been compromised by the Palestinians themselves. Interestingly, while Palestine recognizes Israel, most Muslim states (Pakistan included) do not. Probably, the Palestinian leadership is happy with this arrangement. They want to use this non-recognition by Arab-Muslim States as bargaining chip for further concessions from Israel. Thus, Muslim world’s support is still valuable and indispensable for the Palestinian cause. The Muslim world, on its part, has given full support to the ongoing peace process and the OIC has reversed its posture of 1970’s and 1980’s and come full circle to support the “two-State solution”. The King Abdullah formula of 2002, which OIC has backed too, has linked establishment of full diplomatic relations by the Muslim States with Israel to the full establishment of Palestinian statehood.\footnote{The issue regarding the status of Jerusalem also has taken a new twist as the Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, in the Washington Peace Talks in 2000 had come quite close to giving substantial concessions to the Palestinians, inter alia, on the status of Jerusalem. The refusal of the then Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to budge from his stands, resulted in availing this life time opportunity for peace.}

2.2.4 Palestine as a success story of pan-Islamic political cooperation?

The history of Palestine cause, especially since its espousal by the Muslim world in 1969-70 is a significant unfinished chapter in pan-Islamic political cooperation. It will not be an exaggeration to say that but for the support, the Palestinians and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) received from the Muslim world, the cause of Palestinians
might well have been a lost and forgotten cause. Take the example of Katanga which tried to secede from Congo, the Biafra region which nearly became independent from Nigeria, the Dofor rebellion in the Sultanate of Muscat-Oman, as it was then known, captured all news and media attention at the height of conflicts---all in the past half a century. Yet, hardly anyone, but for the descendants of those fallen in those wars, may remember the names of the regions today where fiercest independence struggles were fought in not too distant past.

Palestine, received massive political and diplomatic support at all international forums, and still does so, whether it is the Israeli construction of a wall or security barrier, its incursions into Gaza, or air campaigns against Hizbollah militia in Lebanon. This wide support kept the issue of Palestine---as well as their hopes and dreams for an independent state---alive. This support transformed successive PLO leaders from being hiding terrorists to the status of heads of state-in-exile with the entitlement of a 21-Gun Salute. The OIC brought the Palestinians to a level that they could sit across the negotiation table with Israelis at Madrid and Oslo and agree on future peace roadmap. By back tracking from its declared policy of non-recognition of PLO and no-talks-with-terrorists (read: PLO) policy, Israel too ate the humble pie. Palestine agreed to a two-state solution at Oslo.

Yet, the Oslo Peace Accord has also raised some very pertinent questions. If peace was to be signed on the basis of recognition of 1948 borders for Israel, and the map of proposed Palestine was to be restricted to the lands occupied in 1967, then why had an unrealistic
insistence on total elimination of Israel, as Iranian President Ahmadinejad still believes to be within the realm of political possibilities, been followed that long. This was the wishful thinking of PLO’s founding ideologues. And the OIC leadership betrayed immaturity and lack of statesmanship by confusing by pro-Palestine sentiments with adoption of policies sponsored by hawkish elements of PLO. The PLO strategy, endorsed by the OIC, not only lingered the conflict but also extended the miseries that the common Palestinians had had to suffer. The lost years and lost opportunities heightened the sense of frustration and despondency, not only amongst the Palestinians but the whole Arab and Muslim peoples.

One would occasionally find even senior Palestinian leaders or writers accusing Muslim world of being behind the perpetuation of the conflict for this long. This is a particularly harsh judgment, as the PLO was established in 1964, almost five years before the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. The PLO had enshrined the objective of total destruction of Israel in its founding Charter. It took them another five years of canvassing to convince the OIC in 1974-75 to come around to this view. The Muslim leadership had in its zeal to support Palestinians closed its eyes to ground realities and kept alive the wishful thinking that Palestinian armed struggle could dislodge a militarily strong Israel. If peace was delayed, Palestine’s own leadership is equally culpable.

On the other hand, we also need to admit that without prejudice to the foregoing discussion about the Muslim world cooperation having kept the Palestine issue alive, there were glaring failures too. Many of the Muslim countries preferred their national
interests (natural for any nation-State) over those of Palestinians in maintaining good relations with the United States—the principal supporter of Israel. We would be failing if we do not mention that Arab elites too had a degree of self-interest in instrumentalizing Palestine issue in order to distract the public attention from domestic problems such as misgovernance. But this does not disparage the net impact of Muslim world efforts on Palestine issue, nor implies in any way, that Muslim world support for Palestinians was anything but indispensable for them.

We have reviewed the OIC policies and actions regarding Palestine dispute upto 2000. Much water has flown under the bridges ever since. The PLO is ruling the Palestinian Authority spread over the West Bank and the Gaza strip, taken by Israel in 1967. The establishment of a sovereign State of Palestine is yet to emerge. Palestinian struggle for their national rights has not attained success but the story of pan-Islamic cooperation on Palestine issue in the political and diplomatic sphere is a success story.

2.3 Case Study II: Political Cooperation on KASHMIR PROBLEM:

2.3.1 Genesis of the Kashmir Problem: When the British quit the sub-continent in August 1947, after 89 years of direct colonial rule, two sovereign states viz. India and Pakistan emerged. Under the agreed partition formula, the Muslim majority provinces and states of undivided South Asia were to go to Pakistan while all others to India. This formula was universally applied to all provinces of undivided sub-continent, except for the princely state of Jammu & Kashmir, where India maintained that even the Muslim population wanted to accede to India. The two countries agreed to maintain a status quo pending a
plebiscite to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmiri people. However, mutual mistrust soon resulted in the outbreak of hostilities in which India captured a substantial part of Kashmir. As the first of the three Indo-Pakistan wars raged on throughout the year 1948, Pakistani forces recaptured several districts of the disputed region before the UN Security Council brokered a cease-fire. Its two famous resolutions of Aug. 13, 1948 and Jan. 5, 1949 provided for an immediate cease-fire, demilitarisation of the Kashmir State and a UN-sponsored plebiscite in the region to ascertain the wishes of the Kashmiri Muslims about acceding to India or to Pakistan.

The UN appointed several plebiscite commissioners but India and Pakistan kept bickering on the details. In 1963, India annexed the part of Kashmir under its occupation on a very untenable ground. While reneging from its pledge about holding the plebiscite, to the UN, to Pakistan and to Kashmiri Muslims, India based its claim on the instrument of accession of a former Hindu prince of Kashmir who had been ousted in the Muslim insurgency in 1947. Pakistan responded rashly to the annexation and the indecisive second Indo-Pakistan war of 1965 erupted. Again in the Simla agreement of 1972, both countries agreed to resolve the Kashmir dispute amicably. Both countries continue to be locked in a bitter war of attrition over Kashmir for the last half a century.33

33 Though a large number of books have been written on the genesis and history of Kashmir dispute, Alastair Lamb’s (1994) “Kashmir. A disputed legacy”, Islamabad, is highly recommended.
2.3.2 *Pakistan seeks Muslim world help*: Pakistan has started invoking Muslim world support on its position on the Kashmir dispute fairly lately. At the second Islamic Summit (Lahore; 1974) held on its soil, Pakistan was not confident to muster enough support to get an OIC resolution on Kashmir adopted. Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto made only veiled references to the problem. The President of Azad (liberated) Jammu & Kashmir (formed on the portion of the state “liberated” by Pakistani forces in 1948 war that has its own government purporting to represent the whole J&K state) was invited to the Lahore Summit as an observer, who in his meetings with several Muslim leaders on the sidelines of the summit conference explained the genesis of the problem to them.\(^{34}\)

For the next decade and a half, including the 11-years of infamous Gen. Zia regime, Pakistan never raised the issue of Kashmir on Islamic forums. Zia ul Haq, who had toppled Mr Bhutto’s government in 1977 in a military coup and later had the deposed Prime Minister executed, died in a plane crash in August 1988. In the ensuing general elections, the Pakistan People’s Party was swept back to power. This time, it was led by late Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s charismatic daughter, Benazir Bhutto, who became the Muslim world’s first woman Prime Minister.\(^{35}\)

2.3.3 *Rise of Benazir Bhutto and internationalization of Kashmir Cause*: In Jan. 1989, a mass uprising broke out in the Indian–Held Kashmir which soon took alarming proportions. India claimed that Kashmir was now an integral part of India and that it

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\(^{35}\) Ms Benazir Bhutto got assassinated on 27 Dec. 2007, while leaving after addressing an election rally, in Rawalpindi. She was poised to create history by getting elected as the Prime Minister for the third time in the elections which were later held after her death and again returned her Pakistan People’s Party to power.
would not accept third party mediation nor agree to a recourse to the International Court of Justice. It dubbed the insurgency as Pakistani–inspired terrorism. As the Indian forces’ excesses to suppress the movement started making headlines, and the Muslim countries became increasingly concerned, Pakistan felt that it was the time to bring in the support of the Muslim world.

Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto flew into a whirlwind tour of 16 Muslim states to personally request the Muslim heads of state to support Pakistan on Kashmir at the OIC. The August of 1990 was one of the finest hours in Pakistan’s diplomatic history when the 19th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Cairo; 1990) adopted a resolution calling upon Pakistan and India to resolve the Kashmir problem in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions. It expressed concern over human rights violations of the Kashmiri Muslims and offered to send a good offices mission to South Asia.36 The then Prime Minister of Azad Kashmir Mumtaz Rathore welcomed the Islamic Conference’s interest in the Kashmir dispute whereas India turned down the OIC mediation offer saying Kashmir was a settled issue.

On 22 May 1991, Pakistan wrote to the OIC Secretary General drawing his attention to the escalation of Indian forces’ repressive activities.37 Consequently, the 20th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Istanbul; 1991) reiterated the previous Islamic

Conference resolutions while calling upon the OIC Secretary General to send a fact finding mission to Kashmir and report the findings to the next Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers.\textsuperscript{38} India refused visas to the members of the OIC fact finding mission on the grounds that the OIC had no \textit{locus standi} on Kashmir. The mission, however, visited the pro-Pakistan state of Azad Kashmir in Feb. 1993. It interviewed a large number of displaced persons and victims of Indian atrocities, now living in makeshift refugee camps in Pakistani-controlled territories. Mostly, it had to rely on secondary sources including dispatches from foreign journalists and Amnesty International reports.

The Mission’s 13 page report was presented at the 21\textsuperscript{st} Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Karachi; 1993) which cited strong evidence to the effect that State terror, including custodial killings, unprovoked firing on unarmed protestors, incidents of molesting of Kashmiri women before their male relatives, and inhuman torture and body mutilation, all at the hands of security forces sent by New Delhi, was rampant in the Indian-held parts of Kashmir. The report suspected that this was being used as a consistent policy instrument.\textsuperscript{39} The Secretary General’s report at this conference recommended that Muslim states should review trade ties with India, support the Kashmiris’ rights on all international fora, use their influence over India to stop her from committing genocide and, most significantly, impose a ban on Indian labor force working in the Gulf Muslim states.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{38} Khan (2001), op. cit. p. 154.
\textsuperscript{39} See “Introduction to the OIC” (1993), published by Directorate of Films and Publications, Pakistan’s Ministry of Information, Islamabad, p8
\textsuperscript{40} “The Muslim”, 27 Apr. 1993.
The Indian ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Ishrat Aziz, a Muslim, met the OIC Secretary General on Feb. 11, to convince him of his country’s justification for not allowing the OIC Mission to the occupied Kashmir, and reiterated that India had great respect for the OIC and that India cherished her relations with the Muslim states. The OIC then started toying with the idea of sending a mission to India, comprising “friendly Muslim states” to prevail upon her to change her mind. A few months later, the OIC Secretary General while welcoming the scheduled India-Pakistan talks, reiterated that the Organization would continue to explore all possible avenues to support the Kashmiris.  

In the OIC annual co-ordination meeting at New York in Oct. 1993, it decided to table a resolution on Kashmir at the 48th session of the UN General Assembly but later dropped the idea for want of requisite support. During the same year, a UN Human Rights Conference was held at Geneva. In her address there, the then Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto accused India of murdering 60,000 innocent Kashmiri civilians in the previous four years and of destroying the economy of the state. She proposed a UN fact finding mission to go to Kashmir to ascertain these allegations and sought the Muslim bloc support to table such a resolution.

41 “Frontier Post”, Lahore, 29 Nov. 1993
India requested the Muslim countries not to press for a UN Mission to the occupied Kashmir. As a quid pro quo, it suggested that the Muslim ambassadors in New Delhi were welcome to visit Indian Held Kashmir (India had earlier been rejecting permission to OIC fact finding mission to visit Kashmir) to ascertain the facts about the Kashmir situation. The compromise was accepted and announced as such by the then Chair of OIC Contact Group on Kashmir, viz. Iran. An Indian delegation visited the OIC Secretariat at Jeddah to work out the details.\textsuperscript{43} Pakistan announced that the OIC, and not India, was to decide the composition of the mission. India started having second thoughts as they wanted final say on the composition of the mission. India’s prevarication led the then OIC Assistant Secretary General (Political Affairs) Ibrahim Bakr, in April 1994, to publicly ask India not renege from her promise.\textsuperscript{44}

2.3.4 Formation of Muslim World Contact Group on Kashmir: As the controversy had not died down, the OIC for the first time invited Kashmiri leaders from both sides of the cease-fire line to the 22\textsuperscript{nd} Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers. Before it could be held, Pakistan convened on extra-ordinary session of the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at Islamabad in Sept. 1994 to consider, inter alia, the deteriorating situation in the occupied Kashmir.\textsuperscript{45} The conference unanimously demanded a halt to --- what it called---massacres and state repression, and constituted an OIC Contact Group on

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid, 19 Apr. 1994.
\textsuperscript{44} “The News”, 4 Apr.1994.
\textsuperscript{45} It was the seventh emergency session of the Islamic countries’ foreign ministers in the history of the OIC. The first one had been held upon the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the next two to achieve consensus on how to respond to Israeli decision to shift its capital from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, the fourth one on the outbreak of Iran-Iraq war (all four in 1980), the fifth and sixth ones (1991 & 1992) on Bosnian crisis and this seventh one on Kashmir.
Kashmir. The Secretary General, several Muslim countries and the leaders of Pakistani Kashmir and those from the Indian controlled Kashmir lambasted India in their addresses to the meeting. This 7th Emergency ICFM also decided to constitute an OIC contact group on Jammu and Kashmir in order to remain seized of the crisis.

The following month Pakistan again tried to table, from the OIC platform, a resolution on Kashmir in the first committee of the UN General Assembly. India took a “calculated risk” by summoning 26 ambassadors from Muslim countries at the Foreign Ministry in New Delhi to caution them against supporting the Pakistani move. This move worked for India and scuttled Pakistan’s plans which had wanted 20 co-sponsors to table the resolution. The idea had to be abandoned as Pakistan was not sure of getting the requisite support. Here, we see that Pakistan could not and cannot always count on OIC bloc support regarding Kashmir issue.

Meanwhile in India, there were apprehensions that All Parties Huriyyat (Liberation) Conference, commonly known as the APHC, representing pro-Independence political

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46 “Pakistan Times”, 9 Sept. 1994. Pakistan had earlier claimed that Indian Foreign Secretary and senior officials had visited several Islamic capitals with a request to boycott the conference but, to quote the Pakistani spokesman, “Indian bid to sabotage the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers” failed. On the sidelines of this conference, Secretary General met an All Parties Huriyyat [Liberation] Conference (APHC) delegation and assured financial and moral support. The OIC Contact Group on Kashmir, formed at this Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, comprises Guinea, Morocco, Niger, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and the OIC Secretary General. It started functioning since 3 Oct. 1994.


48 “Pakistan Times”, 11 Nov. 1994. Pakistan had by that time already got six co-sponsors viz. Albania, Bosnia, Gambia, Niger, Saudi Arabia and Turkey. Pakistan announced that although she had withdrawn the resolution from the First Committee, however, she reserved the right to raise it at the Third Committee. India thanked the OIC for, what she called, not supporting Pakistan. On Nov. 16, the OIC Secretary General asked the UN Security Council to take up the Kashmir dispute.
parties of Indian controlled Kashmir, might form a government-in-exile, and on receiving a green signal from Pakistan, may apply for full membership in the OIC. To pre-empt it, India has banned the participation of APHC delegations in OIC moots since early 1995, by denying Passports to the leaders of APHC delegations. In retaliation, the 23rd Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Conakry;1995) termed occupied Kashmir as a land under “colonial occupation”.

Since 1990 and up to the year 2000, all the five Islamic summits and all the conferences of Foreign Ministers have reiterated full support for Kashmiris’ rights of self-determination, asked India to desist from human rights violations and to withdraw its troops from Kashmir and called for a solution in accordance with the UN resolutions, the very reference to which is an irritant for India. The OIC and even its subsidiary cultural institutions especially the Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social Affairs (ICECS) have made it a point not to miss an opportunity to castigate India for a particular incident in Kashmir; like the burning of a Muslim shrine at Charar Sharif (May 1995), murder of human rights activist Jalil Adrabi (April 1996), reported incidents of gang rape by Indian security forces (Jun. 1997), and so on. The OIC Contact Group had up to 2000, held over a dozen meetings, which have helped in internationalizing the issue. The typical response of India on each of the plethora of OIC resolutions is that the OIC views are “highly objectionable”, “aimed at prolonging Pakistani-sponsored terrorism”.

49 “Frontier Post”, Lahore, 19 Dec 1995. Not surprisingly, Indian media reacts sharply at such OIC pronouncements calling it as a surrogate of Pakistan. When the 7th Islamic Summit (Casablanca; 1994) adopted a resolution on Kashmir the Indian press castigated Secretary General Hamid al Gabid for being behind this resolution, who, it was claimed was displeased at not being well treated when he had earlier visited India as the OIC Assistant Secretary General.
“interference in domestic affairs” and “touching an already settled issue”. India has also been expressing “regret” the “vulnerability of the OIC to be misled by the vicious Pakistani propaganda and falsehood”.  

The Islamabad and Tehran Islamic summits, held in March 1997 and Dec. 1997, respectively, reiterated all the previous OIC resolutions on the Kashmir question. The latter conference asked India to accept the OIC good offices for the resolution of the problem, and urged the member states to influence India into allowing an OIC fact-finding mission to the held Kashmir. The 25th Islamic Foreign Ministers’ Conference (Doha; March 1998) also condemned India for the human rights violations of the Kashmiri Muslims and asked her to stop this “State terrorism”.

2.3.5 The Muslim world response to the Kargil War: In the Spring of 1999, the Mujahideen51, as Pakistan calls the pro-independence fighters operating in the Indian-controlled Kashmir (although, some of them are allegedly based in Pakistani – administered Kashmir), captured several strategic heights on the Indian side of the UN-monitored Line of Control (LoC), in the vicinity of a town called Kargil. India made it a prestige point to recover the peaks accusing Pakistan of being behind the Kashmiri

50 See, for instance, Indian Ministry of External Affairs’ statement carried by “The News”, 16 Dec. 1995. It may be mentioned that a few months earlier Salman Haider, a Muslim, had taken over as the Foreign Secretary of India. He had said that India would enlarge dialogue with the OIC and counter the diplomatic challenge posed by Pakistan on Kashmir. (“The News”, 1 Mar. 1995).

51 The fighters belonged to various guerrilla outfits (including the notoriously extremist Lashkar-e-Tayyabah (literally: the holy army) which was implicated in the 26/11 Mumbai carnage a decade late in Nov. 2008.
irregulars attacking the Indian army units “on the Indian soil”, in violation of the Ceasefire line.

In the initial days of the conflict, the guerrillas seemed to be well-entrenched and well-positioned and all the Indian attempts to retake the peaks were resulting in heavy casualties for their forces. Those were the election times in India and the opposition parties made full political advantage out of the fighting by embarrassing the ruling Hindu nationalist party, the BJP, by accusing its leadership of ineptitude and cowardice. New Delhi government decided to employ full might of their military and the Air Force to “redeem the national honor” in the wake of the reverses suffered by the regular army Indian brigades at the hands of the militant groups. India, on its part, maintained that the occupiers of the Kargil heights were regular Pakistani troops, rather than Pakistani-backed Muslim fighters, a charge that Pakistan vehemently denied. As the Indian military pressure on the Kargil front increased for the Mujahideen to the breaking point, Pakistan felt obliged to give artillery support to the fighters from well within its side of the cease-fire line. Thus, both countries inadvertently found themselves in the fourth armed conflagration in the past 52 years.

The conflict remained essentially a limited war, unlike the three Indo-Pakistani wars during the first quarter of a century since their independence, as both the sides this time made efforts at de-escalation at every juncture. The 11-week fruitless conflict (May 6- July 18, 1999) ended when Pakistan agreed to “use its influence” over the Mujahideen to
vacate the Kargil heights in the interest of avoiding a full-fledged war between the two nuclear powers, which could have catastrophic consequences. The war ended in a status quo with both the sides claiming victory, but not before thousands of soldiers and hundreds of civilians had died in the conflagration.

The 26th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Ougadougou; Jul. 1999) took place while the hostilities were raging with full fury. The host President, Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso, expressed sympathy with Pakistan whose Foreign Minister told him that Pakistan was a “victim of Indian aggression”. Since India was not represented in the OIC to put forth its point of view, most of the delegates who took the floor supported Pakistan’s position including, what they said was, Pakistan’s initiative in seeking a negotiated settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

2.3.6 Islamic Support for Kashmir as Asset for Pakistan: In fact, the Islamic summit conferences and those of Muslim countries’ Foreign Ministers are the only inter-governmental forums which support, sympathize and empathize with the Pakistani position over Kashmir, express concern over the escalation caused by the Indian shelling and air strikes, laud Pakistan’s initiatives for defusing tension and urge India to respect the UN resolutions on Kashmir, which India calls outdated and irrelevant. The Muslim world had repeatedly affirmed “complete solidarity with Pakistan in its efforts to safeguard its sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity” in the war.
As a gesture of goodwill towards Pakistan, when the OIC makes calls for the Nuclear Weapon Free Zones in the world, it excludes reference to South Asia as Pakistan has repeatedly asserted that it may consider using all options (i.e. its nuclear arsenal as well) for its security, were any future war with India to escalate to an extent that Pakistan is to face existential threat. Generally speaking, the Muslim countries do not recognize the India’s 1963 annexation of Kashmir and wants both countries to withdraw their troops from the state and agree to a UN sponsored plebiscite so that the people of Kashmir, and not guns and bayonets, would decide the fate of Kashmir. They term the inhuman treatment of Kashmiri Muslims by the Indian army as simply unacceptable and appreciate Pakistan’s willingness to go for any kind of mediation, good offices, arbitration, adjudication or fact finding, by UN, OIC or the ICJ, and to abide by the decision.

The Muslim world deplores the Indian inflexibility at refusing every overture on the grounds that, for India, Kashmir was a settled issue and it would not even abide by the UN resolutions on Kashmir which it had earlier accepted. The OIC is also critical of the fact that India is bent upon holding to a region whose predominantly Muslim population, it says, is hostile to the Indian rule. India is defying the UN resolutions since in a free and fair plebiscite, according to Pakistani version, Kashmiris on both sides of the Line of Control (LoC) are likely to opt for accession to Pakistan.

In conclusion, we may say that Kashmir is a typical of bilateral political or territorial disputes between the nation-states---Pakistan and India---in this case. Issues such as
Cyprus between Turkey and Greece, Nogorno Karabagh between Azerbaijan and Armenia and many others comprise of one party to the dispute being an OIC-member against a non-OIC/non-Muslim country. The Muslim bloc usually sides with the Muslim party and this diplomatic help is indispensable for the concerned Muslim state. Pakistan, Turkey and Azerbaijan, in the above examples, depend on the diplomatic support from the Muslim bloc not only within the OIC conferences but also at United Nations and other forums, to strengthen their bargaining positions.

The OIC is virtually the only international forum that gives its unqualified support to Pakistani position on Kashmir. This support has improved Pakistan’s international standing vis-à-vis its arch rival India while the latter, conscious of its own reputation in the global community, is getting increasingly sensitive to OIC resolutions and statements. If the Indians in recent years have tried to make sure that its security forces in the part of Kashmir under its administrative control act within the ambit of law and excesses, where proved, have been punished too, the contribution of OIC cannot be discounted. OIC’s support brings Kashmiri and Pakistani Muslims politically and even emotionally closer to the Muslim world at large. This is true for all other such cases where OIC’s political and diplomatic weight have helped matters for the Muslims in other conflict zones.

2.4 Case Study III Muslim States Cooperation on MUSLIM MINORITIES’ Issues
Chapter 2

Political Cooperation

Of the 1.5 billion Muslims in the world, around a third (nearly 430 million) live as minorities in non-Muslim countries. Human history is replete with the instances of persecution of ethnic and religious minorities; the Muslim minorities are no exception.

2.4.1 Defining Muslim Minorities: Broadly speaking, the Muslim minorities can be categorized as follows:

1. Muslims in Philippines, Cyprus etc., minority in the broader context but a majority in a particular part of a non-Muslim country who are engaged in struggle for separate state-hood.

2. Muslims in India, Burma (now Myanmar) and, till the end of Cold war, Bulgaria too, where they are allegedly persecuted as a result of an unconscious (as in case of India) or a conscious (as in the case of Burmese treatment of Rohingya Muslims) state policy.

3. Muslims in the liberal developed world like the US, UK, France etc., mostly consisting of third world immigrants and recent converts, where they claim to be discriminated against.

4. Muslims in Cambodia, Liberia and Sri Lanka etc. where they are politically marginal and are perforce victims of civil wars. Accused of siding with the rival side, the Muslims at times, bore the brunt of fury of Sinhalese troops and Tamil rebels in Sri Lanka; the forces of the warlords, Charles Taylor and Dr. Samuel

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52 Bulgaria is now a member of the European Union and adheres to the same Human Rights standards that are normative across the Union. However, its ethnic Turkish Muslim minority, estimated to be up to one fifth of the total population, faced considerable discrimination during the dying years of Communist rule. A complete detail of the problem of Bulgarian Muslims can be seen in Khan (2001), op.cit. pp. 157-58.
Doe, in the Liberian civil war in the early 1990s; and of the Pol Pot’s guerrillas in Cambodia in the late 1970s.

5. Muslims in Korea, South Africa and most of Latin America where they constitute a very small percentage of population. The problems of Muslims there, are cultural and educational in nature, rather than political. Cut off from the mainstream Muslims, these minorities are facing cultural assimilation with the respective majorities for want of Islamic schools, qualified clerics, religious literature and proper organization.

The cooperation between Muslim states on issues of Muslim minorities is a very complex and sensitive issue. Right of humanitarian interventions to protect domestic minorities in other countries is a fairly recent phenomenon. When the Muslim world started institutionalized cooperation, way back around 1970, state sovereignty was the concept robustly holding the field boldly in the international relations. So in its nascent years, even the Organization of Islamic Cooperation was careful not to take up the problem of Muslim minorities for fear of annoying the states concerned. It was feared that such activism on minorities’ issues could be construed as a violation of its own Charter that called upon it not to interfere in the domestic matters of any state. That Charter stands revised in 2008 giving greater emphasis on human rights.

At that time, many more Muslim states were being ruled by autocracies than is the condition today. So digging up cases of abuse of human rights of Muslims in non-Muslim
countries could have opened a Pandora box of human rights abuses being committed in the name of national security by many Muslim states themselves.

2.4.2 The OIC and the Muslim Minorities: Created for the sake of cooperation among Muslims, the OIC failed to keep itself aloof from the affairs of Muslim minorities in non-Muslim states for long. The Islamic summit conferences and the Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers brought together Muslim statesmen and their top diplomats and many a times the discussion drifted to the conditions of Muslim minorities.

The first time that the plight of a Muslim minority came up for consideration was at the 3rd Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Jeddah; 1972) when a report on the condition of Muslims of Southern Philippines was presented. At the same conference, the OIC decided to prepare a statistical index on Muslims living in non-member states.\textsuperscript{53} Through another resolution, the conference noted that “Muslim minorities in some countries do not enjoy the political and religious rights guaranteed by international law and norms”. The conference appealed to the countries with Muslim minorities “to respect those minorities and their culture and beliefs and grant them their rights in accordance with the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights”.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{53} Ahsan, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 66
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid}
The following year, at the 4th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Benghazi; 1973), on the initiative of the host state, Libya, the conference deliberated on ways and means of ameliorating the sufferings of the Muslims of South Philippines and of Burma. Besides a request made by the Moro National Liberation Front of Philippines at this conference for grant of an observer status, Mohammad Jaffar Habib, Chairman of the Rohingya Patriotic Front, also mooted such a request on behalf of the Burmese Muslims. There was a heated argument as some countries asked the conference to desist from taking up any issue which constitutes an internal affair of a sovereign nation state. Though the two requests were declined at the time; the determination of the OIC to go ahead with the task of finding amicable solutions to the crises, opened up a new chapter in the legal and political history of the cooperation among Muslim majority states.

Though the Muslim minorities had no status in the old OIC Charter, neither are they represented in the OIC structure, the OIC could not resist coming to the help of persecuted Muslim communities, particularly when the latter had no other recourse. This placed the OIC into a unique position, impelled to defend the rights of co-religionist ethnic communities in non-member states; a thing not expected of other regional organizations like the Non Aligned Movement or the Organization of African Unity. Even the European Union started taking serious interest in the protection of ethnic minorities in non-member sovereign states, a couple of decades later. As for the OIC, without deviating from its principle of respect to state sovereignty, it found a handy

\[55 \text{Ibid, p. 66.}\]
argument in the form of the alleged violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since 1973, the issue of Muslim minorities has appeared on the agenda of each and every OIC conference in one form or the other. But whether it be the issue of Muslims of Philippines, Thailand, Cambodia or those of Kashmir, all the Islamic Conference resolutions start with accusing the concerned state of violating the universal human rights declaration. In dealing directly with the central government of a non-Muslim State, the Islamic Conference acknowledges its sovereignty and argues on the behalf of the Muslim community, to demand their basic rights or, as the case may be, autonomy for them. The Islamic Conference has never, except for Indian controlled Kashmir, argued for the right of secession. But then the issue of Kashmir is different as Indian invasion of Kashmir is seen as being *void ab initio* in the light of the UN Security Council Resolutions calling for plebiscite to determine whether Kashmir was to be part of India or Pakistan.

The 6th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Jeddah; 1975) entrusted the General Secretariat “with the task of preparing a comprehensive study of the conditions of Muslim minorities and communities throughout the world”. The study found the conditions of Muslims, in some cases, “unacceptable”.56 While at the 7th ICFM (Istanbul; 1976), the then World Muslim Congress Secretary General Dr. Inamullah Khan also presented a report on the subject. The 8th OIC Foreign Ministers conclave (Tripoli; 1977)

likewise expressed “concern at the inhuman treatment meted out to Muslim minorities in some countries” and asked the Secretary General to carry out a new and extended survey of the matter. It also called on the governments concerned to “ensure full respect for the legitimate … rights of Muslim minorities” while asking the Muslim states to “manifest support … to the people under the yoke of colonialism and racism.”

The 9th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Dakar; 1978) decided to establish within the General Secretariat a Department of Muslim Minorities, to be headed by an Assistant Secretary General. Henceforth, the designation of ASG (Political Affairs) was changed to ASG (Political, Legal and Muslim Minorities Affairs). This moot approved a token grant of $ 500,000 for the Muslim Minorities --- the first financial gift from Muslim majority states’ budget to be used for Muslim minorities’ affairs. The 11th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Islamabad; 1980), while recognizing that one third of the Muslim ummah lived in non-member states, formed a ministerial committee, comprising Tunisia, Senegal and the OIC Secretary General, mandated to prepare recommendations for the well-being of Muslim minorities. The next two Islamic Foreign Ministers’ conferences requested the Secretary General to report on the implementation of the recommendations of the committee and entrusted him with the responsibility of holding seminars and symposia on the subject of Muslim minorities to inform the world opinion about their miserable conditions.

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57 Ahsan, op. cit. p. 67.
58 Ibid
The fifth Islamic Summit (Kuwait; 1987) approved a draft resolution on Muslim minorities whereby the OIC decided to shoulder the responsibility for the protection of the Muslim communities’ rights. The resolution went on to ask the concerned governments to “ensure the full enjoyment of all legitimate rights” by the Muslim minorities in their respective countries, with a veiled threat “so that their bilateral and multilateral relations “with the Muslim states are not jeopardized”. Three years later, the then OIC Secretary General, Dr. Hamid al Gabid, stated that he would use his influence on the following Islamic summit to make allowance for the OIC to regularly invite the representative delegations of the largest Muslim minority communities, notably from India and China, to attend the OIC conferences. Gabid eventually managed to secure invitations and permissions from some places like Kashmir, North Cyprus and South Philippines to be represented by Observer delegations but could not carry forward his ideas with respect to Russian or Chinese Muslim minority communities.

The Muslim world played active role for support of some Muslim communities such as that of Moro Muslims in the Mindanao region of Southern Philippines but ignored others such as the Eritrean struggle that was left to the purview of the Organization of African Unity, save for occasional resolutions, from the OIC platform, expressing support to the right of self-determination of the people of Eritrea.  

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59 Lately, Russia has been granted permanent Observer state in the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Its delegation occasionally includes officially approved Russian Muslim representatives.
60 Eriteria population is evenly divided between Muslims and Christians, hence, OIC refereed to the rights of the “people of Eriteria” rather than “Muslims” of Eritrea.
Among the persecuted Muslims’ category, the Muslim world role was truly selective. Though, it took interest in the plight of Muslims in Bulgaria and India, but that of Muslims minorities of the world powers like the ex-USSR (genocide in Chechenya) and China (Eastern Turkistan region) were never seriously raised with the governments concerned. Likewise, the Muslim world has been pusillanimous in dealing with the persecution of Muslim in Indo-China region, particularly the Arakan region in Myanmar. The support has mostly been confined to verbal expressions of concern and solidarity. For instance, when the OIC Fact-Finding Mission on the Burmese Muslims presented its report to the OIC Secretary General in March 1992, he publicly condemned Rangoon for, what he called, the “campaign of repression and persecution of Muslims, launched by the Burmese authorities”, and urged the OIC states to help the victims. It is not known which of the Muslim states and to what extent had responded to this call. In any case, the matter was not pursued properly. As for the Immigrant Muslim communities in Europe, the Muslim world, through the Islamic Conference, has limited itself to criticizing, what it calls, discrimination against Muslim immigrants in Europe.61

2.4.3 Role of Big Powers: The Muslim world seems to recognize the Muslim Minorities as part of the *Ummah*. There are big Muslim minorities ranging between 12-20 % (figures and statistics wildly disputed) in bigger and diverse countries such as Russia, China and India. Even Israel proper (excluding occupied lands of 1967) has a substantial Muslim minority that has Israeli citizenship. The United States is believed to have seven

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million Muslims while European Union too, has Islam as the second largest religion. The city of Brussels, the seat of the Union, has about 25% Muslim population and even the city’s Mayor, till recently, and was a naturalized citizen --(originally) a Muslim immigrant from North Africa.

The Muslim world had tried to help their co-religionists in the non-Muslim world by acting as a pressure group for protection of their human rights. Paradoxically, those Muslim countries which had a poor human rights record at home, like Libya, Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia, had loud voices for the rights of Muslims not living under their control. Democratic Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Turkey and Malaysia also have tried to help Muslim minorities at political and diplomatic levels.

Although our analysis is capped at the year 2000, we may robustly conclude that the condition of Muslim minorities has improved considerably, over the past two decades, due to a variety of reasons, not all of them are related to developments within the Muslim world. (a) The establishment of European Union has been a boon for the Muslim immigrant communities as respect for human rights is a cardinal principle of the Union. (b) The fall of Communism has generally improved the lot of ethnic Muslim communities in Russia and much of East Europe and now they are free to profess and practice their religion. Even the wars in Bosnia and Chechenya have ended and life is returning to normal. (c) End of civil wars in Sierra Leone and Liberia, Sri Lanka, Cambodia and elsewhere has given relief to Muslim minorities that were caught in the
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cross fire of warring sides. (d) The strengthening of international criminal justice system for war crimes and crimes against humanity, as evident from the trials at the International Tribunal on Former Yugoslavia at the Hague and International Tribunal on Genocide in Rwanda at Arusha, as well as national tribunals in Cambodia and Sierra Leone, have ended the impunity of even heads of state for war crimes, has been a major success of human civilization. The Muslim minority were by far not the only victims of these human tragedies. The world has moved ahead and Muslims are also getting relief.

Be that as it may, whenever the History of Muslim minorities will be objectively collected and written, the role of Muslim majority states in helping them, though seldom recognized by available scholarship, may have to be positively acknowledged.

2.5 Role of Pakistan in political cooperation in the Muslim world

Here, a very important aspect has to be covered before this chapter could be wound up. Any discussion on political cooperation between the Muslim states can never be complete without commenting on Pakistan’s leadership role in the fostering cooperation in the Muslim world. Since its inception in 1947, Pakistan has been vocal in calling for Muslim unity. Without demanding any quid pro quo on Kashmir, Pakistan has always stood by the side of the Palestinian and Arab nations in their conflict with Israel, in the spirit of Islamic solidarity. Pakistan has consistently and unequivocally supported all the Muslim
causes such as the independence struggle of Algeria, reunification efforts of Cyprus with adequate safeguards for the Muslim Turk community there, rights of the Filipino and Burmese Muslims, among others.

In Feb 1974, when the second Islamic Summit conference was held in Lahore, Pakistan’s then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was unanimously elected as the Chairman of the Islamic Conference---a position Pakistan continued to hold for seven years till 1981. It was in the capacity of the leadership of Muslim world that at the turn of the new Hijrah century in 1979, the then President of Pakistan was asked to address the UN General Assembly as a spokesman for the Muslim world which he did in the annual UN General Assembly session of 1980. The Pakistani President Zia-ul-Haq articulated the desire of the Muslim nations to work for universal peace and prosperity of the world as equal partners with the developed world. Later, Pakistan also held the top position of the OIC Secretary General, for four years 1985 to 1989, in the person of Sharifuddin Pirzada. Pakistan has hosted a number of Islamic conferences including two Islamic summits (Lahore; 1974 and Islamabad; 1997) as well as five Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers in 1970, 1980, 1993, 1994, and 2003.

Pakistan played a proactive role in five major crises in the Muslim world, namely, Palestine, Afghanistan, Iran-Iraq War, Kuwait crisis and the civil war in Bosnia. In the

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62 It is also a documented fact that during the liberation struggles in Algeria and Morocco, the pro-freedom elements used to tune in to “Radio Pakistan” for news and commentaries on the conflicts, upholding the dignity of the Muslim peoples. I am grateful to my PhD evaluator Dr Nathalene Reynolds for pointing this out in her comments on my dissertation enabling me to include this and some other facts in my revised dissertation.

63 A detailed debate on Pakistan’s role can be found in Saad S. Khan (2004), *Friends Indeed: Review and Reference on Pakistan-OIC Relations*, Islamabad, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
Middle East crisis, Pakistan played a pivotal role in bringing back the Egyptians into the fold of the OIC in 1984, five years after it has been expelled from the OIC and all intra-Islamic bodies and institutions for making peace with Israel.

As the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan for ten long years (1979-1989), Pakistan gave shelter to three million Afghan refugees displaced by the fighting. Pakistan also supported Afghan Mujahideen who fought the Soviet troops till their withdrawal after eight years of occupation.

During the eight-year long Iran-Iraq war (1980-88), Pakistan remained Chairman of the Ummah Peace Committee, consisting of seven Muslim countries, which tried its best to end the war. Again, at the time of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in 1990-91, Pakistan’s Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, went on a tour of Muslim states, with his four-point formula, to bring about an amicable resolution of the crisis without bloodshed. Pakistan also played a central role military coordination among Muslim countries to support the legitimate government of Bosnia in the civil war of 1992-95.

2.6 Conclusion: A comparison with EU

In conclusion, one can say that the record of Muslim world in political cooperation has been mixed. There have been a lot of resolutions, statements and speeches on the need for unity in the Muslim world, but it has not always been matched by concrete action. In Palestine, the Muslim world has done a fair degree of efforts for recognition of the rights of Palestinians; if Palestine can now legitimately look forward to their statehood under a
two state solution, they can only be indebted to the Muslim world who kept their torch alight. Kashmir issue is an example where the Muslim world did not match the expectations of Pakistan. Although, a number of Muslim countries did not and still do not want their relations with India to suffer, which is the second largest consumer market in the world, yet, India had had to be on the defensive many a times over the Kashmir issue. Same is the case with Muslim minorities elsewhere that Muslim political support has helped in protecting both political and cultural rights for them.

There have been a number of issues such as the Iran-Iraq war, Pakistan’s civil war leading to secession of Bangladesh, the Maurtania-Senegal conflict, the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, the Bosnia’s war of independence, the Cyprus crisis, and trial of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan, where the role of the Muslim bloc had been noticeable. The space and scope limitations preclude detailed treatment of all instances of political cooperation, cooption and coordination. Suffice is to state here that political cooperation between the Muslim states is a reality and a major influence in shaping of the political landscape of the world as it exists today.

Now let’s compare it with the European Union’s political experience. Right after the second World War, impetus towards political cooperation became clearly discernible. Jean Monnet, a former Deputy Secretary General of the League of Nations, formed an Action Committee for “United States of Europe”. The famous British Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, dreamed of a visa free Europe by declaring the aim of his foreign policy to
“grapple with the whole problem of passports and visas” so that he could “go down to Victoria Station”, where rains departed for the [European] Continent, “get a Railway ticket, and go where the hell I liked without a Passport or anything.”

It was less than half a century that the dream was realized (not exactly for London’s Victoria Station as UK is outside the Schengen regime) for almost the whole of Europe.

Europe started its cooperation from what was perceived at that time, as low politics, i.e. economic cooperation through a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) and European Economic Community (EEC) in the 1950’s. Europe moved to cooperation in high politics, including diplomacy, under what was named as “European Political Cooperation” (EPC) to distinguish from the economic cooperation, in 1970. The member states’ developed ways of working together that were to produce many joint positions on a wide range of issues and including at the United Nations. Having coordinated policies at UN General Assembly session or other diplomatic forums conferences on issues ranging from Population to the Middle East dispute is something that the OIC also practised for decades. The difference is that by 1990, the EU had graduated to a level that French President Francois Mitterrand and German Chancellor Helmet Kohl could propose an inter governmental conference on ‘political union’ to run parallel with the Economic and Monetary Union EMU). The Maastricht Treaty (1992) creating the Union came just two years later.

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There are lessons to be learnt by the Muslim world from the European Union. Just like the EU intended to serve as an example of how to create a ‘more prosperous and peaceful world’, the Muslim world can aim at offering a second such example. The EU also aims at making the United Nations more effective by its concerted support to the world body. But such a role could not have been possible without a pluralistic democracy reigning supreme in the whole of Europe. It follows that unless the Arab Spring succeeds in extending responsible democratic rule in the whole Middle East and the wider Muslim world, there is no chance of a Muslim political union. The EU survived and flourished by continuously listening to its people and through a process of continuous reform and adaptation. The OIC has started reforming only recently, replacing its old Charter with a new one with much greater emphasis on human rights, good governance and the rule of law. This is good omen for the future!
3

Economic Cooperation in the Muslim World

3.1 Introduction

European Union experience has demonstrated that economic cooperation can be a safe, though circuitous, route to political cooperation. When the ultimate aim of economic cooperation is the economic integration, then it is all the more so. Economic integration has the potential to, more or less automatically, translate itself into a solid and sustainable political unity.

The European Union took market as a starting point to make case for free mobility of capital, labour, goods and services. It became evident right at the outset that single market or common external tariffs are impossible to achieve without substantial coordination at political levels. The Muslim world has failed to make headway towards economic convergence not only because of wild disparity in economic structures and
incompatibility in economic positions, but also because of the mistaken belief that political unity can precede economic integration. That a meaningful and purposeful degree of economic coordination, let alone some semblance of integration, has not been achieved spells doubts over the potential of pan-Islamic paradigm as a whole.

We will argue in this chapter that economic cooperation is the trickiest of all forms of cooperation and needs a fairly high degree of compatibility of economic structures of the participating nations. Thus, it is much more difficult to bring it about by mere agreements and protocols. There will have to be a long and consistent series of measures that will harmonize the economies of some, if not all, the Muslim states so that a pilot economic union can be established that can later be expanded. After all, this is the very route that the European Union had adopted.

There is no known parallel in the contemporary world, of an economic alliance of countries as diverse as the Muslim world/OIC bloc is, or as geographically dispersed as they are, and as economically disparate as the these states happen to be. The European Union could not allow any country, even if she were an EU member already, to join its Economic and Monitory Union (EMU) until and unless it met the five compatibility criteria that included a debt-to-GDP ratio that was below 60%, fiscal deficit that less than 3% of the GDP and inflation rate that was in single digits. For this, the first Lisbon Treaty had agreed to very stringent roadmap of fiscal and monetary discipline.¹

¹ The five convergence criteria related to (a) rates of inflation, (b) rates of interest, (c) ceilings for budget deficit, (d) ceilings for total public debt and (e) stability of exchange rates.
This chapter will begin with an overview of the Muslim world’s economic potential and then go on to discuss why economic cooperation or its pinnacle---the economic integration---is resorted to by modern nation-states. Then we will delineate the stages of economic cooperation and then discuss what sort of paraphernalia and framework is required for economic cooperation and whether the Muslim world has created it or not. Finally, we will discuss the establishment of various Islamic organizations in the realm of economic cooperation and analyze what they have done so far. Our chapter will conclude by making predictions on whether the current focus and direction of efforts will bear fruit and make suggestions on a preferred course of action.

For reasons of space and time constraints, we have restricted our discussion in this treatise to the 30-year time bracket of 1970 to 2000. This will hopefully give a fair picture of how much the economic cooperation has worked; what, if at all, were the benefits derived, and what is the future of pan-Islamic economic cohesion plans.

### 3.2 Overview of Muslim World and its (economic) resources

As noted earlier, the 57 Muslim countries in a total of 192 member-States of the United Nations, comes to slightly less than a third of the world total. If ever, and if at all, the Muslim community---poor as most of them are---acts en bloc, in its economic policies, this could be still be in the bottom half of ten biggest economies, with those of the United States, China, European Union, Japan and the rest of East Asia coming above it.
As of the year 2000, the mean literacy rate of the Muslim countries was 44.7%, if that of the six ex-Soviet Muslim republics (where this rate officially stood at cent per cent) is also included. The GNP of the Muslim world was 4% of the total and it accounts for 7.1% of the global trade. Their external debt liability was around $383 billion. We shall now have a look on the economic resources of the Muslim world: human resource (people), natural resource (land), and capital resource (capital):

3.2.1 The human resource: Here again we have a definitional problem as to how to define the “human resource of the Muslim world”. Should it be the Muslim citizens of the Muslim states alone? (OIC Definition)\(^2\); should it be the sum total of Muslim and non-Muslim citizens of the Muslim states? (IDB Definition); should it be all the Muslims of the world, regardless of whether they are residing in the Muslim world or not? (WMC Definition); or should it be the total population (Muslim and non-Muslim) of the Muslim states plus the Muslim people of non-Muslim states? (IFSTAD Definition)\(^3\)

In view of the discussion we had in the introductory chapter on the inclusiveness of ummah, we shall use the definition used by the Islamic Development Bank (IDB)--- the

\(^2\) The four definitions have been taken from the official literature of these Organizations, regarding their human resource hiring policy. The Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC) draws its international staff from Muslim citizens of Muslim (OIC) States only (the employee’s spouse also has to be Muslim too). The Islamic Development Bank (IDB) a subsidiary of the OIC, hires from both Muslim and non-Muslim citizens of the Muslim/OIC states. The Mu’tamar al Alam al Islami (World Muslim Congress) --- a pan-Islamic international NGO, formed in 1926, defines Muslim human resource as all the Muslims, regardless of their nationality.

The Islamic Foundation of Science, Technology and Development (IFSTAD) believes that human resource of the Muslim world consists of the Muslim and non-Muslim citizens of the Muslim countries (i.e. OIC member-States) as well as all the Muslim minorities living in non-Muslim/non-OIC states.

\(^3\) The IFSTAD has now become defunct but that will discussed in the chapter on cooperation in science and technology in the Muslim world
economic and development arm of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) to
define human resource of the Muslim world. This will enable us to maintain consistency
throughout this Doctorate dissertation as we had defined the Muslim world as the totality
of Muslim states, or, in other words, the total membership of the OIC, and had excluded
Muslim minorities from the definition of Muslim world. For our purpose, the human
resource of Muslim world consists of all citizens (both Muslim and non-Muslim) of the
Muslim states.

We recognize that none of the above four definitions is free of problems but insist that
many notions have got such conceptual clarity that have become part of normative
behavior of states --- equal treatment to religious Minorities, for instance. So we cannot
exclude non-Muslim population of Muslim-majority states as part of the Muslim human
resource; not alone for ethical reasons that unequal treatment of one segment of the
citizenry in any state militates against all recognized canons of equity, justice and
morality, but also because such discrimination makes no economic sense and is self-
defeating from an economic viability point of view.

The Muslims number 1.5 billion in the world which is around a quarter of the world
population of over 6 billion. Over two thirds (71%) of the Muslims live in the 57 OIC
states; the remaining 430 million or so live as Minorities in 136 countries and territories
across the globe. The population of OIC countries is 1.4 billion of which 80% are
Muslims. And for our purpose this pool of 1.4 billion human beings (including some 280
million non-Muslim citizens of the OIC States) is the human resource of the Muslim
world. The examples of the United States, the European Union and China testify to the fact that human resource, if properly motivated and channelized can be the biggest asset for any nation. The human resource of the Islamic nation is larger than any one of the preceding three economic giants of the present era.

3.2.2 Land and natural resources: The Muslim world comprises less than a fifth of the land mass of the world there are area-wise and includes some territorially huge countries such as Kazakhstan, Algeria, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia.\(^4\) When we treat land as an economic resource, we are actually referring to the natural resources of the land as well as the agricultural potential of its cultivable portions. The Muslim world has around 244 million hectares of arable land, although the full agricultural potential is seldom realized due to outdated agriculture tools and techniques.\(^5\) Thus, the Muslim world is grossly under-utilizing its potential to be able to feed itself, far from becoming net food exporter. The importance of agriculture can hardly be over-emphasized. No nation can even think of becoming economically self-reliant without assuring food security for its people. This lesson was well understood by the European Union. For better part of its history, the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP) --- ate up to 70% of the total budget of the Union. As we will see later in the chapter that the Muslim world has many economic cooperation bodies, but a glaring omission is the absence of a cooperative arrangement on food and agriculture.

\(^4\) These five are respectively the first, second, third, and fourth largest Muslim states in this order, in terms of area. Sudan which used to be area-wise the largest OIC state for decades has lost this pre-eminence after secession of South Sudan.

\(^5\) Except where indicated otherwise, the facts and figures have been taken from the *Yearbooks of Socio-Economic Indicators of Muslim Countries*, (2007), Ankara, SESRTCIC.
As for other mineral resources, Muslim/OIC states are estimated to possess around 40% of world’s mineral resources including 50% of world’s proven oil reserves. A bird’s eye view of the raw materials of the Muslim world gives the following picture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mineral Resource</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oil and Petroleum</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubber</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tin</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phosphates</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copper</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Gas</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jute</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is important in the above table is not what it states but what it misses out. The world today thrives on knowledge-based economies and products. The volume of international trade in any raw material, and this goes for the petroleum products too, does not appear even as peanuts compared to the international turn over in knowledge based products like Software, Pharmaceuticals, and innovative Financial Services such as the hedge funds, asset management services, and speculative trade in currencies, and so on.

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6 There is no unanimity on these facts and figures. The above percentages are taken from Zahid Malik, *Reemerging Muslim World* (1974), op. cit., and are only for indicative and thematic purposes.
Most of the Muslim countries depend on less than five products (some like Iraq on just one) for the bulk of their exports and these too are mostly raw materials. As we will see later, a *sine qua non* for an economic integration is maturing of economy to knowledge-based economy.

3.2.3 *Capital Resources:* For reasons discussed in the foregoing paragraphs, the Muslim world’s economy is miniscule compared to the rest of the world. The total Gross National Product, or GNP, of the Muslim world (all 57 states combined) in 2000 was US $ 1.2 trillion which was less than that of Japan ($1.45 trillion) and France ($ 1.25 trillion) for the same year.

The path to economic growth lies through state-of-the-art universities and centers of excellence in all fields of natural and social sciences. As long as not one university from the Muslim world comes in the top 500 best ranking universities of the globe; the total R&D budget of the Muslim world is less than that of one single production conglomerate, the Toyota of Japan; and the number of all patents registered and research papers published in the whole of 57 countries remain a fraction of one tiny country such as Israel, there is little hope for a greater value of goods and services produced in the OIC bloc. It is said that money begets money. Thus to create capital, one has to have spare capital for investment. And if the total economy is based on natural resources, then there is little potential for generating and earning enough capital. The result being that Muslim countries depend on investment from Western countries to spur their economies. Obviously, the investor is motivated by his own benefit and few multi nationals would
like to consider investment in a risky developing economy if the annual return is not likely to be above 40%. Thus consumer investments do not necessarily have great positive impact on the economy of recipient states.

### 3.3 Rationale for Economic Cooperation

European Union stood for economic cooperation for sound economic reasons and therein lies a lesson for every other economic cooperation initiative. The synergy arising out of this cooperation has many perceived benefits some of which are discussed below. I must hasten to add that this does not pre-suppose that all of these benefits will be available in every case. In fact, for some of the countries, the affects may be partly or entirely negative. Thus the rationale for economic cooperation has to be seen on case-to-case basis as there is no one-size-fits-all solution. Some of the general benefits accruing to EU from a Common Market--- the ones, we believe, can be relevant to the Muslim world too--- are be summarized as follows:

#### 3.3.1 Economies of Scale: Convergence at macro-economic level results in creation of economies of scale for individual goods and services. As the market becomes larger, greater number of goods or services is produced. This makes them cheaper for the end consumers. This increases the individual disposable incomes, thus increasing prosperity.

#### 3.3.2 Complementarities: Different production patterns create different specializations as per Ricardo’s principle of comparative advantage. Coordination in economic policies
results in countries concentrating on those goods where they enjoy comparative advantage. Thus, various economies tend to complement each other rather than compete with one another.

3.3.3 Sharing of Knowledge and Expertise: The merger of economies encourages sharing of knowledge and expertise, exchange of skilled human resource, opening up of universities and training institutions to each other’s citizens. It also promotes technical cooperation among firms, both public and private, and bond-making between private business concerns.

3.3.4 Fomenting of good will: Economic cooperation is one of the most effective tools for promoting political goodwill not only at the government-to-government level but also at the people-to-people level.

3.3.5 Step towards political integration: Economic cooperation is the ideal route for any international community of nations, aspiring for political unity. The commonality of economic policies and issues leads to greater interaction and coordination at the political level.

3.4 Five Stages of Economic Cooperation

There are five stages of economic cooperation, generally recognized, in ascending level of greater cooperation. The fifth or final stage is also called economic integration as there is no greater level of economic union. The stages are as follows:
3.4.1 Preferential Trade Areas: If some countries agree on reduced tariff (including zero tariff) for a certain number of goods and services; if they lower or abolish non-tariff barriers such as quotas etc for these items, produced between the participating countries, then it is called a preferential trade area.

3.4.2 Free Trade Areas: If the abolition or reduction of tariff and non-tariff barriers is extended to (notionally) all or almost-all goods and services, then the arrangement is called a free trade area. The most successful example of an FTA is the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) comprising Mexico, Canada and the United States of America.

3.4.3 Customs Union: The Customs Union is one step ahead of a free trade area and it includes a common external tariff. In other words, a convergence of customs duties and import policies towards the rest of the world is required, in addition to doing away of tariffs between members of the Union.

3.4.4 Common Market: A common market means the unhindered mobility of the factors of production, capital and labor, and even entrepreneurship. Thus, there emerges a joint labor market and a shared capital market.

3.4.5 Economic and Monitory Union/E.M.U: This is the final stage of economic cooperation and means a common monetary policy, that usually entails a common
currency and thus common monetary policy, in addition to a common market for goods and services and free mobility of the factors of production.

Some economists count these stages as six by introducing the concept of a Single Market as a complete stage of common market and sandwich it, just before the EMU in the above list of stages. Be that as it may the ultimate goal and final stage of economic (the EMU) can be called “Economic Integration” for the purpose of this work. Whether the Muslim world is poised to become an economic and monetary union is not a moot point. As things stand today, the answer is clearly in the negative.

3.5 Types of Economic Cooperation:

Now there are conflicting views on what level of economic cooperation/ integration is needed and is realistically achievable in a given environment. In any case, as noted earlier, Economic Integration is very difficult to achieve for uneven economies and geographically dispersed ones, as is the case with Muslim World as a whole. There is always a possibility of economic cooperation between contiguous Muslim states and in fact there were 44 such arrangement in place at one time or the other. In addition, there are one-to-one relations between Muslim countries as the richer ones like Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Libya etc have a history of assisting poor Muslim countries. Thus, three distinct types of cooperative arrangement are evident based on number of actors involved:
3.5.1 Bilateral Cooperation: There are many instances where two Muslim countries decide on any form of economic cooperation which can take place in the form of development aid, bilateral trade, investment, technical assistance and the like. This section needs no further elaboration.

3.5.2 Regional Cooperation: Muslim countries have regional cooperation arrangements and just like bilateral cooperation noted above, the multilateral counterpart does not have to be with the Muslim neighbors alone. Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) among the six Gulf States, the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) comprising Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan and the six former Soviet Muslim republics of the Caucus and Central Asia, and the Economic Council Of West African States (ECOWAS) comprise Muslim states only. But then there are examples like South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) which have mixed memberships between Muslim/non-Muslim States. Thus it appears that religion has not been a motivation for forming or joining regional economic blocs. Where it is an all-Muslim regional bloc, it appears to be more an accident of geography than a conscious ideological orientation. It just happened that Pakistan’s East had many non-Muslim neighbors while to its West stretched only Muslim states: Pakistan joined SAARC with its Eastern neighbors and ECO with its Western ones.

3.5.3 Cooperation between the whole Muslim World: Taking the regional economic arrangement to a more universal level, would entail a bloc consisting of all Muslim states.
Efforts have been afoot since the creation of the OIC and many of its subsidiary organs and affiliated organizations that operate under its umbrella, yet no major breakthrough has been witnessed in this regard.

The question, however, arises why to tamper with existing arrangements. Why Economic Unity of all OIC countries in the first place? It appears that very few serious studies of the pros and cons of such an arrangement have been carried out. Many Muslims want it simply for ideological reasons. Thus most of the literature on Islamic (Economic) Unity is rhetorical and polemical in nature rather than dispassionate study of the benefits it may or may not bring. It must be borne in mind that jumbled economic integration may favor some Muslims individuals or communities at the expense of others. Such a scenario may result in loss of appetite for pan Islamic economic integration and make the whole scheme contentious and divisive.

3.6 Efforts towards Economic Cooperation in the Muslim world:

In this section, we will study the chronology of milestones towards Islamic economic bloc in the twentieth century and after. The founding conference of the World Muslim Congress (*Mutamar al Alam al Islami*) in Makkah (1926) and the one that followed in Jerusalem (1931) had called for political and economic unity of the Muslims. After the creation of Pakistan in 1947, it became host to the First and Second International Islamic Economic Conferences, both at Karachi (1949 & 1951), which discussed ways and means to bring economic cohesion in Muslim countries. In 1962, the creation of Muslim World
League (Rabita al Alam al Islami) at Makkah, through its founding Charter, gave impetus to calls for an Islamic economic union. More than a decade later the establishment of Islamic Development Bank (IDB) in Jeddah (1975) proved to be watershed in the efforts to foment economic cooperation in the Muslim world. Lately, in 2003, the World Islamic Economic Forum has been formed, although it is too early to comment on its impact and it is the beyond the scope of this work.

3.7 Political Framework for Economic Cooperation

Existence of a political framework for continuous decision-making, making available the necessary resources and persistent monitoring are all conditions-precedent for any big inter-state or international initiative to survive. Economic cooperation is such a technical and complex subject that the same becomes all the more necessary.

3.7.1 Role of the OIC: In case of the Muslim world, the necessary framework is provided by the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Although by no measure can OIC be deemed to be a successful organization for economic integration, but its role in promoting solidarity among Islamic nations cannot be discounted either.

The OIC Charter calls upon it to play a role in fomenting economic cooperation in the Muslim world. Thus, one of the four Assistant Secretary Generals of the OIC is designation as the ASG (Economic and Commercial Affairs) who heads a wing in the
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General Secretariat working for the purpose. The OIC has many institutions and affiliated bodies for economic cooperation such as the Islamic Development Bank, Islamic Chamber of Commerce & Industry and Islamic Center for Development of Trade etc which will be discussed later in this chapter.

3.7.2 *Role of COMCEC*: The OIC has three standing committees for cooperation: the first and foremost is called the Permanent Standing **COMmittee on Commercial & Economic Cooperation (COMCEC)** which is chaired by the President of Turkey ex officio and is composed of all the Finance Ministers of the OIC countries. As the name indicates it is the supervisory body for all activities related to commercial and economic cooperation. It meets every two years in Istanbul (Turkey) and so far 26 such bi-annual sessions have been held. The other two permanent standing committees are the Permanent Standing **COMmittee on Science & TECHnology (COMSTECH)** and the Permanent Standing **COMmittee on Information And Culture (COMIAC)** but they will be discussed in the respective chapters related to their mandate. About COMCEC, suffice is to state here that it is the coordinating forum for all activities related to economic cooperation in the Muslim world.
3.8 Legal Framework for Economic Cooperation in Muslim World

The second important requirement for economic cooperation is the existence of legal panoply to respect and safeguard each other’s economic interests and delineate a roadmap for the future. Thanks again to the Islamic Conference; three very important documents furnish the legal foundations and protection for the purpose:

3.8.1 Plan of Action for Economic and Commercial Cooperation (3rd Islamic Summit Conference at Taif, 1981): Although this is the last of the three documents and it is not exactly an agreement but I have chosen to place it at the beginning. Reason being that no journey can be made without a charted course. The Plan of Action for Economic Cooperation is the roadmap for the Muslim world’s economic cooperation. It was adopted by the third Islamic Summit Conference held at Taif in January 1981. The Plan of Action had broadened the scope of economic cooperation among Muslim States to ten key areas including trade, transportation, construction, energy, food & agriculture, and others.

3.8.2 Protocol on Promotion, Protection and Guarantee of Investments: The protocol gives protection to investments in other Muslim countries against confiscation, nationalization and unfair taxation.
3.8.3 General Agreement on Economic, Technical and Commercial Cooperation: As the name indicates, this agreement has codified the rules for technical and commercial cooperation between the Muslim states. It was signed in 1977 and came into force, the following year.

3.9 Tangible Steps for Economic Cooperation in the Muslim world:

Although the list can be large, I have narrowed the concept of economic cooperation to the following six fields and within brackets I have added the major agency or body responsible for accomplishing that within the all-OIC framework:

The first area is Coordination in the field of Development. This is most important since all the 57 Muslim states are developing states and around a third of them are categorized as the Least Developed Countries. Meaningful economic cooperation entails, in this particular context, development help to the poor performing states. The IDB is performing this role. Second area is international trade, more specifically the imports and exports between the Muslim countries. The Islamic Center for Development of Trade (ICDT) is entrusted with this side. Closely related to it is the third area, that of building linkages between Private Sector/ Business communities of the Muslim countries which is entrusted to the Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ICCI). The fourth area is that of international finance which is the weakest link as far as the OIC platform is concerned and the International Association of Islamic Banks (IAIB) must have been taking care of the Banking and Finance related affairs but it is not very active.
The above four areas need a back up from two more areas, which become are fifth and sixth focus areas; one is academic and the other is statistical. These functions are respectively taken care of by Islamic Research and Training Institute through undertaking research on economic cooperation and by Statistical Economic and Social Research & Training Center for Islamic Countries which looks after the data and Information availability side.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) has thus taken care of all these six areas and now we shall focus on all six institutions one by one and look at their activities up to the year 2000, to see what they have contributed:

3.9.1 Islamic Development Bank:

The Islamic Development Bank, commonly known as IDB, is the principal organ of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference in the economic field. Not only is it the largest of the OIC organs, in terms of manpower employed, financial resources and scope of activities etc., but also is the most active institution under the OIC umbrella. The IDB is basically an international financial institution but its scope of activities is limited to the Muslim World, i.e. OIC member states and the Muslim communities in the non-Muslim states. Consequently, the primary condition of the membership of IDB is, that the applicant state should be a member of the OIC. The prospective member-state is also

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8 Ibid, p.84.
required to be willing to accept such terms and conditions as may be decided upon by the board of governors of the Bank. Almost all the OIC members also hold the IDB membership. In fact, the Bank follows the OIC decisions in suspension/expulsion of the members as well. The Bank has a staff of 685, fifty of whom are Muslims from non-Muslim states.

*General Information:* The headquarters of Bank are located in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Considering the increasing volume and diversity of the Bank’s operations and the need to improve its operations, expedite disbursements, ensure better project follow-up and implementation, and strengthen mutual contacts with the private sector, it was decided in 1993 to establish two regional offices: one in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, for member countries and Muslim communities in South East Asia; and the other in Rabat, Morocco, for member countries South of the Sahara and the Arab Maghreb Union. Both of these offices started functioning in 1994.

The official language of the Islamic Bank is Arabic, though, English and French are additionally used as working languages. The financial year of the Bank is the lunar *(Hijrah)* year of the Islamic Calendar. Upto mid-1992, the authorized capital of the Bank stood at two billion Islamic Dinars, which become ID 6 billion in July of that year by virtue of the decision of the Board of Governors, divided into 600,000 shares having a

10 For instance, in the meeting of the Board of Governors on 28-29 May 1991, Iraq was not invited since it was being treated as a pariah in the OIC for its invasion of Kuwait the preceding year. Similarly IDB has followed OIC decisions regarding the expulsions of Egypt and Afghanistan see Keesing’s Contemporary Archives, 1991, p.38313.
11 IDB publication (1996), ”Twenty-two years in the service of development”, Jeddah, p.2
par value of ID 10,000 each. The Islamic Dinar (ID) is the accounting unit of the Bank, whose value is equal to one SDR- Special Drawing Right of the International Monitory Fund. At the time of writing this chapter, in March 2009, ID 1.00 was roughly equivalent to US $ 1.46713.

Establishment: The idea of the establishment of the IDB is as old as that of the OIC itself. As the distinction between the high politics and low politics was increasingly becoming blurred in post World War II era, the protagonists of a pan-Islamic arrangement had envisaged economic co-operation in the Muslim world, as a primary objective for such a venture. That is why, the proposal for the establishment of an Islamic Bank was first discussed as early as in the second ICFM (Karachi; Dec. 1970), when the OIC had not been formally established. The following year, one of the four expert committees that the OIC formed for study of specific proposals, dealt with the proposed Bank. This committee met in Feb. 1972 at Cairo, Egypt, and recommended the convening of an Islamic Finance Ministers’ Conference, that was duly held on 18 Dec. 1973 at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

The first Islamic Conference of Finance Ministers issued a declaration of intent to establish the Islamic Development Bank. It also decided to establish a preparatory committee that examined the draft of agreement articles in Jeddah in May 1974, and presented them before the second Conference of Finance Ministers held in Jeddah in

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13 The other three committees concentrated upon the drafting of Charter, the establishment of an Islamic news agency and setting up of Islamic cultural centers. See Chapter 6 for details on cultural activities.
August 1974, which adopted them. The inaugural meeting of the Board of Governors of the Bank took place in July 1975 that elected a president and the executive directors. It decided that the Bank should formally open on 20 October 1975. Dr Tunku Abdul Rahman, took over as the first President of the IDB.

**Purpose and Functions:** The purpose of the Bank is to foster the economic development and social progress of Member States and Communities, individually as well as collectively, in accordance with the principles of the *Shariah*. For the purpose, it provides equity participation and grants loans for productive projects and enterprises. It also gives financial assistance to member states in other forms for their economic and social development and to foster foreign trade among member countries. The functions of the Bank, as state in Article 2 of the Articles of agreement, are as follows:

- to participate in equity capital of projects and enterprises in member countries;
- to invest in economic and social infrastructure projects in member countries by way of participation or other financial arrangements;
- to make loans to the private and public sectors for the financing of productive projects, enterprises and programmes in member countries;
- to establish and operate special funds for special purposes including a fund for assistance to Muslim Communities in non-member countries;
- to assist in the promotion of foreign trade, especially in capital goods, among member countries

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15 Baba, *op. cit.*, p.218
16 Dr Tunku Abdul Rahman was the founder and first Prime Minister of Malaysia (1960-70). In 1970, he became the first Secretary General of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation 1970-73)
17 Guide to OIC, *op. cit.*, p.83
Structure: The IDB has over 50 member states. Each member has to subscribe to a minimum of 250 IDB shares, each with a value of Islamic Dinars\(^{18}\) 25,000. The three tier administrative structure of the Bank consists of the Board of Governors, the Board of Executive Directors and the President.\(^{19}\) The Board of Governors is the supreme authority of the Bank where each member-state is represented by a Governor, usually its finance minister and an alternate Governor. The Board meets once a year. All powers of the Bank are vested in the Board. The *Board of Executive Directors* is composed of eleven members, of whom five are appointed by each of the five member countries having the largest number of shares, and the remaining six are elected by the Governors of all other member countries with the exception of the Governors representing the five big shareholders. As of the year 2000, the five states (the percentage of their subscribed shares is given in brackets) were (1) Saudi Arabia (26.6%), (2) Kuwait (13.2%), (3) Libya (10.7%), (4) Turkey (8.4%), and (5) UAE (7.5%).\(^{20}\) The B.E.D is responsible for the direction of the general operations of the Bank and approves all financing operations. The *President* is the chief executive of the Bank, its legal representative as well as the B.E.D chairman.

\(^{18}\) Islamic Dinar as explained in the main text is the accounting unit of the Islamic Development Bank and is equal to one Special Drawing Right of IMF. It is not a paper currency like Euro but is more akin to European Economic Unit (ECU) that preceded the launch of Euro in 1999. In this chapter, the amounts of IDB activities in Islamic Dinars and abbreviation of ID is used (Corresponding figures in US dollars are given in brackets, as per ID to US $ conversion rates of 2000))  
\(^{19}\) Ibid. p. 84. 
\(^{20}\) At the time of writing, the remaining six executive directors belonged to Algeria, Burkina Faso, Djibouti, Malaysia, Morocco and Qatar. The complete list of names and votes obtained by each director can be seen in 20\(^{th}\) IDB Reports ref.6, p.270.
Financial Resources: At the end of 1416 AH (17 May 1996), the authorized and subscribed capital of the Bank stood at Islamic Dinars 6 billion and Islamic Dinars 4 billion (US $9 billion and US $6 billion) respectively. The paid-up capital amounted to about Islamic Dinars 2 billion (US $3 billion). The ordinary capital resources of the Bank consist of the members’ funds (i.e. the paid-up capital, reserves and retained earnings) and receipts from its Investment Deposit Scheme (discussed later). As of 30 Dhul Hijja 1416 A.H (17 May 1996), the members’ funds of the Bank amounted to ID 2.75 billion (US $3.97 billion) while the funds raised through the Investment Deposit Scheme amounted to ID 51 million (US $74 million). Thus, the total resources for financing the ordinary operations of the Bank, derived from these two main sources, amounted to ID 2.80 billion (US $4.04 billion). This represents 70 percent of the Bank’s total resources of ID 3.97 billion (US $5.73 billion).

21 The discussion on financial resources is based upon the information given in IDB brochure, op. cit., p.3
### Table III: subscription to IDB share capital

*(in million Islamic Dinars)*

**As on 29th May 1995**

<table>
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<th>S. No</th>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
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<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td><strong>3,751.27</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
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</table>
Financial Operations: The Bank extends financial support to its member countries for their development project. It also helps the Muslim minority communities, mainly for social, educational and humanitarian programs. The Bank’s membership has a high proportion of the Least Developed Countries. Out of the 37 countries designated as Least Developed Countries (LDCs) under the United Nations criteria, 21 are members of the IDB. These countries need special attention, in terms of investments in physical and social infrastructure. The ten financing operations of the Bank can be broadly divided in three principal categories, namely, Ordinary Operations, Trade Financing Operations and Special Assistance Operations.\textsuperscript{22} Up to the end of 1416 A.H (17 May 1996), financing approved by the Bank amounted to ID 11,950 million (US$ 15,112 million) excluding cancellations. The total amount approved by the Bank for each form of financing was as follows:

I. Ordinary Operations:

1. Project Financing: ID 2,954 million (US $ 3,745 million);
2. Technical Assistance: ID 71 million (US$ 88 million);

II. Trade Financing Operations:

1. Import Trade Financing Operations: ID 7,526 million (US$ 9,361 million);
2. Longer-Term Trade Financing Scheme: ID 253 million (US$ 355 million);
3. Islamic Banks’ Portfolio: ID 781 million (US$ 1,129 million);


\textsuperscript{22} IDB Brochure, \emph{op. cit.} p. 5.
A description of the working of all these modes of financing is in order.

3.9.1.1. **Ordinary Operations**: The ordinary operations is the collective name given to Project Financing and Technical Assistance schemes. The purpose of these operations is the development of basic infrastructure of the member countries. Agriculture, industry, transport and social sector projects receive assistance under these operations.\(^{23}\)

Out of the ID 3.025 billion spent during the first 20 years in this category, 23% each has gone to Industry and Mining sector, and the public utility projects. Lately, the emphasis in the public utilities sector has shifted to the power generation projects. The Transport and Communication sector, has received 18% allocation during the period under review. It is followed by Agriculture and Agro-industry, which also received 18% of the total approvals, primarily for projects aimed at integrated rural development. In recent years, the share of this last sector, in total IDB allocations, is on the decline while that of the social sector, which aims at human resource development through financing of health and education operations, is on the rise. The social sector accounts for 16% of the financing; the remaining 2% has largely been given to Islamic financial institutions. The IDB financing, needless to say, has been playing a significant role in the development in Muslim countries. This is shown by the number of projects financed by IDB as well as the ever-increasing spate of requests for assistance, so much so, that the Board of Executive Directors had to approve a 16% rate of growth for the ordinary operations in 1994.\(^{24}\)

\(^{23}\) IDB 20\(^{th}\) Report, *op. cit.*, pp.75-78
**Technical Assistance:** The Bank also supports the development efforts of its member countries by providing technical assistance (TA) to prepare feasibility studies, detailed designs, or institution building. The Bank finances consultancy services to assist its own staff in project preparation and follow-up. The selection of consultants is made through competition. Pilot projects are also financed through TA.

3.9.1.2 **Trade Finance Operations:** Trade is an indispensable element in the development process. The IDB, as an international development financing institution, has established various modes of financing to foster co-operation and trade among its member countries and as world trade expands under the Doha Round umbrella, trade will become even more important in the development process. The Articles of Agreement of the Bank have laid a special emphasis on the promotion of trade among member countries.

The Import Trade Financing Operations (ITFO) is an important operational activity of the Bank, enabling a number of member countries to use it to finance the import of developmental raw materials. To further expand efforts towards promoting intra-trade amongst its member countries, two new trade-related programmes were introduced in 1987, namely, the Longer Term Trade Financing Scheme (LTTFS) and the Islamic Banks’ Portfolio for Investment and Development (IBD).

In addition to the above financing schemes introduced with a view to promoting trade amongst its member countries, the IDB has also initiated a trade co-operation programme within the Trade Promotion Department (TPD). This programme primarily aims at
informing member countries as to intra-trade opportunities by holding workshops and seminars and arranging and facilitating participation of Least Developed Muslim Countries in trade exhibitions in other OIC member countries. Countries unable to exhibit their export goods are helped by IDB to exhibit at trade fairs in other member countries. Most of the cost of shipping the articles and the expenses of officials accompanying the articles are borne by the IDB.

With a view to promoting intra-trade, the IDB has identified a number of products, which could be exported by member countries but with are imported by other member countries from non-member countries. The export products from member countries specially promoted, include (a) capital goods; (b) intermediate industrial goods; (c) fertilizers; (d) industrial chemicals; (e) cotton; (f) palm oil; (g) copper and aluminum rods; (h) jute; and (i) timber products.  

Even though the intra-trade generated through IDB financing has not been very significant in relation to the total size of the intra-trade of the IDB member countries, the IDB has often played a catalytic role in initiating and promoting trade contacts in specific commodities which have subsequently contributed towards substantial growth in trade amongst the member countries of IDB. One early instance of this type of initiative was the Bank’s efforts to encourage member countries to purchase jute directly from Bangladesh with ITFO financing. This initiative contributed to a substantial increase in exports of jute from Bangladesh to several IDB member countries. In the early 1980s,

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25 Capital Goods means railway engines, tractors, ships, cement plants, power transformers and industrial machinery etc; Intermediate Industrial Goods include steel sheets and steel products, power cables, wire products etc. While the Industrial Chemicals refers to ammonia, sulphur, soda ash, glycol and the like.
several member countries began importing palm oil from Malaysia with ITFO financing. One of the countries from amongst these countries has since emerged as one of the largest importers of Malaysian palm oil. More recently, the IDB has had similar successes in arranging the promotion of exports of power and telecommunication cables, fertilizers and fertilizer raw materials, industrial chemicals and wheat through its LTTFS. In most cases member countries were importing these commodities with ITFO and LTTFS financing from other IDB member countries for the first time. It is expected that with these new trading links established, the trade in these commodities between member countries will continue to grow.

1. **Import Trade Financing Operations (ITFO)** was introduced in 1977 with the following three objectives:-

   i. To assist the member countries in their developmental efforts by enabling them to import goods having a developmental impact.

   ii. To promote trade among the member countries by ensuring as far as possible, that operations are conducted between them.

   iii. To serve as a mode of placement for the liquid funds of the Bank in accordance with the requirements of *Shari’ah* and, thereby, to generate legitimate income for the Bank.

This scheme enables the Bank to utilize its surplus funds, not immediately needed for its ordinary operations, in short-term financing, thus enabling its member countries to meet
their import requirements of developmental nature. In so doing, the Bank also provides temporary relief for the balance of payments problems encountered by member countries. The modus operandi involves the purchase of goods and their re-sale to recipient member countries against a reasonable mark-up with deferred-payment arrangement. The total amount of financing approved under the ITFO up to the end of 1416 A.H (17 May 1996) stood at ID 7,526 million (US $9,361 million) for 37 countries. The trade among the member countries accounted for 78 percent of the total amount approved under the ITFO.

2. **Longer-Term Trade Financing Scheme (LTTFS)** is a supplement to the ITFO. The purpose of this Scheme is to promote export of non-traditional goods among OIC member countries through the provision of necessary funds to participating member countries for periods ranging between 6 and 60 months. The scheme has its own independent budget and resources and is managed and operated under IDB supervision. Till the end of 1416 A.H (17 May 1996), ID 253 million (US$ 355 million) was approved under the Scheme.

3. **Islamic Banks’ Portfolio (IBP) for Investment and Development**, launched in 1987, is as independent fund subscribed to by the IDB and a number of Islamic commercial Banks and financial institutions (the number, including IDB, was 20 in 1996). The Portfolio aims at providing trade financing both for imports and exports and financing for the industrial sector through Equity, Leasing and Installment Sale operations. It is also active in syndicated financing for both trade and project investments.
The IBP aims specifically to cater to the needs of the private sector. The IBP in recent years has been playing a vitally important role in resource mobilization through managing trade and leasing syndicated financing arrangements. Total financing approved by the Portfolio till the end of 1416 A.H (17 May 1996) amounted to ID 781 million (US $1,129 million).

3.9.1.3 Special Assistance Operations: The Bank maintains a Special Assistance Account, separate from its ordinary resources and is used, firstly, for training and research aimed at helping and guiding member countries to re-orient their economies, financial and Banking activities in conformity with Shari’ah; secondly, provision of relief Muslim countries and communities afflicted by natural disasters and calamities; thirdly, financial assistance for promotion of Islamic causes; and lastly, for assistance to Muslim minorities to help improve their socio-economic conditions.

The total amount approved by the Bank out of the Special Assistance Account up to the end of 1416 A.H (17 May 1996) stood at ID 365 million (US $ 434 million) for 160 operations in member countries and 218 operations for Muslim minorities. The amounts approved include, among others, funds for Special Programme of Emergency Aid to Sahelian member countries; assistance to member countries affected by locusts, floods, and earthquake; assistance to mitigate refugee problem; and several educational, health and social projects for Muslim communities in non-member countries.  

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26 The Muslim communities residing in countries, that are not IDB members, are usually treated as Muslim minorities, irrespective of their number. Exceptions are made as in the case of Bosnia, Albania, Kirghizia etc, where generous aid is given to Muslim population on a priority basis from Muslim minority funds, due to special circumstances.
3.9.2 **Islamic Center for Development of Trade (ICDT):**

Located in Casablanca, Morocco, it started operating in 1983 with a view to promote trade exchange among OIC Member States by\(^{27}\):

- undertaking studies and researches in the subject;
- helping disseminate trade information and data among member states; organizing fairs, exhibitions and other trade activities to contribute to the promotion of member states’ product;
- encouraging contacts among businessmen of member states and bringing them together;

ICDT’s three-tier structure consists of a Director (appointed by the OIC Secretary General), a General Assembly, consisting of one representative each from the member states, and a 9-member *Board of Administration*.

The activities of the ICDT span four principal areas\(^{28}\): A documentation department has been set up which is establishing a trade information network. Seven databanks with information on trade regulations, trade agreements between the OIC states, foreign trade statistics, trade opportunities and trade events in the Muslim countries and other related subjects are under preparation. The ICDT also brings out a trilingual magazine called “Tijaris” as part of its information-disseminating activities. The Center has a Research and Study Wing that undertakes regular studies on market trends and product surveys. It

\(^{27}\) OIC Guide, *op. cit*, p. 59
\(^{28}\) *Ibid*
also produces an annual report on the mutual trade of the Muslim countries and gives recommendations for enhancing the same. The Wing monitors the implementation and follow-up to the draft agreement on Trade Preferential System in the OIC States. The ICDT arranges training programmes, workshops, seminars and symposia on the subjects of trade promotion, business opportunities, hurdles in the way of the Islamic Common Market, tariff laws, affects of the WTO on the Muslim states and other topics.

Finally, the ICDT organizes trade fairs of the Islamic countries once every two years, which it considers as the most effective way of trade promotion. The first Islamic international trade fair was held in Nov.1979 at Istanbul before the establishment of the ICDT. In 1986, the Center decided to organize biannual fairs. The second Islamic trade fair at Casablanca (Apr. 1986), the third at Cairo (Oct.1988) and the fourth at Tunis(Oct. 1990) were successfully held, while the one scheduled for 1992 could not take place for certain reasons. Then the fifth and the sixth trade fairs, held at Tehran (Jul. 1994) and Jakarta (Oct. 1996) respectively, attracted a lot of businessmen who exhibited their products. At the latter fair, the ICDT decided to hold the seventh Islamic trade fair at Tripoli, Lebanon, jointly with the Lebanese Ministry of Trade and Commerce and the International Trade Promotion (IFP) Company, in Oct.1998.29

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29 The information about the activities has been taken from the Internet website of the SESRTCIC and other secondary sources. No response was received from the ICDT, despite repeated requests by this author for supply of information.
3.9.3 Islamic Chamber of Commerce & Industry (ICCI)

Based at Karachi (Pakistan), the idea of creating an Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry. It was approved by the first meeting of the Chambers of Commerce and Industries of the member-states of the OIC held in Istanbul in Oct. 1977, on the initiative of the Turkish Union of Chambers of Commerce and Commodity Exchange. It was created to work for the following objectives: 30

- To develop co-operation among its members and other similar institutions in the Islamic World.
- To encourage trade, industry, agriculture and handicrafts;
- To propose economic policies advantageous to its members and create avenues for the collaboration throughout the Islamic World
- To make recommendations to safeguard economic and business interest of the Islamic World, and adopt collective measures which may include economic boycott against any party that commits aggression against any of the Islamic Countries.
- To encourage member countries to give preferential terms of trade to each other.
- To promote investment opportunities and joint ventures among the member countries.
- To provide for arbitration in the settlement of disputes arising out of commercial and industrial transactions between parties who are willing to abide by the judgment of the Islamic Chamber.

30 In response to the questionnaire sent by the author, the Manager Trade Promotion of the ICCI & CE, vide letter No. 50/MISC/768, dated 4 Nov., sent two short monographs entitled “The Islamic Chamber in Brief” and “Report on the Activities of the Islamic Chamber”. Information this section is largely based on this material
Finally to strive towards the gradual realisation of the Islamic Economic
Community.

The Islamic Chamber is composed of national chambers or federations of chambers of
Commerce and Industry or similar institutions existing in the Muslim countries. Its
structure is composed of three bodies: The *General Assembly* is composed of delegates
duly appointed by the Chambers of Commerce of the member-states. It is the supreme
authority of the Chamber. The *Executive Committee* of 19 members elected by the
Assembly, for a three year tenure, elect from amongst themselves a President and six
Zonal vice-presidents. The ICCI Secretariat is headed by the elected Secretary General.

The Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry, has been doing useful work by
gathering and disseminating information about various aspects of the working of the
economies of Islamic states as well as the products, marketing techniques and transport
facilities in these countries with a view to seeking ways and means of mere effective and
useful co-operation among them. For instance, it regularly publicizes the names of
trading companies engaged in the import and export business within the member-states,
gathers statistics about the nature of import and export trade of the Islamic states and the
companies involved in it, and organizes trade fairs and exhibitions. In order to encourage
joint ventures it makes feasibility studies and identifies projects that may be undertaken.

The Islamic Chamber recognizes that the Muslim world accounts for 40% of world
export of raw materials but the volume of trade in the member states is around 13% only.
The Chamber aims at rectifying the situation by undertaking trade promotion activities. For the dissemination of trade information, there is a publications unit. Within this context, the Islamic Chamber publishes a quarterly magazine titled, “Perspectives on the Islamic Economy”, which covers information on the investment climate, potential markets and trade inquiries. In addition the Islamic Chamber has also set up its own Data Base, consisting of information on trade in general, exports/imports statistics, country profiles, information on industry, agriculture, textile technology and other related data for the benefit of the business community.

As part of its future Plan of Action, the Islamic Chamber is also working to link its Computer Network with other Islamic countries and international institutions and thereby establish a Wide Area Network for quick and timely exchange of information. In addition, Training Programmes are being held according to the Plan of Action for the Islamic Chamber, approved by the 12th ICCI General Assembly meeting, held in Tunisia in 1994. The Islamic Chamber has started holding Private Sector Meetings following a mandate given by the 9th Session of Standing Committee for Economic and Commercial Co-operation of OIC Countries (COMCEC) in 1993. The first such meeting was held at Istanbul (Oct. 1994). The second, third fourth and fifth private sector moots have been organised at Cairo (Oct. 1995), Jakarta (Oct. 1996), Karachi (Oct. 1997) and Beirut (Oct. 1998), respectively. Concurrently, the Islamic Chamber has been a successfully holding Islamic trade fairs. By the end of 2000, six such fairs had been held; the last one at Jakarta during 22-27 Oct. 1996.
Each of these moots and fairs is showing better and more positive results, which is manifested by the number of countries participating and the business transactions that have been conducted. The third Private Sector Meeting, for instance, was attended by 400 delegates from 31 member countries, the OIC and its Institutions. There was also a strong participation from the ex-Communist Muslim Republics, namely, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. In addition representatives from Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina and some Muslim Associations from non-Islamic countries, such as Muslim Communities in Philippines and the U.S.A. also participated. The business contacts were held between entrepreneurs from 31 Islamic Countries and financial institutions. Within the context of trade, business transactions, to the tune of approximately US$ 200 million were discussed, in area of textile, foodstuffs, ready made garments, polypropylene bags, chemicals and leather.

The preliminary estimates have shown that a total of 75 projects were identified by the Islamic Chamber from 13 OIC Member Countries, totaling investment cost of approximately US$ 554 million, of which 40 Projects amounting to US$ 238 million had had initial agreements. In addition, 28 Memorandum of Understandings (MOUs) were also signed between the Project Sponsors and Co-operating partners. Projects mentioned above covered the areas of food processing leather and leather products, textiles; chemical industries, such as cement, petro-chemicals, fertilizers, pharmaceuticals; engineering and metal working. The extent of co-operation is not only limited to equity participation but also for supply of equipment, technical know how, marketing, joint
venture, constancy, training and the preparation of feasibility studies as the cases might be. At the end of the meeting, the Bandung Economic Declaration was issued containing 18 recommendations which were then submitted to the 12th Session of the COMCEC for consideration.

Likewise, the fourth ICCI Private Sector Meeting (Oct. 1997), attended by 500 delegates from 40 Muslim countries, proved to be equally successful. The moot approved 154 projects worth $16.013 billion and the ICCI took upon itself to make efforts for the implementation of all the joint venture partnerships. The IDB agreed to finance 17 of the projects, needing $3.025 billion to kick-start. The beneficiaries for the 17 projects were Bangladesh, Iran, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Suriname, Tajikistan and Turkey.

The 21-point declaration released at the conclusion of the private sector moot called for the establishment of an Islamic Common Market and Free Trade Zones, conclusion of bilateral agreements, and for minimizing the adverse affects of the WTO-proposed Customs Union. The Declaration exhorted the Muslim-owned multi-national corporations to raise investments for partnership ventures.

As a result of the Plan of Action for the Islamic Chamber approved by the 12th meeting of its General Assembly held in Tunisia in 1994, the Islamic Chamber has also undertaken various practical activities designed to generate more interaction and understanding among businessmen and industrialists from Islamic countries. In this connection, the First Islamic Chamber Economic Delegation visited the West African
region namely Niger, Burkina Faso and Mali in December 1994. The Second Islamic Chamber Economic Delegation visited Gambia, Guinea, Senegal and Sierra Leone in December 1995. The third economic delegation was scheduled to visit some of the Central Asian Republics in 1997. The objective of these Economic Delegations is to hold bi-lateral and multilateral contacts with the businessmen of these countries and to discuss avenues and areas of cooperation.\footnote{Activity Report, \textit{op. cit.} p. 4/5}

Another achievement of the Chamber is the establishment of its Arbitration Council. Realizing the fact that arbitration of trade and industry related disputes lends more confidence and stability to international trade, the Islamic Chamber has formulated its rules and regulations for Arbitration.\footnote{Ibid. p. 5/5}

A number of innovative ideas have emanated from such ICCI seminars and meetings. The Islamic Chamber floated the plan for an Islamic Free Trade Area (IFTA) in 1993.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.} p. 5/5} The following year it proposed a reduced tariff schedule recommending an upper limit of 20% for the duties levied on imports and exports from the Muslim countries.\footnote{\textit{Salahuddin Kasim, Towards an Islamic Common Market, The News}, 7 Jan. 1991.} The ICCI claims that it is steadily marching towards its ultimate goal of an Islamic Economic Union.\footnote{\textit{Salahuddin Kasim, Towards an Islamic Common Market, The News}, 7 Jan. 1991.}
3.9.4 International Association of Islamic Banks (IAIB)

The Association was founded under the OIC auspices in August 1977. Its General Secretariat is located at Cairo, Egypt. The fundamental objective of the Association is to augment and enforce the ties and links amongst Islamic financial institutions and promote intra-co-operation and co-ordination. At present 28 financial institutions from 11 countries are its members. Among its objectives are maintenance of databank of all Islamic financial institutions; mediating and acting as arbitrator for and between Islamic banks; and representing the common interests of the Islamic banks at the international level. It has four main organs, namely, General Assembly, Board of Directors, General Secretariat and the Supreme Shari‘ah Board.

The meetings of the IAIB General Assembly give the opportunity to the representatives of different Islamic Banks to interact with each other. This promotes co-operation in the Islamic financial institutions. The Association also gives technical assistance to member banks. Its research activities include maintaining a database of Islamic financial institutions as well as holding seminars on Islamic banking.

34 Guide to OIC, *op.cit.*, 35 Information from secondary sources was limited while the IAIB did not send any material
3.9.5 Statistical, Economic & Social Research and Training Centre for Islamic Countries
(SESRTCIC): Commonly known as the Ankara Centre, it was established in 1978 for, among others, the following purposes\textsuperscript{36}:

- evaluating, studying and collecting basic data on the economic and social structure of Muslim states;
- carrying out research on the means for developing trade relations among member states and providing basic data, necessary for marketing goods and services;
- studying industrial structures in Member States and examining complementarities and possibilities of establishing co-operation.
- studying agreements in the social field concluded among Member States, and determining the framework of agreements in the field of Manpower and Social Security.

It is headed by a Director General, who is assisted by 11-member Board of Directors that sets the policies of the Centre. As is the case with other subsidiary organs, its General Assembly is composed of the members of Islamic Commission for Economic, Social and Cultural Affairs (ICESC).

The SESRTCIC has been very active in the implementation of many of the provisions of the OIC Plan of Action to Strengthen Economic Co-operation (Taif; 1981). The Centre was again the main OIC institution to be involved in the technical work relating to implementation of the sixth Summit (Dakar; 1991) resolution on the formulation of the

\textsuperscript{36} Most of the information that follows is based on Ankara Centre: Functions, Facilities, Activities (1995), Ankara, SESRTCIC, which the Centre sent to the author in response to his request. Also see the Inamullah Khan (Ed), (1987) World Muslim Gazetteer, op. cit., pp.730-32.
new “Strategy for Strengthening Economic Cooperation”. In a similar vein it also undertook the preparation of the new OIC Plan of Action on Economic Co-operation, which was based on the New Strategy and was to replace the 1981 Plan. Both of these documents were approved by the COMCEC and adopted eventually by the seventh Islamic Summit (Casablanca, 1994).  

The collection, collation and dissemination of socio-economic information, in general, and statistics, in particular, constitute major aspects of the mandate that was drawn up for the Ankara Centre. This was based on the realization that such information and data about the member countries were largely missing or were not readily available to the OIC community, especially at a time when there was rising interest among the member countries to enhance and develop co-operation amongst themselves within the OIC framework. Consequently, the Centre had to put in a lot of effort to fulfill this major task.  

One principal assignment of the Ankara Centre is to undertake indigenous research on the socio-economic situation, potentials and developments in the OIC Member Countries, with a view to bringing forth the existing possibilities of co-operation, as well as generating proposals for new ones. For this purpose, the Centre has been engaged in extensive research in a number of fields and at two complementary levels; country level and sectoral level. These activities had been undertaken in line with the ten-sector OIC Plan of Action on Economic Co-operation adopted by the Third Islamic Summit (Taif;  

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37 Ibid, p.2
38 Ibid, p.3
39 Ibid
1981), referred to above, and with the decisions of the Fourth Islamic Summit (Casablanca; 1984), which accorded a higher priority to six of the original ten sectors. Since 1994, the SESRTCIC started working according to the revised Plan of Action adopted by the seventh Islamic Summit (Casablanca; 1994).

By mid-1995, the SESRTCIC had put out around 246 substantial papers, reports and other technical documents in 11 different general subject areas, namely, General Co-operation (26), Statistics and Information (22), Economic Development (36), Least Developed Countries (31), Food and Agriculture (21), Industry (27), Trade (26), Money and Finance (19), Transport (4), Technical Co-operation (22) and Social Issues (12). This makes on the average about 14 documents per year and, excluding the area of Transportation, just over 24 papers per subject field. Moreover, there were no less than 40 on-going projects in the same year. Some prominent recent research publications of the Centre include “Problems of Research in Islamic Economic Co-operation”, “The Information Age and the Islamic World”, Annual World Economy Reports, “Problems of Land-Locked Member States”, “Food and Agricultural Strategy”, “Fertilizer Industry in OIC States”, “Impact of Single European Market on OIC Countries”, “Stock Markets in OIC Countries”, “Developments in Telecommunications”, “OIC-UN Co-operation”, “Human Resources Development in Muslim States”, “The OIC Strategy and Plan of Action”, “Training opportunities in the OIC states”, and many others.

Technical Co-operation and Training is the third major area, in which the Centre operates. All of its activities undertaken in this field, constitute a direct response to the
expressed needs of the Member Countries to upgrade and build up the specialized skills essential for their development. As of 2000, 317 training activities have been conducted.

The website of Ankara Centre i.e. <http://www.sesrtcic.org>. contains statistics regarding area, population, literacy rate, life expectancy, GDP and 40 other denominators on all the OIC member states. By the end of 2007, the site had over 1,080 pages. The site is continuously updated and is being enriched by more information.

Out of the periodical publications, the *Yearbook of Socio-Economic Indicators* of OIC Member Countries and the Bulletin on Training Opportunities in OIC Countries are annual ones, while the *Journal of Economic Co-operation Among Islamic Countries* and the Information Report are quarterlies. The tri-lingual Journal, which contains articles written by the Centre staff members or by researchers in the Member Countries, is the more scholarly of the two Centre magazines, while the Information Report, is more news-oriented. It also issues three-publication series. The Directory Series contains institutional information. “Research Institutions” “Training Institutions” and “Mass Media in OIC Countries” are some prominent titles published in this series. The second, Legislation Series, assembles texts of selected laws of Muslim Countries. Volumes on “Free Zones Regulations” and “Banking Laws” are prominent. The Information Series, as the name indicates, provides information on the Muslim countries, and reference books on Agriculture, Telecommunication and Infrastructure of the Muslim countries have been brought out. The Center maintains an online database IS-DOC of all Islamic countries’ basic information.
3.9.6 Islamic Research and Training Institute (IRTI): Operational since 1983 as an attached department of the IDB, the objectives of the IRTI are to undertake basic and applied research in order to enhance the economic, financial and banking capacities in Muslim countries, improve professional capabilities in research in Islamic economics, and to extend training facilities for personnel engaged in development activities in the Muslim world. Up to the end of 1996, the total number of IRTI publications stood at 182 in addition to a total of 63 seminars/conferences and 75 training programmes. Some of the latest in-house researches include “Model for Islamic Companies Law”, “Impact of ECO Enlargement”, “The Evolution of Islamic Capital Market”, and “Various Aspects of Privatisation in Islamic Perspective”. The IRTI seminars are held in different countries, employing any of the international languages understood in host countries like Arabic, Russian, English etc.\(^{40}\)

The IRTI also arranges lectures by distinguished scholars as part of its Distinguished Lectures Series. Under the Visiting Scholar Series, the IRTI invites scholars to undertake research for 6 to 12 months using the Institute’s facilities. Then comes the Encouragement and Program Series, under which the IRTI finances private research initiatives on Islamic economics in the scholars’ home countries. It also brings out a bi-annual journal under the name of “Islamic Economic Studies”. To promote research in the field, IDB initiated two prizes worth ID 30,000 (US $43,000) each in 1988 for outstanding work in the disciplines of Islamic Banking and Islamic finance. Since 1992, one prize is awarded annually alternating between the two discipline

\(^{40}\) Khan (2001), *op. cit.* p. 141
3.10 Role of Pakistan in Economic cooperation in the Muslim world:

Pakistan’s role in the economic cooperation of the Muslim world merits a special mention because Pakistan had embarked on a policy of forging economic unity with the Muslim world, right from its inception. The founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, knew of the nascent Pakistan’s economic vulnerabilities and his mind was always working on cementing Pakistan’s economic relations with other countries. His statements in favor of Palestinian rights make it clear that he was also looking towards the Arab East as potential allies of Pakistan in future.

As early as in 1949, just two years after the creation of the country, the government organized the first ever Islamic Economic Conference in Pakistan, where economists and political decision makers were invited to Karachi to deliberate on ways and means of economic cooperation within the Muslim countries. A follow up conference was held in 1951 at the same city of Karachi. Pakistan’s enthusiasm for pan-Islamic cooperation had led the then King Farouk of Egypt to ridicule it by questioning whether Islam too was born on 14th August 1947, referring to Pakistan’s Independence Day.⁴¹

King Farouk’s own throne was toppled by a coup by “progressive”, as they called themselves, military officers in 1952. Pakistan joined hands with the new government to form an economic pact with the new regime at Cairo through a tripartite pact called the General Islamic Conference between the then Governor General of Pakistan Malik

Ghulam Mohammad, King Saud bin Abdul Aziz of Saudi Arabia and President Nasser of Egypt in 1954.\textsuperscript{42} This arrangement could not last long as Nasser lost his interest in pan-Islamic cooperation, in favor of his pan-Arab ideology, while King Saud and Governor General Ghulam Mohammad, both were deposed from power. But Pakistan’s commitment to pan-Islamic cooperation did not falter. In 1964, Pakistan formed another economic bloc with the non-Arab regional Muslim nations. Called the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD), this included Iran and Turkey besides Pakistan. The RCD became dormant after the Islamic revolution in Iran of 1979. But at the end of the Cold War, a bigger economic cooperation organization was to replace it.

With the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1990-91, six new Muslim states emerged on the world map in Central Asia and the Caucus. Pakistan and other countries courted them to join a rejuvenated RCD under the new name of Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), which includes besides the three erstwhile RCD partners, Afghanistan and the six former Soviet Muslim republics of the region, namely, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Azerbaijan. Pakistan is again a very active member of the ECO

Within the framework of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation, Pakistan has been a torch bearer of pan-Islamic cooperation. The Islamic Chamber of Commerce and Industry (ICCI) is also located in Karachi, Pakistan. The government takes keen interest in the functioning of ICCI and extends all help when demanded.

\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
Pakistan is also a regular and timely contributor to the OIC budget, an active member of the Board of Governors of the Islamic Development Bank and a partner of the Islamic Center for Development of Trade (ICDT). In fact, two of the Islamic countries’ trade fairs held by the ICDT since its inception up to 2000, have been held in Pakistan, one each at Karachi and Lahore.

3.11 Conclusion: A comparison with EU

We have discussed in the last chapter that Europe chose economic cooperation as a starting point for bringing Europe closer through ECSC (1951) and the EEC (1957) while European Political Cooperation (EPC) followed a couple of decades later. But it must be underscored that these economic projects had both economic and political rationale. The economic benefits arose from a Common Market that was large enough to provide economies of scale and healthy competition to rapidly expanding and technologically growing industrial sector of Europe, all of which favors the interests of consumer-citizens in the long run. But politically this economic interdependence ends up consolidating the “framework for peaceful relations among the member states”.\(^{43}\) Politics remains involved both in the substance and outcome of economic projects because the “integration of modern economies required a framework of law and hence common political and judicial institutions”. In any case, the success in political or economic field alone could not have been enough to sustain the European Community.\(^ {44}\)


\(^{44}\) *Ibid.*
The EEC had been given a wide range of economic competences including the power to establish a Customs Union with internal free trade and a common external tariff, all of which were achieved between 1958 to 1968, well 18 months ahead of schedule. By the beginning of 1970’s European governments agreed to the idea of a single market to come out of the economic hard times of the decade, called “eruoclerosis”. The European single market had some role to play in the economic regeneration of Europe in 1980’s, or at least, that was the public perception. Hence, not only the European single market had a wide spectrum of support from Europhiles to Euroseptics, but a stage was set for the next stage of economic integration through, initially, a European Exchange Rate Mechanism (ERM) to intervene in the currency markets to keep fluctuation of their mutual exchange rates within narrow bands, and later the European System of Central Banks (ECSB) provided the stability of prices. Ultimately, in a three stage process (a) acceptance of ERM; (b) meeting the convergence criterion and (c) irrevocable fixing of exchange rates, the Euro zone came into being with a single European Central Bank and a single monetary policy.

The economic cooperation involved a lot of give-and-take at each step. Germany could have its way for a single market, if France could retain benefits of the Common Agriculture Policy (CAP), and Italy, the weakest economy for instance, could get Cohesion Funds to support its economy. At the end of the day, it became a win-win situation for all. And this is exactly what Muslim world may seek to gain from an economic union or a single market.
Chapter 3

Economic Cooperation

At first, single market is a positive sum game because it enhances productivity of the economy to the benefit of most people.

Secondly, trade among frontiers doubled in Europe during the first decade after a Customs Union because of removal of tariffs, quotas and the distortions it brought.

Thirdly, Europe became a big trading entity and as early as during Kennedy’s Presidency in the United States was able to negotiate at the same level for further trade liberalization through mutual tariff cuts.

Fourthly, the Social Cohesion Funds, which including the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF), Cohesion Fund and others was to the tune of 32 billion Euros annually by the end of 2000, brought development for the weaker economies of the Union and resulted in further strengthening of political bonds between the governments and the peoples of member nations.

And finally, the Social Policy (labor rights, wages and their working conditions as well as Gender related policies) and the 200 or so Environmental Directives and Regulations, brought public support for the Union and a sustainable development paradigm for the progeny.

In the last 50 pages of so, we discussed the economic cooperation efforts of various institutions working under the umbrella of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation. Now let us compare the OIC performance against all the five outcomes noted above with respect to the European Union. Firstly, no Islamic common market has been established as yet. The Plan of Action for Economic Cooperation (1981) and various strategies made thereunder exist and some legal framework has been established too regarding protection
of investment and promotion of trade in member countries. But given the diversity of economies any economic or monetary union is unlikely to be established in the short run. An accounting unit, named Islamic Dinar (akin to ECU, the precursor of Euro) has been introduced but beyond that there is no conscious effort for convergence of economies.

Secondly, the intra-Muslim world trade rose by 10% within the first ten years of the establishment of OIC and by 22% in the first twenty years, unlike in Europe where intra-Europe trade doubled in the first decade after the establishment of Customs Union. On the third parameter, the OIC or its subsidiary Islamic Chamber of Commerce & Industry (UCCI) has not become a formidable economic bloc to be able to negotiate tariff or quota related issues in GATT/ WTO rounds as an economic bloc. But if and when a Customs Union between Muslim States becomes a reality, the same benefits of economies of scale and broader market are likely to accrue to the Muslim world’s businessmen and women too. As for the fourth issue of Cohesion Funds for weaker economies, EU had 32 billion Euros (US $ 40 billion a year) spending on smaller partners while the OIC’s much touted Islamic Solidarity Fund (ISF) could spend a mere US $ 100 million in the three decades under review. These were spent on war ridden Muslim nations like Bosnia, Palestine and Afghanistan. And lastly, about work place policies, gender policies and environment policies in the Muslim world, OIC does not seem to have a role or a strategy so far about these issues having direct bearing on the economy.

The political benefits from a potential Islamic Economic Union may be the same as for Europe and hence the need and justification for continuing to strive for such a union. But
the fundamental error that the Muslim world seems to have done is to concentrate on political cooperation which is very tricky and expecting economic cooperation to follow. The EU model of creating economic interdependence first seems to have worked efficiently for them. There is no reason why it should not work for the Muslim bloc.

For even national economies to be vibrant, the triple elements of people-based governance [Democracy], knowledge-based economy [Education & Science] and rule-based systems [Rule of Law] are sine qua non. There also needs to be a peer review and reward system for economic integration and deals will have to be made to accommodate individual countries sensitivities, reservations or expectations. And economic and monetary union or a common market shall have to begin with a smaller sample of pilot countries. This Islamic common market may lead to political cohesion in future!
4

Science & Technology Cooperation in the Muslim World

4.1 Introduction

The backwardness of the Muslim bloc in education, science and technology means that it is not playing purposeful and positive role, proportionate to its size in the world, for the betterment of humankind in knowledge-based issues ranging from internet privacy, to climate change and bio-genetic revolution. Poor knowledge base makes a pooling of scientific know-how and expertise all the more necessary, but, the mathematical equation, that late Pakistani Premier Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy linked to the Muslim world about the sum of all zeroes equaling zero, holds true in the field of science and technology. When most of the countries do not have any distinction in the field of science, what can they give each other through cooperation.

This is the age of knowledge and science; and any person, group or nation lagging on this front reduces itself to nothingness in the new scheme of things. Thus backwardness in
science and technology means irrelevance in political decision-making in the world. Today it is the West, mainly, the United States and the European Union, that rule the roost in the field of science. In Asia, Japan led the so-called East Asian Tigers in technical advancement but now giants like China and India have joined the fray and are taking huger strides towards industrialization and knowledge based economies.

A good measure reflecting achievements in Science can be the number of Nobel Prizes won. Every year Nobel Prizes are awarded in six disciplines; three of them relate to applied and natural sciences, namely, Physics, Chemistry and Medicine.\(^1\) Despite the History of making the greatest breakthroughs in all three disciplines by the Muslims; only two Nobel Prizes in Science ever went to the Muslim world since the prizes were instituted over a century ago; once in Physics to Dr Abdul Salam of Pakistan (1979) and once in Chemistry to Dr Ahmad Zuwail of Egypt (2002).\(^2\)

Political decline and that in science and education were cause and effect of each other. In the past two centuries, most Muslim lands became colonies of the industrializing Europe and there prevailed an inexplicable apathy towards education and research. The trend is only recently showing some bleak signs of reversal, once the Muslim world has completed half a century of post-independence existence.

\(^1\) The remaining three disciplines are Peace, Literature and economics.
\(^2\) In all, 10 Nobel prizes have gone to the citizens of the Muslim states, five of them in Peace, three in Literature, one each in Physics and Chemistry as noted above and none in Economics or Medicine. Country-wise, Egypt is credited with four Nobel prizes while Pakistan, Iran, Turkey, Bangladesh, Palestine and Nigeria account for one each.
In the present age of globalization, nations have to build upon the existing knowledge base rather than trying to re-invent the wheel each time. There is an imperative need to pool resources and exchange knowledge in order to make advancements in science and technology. The mutual scientific cooperation between the Universities, research centers and laboratories in Europe has started to produce results in terms of exponential rise in the number of treatments now available for previously incurable diseases, advancements have been made in energy generation, conservation and efficiency, and the communication revolution has transformed the whole world in many ways. The whole humankind is enjoying the benefits of science. But for the reluctance of developed nations to share most sensitive technologies with their developing world counterparts, the initiatives taken in the Muslim world for scientific cooperation might not have made sense.

4.2 Decline of Science in the Muslim World

The dawn of Islam in the early seventh century was not merely an advent of a new religion but was a social and political reform movement. The Arabs got transformed from their purely Bedouin culture towards an urban civilization and proper statehood. This necessitated several other developments. For example, statecraft entails wars and peace. And the Muslims too devoted attention to the art of war and the science of weaponry. Travels by Muslim traders boosted economy but also underlined the need for compasses, maps and other navigation mechanisms. Likewise, the need to face Makkah for five daily prayers, wherever one might be, required a better sense of geography, cosmology and the
techniques of navigation. But the scholarship was not limited to the above fields. The Muslims made advances in Medicine, Physics and Chemistry as well but a discussion on the same is beyond the purview and scope of the present work.

We may wind up this section by recalling that many of the Caliphs, Sultans and rulers were patrons of knowledge and learning, who created an atmosphere conducive for scientific research and scholarship. The Muslim domination over the world of science for well over six centuries had spread over the farthest expanses of the Islamic realms from India to Central Asia and from Cairo to Muslim Spain. From a civilization perspective, “science and technology are fundamental components of the Islamic worldview”.

The past three centuries saw an industrial revolution in the West. The technology developed there eased large scale production processes at less cost and less human effort. The economies of scale resulted in prosperity for the industrializing countries, however, the appetite for raw material led inadvertently to the phenomenon of colonialism. Most parts of the Muslim world became colonies of the European powers, their economic growth was all but stymied and the level, standard as well as quality of education plummeted.

Now, when decolonization has taken place and most of the Muslim states are independent politically, they still have a long way to go to reach levels of education comparable with the Western world. The total GNP of the Muslim world is less than that of Japan, and the

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total Research and Development (R&D) spending of the Muslim world per year is less than a single company Toyota Motors. Of the top ranking 500 universities in the world, not one is located in a Muslim country. And as if this was not enough the total research output of the Muslim world in terms of patents registered per year or publication of research papers in ISI indexed journals, even the city of Boston with universities like Harvard and MIT surpasses all the Muslim countries.\footnote{Lecture by Prof Dr Atta ur Rahman, Chairman, Higher Education Commission (HEC), at the University of Cambridge, 27 May 2006.}

This chapter, like the previous two is an attempt at historiography as well, to show what the Muslim world has done for cooperation in this field during 1970 up to 2000 and that how the same can be improved upon.

### 4.3 Islamic Cooperation in Science and Technology

There can be many ways of scientific cooperation between sovereign states, such as joint initiatives, mutual technical assistance, funding for science projects, cooperation between universities of Muslim states, university- industry linkages, scholarships Muslim students for higher studies in science and technology, etc.

As will be seen below, the Muslim world now has initiatives in all these areas and we shall look at the major initiatives taken one by one. It is pertinent to mention at the outset that most of the credit for intra-Islamic cooperation in science goes to the Organization of
the Islamic Cooperation (OIC) under whose umbrella or upon its initiative most of the institutions or bodies for the purpose have been created.

4.3.1 The OIC Role in Science and Technology: The Organization of the Islamic Cooperation has given a very high emphasis on Science and Technology and, in fact, the title of one of its four Assistant Secretary Generals is designated as ASG (Economic Cooperation, Science & Technology).\(^6\) We had noted in the third chapter above, that there are three permanent standing committees of the Islamic Conference, namely, Standing COMmittee on Commercial & Economic Cooperation (COMCEC), Standing COMmittee on Science & Technology (COMSTECH) and the Standing COMmittee on Information And Culture (COMIAC).

For our purpose in this chapter, the COMSTECH is relevant and we will analyze its role and functions below; the other two committees have been discussed in detail in the relevant chapters 3 and 6, respectively. It is also pertinent to point out that the COMSTECH is also the umbrella body of all other institutions that work under the Islamic Conference in the field of science and technology. We shall, therefore, study here the following institutions:

- Islamic Academy of Sciences (IAS) at Amman, Jordan.

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\(^6\) The OIC is headed by a Secretary General who is assisted by four Assistant Secretary Generals, one each for (1) Political, Legal and Minorities Affairs; (2) Culture, Information and Social Affairs; (3) Science, Technology and Economic Cooperation, and the last one is designated as (4) ASG (Al Quds al Shareef) who looks after all affairs related to the Holy Jerusalem and the Palestine issue. As might have been noted that the same Assistant Secretary General heads the education, science & technology affairs who looks after commercial and economic cooperation in the Muslim world. This is reflective of the realization that economic progress can only come through advancement in education, science and technology.
Chapter 4

Scientific Cooperation

- Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) at Rabat, Morocco.
- Islamic University of Technology (IUT) at Dhaka, Bangladesh.
- Islamic Foundation of Science, Technology and Development (IFSTAD) at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia.

It is also important to mention at this point that IFSTAD was dissolved a few years back and no longer exists. But it has been included in this study since we are looking at the history of cooperation in science and technology in the Muslim world. Then, we should also be cognizant of the fact that the above mentioned are not the only institutions that are working in the field of scientific and technological cooperation in the Muslim world. Many institutions working in other fields also play their part in their own ways.

Take the example of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), established in 1975, which is basically an international bank meant to provide development assistance to the member Muslim States which has, over the past decades, included technical assistance in many projects related to science and technology. The IDB awards merit scholarships for advance studies in sixteen fields (mostly related to science and technology) to promising Muslim students, in order to help develop qualified human resources in the member states.\(^7\) Then, there are four Universities also, created under the auspices of the OIC, one each in Kampala (Uganda), Sey (Niger), Dhaka (Bangladesh) and Kuala Lumpur (Malaysia), all of which impart education and offer degrees in natural and applied

sciences and conduct technical training courses for the development of skilled human resource in the Muslim world. \(^8\) Popularly known as the Istanbul Centre, IRCICA is another of the pan-Islamic body working under the auspices of the OIC. The Centre embarked upon a project on History of Science in the Muslim World. The project successfully produced many books dealing with scientific activities, scientific institutions and scientists, in different eras of the Islamic history. Several international symposia on related subjects were held and proceedings published.

Now we shall discuss and describe, first the role of COMSTECH and then the four other organizations listed above in this section and their activities during 1970-2000.

4.3.2 **Standing Committee for Scientific and Technology (COMSTECH):** The COMSTECH is one of the three permanent standing committees established by the Third Islamic Summit (Taif; Jan. 1981), as mentioned in section 4.1 above, whose COMSTECH were as under:

- Assessment of the human and material resources of OIC member states and determination of science and technology needs and requirements.
- Building up the indigenous capability of member states in the fields of science and technology through cooperation and mutual assistance.
- Promotion of cooperation and coordination amongst the member states in science and technology. Creation of an effective institutional structure of planning,
research and development and monitoring of science and technology activities in high technology areas.\(^9\)

In order to realize the above objectives, the COMSTEC\(H\) has come out with the Islamabad Declaration that sets the policy and the targets as well as a 20-year Plan of Action on Science and Technological cooperation that details the modus operandi to achieve the targets.

The Committee is entrusted with following up the implementation of resolutions adopted by the Islamic Conference in the scientific and technological fields, examining all possible means of strengthening co-operation among Muslim States in those areas and putting forward programs and proposals likely to improve the capabilities of Islamic States in these fields.\(^{10}\)

COMSTEC\(H\) is headed \textit{ex officio} by the President of Pakistan\(^{11}\) and its General Assembly consists of the Ministers of Science and Technology of the entire member states of the OIC.\(^{12}\) The General Assembly meets once every two years in Islamabad. The COMSTEC\(H\) has a permanent secretariat located at Islamabad. The Secretariat is headed by a Coordinator General. Presently, Dr Atta ur Rahman of Pakistan, a leading scientist


\(^{10}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 165-66.

\(^{11}\) In addition, since the first government of Ms Benazir Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan also enjoys the status of ex-officio “co-chairman/co-chairperson” of the COMCTECH.

\(^{12}\) Likewise, the COMCEC is headed by the President of Turkey \textit{ex officio} and its General Assembly consists of the Finance Ministers of all the OIC member states while the COMIAC is chaired by the President of Senegal and the Information Ministers of all OIC states constitute its General Assembly.
and former Federal Minister for Science and Information Technology, as the Coordinator General of CMSTEC:

COMSTEC has launched following services and programs\(^\text{13}\):

- Scientific Literature Research Service
- Inter-Library Research Network Service
- Research Grants for Young Scientists
- Visiting Scientists’ Programs
- Thematic Workshops in frontier technologies

The COMSTEC has a large number of conferences, workshops, trainings, exhibitions and public lectures to its credit. It has also maintained networks and databases of Muslim scientists. It also has a number of publications and brings out a regular newsletter as well.

4.3.3 Islamic Academy of Sciences (IAS): The founding of IAS reflects the realization among the Muslim decision makers that scientific forums do play a major role in promoting science and technology and thus influence the general state of development of the societies. Hence, the COMSTEC proposed such an independent, non-political, non-governmental and non-profit making organization of distinguished scientists and technologists dedicated to the promotion of all aspects of science and technology in the Islamic World. The fourth Islamic Summit held in Casablanca in 1984 approved the proposal and on the invitation of the then Crown Prince of Jordan, Prince Hassan, the

\(^{13}\) www.comstech.org
Chapter 4

Scientific Cooperation

Founding Conference of the Academy was held in Amman (Jordan) in October 1986 and a secretariat was established there.\textsuperscript{14}

According to its website, the IAS has the following four objectives:

\begin{itemize}
\item To serve as a consultative organization of the Muslim \textit{Ummah} and institutions of member states of the OIC on matters related to science and technology;
\item To initiate activities in science and technology, and to encourage co-operation among research groups in the various Islamic countries on projects of common interest;
\item To promote research on major problems of importance facing the Islamic countries and to identify future technologies of relevance for possible adoption and utilization; and
\item To formulate standards of scientific performance and attainment, and to award prizes and honors for outstanding scientific achievements to centers of excellence in all science and technology disciplines.\textsuperscript{15}
\end{itemize}

The IAS has held a large number of conferences, some of them are listed below:

1987- Food Security in the Muslim World (Amman, Jordan)

1988- Science and Technology Policies for Self-Reliance in the Muslim World (Islamabad, Pakistan)

\textsuperscript{14} www.ias-worldwide.org
\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Ibid.}
1989- New Technologies and the Development of the Muslim World (Kuwait City, Kuwait)

1990- Technology Transfer for Development in the Muslim World (Antalya, Turkey)

1991- Science and Technology Manpower for Development in the Islamic World (Amman, Jordan)


1993- Health, Nutrition and Development in the Islamic World (Dakar, Senegal)

1994- Water in the Islamic World: An Imminent Crisis (Khartoum, Sudan)

1999- Science and Technology Education for Development in the Islamic World, (Tehran, Iran)

The IAS publishes a journal on science and technology and proceedings of most of its conferences. The IAS also has many books to its credit. The Academy also assists the Islamic Development Bank in finalizing the winners of the IDB prizes on science and technology.
And finally, the IAS also coordinates the activities of the inter-Islamic science networks in the following branches of science\(^1\) (The names of the Muslim countries where these intra-Islamic networks are based, are given against each entry in parentheses):

1. Renewable Energy Sources (Niger)
2. Space Sciences and Technology (Pakistan)
3. Water Resources Development & Management (Jordan)
4. Oceanography (Turkey)
5. Genetic Engineering and Biotechnology (Egypt)
6. Tropical Medicine (Malaysia)
7. Information Technology (Pakistan)
8. Bio-saline Agriculture (UAE)

4.3.4 *Islamic Educational, Scientific And Cultural Organization (ISESCO)*: The ISESCO is a specialised institution of the OIC in the field of education, science and culture. In pursuance of the third Islamic Summit, held in Taif, in 1981, the proposal for ISESCO was approved and it started functioning in 1983.\(^2\)

The objectives of the ISESCO, in so far as they relate to science and technology, are as follows:\(^3\)

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\(^1\) *Ibid.*
\(^2\) See the special feature *ISESCO Forges Ahead*, Daily “The Muslim”, Islamabad, 3 Sept. 1985, on the eve of second General Conference of ISESCO at Islamabad.
to strengthen co-operation among the member-states in the field of education, scientific and cultural research

to encourage co-operation among the member-states in the field of scientific research and to develop applied science and the use of advanced technology within the framework of permanent Islamic values and ideals and to preserve features of the Islamic civilisation.

to help maintain peace and security in the world by means, especially through education, science and culture; and

to co-ordinate among the specialized institutions of the Organisation of Islamic Cooperation in the fields of education and science.

Any state that is a member of the OIC and agrees, in principle, with the aims and objectives of the ISESCO, can become its member. Any Muslim country that does not formally join ISESCO, automatically becomes associate member. Associate members attend the meetings but do not have the right to vote. The ISESCO Secretariat is based in Rabat, Morocco, and it is headed by a Director General, elected by the General Conference for a renewable mandate of three years.

A number of projects in the field of science have so far been carried out such as the project to give teaching based on scientific principles at Quranic schools in Senegal, one on review of textbooks of Molecular Biology and Microbiology (in co-operation of the Pakistan’s Ministry of Education) and provision of technical aid to schools in certain
Islamic countries, e.g., Guinea and Yemen, to improve their facilities for science education.\textsuperscript{19}

The ISESCO believes that the “improvement of science education at all levels and promotion of scientific research are of fundamental importance for the success of the efforts aimed at the achievement of excellence in the modern fields of science and technology for the socio-economic well being of the Muslim World”. The emphasis on science programs is in the following areas: (a) improvement of science teaching; (b) strengthening of scientific research and promotion of mutual contacts and co-operation between Muslim scientists; (c) development of trained scientific manpower; (d) support of Muslims in non-member states; (e) popularisation of science.\textsuperscript{20}

With a view to help in the improvement of the standards of teaching of science, the ISESCO completed an exercise in the modernisation of curricula in Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics and later Physics, for secondary and higher secondary levels. The draft model curricula, prepared by experts committees appointed by ISESCO, were distributed among the member states for comments. The curricula were revised in the light of member states’ observations and have been published in Arabic, English and French. As a next step, the ISESCO prepared teachers’ annotated guidebooks and circulated the same among the members.

\textsuperscript{19} For most of the information on ISESCO that follows, I have relied on the ISESCO Activity Report, presented at the 4\textsuperscript{th} meeting of the COMSTECH, by Dr. Khairat Ibne Rasa, DDG, on behalf of the Director General Dr. A Hadi Boutilib. See ISESCO Report in “Proceedings of the 4\textsuperscript{th} meeting of COMSTECH”, (Islamabad, PASTIC, 1991), pp.127-35. Also see the ISESCO Report presented to the 7\textsuperscript{th} COMSTECH meeting contained in “Proceedings of the 7\textsuperscript{th} COMSTECH Meeting”, (Islamabad, PASTIC, Dec. 1995), pp.205-18, as well as the unpublished ISESCO Report presented to the 8\textsuperscript{th} COMSTECH meeting (Islamabad; Dec. 1997), available from the COMSTECH office on request.

\textsuperscript{20} ISESCO Forges Ahead, \textit{op. cit.}
In 1992, the ISESCO embarked upon the next leg of the project, i.e. preparation of the unified undergraduate syllabi for the Muslim states’ universities in the same four subjects. The project was almost complete by the end of 1995, when the curricula of these subjects, except that of Physics, were circulated in the Muslim states for comments and opinions. In early 1996, the final stage of the project, preparation of the graduate science curricula in all the three OIC official languages, was inaugurated. The model syllabi for Environmental Chemistry and for Water Resource Management, is nearing completion while the work on many other subjects is well in progress. These modernised curricula in applied sciences for various academic levels, incorporating recent advances and developments in the subjects with emphasis on the teaching of science from an Islamic perspective, have been distributed among the member states for consideration and adoption as minimal standards for the teaching of these subjects at the relevant levels.\textsuperscript{21}

To improve laboratory facilities for the effective teaching of science in schools, model laboratory equipment and materials have been provided to some schools in Bangladesh, Gambia, Guinea, and Yemen Arab Republic. Lately, a training course for 30 Guinean school teachers was organised at Conakry to familiarise them with the use of the model scientific equipment supplied by ISESCO. Schools in Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali and Niger, have also been beneficiaries of this program.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
For the training of technical personnel for the repair and maintenance of electronic and other laboratory equipment in educational institutions, ISESCO organised several regional training courses in Egypt, Malaysia and Morocco, a few of which were co-sponsored by UNESCO, for the benefit of regional Muslim states. Recognising the need for personnel trained in handling high speed machines for data processing, the ISESCO has conducted several training courses on methods of storage collection and retrieval of data. A couple of them were held at Islamic Information & Data Bank (BIDI) at the ISESCO Directorate General in Rabat, while the rest were conducted in Tunisia, Malaysia etc.

In the area of science and technology, the ISESCO has sponsored or co-sponsored with local universities or regional research centres, a large number of conferences and symposia in the Muslim countries. In addition, it financed the participation or contributed towards the travel expenses of Muslim scientists in various international seminars. Some of such conferences are23:

- International Training Workshop on “Advanced Research Techniques in Spectroscopy” at Karachi, Pakistan;
- Training Course on “Genetic Engineering Technology” at Rajshahi, Bangladesh;
- Regional Seminar on “Horticultural Techniques” at Tunis, Tunisia;
- Training course on “Microbial Technologies at the Punjab University, Lahore, and a similar course at Cairo University, Egypt.

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23 This part of the discussion on the activities of the ISESCO is based upon Khan (2001), op.cit, pp. 219-21.
• First Asian Science and Technology Conference “Science Asia” at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

In addition, the provision of technical assistance to active research centres in the member states, by way of research grants and organisation of research seminars and courses in advanced research techniques, is a major ongoing programme in this field. The ISESCO is also engaged in different scientific research programs on topics like earthquake monitoring, management of national parks, remote sensing for environmental purposes, etc., in collaboration with a number of universities and research establishments of the Muslim world. The ISESCO has provided grants for the purchase of urgently needed equipment and chemicals to scientists in Bangladesh, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and Pakistan, Yemen and some other states.

The provision of career development grants to promising young scientists to encourage them to start and develop their research careers in their own countries is another activity ISESCO is trying to support\(^\text{24}\). To identify and nurture talent and to encourage talented Muslim youth to pursue careers in basic sciences, ISESCO invited member states to send their nominations for the award of ISESCO Merit Scholarships. The scholarships were awarded beginning from January 1988 for studies in basic sciences in the scholar’s own countries. Beneficiaries are from Bangladesh, Egypt, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Pakistan, Senegal and Yemen. Beginning from 1992, the ISESCO expanded its scholarship programme and now it is divided into three heads; (i) postgraduate scholarship programme; (ii) undergraduate scholarship programme; and (iii) Muslim minorities

\(^{24}\text{Ibid. p. 220.}\)
support scholarships. The awardees are provided funding for pursuing their studies in their home country, in another Muslim country, or a renowned university in a Western country, depending on the decisions of the selection committee on case to case basis. The number of beneficiaries varies every year, depending upon the availability of funds. The composition of scholars, in terms of nationalities, is also different each year. As part of its endeavour to increase the Muslim scientific manpower, the ISESCO also gives career development grants to promising youth of the Muslim states.

In addition to providing travel grants to some Muslims scientists from non-Islamic countries to enable them to participate in international scientific meetings, representative of Muslim communities in non-member states have been contacted to send nominations for the award of scholarships to deserving Muslim youth for specialisation in scientific and technological fields.

In order that a wider section of the scientific community may benefit from the proceedings of a scientific event, the ISESCO encourages the publication of proceedings of meetings sponsored or co-sponsored by it. For instance, two books based on the proceedings of the ISESCO-sponsored Symposia on Chemistry of Natural Products have been published in Europe and Pakistan with, what ISESCO brochure claims to be, international acclaim.

To create awareness of the important advances made in the fields of science and technology and to generate popular interest in science, some books on selected topics
have been published under an agreement with the Royal Scientific Society (RSS), Amman, Jordan. Three books in Arabic, on ‘The Computer’, ‘Space Travel’ and ‘The Process of Unification in Field Physics’ have been produced.  

The ISESCO is securing the particulars of eminent Muslim scientists and technologists from its member states and of eminent Muslim scientists and technologists working in the non-Islamic developed countries, in order too prepare briefs on Muslim scientists and technologists who have achieved eminence and are presently active in their fields of research.

4.3.5 Islamic University of Technology (IUT): Recognizing that the Islamic states had vast resources of manpower and know-how but inadequate facilities for training, to meet the specific requirements of these states, the 9th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Dakar, Senegal in 1978 decided to establish an Islamic Center for Technical and Vocational Training and Research (ICTVTR) at Dhaka, Bangladesh, that was upgraded as a degree-awarding institute and re-named as the Islamic Institute of Technology (IIT) in 1996. This Institute is meant to provide skilled technicians and instructors in mechanical, electrical, electronic and chemical technologies, and to conduct research in these fields. The academic activities of IIT started in Oct. 1985. In 2006, it got the Charter of a University and has since been renamed as the Islamic University of Technology (IUT):

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26 Most of the information about the establishment, development and early years of the Institute, is based upon the Activity Report presented by Dr. A. M. Patwari, Director, ICTVTR, at the 4th COMSTECCH meeting held at Islamabad in 1989. The report is a part of Proceedings of 4th COMSTECCH Meeting (1990), Islamabad, PASTIC, pp.150-75.
The Statute mandates the IUT to\textsuperscript{27}:

- train instructors, technicians and tradesmen in technologies and trades needed in the member states and to upgrade the mid level and lower level manpower to international standards;
- conduct and guide research in industrial and technological fields and in technical and vocational education to the benefits of the member states of the OIC;
- confer certificates, degrees and diplomas on persons who have pursued courses of study provided by the University and have passed the examinations under such conditions as may be prescribed by the academic rules and regulations of the IUT;
- promote technical co-operation, exchange technical know-how and disseminate basic information in the field of human resource development;
- ensure co-ordination between the objective of the University with other national and regional institutions of the Islamic Countries;

The University offers four academic programs: One-year Instructor Training Programs in six categories of courses with specializations in five Engineering fields, namely, Thermo-fluid, Chemical, Production, Electrical and Electronic; Bachelor of Science and Technical Education (BSTE) and Diploma in Technical Education (DTE) with specializations in Automotive Technology, Refrigeration and Air-conditioning, Electrical Machines, Power System Technology and Instrument Control Technology and various Diplomas and Certificates in Vocational Education. It offers B.Sc (Engineering) degrees in Mechanical, Electrical and Electronics disciplines in four-year integrated programs. In addition, there

\textsuperscript{27} \textit{OIC Guide, op. cit.}, pp.56-57.
are three-year Higher Diploma in Engineering and two-year Engineering Trade Certificate programs also.

The research activities of the IUT had seriously been hampered by the resource crunch. Since many countries did not contribute towards the IIT establishment fund, many of the laboratories and other facilities envisaged in the Master Plan are yet to be provided. The existing laboratories have failed to manage updating themselves with the modern research accessories. This is the prime reason why the IUT had not been able to offer research degrees such as the Ph.D. and the M.Phil even as late as the year 2000. The University, however, has to its credit some fifteen international workshops/ short courses and three international symposia. The topics covered a wide range such as “Micro-computer applications”, modern practices in designs of tools”, “Operation of fertilizer projects”, “Management of technical training in the OIC Countries”, and others. Upto the year 2000, 423 participants attended the IUT seminars from different Muslim countries.28

A few technological research projects like the ones on solar resource assessment and the development of a compatible micro-computer were accomplished jointly by the students and the research faculty. A few teachers published their own books. The IUT also published proceedings of at least five of its seminars, concerning topics like manpower and educational research. Among other IUT publications are its annual News Bulletins, Annual issues of the Prospectus and souvenirs on the occasions of its 10th anniversary or

28 See the Annual Report of the Director, UIT, at the 7th meeting of the COMSTEC held in Islamabad in Dec.1995. Its text is part of the Proceedings of the 7th COMSTEC Meeting (1996), Islamabad, pp.243-75.
that of the silver jubilee of the OIC, etc.\textsuperscript{29} And finally, the IUT has entered into different agreements for joint research and training with the OIC, its specialized organs, and the UN agencies like the UNESCO, UNDP, FAO and the UNIDO.

\textbf{4.3.6 Islamic Foundation for Science, Technology And Development (IFSTAD)—(Now dissolved):} The OIC had established the Foundation way back in 1975 with the following objectives\textsuperscript{30}:

- to promote and encourage research activities in the fields of science and technology, within an Islamic framework, to help solve some of the problems of the Muslim world, and of mankind, in general.
- to promote co-operation and co-ordination in the field of science and technology within the Muslim world and to strengthen the bonds of Islamic solidarity.
- to ensure that all Muslim States both individually and collectively, optimize the use of science and technology (including social sciences), in the formulation of their socio-economic plans keeping in view the need to consolidate the unique Islamic personality and character.
- to provide advice and carry out scientific studies for the Organization of the Islamic Conference, whenever necessary.

\textsuperscript{29} \textit{Ibid.} Also see the unpublished \textit{IUT Report presented to the 8\textsuperscript{th} COMSTECH meeting} (1997), Islamabad; available from the COMSTECH Secretariat in Islamabad on request.

The IFSTAD started functioning in mid-1983. It used to work out five-year plans of action to set its objectives and then operate accordingly. The plans were prepared along the following lines:

- Information collection
- Program co-ordination
- Advice and consultancy
- Strengthening scientific and technological capabilities of member states.
- Creation and/or co-ordination of institutions in technologies of interest.
- Creation of International Muslim Centers of Excellence in the field of science and technology.
- Building-up the scientific capability of the ummah.

The 4th Islamic Summit (Casablanca; 1984) entrusted the IFSTAD with the mission to implement the programs of COMSTECH as well. Therefore, it had to carry out activities within the frameworks of both the COMSTECH’s and its own plans of action. The IFSTAD organized a large number of seminars, symposia and training workshops on topics related to science and technology. Some of the events sponsored or co-sponsored by the IFSTAD include, the Conference on Semi- conductors and Physics of Materials, and the Regional Physics Education Symposium, in Malaysia, Seminar on the Role of

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31 It was not unexpected, taking into account the financial position of IFSTAD, that no response was received by the author for his requests for information even before Dec. 1997. The author had to therefore, rely largely on secondary sources. The description of the IFSTAD activities for the first six years of activity has been taken from the Activity Report of IFSTAD, presented by its then Acting Director Ahmad Saleh Taib, carried in the Proceedings of the 4th COMSTECH Meeting (1990), Islamabad, pp.137-49.

Universities in the National Development of Islamic Countries, in Senegal, and the Training Course on Recombinant DNA Techniques, the International Workshop on Protein Structure, Function Relationship and the Islamic Countries Conference on Statistical Sciences, in Pakistan, etc.\textsuperscript{33}

The IFSTAD launched a scholarship program for Muslim students for higher studies in science and technology. For the first academic year, i.e. 1983-84, IFSTAD granted 160 scholarships, out of which 99 went to the Muslim students belonging to non-Muslim countries. Besides such schemes, the IFSTAD had been instrumental in the exchange of scholars within the Muslim states. For example, Pakistan accepted scholars from Muslim states for M.Sc. in Nuclear Engineering while Malaysia took the same for training in Tropical Medicine, through the IFSTAD. The Foundation has also many a times financed, wholly or partially, the participation of scientists from Muslim states to conferences, symposia and workshops in other states. The publications constitute a significant part of the IFSTAD research activities. Besides the Annual Reports of IFSTAD, it also published proceedings of conferences and symposia held under its auspices. The computer section of the IFSTAD used to maintain data bases on Consultants, Manpower, Universities and Research Institutes of the Muslim states as well as on the Islamic Foundation of Research Institutes (IFRI) and on Meetings and Documentation.\textsuperscript{34}

\textsuperscript{33} IFSTAD Report, op. cit. , p.143
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid. pp.146-47.
The IFSTAD completed the two first phases of its four-phase Information Network Program aiming at interlinking S&T and Education data bases of OIC member states. At that stage, activities relating to the program were transferred to the Islamic Countries Information Network (ICINET). Feasibility study to consider the establishment of an Islamic Information Network was carried out by the IFSTAD along with the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) and the Islamic Centre for Development of Trade (ICDT).\textsuperscript{35}

The IFSTAD had always tried to develop scientific and technical facilities in OIC member-countries. For example, it was on its initiative and advocacy that the Islamic Development Bank agreed to finance a project for solar coolers. The Foundation exhibited greater interest in arranging consultancies for the Muslim community in scientific and technical matters from among Muslim experts. It gained importance because of the fact that 93 per cent of the consultancies in the Muslim world are done by experts from industrially developed non-Muslim nations, although well qualified Muslim consultants are available in many of these specialized areas. Many of these work in the developed countries. The IFSTAD compiled a comprehensive list of such Muslim consultants with their addresses and fields of specialization and has made it available to the OIC member-countries. This was reported to have had a positive response from the member-states.\textsuperscript{36}

Likewise, about 800 consultants and experts were recorded in a specialized data base, and a directory was published 1989. They included nationals of OIC member states, as well

\textsuperscript{35} IFSTAD Report, op. cit., p. 140.  
\textsuperscript{36} Baba, op. cit., p. 229.
as Muslim expatriates all over the world. Three specific directions were approved in developing IFSTAD consultancy services: (1) to offer consultancy services to organizations in the member states; (2) to develop consulting projects proposed by other organizations, and (3) to develop projects initiated by IFSTAD employees.\(^{37}\) The terms and conditions of this service were decided upon by IFSTAD Scientific Council. Several institutions in the member states expressed their interest. IFSTAD received several requests and projects submitted by individuals and organizations. But most governmental agencies requesting technical assistance and consultancy services expected IFSTAD to meet the cost, which was neither possible from the statutory nor the financial points of view. An approach involving “packages” where consultancy could be integrated within development project was also considered but all such schemes, called for greater cooperation from the Muslim states. And this cooperation, the IFSTAD never seem to have received.

In the bi-annual conference of the Ministers of Science and Technology of the Muslim countries, which acts as the General Assembly of the COMSTECH, held in 1997, at Islamabad, it was decided and then declared officially that the Islamic Foundation for Science, Technology and Development, stood dissolved. The IFSTAD had been resource strapped due to non-payment of dues by the member states. Time had come that far from financing its activities, the IFSTAD could not defray salaries to its staff. Such times had come in the life of other Islamic Conference institutions as well, but some country volunteered to bail them out. For instance, in 1986, a time had come that Islamic International News Agency (IINA), a subsidiary institute of the Islamic Conference, had

\(^{37}\) *IFSTAD Report, op. cit.*, p. 143.
failed to pay salaries to its staff for nine consecutive months. When the attention of the member states was drawn to the situation in the next Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, the Saudi government agreed to take on the liability and bailed out IINA from the threat of imminent closure. That no Muslim country found it worthwhile to bail out an institution in the field of science and technology is a reflection of where science stands in the hierarchy priorities for the Muslim nations.

While we had discussed the cooperation of the Muslim world in the field of science and technology under the auspices of COMSTECH in respect of the ISESCO, Islamic Academy of Sciences and the Islamic Institute of Technology, reference to IFSTAD was necessary to give a complete picture. If on the one hand, some initiatives have been taken in the field of science and technology by the Muslim world, it is also a fact that a pan-Islamic institution for scientific development was allowed to die, which was preventable had it not been starved for resources. Over a decade has passed since the demise of IFSTAD but, in my research and study of resolutions and documents of the Islamic conference, no proposal has ever been floated to revive this or another Foundation with similar objectives of scientific development.

4.4 Muslim World Cooperation in EDUCATION

In the field of education, there are two pan-Islamic coordination bodies, one each for higher education and school education. The Federation of the Universities of the Islamic World (FUIW), an allied Federation of the ISESCO and the World Federation of
International Arabo-Islamic Schools at Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Then there are four pan Islamic Universities established by the Muslim world, two each in Africa and Asia. In Africa, the Islamic University in Uganda (IUIU) exists for Anglophone Muslim states of Africa, while the Islamic University of Niger, fulfills the need for Francophone Muslims of Africa. Likewise, in Asia, two biggest numerical concentrations of the Muslims are in South Asia and South East Asia. The Islamic University Bangladesh and the Islamic University of Malaysia, have been established for these two regions, through unanimous resolutions of the heads of state and government of the Islamic countries, in the Islamic summit conferences. As it was felt that the Arab bloc in the Muslim world already has a number of seats of Islamic learning, so no fresh universities were established by the Organization of Islamic Cooperation through the collective funds, however, two of the oldest and historic Islamic universities in the Arab world, namely, the Al Azhar University of Egypt and Zaituniya University of Tunisia were identified for support.

There are several other education related initiatives such as the World Centre for Islamic Education (Makkah), Centres for Arabic Language Teaching (Sudan and Pakistan), Islamic Translation Institute (Sudan)\textsuperscript{38}, and the Islamic Centres at Guinea Bissau, Comoros Republic and New York, USA.\textsuperscript{39} It may be emphasised that this is not the complete list of educational institutions of the OIC as a number of institutions and colleges, both with and outside the member states, receive full or partial financial

\textsuperscript{38} See para 107 of the final declaration of the 11\textsuperscript{th} ICFM (Islamabad; 1980) in OIC: Declarations of Islamic Summits and ICFMs held in Pakistan (1993), Islamabad, Directorate of Films & Publications- Govt. of Pakistan, p. 49.

\textsuperscript{39} Ahsan, \textit{op. cit.}, p.105.
assistance from the OIC Secretariat or the Islamic Solidarity Fund.\textsuperscript{40} In addition, two more institutions, namely, the Regional Institute for Complementary Education (Islamabad) and Centre for Research on Islam (Timbuktu) are in the planning phase since long.\textsuperscript{41}

In this section, we shall discuss the role of the two Federations mentioned above and the four pan-Islamic Universities up to the year 2000:

**4.4.1 Federation of the Universities of the Islamic World:** The Federation has come into being under the ISESCO umbrella for the purpose of supporting Universities and Higher Education institutions in the Muslim World and encouraging cooperation between them.\textsuperscript{42} It has the following objectives:

- Enhancing the level of scientific researches in all fields, exchanging their findings,
- Upgrading and developing higher education to address the needs of Muslim societies and benefit by the scientific and technological new developments
- Furthering cooperation in such a way as to enhance the exchange of experiences, studies, programmes and visits in the fields of education, science, culture and technology;

\textsuperscript{40} A prominent example of OIC-sponsored colleges is the American Islamic College, Chicago, USA. The Secretary General of the OIC holds \textit{ex-officio} chairmanship of the Board of Trustees of the College. See \textit{Speeches and Statements of Sharifuddin Pirzada} (1989), Karachi: OIC publication, p.52.
\textsuperscript{41} Baba, op. cit., p.144.
\textsuperscript{42} All information is based on the website of the Federation < http://www.fuiw.org>
• Encouraging the teaching of the language of the Holy Quran and the Islamic culture in Member Universities;

• Stepping up the efforts of higher education institutions to address the current issues and entrench the values of understanding, coexistence and peace

• Upgrading Member Universities’ knowledge and human capacities

As of late 2009, according to its official website, there were 193 Universities that were member of the Federation, including five from Pakistan. The Federation held a large number of seminars and symposia for enhancing cooperation between the Universities of the Muslim world, offered a number of scholarships for Muslim students of one country to study in another Muslim country, and also had a number of publications including the Directory of Muslim world Universities as well as the periodical journal *Al Jamia* [tr. The University].

**4.4.2 World Federation of International Arabo-Islamic Schools:** The Federation’s constituent conference was held in March 1976 at Riyadh. The project had been approved a little earlier by the 7th ICFM (Istanbul; 1976). The Federation represents the Arab-Islamic Schools all over the world and seeks to support and assist them. The headquarter of the Federation is situated in Riyadh, while the central administration is in Jeddah near the OIC General Secretariat. The Federation also maintains an efficient Research and Studies Centre which is studying the implementation of uniform syllabi and a joint examination system for the Muslim schools.

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The Federation of Arabo-Islamic Schools has the following objectives:  

- act as an umbrella for the vast network of Islamic Schools.
- support and assist, financially and otherwise, the Islamic schools particularly those in the non-Muslim countries.
- work for the dissemination of Islamic culture and the teaching of Arabic language, by supporting the Islamic schools and cultural centers, and training personnel therein.
- create a supervisory body for Arab and Islamic schools.

The membership of the Federation consists of the Arab Islamic schools spread throughout the world; the private institutions which establish, run and supervise these schools and cultural facilities; and the representatives of the states who offer technical, financial and material support to these schools.  

4.4.3 Islamic University in Uganda: The Second Islamic Summit Conference (Lahore; 1974) decided to establish this University to cater for the needs of the Muslim populations of Central and East Africa. However, due to funding problems and other snags, the construction work could not be started till early 1980’s. The Islamic University in Uganda, located in Mbale about 250 kms from the capital Kampala, was inaugurated in Feb. 1988.

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44 Ibid.
46 The University Secretary’s letter No. IU/OIC/18/1, dated 13 Jan. 07, along which the brochure Islamic University in Uganda; Basic Information is hereby acknowledged. The information in this section, unless mentioned otherwise, is based on the said brochure.
47 Keesing’s Contemporary Archives, p.28556.
The Islamic University in Uganda was established with the following mission as stipulated in the University Statute:\textsuperscript{48}

- to promote and enhance the civilization and scientific influence of Islam, to promote culture and science among African peoples
- to give special care to Islamic studies and research, teach Arabic spread of Islamic culture in African countries;
- to enable African countries to assimilate science and technology to acquire scientific and technological know-how and to use it in the best interests of African countries and their peoples;
- to train adequate manpower and secure the necessary methods for higher education, scientific research and advanced studies in the various fields of knowledge;

The University Council, the institution’s supreme authority, is composed of sixteen members, five of whom are nominated by the Ugandan Government. Another five are appointed by the OIC Secretary General from amongst the academic and scientific personalities of the Muslim world, regardless of their nationalities. The remaining six are \textit{ex-officio} members including the OIC Secretary General or his representative, the Chairman of the ISF Permanent Council or his representative, the Chairman of the Supreme Council of Uganda Muslims or his Assistant, the Rector, Registrar and the Secretary of the University.\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Basic Information on IUIU, op. cit.}, pp.2-3.
\textsuperscript{49} \textit{OIC Guide, op. cit.}, pp.76-77.
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The following are the Faculties, Departments and Courses of study at the Islamic University in Uganda:

*Faculty of Islamic Heritage* offers degrees in Arabic Studies, Islamic Studies, *Shari’ah*, and Sociology.

*Faculty of Education* offers degrees in Educational Planning and Administration, Educational Psychology, and Foundations of Education.

*Faculty of Science* offers degrees in Mathematics, Statistics, Physics, Biological Sciences (Botany, Zoology and Microbiology), Chemistry and Biochemistry, and Computer Science.

*Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences* offers degrees in Economics, History, Geography and Environmental Studies, Political Science, Mass Communication and Languages, Literature and Linguistics (English/French/Swahili/Luganda/Hausa).

*Faculty of Management Studies* offers degrees in Business Studies and the Public Administration.

**4.4.4 Oum ul Qura Islamic University Niger:** The second Islamic Summit (Lahore; 1974), proposed the creation of the Islamic University of Niger, with a view to responding to the needs of the Muslim populations in West Africa. The 8th ICFM (Tripoli; 1977) allocated funds for the construction. One third of the cost was paid by the government of Niger while the rest was contributed by the Islamic Solidarity Fund and several OIC member states. The University was inaugurated in Nov. 1986.

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50 Details taken from *Basic Information on IUIU, op. cit.*, pp.7-11.
51 Keesing’s Contemporary Archives, 1977, p.28556.
Its Administrative Board comprises 15 members including four members appointed by the Government of Niger; the Chairman of the Permanent Council of the Islamic Solidarity Fund; the Secretary General of the Islamic Conference; four members appointed by the OIC Secretary General from among men of letters and scientists of the Islamic world, regardless of their nationalities; three members appointed by the Administrative Board from among Muslim candidates proposed by French speaking African States; the Rector of the University, and one representative of the Faculty proposed by the Executive Board. The bulk of its enrolment comes from the Francophone Muslim countries of West Africa who study in several departments that deal with the teaching of Islamic history, culture and law.\textsuperscript{53}

\textbf{4.4.5. Islamic University in Bangladesh:} The establishment of the Islamic University in Bangladesh was first considered during an Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in the late 1970s. The University was to be set up as a distinctive institution of higher education and research in Islamic studies and other modern disciplines. The Government of Bangladesh offered to merge the existing Institute of Islamic Education and Research with the proposed University. The date of establishment of the University is 27 Dec. 1980.\textsuperscript{54}

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{53} The University did not respond to the repeated requests by this author for information. No related information from any secondary source was available either.
\item \textsuperscript{54} The information provided by the University is hereby acknowledged with gratitude. In fact, it was the only institution within the OIC framework that took the trouble of providing para-wise response to the author’s questionnaire, instead of sending printed brochures of general nature. Deputy Registrar’s letter vide No. 59/Aca/IU-97/484, dated 15 Jan. 07) enclosed a fact-sheet about the University. All information given in this section, unless mentioned otherwise, is based on that fact sheet.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The Islamic University has been established with an objective to provide for instructions in *Islamic Studies* and such other branches of learning at graduate and post-graduate level as the University may think fit and to make provision for research and for the advancement and dissemination of knowledge.\(^55\)

The University is headed by a Rector who is assisted by two Deputy Rectors. The Board of Governors lays down the policy guidelines for the institution while the University Senate is the final authority for running the day-to-day affairs of the University. The Islamic University has five Faculties offering fourteen degree programs including Doctorate and Master of Philosophy and Master and Bachelor (with Honors) degrees, in a variety of disciplines.\(^56\) The Faculty-wise break-up of courses follows:

*Faculty of Theology and Islamic Studies:* It offers Master (MTIS) and Bachelor (BTIS-Hons.) degrees in the above subject.

*Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences:* Master of Arts (MA), Master of Social Sciences (MSS) and the corresponding Bachelor degrees, BA-Hons. and BSS-Hons., are awarded by this Faculty.

*Faculty of Applied Science and Technology:* The faculty has courses leading to M.Sc. and B.Sc-Hons. degrees.

*Faculty of Business Administration:* Master (MBA) and Bachelors (BBA-Hons.) courses in the subject are taught here.

*Faculty of Law and Shari’ah:* The students of this Faculty learn the Islamic jurisprudence and Law, and obtain LLM and LLB-Hons. degrees.

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\(^{55}\) Fact Sheet, *op.cit.* p.1

The University has over four and a half thousand strong multi-national student community. The department-wise enrolment of the students: 57 Al-Quran & Islamic Studies (384), Da’wa & Islamic Studies (331), Al-Hadith & Islamic Studies (299), Law & Muslim Jurisprudence (395), Economics (366), Bengali Language & Literature (348), English Language & Literature (445), Arabic Language & Literature (274), Islamic History & Culture (420), Politics & Public Administration (405), Accounting (377), Management (382), Electronics & Applied Physics (29), Applied Mathematics & Computer Science (34) and Applied Chemistry & Chemical Technology (27). In addition, 51 students were working for M.Phil. degrees while another 21 were pursuing for Doctorate in various disciplines.

4.4.6. Islamic University in Malaysia: The Islamic University of Malaysia --- a brainchild of the First World Conference on Muslim Education, held at Makkah in 1977--- was established in 1983 and was co-sponsored by the Islamic Conference. The constitutional head of the University is HRH Sultan Haji Ahmad Shah al-Musta’in Billah, ruler of the state of Pahang. The Deputy Prime Minister of Malaysia, is the President of the University. Below him is the Rector of IIUM, two Deputy Rectors and a 15-member Board of Governors which decides the general policies of the University and is chaired by the President of the University. The seven sponsoring states of Bangladesh, Egypt,

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Libya, Maldives, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey, and the host state Malaysia, as well as the Secretary General of the OIC are represented on it.\textsuperscript{58}

The Malaysian Islamic University has five Faculties that offer thirty-eight Masters and Bachelor degrees and graduate diplomas, in all. In addition, some departments also offer research degrees such as Doctorate of Philosophy and Masters of Philosophy.\textsuperscript{59}

\textit{Faculty of Law}: The Faculty offers Doctor of Philosophy in Law; Master of Comparative Law; Bachelor degrees in Law, and in Law and \textit{Shari’ah}, Diploma in Law and Administration of Islamic Judiciary, and Diploma in \textit{Shari’ah} Law and Practice.

\textit{Faculty of Economics and Management}: Master of Economics and Bachelor degrees in Accounting (B.Acc), Business Administration (BBA) and Economics (B. Econs) are offered by this Faculty.

\textit{Faculty of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences}: Its Masters Programs include those in Arabic language, English language, Education, Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Heritage, and Library and Information Science; and Diplomas include English, Islamic Studies and Education; and Bachelors degrees include Communication, History and Civilization, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology and Anthropology, and Philosophy.

\textit{Faculty of Engineering}: Computer and Information, Manufacturing Systems, and Mechatronics are the three disciplines, in which Engineering degrees are conferred.

\textit{Faculty of Medicine}: Offers Bachelor of Medicine degrees.

\textsuperscript{58} The Public Relations Office of the University vide letter No. IIU.1.1/PRO/33, dated 20 Jan. 07, accepted the request of the author and dispatched the IIUM latest prospectus. The information given in this section, unless otherwise stated, is based on the prospectus.

\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ibid.} pp. 55-209 give details of all the degrees offered.
Currently there is a student body of about 7,000 undergraduates and 600 post-graduates, which include around 1,000 international students representing 173 countries.\textsuperscript{60} The faculty of 500 or so, is a distinguished group of scholars from different Muslim countries.

4.5 Pakistan’s Role in scientific cooperation in Muslim world:

Pakistan’s role in science and technology cooperation in the Muslim world needs a particular mention. Pakistan is one of the few relatively developed Muslim countries. In fact, all eight Muslim countries that have some level of scientific and industrial development have formed a grouping called D-8 (on the pattern of G-8 group of already industrialized Western nations). The D-8 consists of Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, Turkey and Pakistan. It is not a coincidence, that six of these countries (barring Indonesia and Malaysia) are the very same six countries that have won Nobel prizes in the Muslim world. Pakistan is the moving spirit behind the concept of D-8 and is most active in keeping the forum alive. This is a unique contribution from Pakistan to get on board all eight fast track players in the Muslim bloc on one platform.

In fact, Pakistan distinguishes itself even within these eight countries. For one, Pakistan is the only nuclear capable state in the Muslim world. It owes to Pakistani scientists and engineers that the country could develop its scientific capability to a level that it developed a nuclear deterrent capacity. Pakistan has also launched some rudimentary

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid. p.3.
form of space satellites. It has a vibrant industrial sector including textiles, sports goods, leather goods and some others.

Probably, for these reasons, the leaders of the Muslim world selected Pakistan as permanent chair of the Standing Committee on Science and Technology while giving the chair of economic cooperation to Turkey and that of Cultural cooperation to Senegal. The President of Pakistan is the ex officio Chairman of the COMSTEC and, since the first tenure of Ms Benazir Bhutto to head its government, the Prime Minister of Pakistan is the ex-officio co-Chairperson of COMSTEC. The General Assembly of COMSTEC is composed of the Ministers of Science and Technology of all Muslim countries while Pakistan’s own Minister of Science and Technology chairs the sessions that are held every two years in Pakistan. The Secretariat of the Islamic Conference is also located in Islamabad, Pakistan, and the administrative head of COMSTEC, called the Coordinator General is also always a Pakistani scientist. All the achievements of COMSTEC mentioned in an earlier section above owe it to the Pakistani leadership and government that have thrown their full weight and support behind COMSTEC activities.

Two of the inter Islamic networks working under the Islamic Academy of Sciences (IAS) --- the one on Information Technology and that on Space Technology--- are based in Pakistan. Pakistan is also the focal country for the proposed Islamic States Telecommunications Union (ISTU) that will also be located in some city of Pakistan and the government has already been tasked by the Islamic Conference to develop its Statute to be considered for approval in an Islamic Summit. Likewise, the Plan of Action of
ISESCO adopted in its second meeting also took place in 1985 in Pakistan. Many of the seminars and symposia on science and technology in the Muslim world have been hosted, sponsored or co-sponsored by Pakistan. In many cases, the ones funded by the Islamic Development Bank and the ISESCO have also took place in Pakistan.

At its own initiative, Pakistan has given scholarships to Muslim countries’ students in its universities, offered training facilities to scientists and engineers from Muslim countries in its research institutions and had undertaken many collaborative research projects with other Muslim countries.

4.6 Conclusion: A comparison with EU

The European Union has its genesis in the Treaty of Paris (1951) and the twin Treaties of Rome (1957). It was at Rome where the European Atomic Energy Agency (EAEA), also called Euratom, was established between the six founding member-States. Although, six countries in the middle of Western Europe, however important, can hardly be called Europe, nevertheless this was the first major initiative in Scientific cooperation in modern Europe. In the succeeding decades, several more cooperation initiatives mainly related to environmental and food technologies sprung up. With the establishment of a European Economic Area (Euro zone and single market) and a visa free “Schengenland”, there is a free mobility of capital, labor and services, along with goods. Meaning thereby that scientists, professors and students are free to move across borders and settle, work, teach or study there. Unlike the Organization of Islamic Cooperation that established four universities, one each in Bangladesh, Malaysia, Niger and Uganda where students from
all Muslim world are welcome to study; in Europe every University has now virtually become a pan-European university where no country can discriminate in admissions, hiring or even fee structure between its own nationals and other EU citizens. Examples such as CERN laboratory in Switzerland (though not in EU) are examples of research collaboration between scientists from diverse nationalities and backgrounds. Europe has also encouraged mobility of youth and students to undertake academic pursuits across the frontiers through various programs such as the Erasmus Mundus Program. The multicultural composition of universities brings people closer and makes the universities and societies enriched due to exchange and intercourse of ideas and counter-ideas.

In winding up our discussion we may take up three questions starting with the most empirical one; what are the reasons for this paucity of research output in the Muslim world? Secondly, given the paucity of scientific research in Muslim world, does it make sense to make a case for cooperation in these fields within the OIC bloc? And finally, has there been a real impact of cooperation in education, science and technology in the Muslim world?

Coming to the first question, we shall argue that lack of democracy and freedom in the Muslim world is a big factor inhibiting scientific development of the OIC community. No amount of money can spur progress in science unless the nations completely and unequivocally respect the fundamental freedoms of belief, of expression, of opinion and of dissent.
Science thrives through inquiry, debate, argument and counter argument. Where the minds and pens are barred from questioning or arguing, say, on or against the dominant political paradigm, the capacity of the society to think freely suffers as a whole. In the present Muslim world, the rulers are not the only ones feeling threatened by free debate; the religious right has also strengthened its case for having a monopoly over truth. Religious bigotry is fast becoming a genie out of control.

The Muslim world will first have to evolve a consensus on the rules of the game--- that of living in the modern world. No issue should be so holy that an informed debate becomes a no-no affair. Freedom of expression on any issue ranging from theological debates on how to pray to the sexual ethos of the societies and from climate change to human cloning, should be open to research and debate. The universities must not be made institutions for rot learning, they should be laboratories for generating conflicting ideas and thoughts. It must also be added that education and research have yet to become priorities in the Muslim world. Notwithstanding the above remarks, there is no gainsaying that funding on education, science and technology will have to be enhanced considerably to match the rest of the world.

Now the question arises that given the paucity of research in the Muslim world, does it make sense to spend this much time, money and energy in cooperation between the Muslim world, rather than with the developed world. There are scores of bilateral or multilateral research collaboration initiatives between individual Muslim states with some developed nation like Japan, Sweden or the United States. But none of the pan-
Islamic science initiatives under the umbrella of OIC/COMSTECH aim at establishing linkages between Muslim world with the advanced countries. I think there is a need to re-define the focus, at least for the near future, of organizations like the Islamic Academy of Sciences, COMSTECH and ISESCO, to try to establish collaboration with the universities, centers of excellence and research institutions of the developed world, rather than with each other only.

Same is the case with the Universities of the Muslim world where the experience of the four universities noted above, plus the Islamic University of Technology (treated as a subsidiary research organ of the OIC rather than merely a university under OIC framework as the four others), has been disappointing to say the least. None of the universities has rose to top 500 ranking in the world, none has produced world level research or even a single Nobel laureate, or even added academic disciples in its programs commensurate with modern needs.

Since the Muslim counties have little to show on scientific advancement, I am not convinced that the aforementioned OIC institutions or universities have contributed anything meaningful to scientific progress for the Modern Muslim world, such as even a few inventions, discoveries or patents. All they have done is to give platforms to Muslim scientists and students to be under the same roof in some seminar, symposium or, as the case may be, degree-level classes. These initiatives had social dividends as the Muslims for diverse backgrounds had chance to meet and interact aiding cultural fusion. The OIC would need to learn from the EU experience; if an Islamic Common Market gets
established, as discussed in the preceding chapter, it will contribute much more to scientific and educational cooperation, than specific programs in these two fields *per se*. 
5

Defence Cooperation in the Muslim World

5.1 Introduction

The title of this chapter has used the term ‘defence’ in very wide meanings including all forms of military cooperation and coordination, which obviously include but are not limited to formation of a common defence policy, collective response to security issues (such as terrorism), and, may be, common platform of training of military personnel. Defence cooperation may also mean military coordination in such roles that are ordinarily believed to be non-military activities such as flood and earthquake relief, national reconstruction and the like.

If we expand the scope of defence cooperation to defence and security cooperation than a coordinated policy towards the arms control and disarmament regimes such as the Non Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) and the Biological Weapons Convention (BWC) etc may also be discussed within its ambit, although response or adherence to these treaties are political decisions, though, all
modern states would take into account the views of their military high command before making any decision.

Finally, in the Muslim world context, defence production i.e. weapons manufacturing in the Muslim world, their trade with each other, measures to curb illegal trade in arms, and a common approach towards defence purchases from developed nations may also come in its ambit.

There are many reasons why one would study military cooperation in the Muslim world and, not the least, is that none of the Muslim states, at present, is a great military power. Thus, for many Muslim countries, the idea to pool resources for a joint defence strategy might make sense.

A military alliance or a defence treaty, on the pattern of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the Muslim world may perform the same functions and provide similar advantages that NATO offers to the European Union:

- Deterrent against outside aggression or security threats from non-State actors
- Peacekeeping operations, especially within and between the Muslim countries
- Providing Strategic depth
- Increasing the relevance of Muslim bloc in geo-strategic scenario
- Pooling of defence production resources to explore complimentsaries
- Allowing the poor Muslim countries to divert resources from defence to development
➢ Reducing chances of military coup d’etats that disrupt democratic governance
➢ Disaster management, as the NATO experience has shown that requirement of a common military strategy has increased in post-Cold war era rather than decreasing

The common defence policy cannot be made unless the internal rivalries between the Muslim countries are resolved. There is hardly a set of any two contiguous Muslim/OIC states that do not have unresolved political or territorial conflicts between them; Iran and Iraq, Sudan and Uganda, Indonesia and Malaysia, Syria and Lebanon, Libya and Chad, Mauritania and Senegal, are obvious examples. Then there are problems of Muslim communities such as the Kurds in Northern fringes of the Middle East, the people of Aceh (in Indonesia) and the people of Western Sahara that beg solutions. Even if existing problems are resolved, there will have to be a permanent peace making mechanism, like a permanent intra-Islamic body for mediation, conciliation and arbitration on the pattern of the UAE Protocol of Mediation, Conciliation and Arbitration.

It had been pointed out in the third chapter that economic cooperation is technically the most complex form of cooperation. I would argue here that the second most complex form of cooperation among the five types, we are discussing in chapters 2 through 6, is the defence cooperation. And on top of it, it is the most expensive one too. Even Europe, which has been a successful experience in integration, is still a laggard as far as a common defence and security policy is concerned.
For instance, the European Union has failed to translate the Helsinki Headline Goals of creating a 60,000-strong Rapid Reaction Force (RRF) deployable for at least one year on a 60 days’ notice, in nearly one and a half decade. The sheer cost of such a venture appears prohibitive. Yes, NATO had worked in Europe and is still a vibrant military alliance; but it is also a truism that minus the economic and financial muscle of the United States, there is no way NATO can sustain itself. Be that as it may, the European (EU/NATO) experience in security cooperation is a guide for the Muslim world on how to move forward and which processes are relatively unlikely to succeed.

5.2 History of Military Alliances

The history of military alliances is as old as the human civilization. But if we talk of contemporary era, say, past one century or so, we find the cold war era as an age of military alliances. The lead role was obviously played by the two most powerful alliances, namely, the US-backed North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Soviet-backed Warsaw Pact. The former comprised of the United States plus 13 of its allies in the Western and Southern Europe, till the end of Cold War. Turkey, a Muslim country, also remains its member since as early as 18th Feb 1952, having the second largest army after the US among the NATO allies. The Warsaw Pact, whose membership stood at seven, consisted of the erstwhile Communist states of Eastern Europe allied with the then Soviet Union.
Washington’s strategy of containing Communism did not end at Europe but was rather extended across the world as a chain. Baghdad Pact consisted of the US and four Muslim countries, Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan. After the 1958 Socialist revolution in Iraq it withdrew from the Pact which perforce had to be renamed. It was re-christened as Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). Thus, minus Iraq, CENTO became the military counterpart of the defunct Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD) which consisted of the same three countries Iran, Turkey and Pakistan. Purview of RCD was, as the name indicates, economic cooperation. ¹ Thus CENTO was the closest to a Defence Pact between a few leading Muslim countries where aggression against one was construed as aggression against the remaining countries of the alliance too. ²

The United States had its own idea of a Middle East Defence Organization (MEDO) on a similar pattern but there was little enthusiasm shown by any major Arab State for the idea. Neither were they swayed by Egyptian President Gamal Abdul Nasser-sponsored idea of a confederation of Arab states, like his abortive attempt, at making the United Arab Republic. The UAR, in the form originally conceived, would have been much more than a defence alliance, including a common market and economic union. ³ Had either the US President Eisenhower or his Egyptian counterpart Gamal Nasser succeeded in a Middle East defence pact, this would have been a proto-type of an Muslim Countries’

¹ A few decades later, in early nineteen nineties that is, six Muslim states in the Caucus and Central Asia, became independent with the disintegration of the Soviet Union. The RCD expanded to include all those six republics plus Afghanistan and renamed itself as the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO).
² It must, however, be mentioned that although the working of the founding charters of these pacts did not say so explicitly, however, the known understanding was that they were anti-Communist pacts. Thus when India attacked Pakistan in 1965 and again in 1971, Pakistan did not receive any help from these alliances. In protest, Pakistan withdrew from SEATO in 1972 and CENTO in 1979.
³ Only Syria joined Egypt to form the United Arab Republic in 1958, but after three years of bickering in an uneasy alliance, she withdrew in 1961. Under most of Nasser’s rule, Egypt’s official name remained United Arab Republic, although no other country offered to unite with her.
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Military Alliance. True, in the former case, it would have been pro-US alliance, and in case of latter, a pro-USSR alignment. But with the end of cold war, this could have served as a basis and a model for a non-aligned defence cooperation within Muslim countries.

A few Muslim states that had had military alliances between them in the past have to be seen in the cold war context. The United Arab Republic (UAR), for instance, was Moscow oriented; while CENTO was a Western sponsored dispensation. Besides, the Muslim states have also embarked on alliances with non-Muslim countries; Turkey in NATO and Pakistan in now-defunct SEATO are obvious examples. Just like economic cooperation, religion has seldom been a motive for military cooperation in international affairs. Therefore, the OIC efforts made for military cooperation among Muslim countries have nothing tangible to show as an output.

5.3 Defense Capability of the Muslim world:

For a long time, largely because of the history being replete with internecine fratricidal conflicts between co-religionists, it was believed that religion alone cannot be a basis for meaningful military cooperation. But for a number of reasons, that I am going to discuss below, this perception is undergoing qualitative change, in the light of “Clash of Civilization” hypothesis of Samuel P. Huntington. When there was a war going on in Bosnia; the Muslim-led government started received military supplies from as diverse

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4 In order to have a more objective picture, one needs to underline that although the Muslim States are not part of the European Union which is not basically a military pact, but no less than seven Muslim states are part of the 54-member Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).
nations as Malaysia in the Far East, Iran in Asia and Senegal in the West Africa. Why? There is no plausible answer except that these countries wanted to help Bosnian side from annihilation, because they felt greater empathy for the Bosnian side. The majority Bosniak ethnic group was Muslim while the remaining two warring groups--- Serbs and Croats--- were not.

But for Islam, there is not a single thing; race, language, culture, region, or, actual or perceived, shared national interests, that is common between Iran and Bosnia, or for that matter, between Malaysia and Chechenya. Whether or not the same yardstick can be applied to other religions is beyond the scope of this chapter. That is to say, it is difficult to believe that Protestant countries could have supported USA in the Vietnam conflict at governmental level (i.e. by smuggling arms) or at public level (i.e. through the influx of volunteers), on the basis of Protestant religion alone. Likewise one fails to realistically foresee an eventuality when, say, Catholic Chile is threatened by a non-Catholic power and thousands of Catholics from Liberia, Haiti, France and the Philippines, for instance, pour in to defend the Catholic religion. Not so in the near future, at least!

In this backdrop the question of military power of the Muslim world may be addressed by posing ourselves a few questions. What is the existing military potential of the Muslim World? Are the Muslim States more likely to cooperate in security matters, like sharing their nuclear know-how with each other, than are the non-Muslim states? And finally, is defense or security cooperation in the Muslim world likely to become a threat to global peace and security?
In the year 1994-5, the world military expenditure roughly stood at $ 621.31 billion.  

The 57 Muslim countries accounted for $ 63.9 billion, or 10.3% of this total. Out of the world's 30.52 million strong manpower in active military service, 4.91 million troops belonged to the Muslim countries. The figure is thus an unimpressive 16%. 

The military expenditure of the Muslim world as a percentage of world total has remained relatively constant. It was 10.1% in 1985, 10.2% in 1990 and 10.3% in 1995. But considering that in 1990, the two big alliances accounted for 79.4% of total military expenditure which declined to around 71% in 1995, it becomes clear that Muslim military expenditure as a proportion of developing world military budget has declined from one-half to one third. Still their defense spending as a percentage of GNP is the highest in the world, i.e. 5.5% (world average in 1994-5 was 3.65%), so the defense burden on their economies is correspondingly greater. 

This shows that the Muslim states have disproportionately lesser number of troops than their population and area warrants. Coupled with the fact that their share in military spending per soldier is further dwarfed, it does not need any further elaboration to reckon that these troops are relatively ill-equipped. Given that (1) more than two thirds of this spending is owed to eight countries alone; viz. Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Egypt, Turkey, Pakistan, Syria and Kuwait in that order; (2) four of these eight viz. Saudi Arabia, Egypt, 

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6 Calculated from the data available at the official website of Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) <www.sipri.org.se>

7 Ibid.
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Turkey and Kuwait are staunch Western allies; and (3) four of these states viz. Iran, Iraq, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia's arms build-up is primarily directed against fellow Muslim states; the Muslim world can hardly be said to be posing a military threat to anyone except itself. The statistics about GNP, trade and literacy rates rather corroborate the military impotency of the Muslim world.\(^8\)

5.4. Military Potential of Muslim World:

For a reliable appraisal of the level of the existing military potential, there are four principal indicators, namely, the men and material in conventional forces, defense production capacity, and possession of the Weapons of Mass Destruction (WMD).\(^9\)

At first, let us glance at the conventional weapons inventory of the Muslim world. By the year 1999, the Muslim states account for 17.63% (4.3 million men) of world's ground forces, 10.6% (3,62,000 men) of Air Force personnel and 8.5% (221,000 men) of the active naval manpower. For army, they had 28,324 (17.7%) tanks, 20,592 (14.9%) of the Armored Personnel Carriers, 12,147 (15.1%) towed artillery batteries and 2,294 (9.8%) Self-Propelled artillery pieces; in addition to 417 aircrafts and 621 helicopters belonging to Army Aviation wings.\(^{10}\)

\(^8\) *YEARBOOK of International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)*, (1999), London: Royal Institute.

\(^9\) WMDs now only refer to the nuclear capability as possession of chemical and biological weapon stockpiles has become illegal under the Chemical Weapons Convention (1993) and Biological Weapons Convention (1972).

\(^{10}\) The figures in parentheses represent the proportion of world total. Taken from *IISS Yearbook, op. cit.*
In the Air Force, the Muslim world had 4,753 (14.8%) combat aircrafts and 415 (7.1%) combat helicopters. A further of 1,075 and 1,604 aircrafts are for transport and training purposes, respectively.

Though just about ten of the Muslim states are land-locked, Muslim world's naval power is far from being enviable. The combined naval inventory included 778 (11.5%) petrol boats and coastal vessels, only 24 (6.5%) destroyers and 49 (5.4%) submarines. The Muslim navies also possessed 43 aircrafts and 85 helicopters.\(^\text{11}\)

These figures demonstrate our argument that not only the military spending per person per unit area is less than half of the world average, the higher we go in terms of sophistication; the Muslim world share diminishes disproportionately.

Today's war is a war of technology. How effective can World War II-type battle tanks be in the modern warfare was amply demonstrated in the two Gulf wars of 1991 and 2003. Iraq's strength in conventional weapons was, no doubt, one of the most impressive on paper among the developing/Muslim countries. But her war machine fell like a house of cards in the face of superior technology in both the wars. During the first Gulf war to liberate Kuwait (1991), for instance, Iraqis lost 550,000 men to the US-led Allied side losses of just 466 men (389 American and 77 other allied troops).

Another point to be noted is that most of this arsenal is neither manufactured nor serviceable indigenously. The Muslim states have to purchase it from the West and than

\(^{11}\) Ibid. Also see SIPRI website.
remain dependent on it for service and spare parts. The arms embargoes on Pakistan (1971), Arabs (1973) and Turkey (1974) were imposed when weapons were needed most. The vulnerability of Muslim states was further exposed when in 1989; Pakistan ceased to be Washington's preferred ally following Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. Under the Pressler amendment (1984) that was imposed on Pakistan the following year, all military deliveries to it were stopped including the 60 F-16s for which Pakistan had already paid. Since the maintenance facilities also stood suspended, war-worthiness of Pakistan’s old fleet of forty F-16 fighter jets, bought in 1980’s, is also questionable. Same may well be true of the arsenals of many other Muslim nations where it is not known what part of their military inventories pieces are fit for war mobilization.

The only solution is indigenous weapons production. But only eighteen Muslim states have some rudimentary form of military industry. Only Egypt, Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan and Turkey can boast of a semblance of armored industry. The same five states have manufacturing facilities for jet aircraft, light aircraft's or helicopters. Except the light training aircraft's indigenously manufactured by Egypt, Pakistan and Indonesia, the rest of the Muslim avionic industry does nothing more than assembling a portion of aircraft from imported components and conducting test flights. As for the naval industry, Iran, Malaysia and Turkey and possibly Pakistan manufacture some small gunboats or vessels. And that is about all. The other thirteen Muslim states produce nothing more than light arms and ammunition. So the whole Muslim world is net arms importer.12

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The 50 major arms purchasers (shopping list of $ 460 million or above during 1991-95) account for over 95% of the $ 120 billion arms purchases during the period. The top three names in this list are Muslim states. In all, fifteen Muslim countries, accounting for $ 42 billion (approximately 37% of the top 50 arms purchase bills) have found their place in this list. Had Iraq not been barred from pursuing Saddam Hussain’s interest in arms purchases, during the period under review, due to the UN Security Council-imposed sanctions, the share of Muslim world would have well crossed 40% mark which compares poorly with the meager 0.4% of world budget that they spent on military R&D.\textsuperscript{13}

This brings us to the discussion on missiles, and chemical and biological weapons. In all, eight Muslim countries, namely, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen were known to be in possession of missiles. Only the former four had some degree of indigenous production capacity. Libya, Yemen and Syria are dependent on Russia while Saudi Kingdom is on China for missile procurement.\textsuperscript{14} Iraq was disarmed by the United Nations while Libya also surrendered its military option and voluntarily destroyed its missiles and WMD stockpiles. Syrian facilities were destroyed by Israeli air strikes.

Because of the extreme secrecy involved, and the spate of false and exaggerated claims of indigenous missile development, and that of vehement denials of illegal procurements

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. p. 161.
and purchases, it is well-nigh impossible to guess the exact missile inventories of the Muslim countries.

It is believed that Pakistani missiles Hatf-I, Hatf-II, the newly-tested Ghaznavi and Anza were designed with active Chinese or north Korean help. Pakistan is also alleged to have received 25 M-11 missiles from China. Pakistan, however, denies that she has purchased M-11s from China or received the latter's assistance in the designing of its indigenous missiles. Egyptians have Soviet Scuds and FROG-7s, besides Vector and Sakr 80 missiles, built locally with assistance probably from Argentina and North Korea respectively. Iran has similarly claimed successes in the designing of Oghab (Eagle) and Iran-130 missiles by the Iranian scientists. Iran also has Scuds of Soviet or North Korean make.\textsuperscript{15} Iraq, that had Soviet Scud-B missiles, generously used against Israel during Gulf war, and its modified versions named Al-Hussyn and Al-Abbas, was disarmed after her defeat in the Gulf wars.

Likewise, the number and nature of chemical and biological weapons possessed by these countries remains shrouded in mystery. There is some evidence to suspect that, at least, Iran, Pakistan and possibly Algeria too, may possess these weapons after the entry into force of international arms control protocols such as the Biological Weapons Convention (1972) and the Chemical Weapons Convention (1993), the usage of such weapons of mass destruction has become obsolete. Two isolated incidents of usage of chemical weapons in the mid-1980’s by two reckless autocrats (Qaddafi against Chad and Saddam

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
Hussain against the Kurd population), led to international outcry and ultimately both Libya and Iraq were disarmed.

Considering that conventional strength of the military in the Muslim world, individually and collectively, as well as their defense production ability is virtually nil, their arsenal can hardly worth anything save republic day parades. It is this insecurity that has led some Muslim countries to embark upon the nuclear course.

5.5 Instances of Military Coordination in Muslim world:

The OIC Bloc has time and again toyed with the idea of military cooperation during the period under review i.e. from 1970 up to 2000; some pronounced instances can be narrated in case of Palestine, Bosnia and Afghanistan:

5.5.1 Military Coordination on Palestine issue: The Organization of the Islamic Cooperation (OIC) is an organization of international diplomacy. Yet, interestingly, it did explore the option of a military jihad, for the liberation of Jerusalem and Palestine. In fact, the fourth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM), held at Benghazi, Libya, in 1973 had created a Jihad Fund\textsuperscript{16} and called upon the Muslim states to enlist volunteers for the Jihad. Earlier the name of this fund was the “Palestine Fund” that was changed to “Jihad Fund for Palestine” – a name considered and turned down by the previous Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, due to the objections raised by the dove states within OIC.

\textsuperscript{16} The Fund was established through an initial donation of $ 100 million by the host country Libya.
But at the time of the fourth ICFM, the representatives of the Muslim states were in quite a belligerent mood and declared “jihad” as the duty of every Muslim, man or woman, ordained by the Shari’ah and glorious traditions of Islam” and called upon “all Muslims, living inside or outside the Islamic countries, to discharge this duty by contributing each according to its capacity, in the cause of Allah Almighty, Islamic brotherhood and righteousness”. [emphasis mine] Only Libya had opened offices for the purpose and had enlisted tens of thousands of motivated youth to fight for Jerusalem, in case the OIC decided so. But nothing happened till the third Islamic Summit Conference, held at Taif, Saudi Arabia, in January 1981, which in its final communiqué, again called for holy jihad to salvage Jerusalem, to support the Palestinian struggle and secure Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territories. The Makkah Declaration, issued by the same conference, while addressing this issue openly states that the OIC states are committed to exercising jihad using “all” means at their disposal. It may be emphasized that the Islamic concept of jihad (holy struggle for a just cause) is neither confined to, nor excludes, military option.

A few months after this Taif Summit, the 12th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Baghdad, Iraq, in June 1981 established an “Islamic Bureau for Military Coordination with Palestine” in order to foster military co-operation between Palestine (meaning the PLO) and the frontline Muslim states (Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria) on the one hand, and other Muslim states on the other. It also pledged to meet the PLO needs regarding military expertise and equipment, both qualitatively and quantitatively.
In Sept. 1984, Lt. Gen. Fazl-e-Muqeem Khan of Pakistan was appointed as the Bureau’s first head. All these bodies and declarations in the military domain have remained on paper and so far no tangible benefits have come out of them, for the Palestinian struggle. The reasons are obvious. At present, the Muslim countries, neither individually nor collectively have the capacity to take on Israel militarily. Iraq, under the tyrannical regime of Saddam Hussain, had acquired capacity to hit Israel but in the wake of the two US-led Gulf wars against Iraq in 1991 and 2003, and the activities of the United Nations Disarmament Commission in between to disarm Iraq, it too does not have any capacity left to harm Israel.

5.5.2 Military coordination on Bosnia: The OIC role has been very noticeable and effective and is a glaring example that the Muslim world can consider military response to military aggression against a fellow Muslim state or community. Even as early as the first year of the civil war in Bosnia 21st ICFM (Karachi; 1993), had considered an OIC Rapid Reaction Force (OICRRF) for Bosnia. The OIC ministerial contact group that met at Islamabad on 12-13 Jul. 1993 adopted its 20-point “Action Plan” on Bosnia. As against 7,500 troops requested by the UN Secretary General, he was conveyed the OIC desire to contribute 17,000 troops to protect the beleaguered Bosnians, pledged by seven Muslim states. The meeting reiterated the “inevitability” of military action and decided to prepare a report analyzing the role of different countries, especially the Security Council members, regarding the conflict.17 Initially, the UN Secretary General Boutrous Ghali

17 Keesing, 1993, p.39564. Also see “The Muslim”, 14 Jul.1993, and editorial of “Dawn”, 15 Jul.1993. When the UN Secretary General’s request for 7,600 troops was discussed in the meeting, the members states offered 20,720 men; Iran (10,000), Pakistan (3,000), Turkey (3,000), Malaysia (1,500), Bangladesh
was inclined to accept the OIC offer and formally offered his “grateful thanks” to the Muslim countries for this offer. But the European Union gave a very cool and cautious response, expressing its fears that the OIC troops would be biased towards the Muslims in Bosnia (The OIC had been likewise accusing the NATO/European troops of being prejudiced against the Bosnian Muslims). The Iranian offer was thus outrightly termed unacceptable while troops offer from the “moderate Muslim” countries was deemed as “likely to be considered”. Iran had offered a full army Division, Turkey a Brigade and Tunisia had decided to spare a Battalion for Bosnia.

When the European states threatened to withdraw their peacekeepers, the Islamic Conference rejected what it called, “blackmailing tactics” by the UK and France and reiterated that the Muslim world would replace every soldier, if the afore-mentioned states withdraw their peacekeepers. The OIC group announced that 5,000 UNPROFOR peacekeepers belonging to Muslim states, viz. Egypt, Jordan and Malaysia will stay in Bosnia, even if other states withdraw their troops. In a letter to the UN Security Council President, the OIC group expressed anguish over resolution 943 that envisaged the easing of sanctions against Serbia and demanded effective border monitoring regime on Serbia-Bosnia border.\(^\text{18}\)

Chapter 5

Defense Cooperation

It may be recalled that the Islamic Conference was the first international forum to demand military intervention against the Serbs, as early as within a month of the start of hostilities. As the situation deteriorated, the public pressure in the Muslim countries for a concrete action mounted, so a military solution to the crisis under the Islamic Conference umbrella became a serious possibility. An Egyptian official aptly said that whatever happens in Bosnia or Chechenya affected the mind-frame of all Muslim peoples. “It is in our national interest, not to let our people feel that West is against them”, he added. Even Saudi Arabia favored defying the UN embargo while Iran believed that the Muslim states should pull out from the UN.\footnote{See the editorials of “The Muslim”, 27 Jul. 1995, “The News”, 24 Jul. 1995, and “Pakistan Times”, 24 Jul. 1995.} The Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Citen had stated at the emergency ICFM (Istanbul; 1992) that his country was ready to “spill blood, if necessary”, to save Bosnia. Early the following year, at Dakar mini-Summit on Bosnia (Jan. 1993), he proposed an oil embargo by the Muslim states to force international intervention in Bosnia.

In spring 1995, Turkey’s parliament formally adopted a resolution calling for “Desert Storm”-like operation against Serbia. Behind this chorus, the arms embargo had already been \textit{de facto} broken as Iran, Malaysia, Pakistan and Turkey were discreetly supplying weapons to the Muslim authorities in Bosnia. A story to this effect by daily “The Washington Post” was denied by the concerned Muslim States, but after all, the Bosnian army could not have fought bare-handed. After the Dayton Accord, Bosnia was to
publicly thank the OIC states for assisting it “despite the UN embargo”.\textsuperscript{20} [emphasis mine]

The breaking point came when in the first half of Jul. 1995, two UN-declared “safe-havens” fell to the Serbs and a gruesome carnage followed. The enlarged OIC contact group on Bosnia comprising Bosnia, Egypt, Iran, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Turkey, met in an emergency session at Geneva on 22 July 1995, and decided that “enough was enough” as they did not have “the luxury of time”. The OIC, sort of, challenged the international diplomatic norms by declaring the UN-sanctioned arms embargo on Bosnia as “invalid”.\textsuperscript{21} The meeting announced that the troops belonging to Muslim countries in UNPROFOR would not be withdrawn and would instead be given enhanced fire-power to defend the Muslims. With the induction of contingents from the armed forces of Bangladesh, Pakistan and Turkey earlier, there were now six Muslim states represented in the UNPROFOR. Pakistan’s Foreign Minister S.A. Ahmad Ali called the OIC decision as “the greatest and the most serious challenge ever thrown to the UN during its 50 years of history”.\textsuperscript{22} As Mohammad Sacirbey, the Bosnian Foreign Minister, noted the UN arms embargo had thus become \textit{de jure} invalid as well.


\textsuperscript{21} “The News”, 23 Jul. 1995. The UN had declared the cities of Sarajevo, Bihac, Gorazde Tuzla, Zepa and Srebrenica as safe havens. When the latter two were overrun by Serb rebel forces, the London Conference confined itself to warning the Serbs of a stern response if Gorazde was take, rather than taking any military action. This impelled the Muslim states to consider military measures for support of Muslims in Bosnia.

Egyptian diplomats at Geneva said that another OIC meeting would be held as soon as the formal request for weapons from the government of Bosnia was received. President Hosni Mubarak called for an emergency Islamic summit “to take firm decisions and measures” on Bosnia. Turkey’s semi-official Anatolian news agency reported that Turkey had planned to train the Bosnian army and to assist its defense industry as a first step to breaking the embargo. Iran was more direct by saying that its forces were ready to fight along with other Muslim states to defend Bosnia. Malaysia went as far as saying that it would provide military help to Bosnia even if it had to go it alone and was willing to face international economic sanctions for the cause. Prime Minister Dr. Mahatir Mohammad bitterly said “[West] talks about human rights. And their rights are just to help the Serbs kill the Muslims”.  

Iran offered to host the first meeting of OIC military experts in late August but later the venue was shifted to Yemen. The Yemen meeting could not take place for want of quorum, so it was re-scheduled for the end of September at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, wherein military officers of the Muslim states were to finalize Bosnia strategy. Meanwhile, the United Nations offered the OIC to send semi-armed personnel to monitor UN posts in Gorazde; the offer was bluntly turned down. On Sept.11-12, the chiefs and deputy chiefs of the armed forces of 13 Muslim states met at Kuala Lumpur and finalised the modalities for military action in Bosnia. This was followed by the meeting of the OIC countries’ Foreign and Defense Ministers on Sept. 13-14, at the same venue, to consider the strategy for meeting the political implications of the OIC military action.

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23 Most of the quotes mentioned here have been taken from a story of “Gulf News”, entitled “OIC states challenge unjustified arms ban”, carried by “Pakistan Times”, 14 Aug. 1995.
Even the United States was alarmed at the OIC’s tone and came up with its new peace plan on Aug. 17, which the OIC again rejected in its entirety.\textsuperscript{25} The OIC meant business this time, and this laid the foundations of Dayton Peace Accord. The US told Serb rebels to make peace, otherwise the use of Muslim States’ ground forces would become unavoidable; this was obviously the last scenario Serbs could have found acceptable.\textsuperscript{26}

The peace negotiations outpaced the progress towards the military option and by the end of 1995 Dayton Peace Accord was signed. Meanwhile, the OIC had established an Assistance Mobilization Group (AMG) for Bosnia which had, \textit{inter alia}, decided to bolster the defense capabilities of the Bosnia as a strong army could be a formidable deterrent against aggression in future. On the bilateral level Malaysia and later Iran formed consortiums with Bosnia. Pakistan presented donation cheques to Bosnia for preparation of war-crimes cases and establishment of office at the International War Crimes Tribunal at Hague.\textsuperscript{27} In July 1997, training for Bosnian army officers also started in Bangladesh, under the AMG program.

The high profile shown by the Islamic Conference on Bosnia with one permanent working group, three emergency ICFMs, 30 co-ordination meetings, 35 resolutions, 45 visits by OIC Secretary General’s special envoys and 10 special delegations to Bosnia, in a span of four years, proved to be quite successful. But probably it was the military help

\textsuperscript{26} French daily “Le Monde” story carried by “Pakistan Times”, 13 Aug. 1995.
that the Muslim States provided to Bosnian government that proved to be most vital for Bosnia’s existence.

5.5.3 Military coordination on Afghanistan issue: The issue of Afghanistan is another instance when the Muslim world held military coordination. The Muslim countries time and again discussed sending peacekeepers from the OIC member states to bring an end to the civil war that had started in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal in 1989 and subsequent fall of the PDPA government of Dr Najibullah in 1992.

In the end, however, the Muslim states decided to work under an international framework. Turkish armed forces became part of the NATO peacekeeping forces in Afghanistan and for a time even commanded the whole international contingent. Pakistan, meanwhile played a part in training for the new Afghan National Army and Saudi Arabia, not to be left behind, financed the raising and arming of the defence capability of post war Afghanistan.

5.6 Muslim world coordination on Terrorism:

The Muslim world started taking up the issue of terrorism well before the so-called “war on terror” started in 2001 in the wake of 9/11 attacks on the twin towers and the Pentagon in the United States. Two reasons can be given for this interest in terrorism issue; one, many Muslim countries are facing an armed uprising from Islamist opposition parties who often resort to terrorist attacks against “soft targets”, and two, some Muslim states
like Iran under the present clergy-led government, Libya under Qaddafi’s rule and Iraq during Saddam Hussein era stood accused of sponsoring terrorist activities against Western countries and citizens. This has resulted in very unflattering portrayal of Islam in the world media. The OIC has consistently and strongly condemned all manifestations of terrorism and violence, perpetrated in the name of Islam or otherwise. The Muslim world has, unfortunately, tacitly supported their peer government efforts to ruthlessly crush armed Islamic militancy at home, and has encouraged the member states to co-operate with each other, especially by sharing intelligence, to root out crime and terrorism.

At the same time, the OIC is highly article of negative image of Islam portrayed in the Western media, which it believes, is a calculated campaign to malign the Muslims by playing up isolated terrorist incidents carried out by some fanatic Muslim group, while ignoring large scale state terror employed against the Muslims under their control by Israel, India etc. The OIC has repeatedly called for a distinction between legitimate struggles for self-determination and terrorism. The 21st Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers held at Karachi in 1993 even called for a UN-sponsored conference to define terrorism, in order to be able to distinguish it from the just liberation struggles. The meeting decided to constitute an OIC Working Group to combat terrorism. On 26 June 1993, the OIC released a statement, deploring the fact that the eight terrorists arrested in New York, for an alleged plot to blow up the United Nations secretariat building, happened to be Muslims. This, the OIC believed, was not the way to vent the pent-up

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28 See the statement of OIC Secretary General Pirzada on the eve of 5th Islamic summit (“Pakistan Times”, 21 Jan. 1987). Also see the relevant paras of the final communiqués of 21st ICFM and of the 7th and 8th Islamic Summits.
Muslim feelings on the UN actions or inaction in Bosnia, Iraq, Kashmir and Palestine—the crises that had resulted in colossal loss of Muslim lives.

The seventh Islamic Summit held at Casablanca, Morocco, in 1994 adopted a Code of Conduct for Combating International Terrorism, and declared Islam “innocent of all acts of terrorism”. The special Islamic summit (Islamabad; March 1997) made a scathing attack on the Western media for leveling accusations against Islam, its civilization and its followers. The OIC accused the Western media of turning a blind eye towards the acts of Christian, Jew and Hindu extremists against the Muslims all over the world. It urged the world community “not to judge Islam on the basis of the conduct of a few of its followers, rather in the light of the text of the Koran and the Prophetic tradition”.

The eighth Islamic summit conference held at Tehran, the capital of Iran in Dec. 1997 reiterated all the previous OIC resolutions on terrorism and added a new dimension to it by deciding to “strengthen the solidarity of Islamic states in combating hijacking” in the light of the Tokyo Convention (1963), Hague Convention (1970) and the Montreal Convention (1971). The 25th ICFM (Doha; 1998) introduced another definition of terrorism to the international legal lexicon by condemning “state terrorism” and expressing determination to “concert efforts to combat it”, an obvious reference to the excesses of the Indian and Serb regular troops against the Muslims in Kashmir and Bosnia, respectively.
5.7 Non-Proliferation and Disarmament:

There was never any disagreement over the fourth objective of the OIC regarding taking necessary measures to support international peace and security but whether that could be achieved by armament and nuclearization of the Muslim world or working for just the opposite, has been the unresolved conundrum *ab initio*. Hawks like Libya argued for forming a defense pact among the Muslim states\(^ {29}\) while doves like the Saudi Arabia emphasized that the Muslims would never form a NATO-type defense arrangement as they (the Muslims) were inherently against the arms race.\(^ {30}\) These differences were accentuated in the backdrop of international campaign against nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction that gained momentum in the decade of seventies.

By that time, several Muslim states were actively pursuing the nuclear option while others were showing willingness to adhere to the objectives of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.\(^ {31}\) Pakistan and Egypt entered the nuclear race in 1955, Turkey and Indonesia in 1956, Iraq and Algeria in 1958, Iran in 1974, and Libya had done the same in 1975, all had embarked on nuclear research projects purportedly for peaceful purposes.\(^ {32}\) As fate would have it, the ‘peaceful’ nuclear programs of India and Israel made headway relatively early, a fact that the Muslim states could hardly relish. This was the beginning of the concern of the Islamic Conference towards disarmament and non-proliferation.

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\(^ {29}\) Libyan Foreign Minister Dr. Ali Abdul Salam Treiki’s speech at the 10\(^ {th}\) ICFM, in which he also said that Libya had 217 agreements with Muslim states. See “Pakistan Times”, 18 May 1979.


\(^ {31}\) See Khan (1999), *op. cit*, pp. 81-123, for detail about the nuclear weapon programmes of Pakistan, Iran, Libya etc.

India conducted its first successful nuclear test on 18 May 1974 that caused security concerns for the Muslim countries in South Asia. Pakistan was quick to draw the attention of the 5th ICFM (Kuala Lumpur; 1974) to the Peaceful Nuclear Explosion (PNE), as the Indians would call it, conducted by India. The conference adopted a resolution expressing “serious concern over the nuclear test by India” and expressed the apprehension that “Israel might follow suit”. Since then it has been the OIC’s consistent policy to oppose nuclear weapon proliferation all over the world and has repeatedly called for establishment of Nuclear Weapons Free Zones (NWFZs) in South Asia, Africa and the Middle East.

The OIC has also struggled for the elimination of landmines and other destructive left-over war materials. In this regard, the 8th ICFM (Tripoli; 1977), adopted three specific resolutions: (1) reiterating the danger posed by the proliferation of nuclear weapons to the security of Islamic States in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia and the implementation of the relevant resolutions adopted by the UN General Assembly in this respect; the Conference called upon the nuclear powers to accept their obligation with regards to the denuclearization of these regions and declaring the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace; (2) calling upon Islamic countries to seek credible assurances from nuclear

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34 This again shows the OIC’s apprehensions about India, South Africa and Israel (rogue states, according to OIC definition) respectively. Otherwise, it has never criticized the nuclear weaponization programs of Pakistan, Libya or Iraq. In fact in 1993, Secretary General Hamid al-Gabid gave a clean bill to these states stating that Muslim countries are pursuing the nuclear option for peaceful purposes. He went on to advise Pakistan to share its nuclear know-how “with brotherly Muslim states”.

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weapon states not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states; the Conference specifically pointed out that the nuclear powers have not affirmatively responded to the recommendations adopted by the United Nations and other international organizations in this regard; and (3) reiterating that most developing countries which were subjected to foreign occupation and their lands used as war theatres were now faced with the problem of left-over war materials causing grave losses to those countries; the Conference called upon the colonial states to provide compensation for those losses and bear the responsibility of providing technical and informational assistance for clearing of the mines and minefields and removing those destructive left-overs.\textsuperscript{35}

Since then the issues of nuclear non-proliferation and NWFZs has sprung up in virtually every Islamic summit and ICFM and the policy of the Muslim world has remained unaltered. In fact, the resolutions adopted are usually the verbatim replicas of the ones cited above. Two recent Islamic summits at Casablanca (1994) and Tehran (1997) have simply reiterated the Islamic Conference’s resolve to work against nuclear proliferation, asking the nuclear weapon states to sit down for sincere meaningful negotiations aimed at total elimination of nuclear weapons. As for the Chemical Weapons Convention, Biological Weapons Convention and the Landmines Treaty, the Islamic Conference has not been so prolific in adopting resolutions. It has, however, welcomed these conventions

and some Muslim states had coordinated their policies in the negotiations, leading to these conventions.

The importance that the Muslim world is giving to the issues is evident from the fact that the eighth Islamic summit (Tehran; 1997) adopted eight resolutions on the topic. The resolution 21/8-P (I.S) dealt with the steps taken in the world for complete disarmament and their implications for the Muslim world. This resolution acknowledged that the security and sovereignty of the NNWS should be ensured through credible guarantees; expressed concern at the dangers to the world peace; called for the total elimination of the weapons of mass destruction; reaffirmed the Muslim states’ inalienable right to acquire nuclear energy for peaceful ends; and called upon the Nuclear Weapon States (NWS) to “commit to total nuclear disarmament” in a universally acceptable time-frame.

Resolutions 22 to 27 dealt with the NWFZs in Africa, Central Asia, South Asia and South East Asia; strengthening security of the NNWS against nuclear threats through binding and non-discriminatory treaties; encouraging regional arms controls and confidence-building measures; enhancing regional military balances to enhance stability; dumping of nuclear and toxic wastes in Muslim countries; and the elimination of land mines. Finally, Resolution 31/8-P(I.S) demanded reparations for the effects of the World War II, from the developed world.
Given the its anti-nuclear past rhetoric, the five nuclear tests conducted by India in May 1998, evoked a strong response from the Islamic Conference. The Muslim world expressed solidarity with Pakistan and showed empathy towards her legitimate security concerns. The OIC Secretary General described the Indian tests as constituting “a dangerous threat to the South Asian security” that have “undermined the efforts to establish a NWFZ in that region”. India’s arch-rival Pakistan was dismayed at the tentative and half-hearted condemnation of the Indian tests by the world community at large. Pakistan decided to go for a tit-for-tat by carrying out six powerful nuclear tests of its own a fortnight later, thereby restoring the strategic balance in the region. This time the OIC took a somersault and defended Pakistan for going nuclear, owing to her “legitimate security concerns”.

5.8 Pakistan’s role in Defense and Security Cooperation in the Muslim world

We discussed in the Chapter on Economic Cooperation that there are eight Muslim countries that are rapidly developing and have formed a group called D-8. The letter ‘D’ therein as much symbolizes ‘Development’ as ‘Defense’ since the very eight Muslim countries have strong Defense forces. Pakistan stands out amongst them as one of the most efficient fighting machines in the Muslim world.

Finally, one must not forget to underline the relatively recent development of 1998, that Pakistan has become the only nuclear power in the Muslim world\(^{36}\). Hence its nuclear

\(^{36}\) There are eight declared nuclear weapon states in the world; namely, USA, Russia, UK, France, China, India, Pakistan and North Korea. Besides, Israel is believed to be the ninth nuclear weapons state though it
capability has made Pakistan’s defense impregnable and its military capacity quite formidable. It must also be borne in mind that Pakistan’s is the largest contingent in all United Nations peace keeping operations worldwide. Pakistan has also, for many years, deployed its troops for defense of Saudi Arabia and Jordan, two prominent Arab nations in the vicinity of Israel. Pakistan’s military thus found itself in action, not only in its own wars with India, but also through air support to Syria during Arab Israel war, and armed combat missions in Somalia, Congo and Sierra Leone under the United Nations banner.

It is for all these foregoing reasons that Pakistan has always been expected to take a leading role in military and security related coordination in the Muslim world. Pakistan’s General Fazl-e-Muqeeem Khan was the first head of the Islamic Bureau for Military Coordination with Palestine. Pakistan was also chair of the informal Military Coordination arrangement regarding the war in Bosnia (1992-95). Pakistan was also the amongst the Muslim countries that were considered by the Islamic Conference to be requested for deployment of peace keeping forces of the Islamic world, to maintain peace in Afghanistan.37

Pakistan has also been imparting, at bilateral level, training to officers from various Islamic countries in its prestigious military training institutions, such as the Command

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37 The idea of an Islamic International Force was dropped in favor of a NATO Stabilization Force in Afghanistan. Turkey, the only Muslim country in NATO headed the international contingent in Afghanistan for some time.
and Staff College (Quetta), Army School of Armor (Nowshera), Naval War College (Lahore) and the Air War College (Karachi).

5. 9 Conclusion: A comparison with EU

The roots of the European Union lie in the paranoia of the post-war generation of European leaders about a recurrence of War. The primary aim of Europe was to bring security and stability to the continent riveted by two centuries of internecine bloodshed. The aim of creating the European Coal and Steel Community through the Paris Treaty of 1951 was just that. And within three years, the six founding nations were moving towards a European Defence Community (EDC). Paradoxically, military cooperation proved the most difficult to accomplish and even after six decades of collaboration on issues ranging from climate change to common external tariffs, the Europeans have to look towards NATO (read: United States) to lead any military mission even in Europe’s own crises such as the wars in Bosnia (1992-95) and Kosovo (1999).

Ironically, European Defense Community (EDC) never saw the light of the day although its founding Treaty was signed by all six of ECSC members and by 1954, it had already been ratified by four of them. But irreconcilable differences on its interpretation and applicability led to its rejection by the Assemblee Nationale of France which finally buried the idea, at least, threw it on backburner for the next half a century. Europe continued to make stride towards other avenues of economic and political cooperation and went on to form the European Economic Community, Euratom, European Community, European Commission and European Union. This whole paraphernalia gave
Europe\textsuperscript{38} security, safety and stability---the very ideals desired from the defunct EDC. This proved the notion that strong economy means stronger defense and that longer periods of economic stability across regions brought peace.

As mentioned above, the crisis in former Yugoslavia with secessionist wars first in Slovenia, then Croatia and finally the bloodiest civil war and Europe’s only genocide in post World War era awakened the EU leadership to need to strengthen their defense capacity. It is no accident that the Treaty of Amsterdam (1997) used much stronger language for a common security policy than the founding Maastricht Treaty (1992). The former Treaty envisages “the progressive framing of a Common Defense Policy, which might lead to a common defense.” The purpose of this policy includes humanitarian tasks, peace keeping and “crisis management, including peace-making.” The most important point to note is that instead of leaving the defense policy to the slow process of future inter-governmental conferences, the Treaty authorized the European Council of Heads of State and Government to formulate it.

Within a short span of the Dayton Peace Accord (1995) that ended the war in Bosnia, another simmering crisis erupted again in the rump Yugoslavia. This time it was Kosovo. The ten weeks NATO air campaign to flush the Serb forces out of Kosovo were another eye-opener for the European Union whose combined defense budget was two-thirds of

\footnote{John Pinder (2001), \textit{The European Union: A very short introduction}. New York: Oxford University Press, p. 120.}
that of the United States but had just one tenth of its firepower. Hence, EU influence on the conduct of the operations was correspondingly limited.\(^{39}\)

The European Union moved on a fast track to formulate the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) as the third pillar at par with the previous two Union pillars of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) and the Cooperation on Justice and Home Affairs (CJHA). Subsequently, the West European Union (WEU) was integrated into the Union so that the EU could rely on the military capabilities of the WEU in case of future action. It also created its own defense planning and staff structure, a Defense Ministers’ Council and a Military Committee consisting of member States’ military chiefs.\(^{40}\)

But the real test is the operationalization of the Helsinki Headline Goals which envisaged a 60,000-strong rapid reaction force, deployable for a period of one year, on a 60-days notice. The aim is to use this force for crisis management and peace keeping, independent of NATO, or, in other words, independent of Washington’s concurrence, though US help may still be needed in air transportation and other logistics plus satellite-based intelligence and surveillance. All member states have been given the right to opt out of or into any operation.

These goals were agreed to in the Helsinki summit meeting of EU Heads of State and Government in December 1999, and the focus of our chapter is up to the year 2000. But it

\(^{40}\) *Ibid.*
is instructive to note that even at the time of writing this PhD dissertation, the Goals are still on paper and nothing tangible has been achieved on ground.

With this background in mind, it is clear that the Muslim world defense cooperation cannot lead to a defense treaty or a common Islamic peacekeeping army anytime soon. The Muslim worlds’ military capacity to intervene anywhere militarily is severely limited. They had limited success in Bosnia, which was the first major test of military coordination of the OIC bloc. But the Muslim world would do better to restrict military coordination not only with each other but also with the European Union/ NATO in international humanitarian aid, rescue and reconstruction missions. The Muslim States already account for between 40-50 percent manpower in the United Nations peacekeeping operations worldwide. This trend should continue so that the military potential of the Muslim states, especially the personnel, are seen as a factor in international peace and security, under the UN umbrella and in accordance with the international law. The Muslim world’s internal military coordination still largely revolved around training of personnel and counter terrorism intelligence sharing. This may continue with the addition of humanitarian interventions in natural or man-made disasters within the Muslim world or beyond. Active collaboration with the UN, the United States/NATO and the European Union in peace keeping and peacemaking will increase the prestige and respect of the Muslim bloc within the international community.
As for Muslim world’s own defense and its security and stability, it may not come from strong or lethal armies but from a strong economy and a rule-based society. EU experience, thus, has many lessons for the OIC.
6

Cultural Cooperation in the Muslim World

6.1 Introduction:

The seminal thesis of Late Prof. Samuel P. Huntington, titled “Clash of Civilizations?” (1992) --- which was later expanded into a book with the same title but without a question mark--- has renewed interest in culture and civilization in studies dealing with international relations and world politics. In this work he has discussed culture-based identities, civilization-based boundaries among the peoples, and potential of conflict on the basis of these primordial views of “self versus others” among nations.

The proponents of Islam like to argue that Islam is much more than dogmas and rituals, it offers a complete “code of life”. That is to say that Islam intrudes into every aspect of the individual as well as collective lives of the believers such as, but not limited to, food,

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2 Maulana Mawdudi (1967), Unity of the Muslim World, Lahore: Islamic Publications Ltd., p. 82.
dress, social norms ranging from festivals to the way of greeting etc. Now, way of living is nothing but culture and thus Islam is also the name of a vibrant culture.

Perhaps it is true for all major religions that they not only provide doctrinal guidance on theological and spiritual issues but also lead the way on temporal matters. That is why we have terms such as Islamic Culture, Buddhist Culture, Hindu Culture and the like. Christianity too had an imprint on the European way of life from architecture and urban skylines to social relations and marriage customs. It has been mentioned earlier that, at least, two of the European nations, Greece and Spain, had argued for inclusion of a reference to common Christian heritage of Europe in the EU constitution but the majority of their European peers, considered Secularism so fundamental to the modern European identity that a reference to its religio-cultural heritage was not agreed to. The OIC has a different orientation and professes adherence to its members’ Islamic identity as the bedrock for the cooperation.

We may begin this section with the dictionary definitions of the term culture of which there are galore available online as well as in the printed literature:

Dictionary.com website gives the following major definitions of Culture:

1. the quality in a person or society that arises from a concern for what is regarded as excellent in arts, letters, manners, scholarly pursuits, etc.
2. that which is excellent in the arts, manners, etc.
3. a particular form or stage of civilization, as that of a certain nation or period:

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3 It is interesting to note that Turkey, a Muslim member of NATO and aspirant for the EU, has separated religion from politics but not from its culture. The crescent on its national flag, the religion-based emblems of its military formations, and even the dress and slogans of its national Mehter Band, all point towards a culture that is rooted in Islamic past.

4 See http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/culture
Greek culture.

4. development or improvement of the mind by education or training.
5. the behaviors and beliefs characteristic of a particular social, ethnic, or age group: the youth culture; the drug culture.
6. the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another.

It is the sixth definition above which is an Anthropological connotation of “culture” and thus of relevance to our discussion. Notwithstanding that the Muslim world has a wide array of diversity in languages, clothes and costumes, cuisine, local festivals etc they have enough common strings that even Huntington treated Islamic world as one civilization. Thus, hundreds of sub cultures of Muslim communities get submerged into the supra culture of Islam.

This Islamic supra culture manifests itself in many ways. Most festivals in Muslim lands like the festivals of two Eids and the Prophet’s birthday, the mourning occasions such as the tenth of Moharram (when Prophet’s grandson was martyred), the way of salutation, even the architecture (domes and arches), urban skyline (like through Minarets), music (especially in the lyrics praising God--- called Hamd--- and those praising the Prophet--- called Na’at--- and other forms of visual and performing arts have a clear imprint of Islamic heritage on them. The supra culture can also be called Civilization which is the highest cultural grouping an individual or a group may belong to.

The famous Historian Arnold Toynbee, in first quarter of the twentieth century had wrote his monumental work on the History of the world. Therein he had counted twenty-one
(21) major civilizations in the world. Prominent American scholar, Prof Samuel P. Huntington, in his thesis of the Clash of Civilizations, has reduced the number to eight broader categories. Both counted Islam as being one of the civilizations. Interestingly, Huntington’s article in the prestigious US journal “Foreign Affairs” went a step forward through the prognosis of an imminent potential clash between civilizations, but that is beyond the scope of the present work.

It is legitimate to expect a degree of coordination of cultural activities between Muslim states and this chapter seeks to explore the cultural cooperation in the Muslim world from 1970 to 2000.

**6.2 Institutional Framework for cultural cooperation in the Muslim world**

Any form of international cooperation can only be meaningful if it is backed by institutional support. These institutions that were created under the auspices of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation, or those that were made independently but chose to affiliate themselves under the OIC umbrella have a triple supervisory structure:

i. **At the political level** there is a Standing Committee on Information and Culture, called COMIAC that consists of the Ministers of Culture and Information of all Muslim countries and fulfills the need for political coordination over cultural matters.
ii. At the experts’ level, there is the Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social Affairs (ICECS) which consists of notable experts in the field from the Muslim world, who act as the General Assembly of all cultural and social bodies under the umbrella of the OIC.

iii. At the operational level, one of the four Assistant Secretary Generals of the Islamic Conference, assisting the Secretary General, is designated as the ASG (Cultural & Information Affairs).\(^5\)

Let us have a look at all three of them:

6.2.1 Standing Committee for Information and Cultural Affairs (COMIAC): This ministerial level Committee is the first of the three permanent standing committees that were established by the third Islamic Summit (Taif; Jan. 1981); the other two being COMCEC for cooperation in the field of commercial and economic cooperation and COMSTECH relating to that on Science and Technology. Both have already been discussed in their related chapters.\(^6\)

The COMIAC is entrusted with following up the implementation of resolutions adopted by the OIC on information and cultural affairs; examining all possible means of strengthening co-operation in those fields among the Muslim States and putting forth

\(^5\) It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that the General Secretariat of the Islamic Conference is headed by the Secretary General. He is assisted by four Assistant Secretary Generals (ASG) designated as ASG (Political & Legal Affairs), ASG (Economic, Commercial and Scientific Affairs), ASG (Culture and Information Affairs) and the ASG (Al Quds al Sharif). This sort of repetition is necessitated with a view to facilitate the examiners/external reviewers by making each chapter’s referencing is so comprehensive that it can be studied and evaluated as a stand-alone essay.

programs and proposals likely to improve the capabilities of Islamic States in these sectors.

The committee is open to all member states. The President of the Republic of Senegal is the ex-officio Chairman of the Committee. The Committee first met on 18-19 Jan. 1983 at Dakar (Senegal). Since then, five meetings have been held up to the year 2000, all at the same city. The meetings are inaugurated and chaired by the President of Senegal and are attended by the Ministers of Culture and Information of the Muslim States or their designated representatives.

6.2.2 Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social Affairs (ICECS): This Commission with its present name and form came into being as a result of resolution adopted by the 7th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Istanbul; 1976). Earlier, for the purpose of proper planning and co-ordination in socio-economic fields in order to attain the goals set by the OIC, the second Islamic Summit (Lahore; 1974) had established an eight-member expert committee. The committee was assigned the work of preparing recommendations for evolving a framework for co-operation in economic and cultural fields. The 7th ICFM decided to expand the membership of the committee from eight to eighteen and named it the “Islamic Commission for Economic, Cultural and Social Affairs”. It was decided that the Commission should meet twice a year and present a comprehensive report and recommendations to the conference of Islamic Foreign

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Ministers regularly. Many of the proposals of the OIC for co-operation in socio-cultural fields were originally mooted by this Commission.

The objectives of the Commission were ⁸:

- to formulate, implement and follow up progress of cultural and social co-operation among the member-states;
- to review and follow up implementation of decisions and resolutions adopted by the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers in the economic, cultural or social fields;
- to examine and study economic, social and cultural issues submitted by the member-states to the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM’s).

The Commission plays the role of a unique assembly responsible for examining all activity programs in the cultural and social fields at the level of the General Secretariat, Islamic Summits and Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers. Furthermore, the Committee studies and ensures the follow up of the implementation of resolutions adopted by the ICFMs in the cultural and social sectors. It also draws up, implements and follows up the program of cultural co-operation among Member States. It studies and analyses the cultural issues that the Member States intend to submit to the Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers. It meets once a year on the request of the Secretary General of the OIC and up till 2000, it had held 18 sessions.

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⁸ Ibid.
6.2.3 Cultural Section in the General Secretariat:

The importance of the city of Jerusalem for the OIC is evident by the fact that the Organization treats the preservation of Islamic Culture in the world and preservation of Islamic heritage in the city of Jerusalem as two separate subjects. Of the four branches that the OIC General Secretariat is divided into, the one each headed by Assistant Secretary General (Cultural and Information Affairs) is entrusted with implementation of decisions of the Islamic summit conferences in the field of culture, in general, in the whole Muslim world. While the Section headed by the Assistant Secretary General (Al Quds al Sharif) looks after the issues pertaining to political, economic and cultural affairs of the city of Jerusalem. It executes the decisions of another political committee headquartered within the General Secretariat named the Al-Quds Committee, established since 1975. It is entrusted to take decisions at the inter-governmental level with issues related to Jerusalem including those related to Cultural heritage of the city’s Islamic character [emphasis added].

6.3 Main elements of Islamic Culture:

Having discussed the institutional framework for pan-Islamic cooperation in the field of culture and information, we may categorize all cooperation activities in the following TEN major areas:

- Preservation of Cultural Heritage

- Documentation of History through documentation, archives and antique collection
• Preservation of the Islamic character of the occupied holy city of Jerusalem
• Calligraphy, Photography and Paintings
• Urban and spatial planning and Architecture
• Visual and Performing Arts/ Television and Radio Programs and Cinema
• Sports
• Harmonization in various schools of Jurisprudence/ centralization of issuance of religious edicts, called Fatwas
• Information and news dissemination
• Miscellaneous like postage stamps, Hijra celebrations etc

We shall discuss all of them in the above order:

6.3.1 Preservation of Islamic Cultural Heritage

Just like UNESCO is the cultural arm of the United Nations that works for the whole world, Islamic Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) is a specialized institution of the OIC in the field of education and culture. Its activities in the field of education and science have been discussed in the preceding chapters at some great length. Here we are concerned with its role in the field of Islamic culture only.

The idea of setting up an Islamic Educational and Cultural Organization (ISESCO) was conceived at the first International conference on Islamic Education which was held at
Makkah, in 1977, under the sponsorship of King Abdul Aziz University. The idea materialised when the 10th ICFM (Fez; 1979) decided to establish it and designated Rabat, Morocco, as the permanent venue of the proposed Islamic cultural organization. Eventually the third Islamic Summit (Taif; 1981), while noting the diversity of educational systems and cultural policies in Islamic countries, as well as the need to reconsider and reactivate them, decided to endorse the decision of setting up of the Organization.

The objectives of the ISESCO, as laid down in its statute regarding its role in Culture, are as follows:

- to strengthen co-operation among the member-states in the field of cultural research and to make Islamic culture the axis of educational curricula at all levels;
- to support the real Islamic culture and to project independence of the Islamic thought against the elements of cultural invasion, distortion and debasements.
- to preserve features of the Islamic civilization.
- to find ways and means of protecting the Islamic cultural identity of the Muslims in non-Muslim countries;
- to promote understanding between the peoples and to help maintain peace and security in the world by all means, especially through culture; and

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9 See the special feature ISESCO Forges Ahead. Also see Daily “The Muslim”, Islamabad, 3 Sept. 1985, on the eve of second General Conference of ISESCO at Islamabad.
10 Ibid
11 Baba, op. cit, p.240.
to co-ordinate among the specialized institutions of the Organization of Islamic Conference in the field of culture to consolidating Islamic solidarity and cultural complementarities in the Muslim world.

The first ISESCO General Conference took place in Casablanca from the 7 to 9 of June 1983. laid down a two-year plan of action (1983-1985), that focuses mainly on the following projects in the field of culture:12

(a) In-service training of teachers of Islamic culture and the Arabic language.
(b) Investigating the situation prevailing in schools of religious education, and improving their working procedures on the basis of scientific principles.
(c) Supporting Islamic studies departments in member-States universities, by supplying them with books on Islamic culture and civilization.
(d) Protection of Islamic civilization features and safeguard of the Islamic heritage.
(e) Enhancing Islamic cultural institutions in host countries of Muslim minorities.

Since the third General Conference (1988), the programs of the cultural Sector of ISESCO are mainly concerned with the promotion of Arabic language and its teaching to non-Arabic speakers. Cultural programs of the Organization are directed towards the elaboration of an Islamic cultural strategy, correction of erroneous information published on Islam and Muslims, preservation of Islamic cultural heritage, providing support to cultural institutions and Centres and protecting Islamic society against the influence of [Western] cultural invasion.

12 See Guide to OIC, op. cit., p. 86
In the cultural field, the ISESCO, in association with the ‘Islam and the West’ a French organization held a regional conference entitled “Islam, France and Europe” at Paris in January 1997. Some delegates from the OIC member states also attended. In June of the same year, it organized a training course for teachers of Islamic education and Arabic language in Europe. It was attended by 30 teachers, working in Islamic cultural Centres and Muslim schools in Britain.

The ultimate goal of the ISESCO is the cultural unity of the Muslim nation. It wants to develop a Muslim identity among the Muslims and aims at promoting Arabic language for the purpose. It wants to make the Islamic culture “as the axis” of school curricula. It wants to defend the Muslims against, what it calls, the “cultural invasion of the West”.

6.3.2 Documentation of History, archives and antique collection

For the above purpose, a decision to establish a Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA) as a subsidiary organ of the OIC, was taken by the 7th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Istanbul; 1976). Following the approval of its work plan and first budget by the 10th ICFM (Islamabad; 1980), the Center started functioning in Istanbul, in 1980. The three historic buildings within the Yildiz Palace complex were donated by the Turkish government to this Center.

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15 The IRCICA acknowledged the request of this author for information vide letter no.IRC/96-611, dated 16 Dec. 06 and sent some information in response; especially the issue No.37 of the IRCICA newsletter (Istanbul; 1995) brought out on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the Centre as a special issue. Better part of the information about this Centre as well as the Islamic Heritage Commission (next section) is based
Commonly known as the Istanbul Center, it is the first intra Islamic organization to work in the field of culture. Now the IRCICA undertakes research, publishing, documentation and information activities to better make known the Islamic culture and civilization and promote mutual understanding between Muslims and other communities of the world. The Center’s work covers various subject areas in Islamic history, history of science, history of arts, arts, culture and the cultural heritage. The main functions of IRCICA as determined by the revised statute (1991, are the following: \(^{16}\)

- to act as a focal point and meeting place for scholars, researchers, historians, intellectuals and artists from the member countries and the world in the field of research on the Islamic legacy towards a better understanding of Islam and its civilization.

- to create objective conditions for a close co-operation among researchers and research institutions of the member countries in order to eliminate prejudices regarding the history, art and culture of the Muslim world.

- to publish studies in the form of books and monographs in order to better make known and disseminate information on Islamic culture and civilization throughout the world.

- to publish periodicals of scholarly and informational nature concerning Islamic cultural activities, and to organize conferences, symposia, exhibitions, and other activities in subject areas.

\(^{16}\) OIC Guide, *op cit*, pp.53-54
to establish and promote linkages, co-operation and exchange of knowledge and reference material on Islamic culture and civilization, with the concerned institutions in the world.

- to establish a reference library specialized in Islamic culture and civilization to serve researchers working in these fields, comprising audio-visual material as well.

- to establish a database related to studies and expertise in various areas of Islamic culture.

- to organize training courses and to establish incentive programs in order to promote excellence in research in the fields of Islamic culture and civilization.

The Islamic Commission for Economic Cultural and Social Affairs (ICECS) acts as the General Assembly of IRCICA while the activity reports, annual work programs, and annual budget proposals of the Center are examined and approved by its 12-member Governing Board which is composed of ten scholars and specialists (usually professors, historians and directors of museums or archaeological institutes, etc) elected from the Member States based on equitable geographical distribution for a four-year term; the OIC Secretary General or his representative, and the Director General of the Center.

IRCICA has, till 2000, published 55 books resulting from its research projects. It organized and actively participated in 29 international symposia and seminars. The Center also organized 120 exhibitions of art works, documents books and illustrations.\(^\text{17}\)

\(^{17}\) IRCICA Newsletter No.37 (Istanbul; 1995), Special Issue on 15\(^{\text{th}}\) Anniversary, p. 25.
The themes and modalities of IRCICA research projects are determined in accordance with the Center’s objectives and taking into consideration needs felt in research on Islamic culture and civilization. The majority of the research projects are planned on a long-term basis, with several stages and aspects, to give frequent products on a variety of topics. The results of research are disseminated in the world by means of publications, presentations at scholarly meetings, exhibitions, of documents and illustrations, and by other means.\textsuperscript{18}

Some of the prominent research works of the IRCICA include Islamic Civilization in South Asia, Islam in South East Asia, Islam in West Africa, History of Turks, Islam in Korea and the like. All these are sub-projects of a mega research project on the History of Muslim Nations. The output of these projects has been in the form of authentic reference books. The Center embarked upon a project on History of Science in the Muslim World. The project successfully produced many books dealing with scientific activities, scientific institutions and scientists, in difference eras of the Islamic history. Several international symposia on related subjects were held and proceedings published.\textsuperscript{19}

In response to the directives of the OIC for all out help to Bosnia & Herzegovina, the IRCICA launched an ambitious research project on History and Culture of Bosnia. Five monumental volumes on related topics were produced, one of which dealt with the historic bridge of the Bosnian Muslim city of Mostar alone.\textsuperscript{20} Architectural workshops on

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid
\textsuperscript{19} See Ibid, pp.25-39, for descriptions of important research projects.
\textsuperscript{20} One book entitled “The Old Bridge in Mostar” from this project is exclusively devoted to the historic bridge of Mostar, destroyed by Serb shelling during the war.
the preservation of Bosnian heritage wore conducted and were well attended from a large number of countries. As a part of this project numerous audio-visual and photographic exhibitions depicting cities, monuments and people of Bosnia, as well as scenes of wars were held in different parts of the world, including in various universities of the United States.

Besides, a project on Directory of Islamic Cultural Institutions, the Center has another large-scale research project aiming to survey and record translations of the Holy Koran in different languages of the world which are produced in printed or manuscript form or recited orally. World Bibliography of (printed) Translations of Holy Koran (1515-1980) has been published while one of the manuscript translations of the Koran is under preparation. Oral translations of the holy book in different languages, as recited in mosques during the month of Ramadhan, are being recorded on cassettes and thus an audio reference would soon be available. Though the list is very long, the project on Islamic Arts still needs special mention. Two of the many books appearing as a result of this project are “Islamic swords and swordsmiths” and “Holy Ka’aba: Collection of locks and keys”.

Under a comprehensive Crafts Development Program, the Center wants to promote the handicrafts of the Muslim world and encourage their revival, preservation and development through international co-operation. The Center works in close collaboration with UNESCO in this respect. It has held several international seminars on the subject. The first Islamic Artisans-at-work festival was held at Islamabad in Oct.

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21 IRCICA Special Issue, op cit, p. 38
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1994. The Center wants to hold such festivals every three years. The second and third are planned for Cairo and Kuala Lumpur, respectively.\(^{22}\)

IRCICA has dozens of important publications in its field. Some titles include “The Muslim Pious Foundations in Palestine”, “Ottoman Postal Stamps” “Arabo-Turkish Relations”, “Islamic Art Terms” and “Turkish Architecture”. New titles including “Astronomy in Islam”, “Curtains of Holy Ka’aba” and some others are forthcoming in near future. Besides, the IRCICA has the credit of making audio-visual documentaries on Islamic Art.\(^{23}\) The quarterly IRCICA Newsletter is published in all three official languages of the OIC and is distributed to nearly 10,000 institutions and personalities in 65 countries.\(^{24}\) It contains news on cultural, artistic and academic activities taking place in the Muslim world.

The topics covered in the international symposia and seminars organized by the IRCICA range from traditional Islamic crafts, Islamic architecture and manuscripts in Islamic languages to topics as diverse as computer applications in the library and role of woman and family in Islam. Likewise, the IRCICA has held a large number of exhibitions, presenting works from many categories of art including calligraphy, miniatures, paintings, ceramics, engravings, prayer beads and book binding etc. Furthermore, photographic exhibitions of Islamic cities, peoples, war scenes and other themes have taken place under the Center’s auspices. Though a significant proportion of these activities was concentrated to Istanbul city, still many seminars or exhibitions have been

\(^{22}\) Ibid
\(^{23}\) See *ibid.*, pp.40-42, for complete list of publications
\(^{24}\) *Ibid.*, p. 43
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held in different countries including, in rare cases, non-Muslim states as well. The complete list of seminars or exhibitions is available from the IRCICA Directorate on request.

There are several other activities of the Center like making of documentaries, invitation of artists and researchers to work at the IRCICA office and use its facilities, and conducting of training courses on restoration of manuscripts, to name a few. The Center also arranges a fortnightly lecture from a distinguished scholar on Islamic art or history, at its premises.

IRCICA established a reference library on Islamic culture and civilization. The Center’s library presently meets the modern research requirements in its fields of specialization. More than 1,500 researchers use this library annually.25 The library collection covers various subject areas in the fields of Islamic culture, history, arts, history of arts, history of science, literature, cultural and intellectual history, with an emphasis on the Muslim world. A number of incunabula and rare books further increase the value of the library collection. The library collection is composed of 40,000 volumes of books and research works, nearly 7,000 grey literature containing off-prints, reports, and seminar papers, 300 microfilms and unpublished dissertations, 971 atlases, maps and plans; and 1,291 periodical titles; 400 of them scholarly journals in complete sets. The holdings are in 54 languages primarily the OIC official languages, and in Urdu, Persian and Turkish. The

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25 Ibid, p.51
library exchanges material with 350 institutions world-wide and several catalogues and accession lists have been prepared for the purpose.\textsuperscript{26}

\textit{6.3.3 Preservation of the Islamic character of the Arab East Jerusalem}

A major cultural activity of the Muslim world had been related to the city of Jerusalem alone. The Muslim states want to resist the “Judaization of Jerusalem”. The settlement policy of the Israeli government in the Arab quarters of Jerusalem is also staunchly resisted as are the Israeli designs to obliterate the Islamic culture of the city.\textsuperscript{27}

They formed an Al Quds Committee chaired by the King of Morocco (King Abdullah VI, at present). It comprises fifteen Member States elected by the Islamic Conferences of Foreign Ministers. The membership, as in 2000, consisted of Bangladesh, Egypt, Guinea, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Mauritania, Morocco (Chairman), Niger, Pakistan, Palestine, Saudi Arabia, Senegal and Syria. The Al-Quds Committee meets on the request of its Chairman or that of the OIC Secretary General.

Also in 1976, an Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Fund was established to support the struggle of the Palestinian people in the city of Jerusalem. It is administered by the Al-Quds (Jerusalem) Committee and its office is located within the OIC General Secretariat in Jeddah.\textsuperscript{28} The basic objectives of the Al-Quds Fund are:

\textsuperscript{26} \textit{Ibid}

\textsuperscript{27} In this connection, we have already studied the functions of the Al- Quds (Jerusalem) Committee in Section 6.1. Here, we seek to explore the role of the Al Quds Fund, administered by the Committee.

\textsuperscript{28} \textit{OIC Guide, op cit}, p.69
• to prevent and resist the Judaisation policy, pursued by the Israeli occupation Authorities.

• to preserve and maintain the Arab Character of the City of Jerusalem.

This Fund is administered by an autonomous council comprising five members drawn up and elected by the Jerusalem Committee for a two year renewable term which prepares the work programs in the light of the objectives, set for the Fund. These programs cannot be implemented unless approved by the Jerusalem Committee. The Council normally meets annually in ordinary session before the meetings of the Jerusalem Committee and at its venue. The Fund is financed by voluntary contributions of the Member States as well as contributions from the Islamic Solidarity Fund and public and private grants.

The *Waqf* i.e. endowment of the Al-Quds Fund has an initial authorised capital of the *Waqf* would be $ 100 million and consists of:

- cash and movable assets in the form of *Waqf* of the member states and physical and moral persons of the Muslim world.
- immovable assets and all possessions held by the member states and physical and legal entities in the form of *Waqf*.

This endowment is run by a Board of Trustees which defines its general policy, guides and supervises its activities, approves its annual budgets and programs as well as its periodical reports.
In addition, the Commission on Islamic Heritage, discussed below in Section 6.6 is also entrusted, inter alia, with

- establish funds and provide financial assistance to Member States in this field with special emphasis on the heritage of Holy Jerusalem.
- give priority and due attention to the relics in the holy city of Jerusalem.

Hence, the Commission has decided to ensure its participation in all the international projects concerning with the preservation of the architectural monuments of the holy city of Jerusalem.

6.3.4 Calligraphy, Photography and Paintings

An International Commission for the Preservation of the Islamic Cultural Heritage (ICPICH), located in Istanbul, Turkey, since 1982, coordinates activities related to the above issues.\(^{29}\) This Commission has been entrusted to:\(^{30}\)

- provide a wide, comprehensive and unified view of the cultural heritage, covering monuments, historical cities and places, in addition to the manuscripts, libraries and arts.
- develop activities aimed at collecting and preserving the cultural heritage within the Islamic framework.
- promote co-operation, co-ordination and exchange of ideas and information, on cultural heritage in the Muslim world.
- classify and publish books, manuscripts and other sources of the Islamic heritage.
- maintain a pool of Muslim expertise and know-how in the field of heritage.

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\(^{29}\) See Daily \"Dawn, Karachi, 28 Aug. 1982.  \\
\(^{30}\) OIC Guide, \textit{op cit}, p.72
• methodically catalogue and publicize works, manuscripts and other items of the Islamic heritage and to negotiate their retrieval to their countries of origin.

The Commission is composed of 17 members and is chaired by Prince Faisal bin Fahd of Saudi Arabia. The ICPICH holds exhibitions, conducts training courses, arranges competitions and carries out publications to fulfill the tasks entrusted to it.

Competition: The Commission has organized competitions in three areas, namely, calligraphy and photography:

Calligraphy

The Commission organizes international calligraphy competitions once every three years. Each calligraphy competition is dedicated to the memory of a famous calligrapher of the Muslim world to encourage young calligraphers to follow the example of the masters of classical calligraphy. During the first calligraphy competition (1986), 352 participants representing 32 countries submitted 1,272 entries to the jury. A sum of US $3,500 was distributed as prizes for 62 winning calligraphies of 43 participants. In the second such competition (1989), 12 awards and 38 mentions totalling US $24,500 were conferred on winning entries out of a total of 1,780 entries. In the third calligraphy competition (1992), the jury selected 95 calligraphers for honours. Almost 1,200 pieces by 550 participants from 35 countries, were in the contest. The first three competitions were, respectively, named after the three big names in the history of calligraphy, Hamid al-Amidi, Yaqut al Mustasimi and Ali bin Hilal.

31 Prince Faisal is the son of the late Saudi monarch, King Fahd bin Abdul Aziz
32 For details about the competitions see Special Issue, op. cit., pp.63-64
Photography

The first ever photography competition on Islamic heritage attracted 1,500 photographs from 229 participants. Thirty-two photographers were lucky to receive cash prizes worth $9,600. The Commission Secretariat published a catalogue of the winners works.

In the field of photography, the IRCICA too has played a role as it has set up an archive of historical photographs consisting of various collections some of which were put together and reproduced by the Center and others donated by institutions and personalities. An important collection kept in the archives is the Yildiz Photograph Albums which is composed of 35,000 photographs showing cities, monuments, transport equipment, scenes of social life, etc. from various parts of the Muslim world. The Center has prepared a catalogue of these Albums to facilitate the task of researchers. The Center also publishes, on different occasions, albums comprising photographs selected from this collection. Historical photographs of Istanbul were published in an album titled “Istanbul: A Glimpse into the Past”. In addition, the archives comprise 62,417 historical photographs, donated by different personalities.

The Commission now makes preparations to organize the Second Kind Fahd Awards Competition in Islamic Architecture, the Second International Photography Competition, and the Fourth International Calligraphy Competition in the near future. The purpose of these competitions is to encourage scholarly research on specific topics of the history and theories of architecture and calligraphy; pursuit of compatibility and continuity between

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Ibid.
the historic traditions and the futuristic visions of contemporary Muslim societies; initiation of new debates on the Islamic heritage; and the discovery of creative capacities of the Muslim artists.

Consequently, efforts are always made for the widest participation in the ICPICH competitions. For instance, the first architecture competition was advertised in no less than 116 international magazines, and over 2,600 brochures announcements were sent to universities, architectural colleges and departments of research on archaeology and antiquity studies. The prizes were decided by a committee of seven eminent Muslim experts of the subject.\textsuperscript{34}

Besides bringing out, one, comprehensive special issue on “Arts and Islamic World”, the ICPICH has also published catalogues of winning entries of architecture, photography and calligraphy competitions. For the near future, the Commission has planned to publish a book on Islamic Architecture in Palestine and an Exercise Book for the teaching of calligraphy.

The Commission endeavors to preserve Islamic heritage. For the purpose, it co-operates with IRCICA in carrying out various activities related to the restoration and preservation of the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has largely been destroyed and damaged during the war.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.}
Chapter 6

Cultural Cooperation

It co-operates with other institutions for the restoration of Islamic monuments. One example is that the Commission Secretariat participated in technical studies related to the restoration of the historical Damak Mosque in Indonesia and the mosque of Rhodes Island. Another major activity of the Commission Secretariat is to provide guidance and assistance to visiting artists, in particular calligraphers, who wish to upgrade their skills.60

The Commission wants to revivify its activities of holding competitions, suspended for want of funds. It is also contemplating the launching of children’s competitions in drawing and calligraphy. The ICPICH has plans to launch a research periodical on Islamic heritage to be distributed in the Muslim world. It is also drawing up a permanent mechanism for vigilance and observation for the protection of Islamic heritage in the non-Muslim countries.

6.3.5 Urban and spatial planning and Architecture

In the field of Architecture and urban heritage, the ICPICH has its own contributions. The Islamic Heritage Commission is always willing to render advice to the Muslim countries for the preservation of the Islamic heritage and is always available to assist them in carrying out specific functions. It is now considering preparing legal documents to ensure protection of the craftsmen and of the cultural heritage itself. Article IV (4) of the Statute pinpoints Jerusalem (Palestine), Quairawan (Tunisia), Fez (Morocco), Timbuktu (Mali), Hirat (Afghanistan), Sana’a(Yemen) and some cities in Niger and other parts of the West Africa, to institute experimental projects on the preservation of the Islamic cultural sites.
However, ICPICH is only concerned with Islamic heritage in the cities. On the broader subject of town and spatial planning of cities, keeping in view the Islamic civilizational legacies, there is an Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC), whose establishment was approved, on the recommendation of the OIC Secretariat General, as an institution to promote Islamic vision of urban and town planning as well as architecture. The aims of the Organization are:\textsuperscript{35}

- to develop co-operation among the Islamic capitals and cities, in order to preserve their character and the Islamic heritage;
- to promote public service through the exchange of visits, research studies and expertise, among the Islamic capitals and to achieve wide scope for interaction in the cultural, social and construction planning fields;
- to organize conferences, to discuss projects of interest to the capitals in the Islamic world and to propose suitable solutions in the form of recommendations; and
- to seek to implement comprehensive urban, architectural plans which may guide the growth of Islamic capitals and cities in accordance with their actual economic, social, cultural and environmental characteristics.
- to upgrade the public services and utilities in the Islamic capitals and cities.

Its membership is open to all capitals of the member states of the OIC. The cities of Makkah, Medina and Jerusalem are permanent members due to their holy status. Membership in the Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities is open to a maximum number of eight cities from every Islamic country in addition to the member Capital

\textsuperscript{35} Official publication \textit{OICC: A March of Achievement and Progress}, (Jeddah, n.d), p. 169
City. Membership is open to Islamic capitals and cities situated in the non-OIC Muslim countries and even to the non-Muslim countries. In all, 130 cities from 58 countries are members of the OICC. Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey are represented by the maximum-allowed eight cities each, Saudi Arabia by six, Jordan by five, Palestine and the UAE by four each, Syria by three, Iraq, Libya, Niger, North Cyprus, Senegal, Uzbekistan and Yemen by two each, and Lebanon, Mali, Nigeria and Oman by one city each, besides obviously their capital cities. The remaining 34 states are represented by their capital cities only.

Togo is the only Muslim State, whose capital is not a member of the OICC. Two observer states at the Islamic Conference, Bosnia and North Cyprus, have their cities on the OICC rolls. The capitals, Grozni and Kazan, of the autonomous Russian Muslim Republics of Chechenya and Tartaristan have also joined this Organization. In addition, several Islamic historical cities in the non-Muslim states such as Granada in Spain and Silves in Portugal enjoy an observer status.

A major activity is the organization of conferences of Mayors and Governors of the Islamic capitals and cities. Over 15 such moots have been held till 2000, which have helped the Islamic cities’ administrators to benefit from each others’ experiences. These meetings result in joint declarations, signing of protocols for co-operation between the capitals, and the symbolic gestures of declaring two Islamic capitals as twin cities. Different other heads of the OICC activities warrant separate treatment.

36 Ibid, pp. 39-41
The OICC has maintained a well-stocked Information Center, a library and a databank, All these sources are continuously updated by information on the history, culture, architecture and the statistics of the Islamic capitals and cities. The OICC library has a valuable collection of books, atlases, maps, charts, brochures, photographs and microfilms on the Islamic capitals and cities. There is also sufficient material available there on urban and town planning in general sustainable development and road traffic management, etc.

The OICC supplies the member cities with the required information. It has also launched a web page on the Internet <www.oicc.org> to facilitate easy access of the people to the information. The Organization encourages exchange of bilateral visits of the Mayors of the Islamic cities to each other’s places. It also arranges the exchange of research material on urban affairs, produced by one city or the other. Its Cairo Center conducts training programs for urban administrators.

The Organization of Islamic Capitals undertakes analytical studies of historical cities, jointly with the local governments of the cities concerned. Three major research projects on the urban architectural designs and the city expansion through ages on Cairo (1994), Baghdad (1996) and Damascus (1997) were successfully completed. Now the OICC targeted six more cities known for their Islamic architectural grandeur. They are Bukhara (Uzbekistan), Fez (Morocco), Isfahan (Iran), Lahore (Pakistan) and Tunis (Tunisia). Preliminary negotiations for the purpose are underway with the Governorates and the concerned departments of the cities.
A parallel exercise of the OICC towards studies on the cities is through the conferences and symposia. The first seminar was on housing in an Islamic city (Ankara; 1984), the second on the Urban Cleanliness and Environmental Protection (Cairo; 1986), the third on Fundamentals of Numbering and Naming Streets (Amman; 1989), the fourth on the Islamic Methodology on Urban Design (Rabat; 1991) and the fifth one was on the Road Safety and Accident Reduction (Ankara; 1993). Then there were a large number of seminars on the history and problems of specific cities, so the list is quite long.

The OICC has a long list of publications to its credit. It brings out a periodical named “Islamic Capitals and Cities”, around 30 volumes of which have been produced so far. The magazine contains reports about the OICC activities, tour of an Islamic historic city, articles on town planning and separate sections on environmental and developmental studies.

The OICC has produced many books. First of all, the proceedings of all the symposia and seminars, mentioned in the last section have been published in the book forms with the same titles. Likewise, the reports of the analytical studies on the Islamic cities have also been published. In addition, many other research volumes like “Principles of Architecture Design and Urban planning”, “Local Administration and Municipal System”, “The City of Bukhara” and “The city of Khawarzim” are the notable OICC volumes. Work is in progress on some other books as well.
Since 1988, the OICC announced awards for writings in four disciplines; (a) Islamic Architecture; (b) Urban, City and Service Planning; (c) Municipal Services; and (d) Municipal Management, Organization and Legislatures.

The first winner in each category receives a Shield of the first rank, a certificate of honor and $ 6,600 as cash prize. The runners up receive the Shield of second rank and a certificate. These Awards are meant to encourage and reward quality research on urban affairs. The 19th OICC Administrative Council meeting (Casablanca; Aug., 1996) approved four new awards of the same denominations on carrying out practical improvements in the cities. The new Awards on (e) Architectural Establishments; (f) Beautification of the Cities; (g) Urban Development and Renewal; and (h) Protection of Environment, are shared by the owners, contractors or the artists, as the case may be.37

The OICC has financed the restoration of historical buildings in its member cities, through its Cairo-based Co-operation Fund. Ashrafiya school building in Jerusalem (Palestine), Beer ul Ahjar school building in Tunis (Tunisia) and the Ahmad historical monument in Lefkosa (North Cyprus) are some buildings, whose restoration work was conducted by the OICC. Construction of an OICC monument at the Alexandria international park (Egypt) and supply of maintenance equipment of the historical quarters in Damascus City (Syria) are the other notable activities of the OICC Fund. As a matter of policy, 25 per cent of the Fund’s annual revenues are allocated to support the cultural, educational and health services in the holy Jerusalem.

37 Ibid, pp.16-36 and 52-129. Also see OIC Guide, op cit, p.97
Architecture:

Like the OICC, the Islamic Heritage Commission has also been interested in Islamic architecture. And just like OICC arranges awards for urban planning, the ICPICH organizes competitions in architecture of individual buildings. The King Fahd Awards Competition for Design and Research in Islamic Architecture in 1986. Awards totaling US$ 100,000 were distributed to 42 winners who had submitted 31 projects, from among 270 entries in the design category and 90 entries in the research category from forty countries. The Commission now makes preparations to organize the Second Kind Fahd Awards Competition in Islamic Architecture. Another triennial award on Architecture is given by Prince Aga Khan Foundation.38

ICPICH also funds publications on Islamic architecture. It has also published catalogues of winning entries of architecture. For the near future, the Commission has planned to publish a book on Islamic Architecture in Palestine

6.3.6 Visual and Performing Arts/ Television and Radio Programs and Cinema

Islamic States Broadcasting Organization (ISBO) is a pan-Islamic institution with dual, political and cultural, roles. It is meant to work for the projection of Muslim world’s viewpoints on international issues and of the image of Islam on the electronic media. It is basically a federation of the broadcasting corporations of the Muslim states. It stands for:

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38 Prince Karim Aga Khan is the Imam (spiritual head) of the Muslims belonging to the Ismaili sect of Shiite Islam. His religious establishment runs several foundations and institutions for public welfare. Aga Khan awards in Islamic architecture is one such of his schemes.
✓ planning to co-ordinate television and radio transmissions, broadcasting programs and technological information among member countries in a spirit of Islamic fraternity.

✓ developing co-operation between the Islamic technical organisms and broadcasting institutions of member states.

✓ producing and exchanging radio and television programs in order to further the objectives of the OIC.

✓ promoting awareness of the Islamic heritage in the world.

✓ solving broadcasting problems that may arise among the member states.

✓ ensuring a unified stand and co-ordinating actions of the Muslim states on issues such as allocation of wavelengths etc.

Membership of the ISBO is open to all national broadcasting corporations of the Muslim states. Any broadcasting agency, public or private, owned in a Muslim country is eligible to apply for membership, but one country can have only one full member. Hence, except the one nominated by the government of a state, all the other broadcasting organizations are given Associate Memberships. In all, 45 countries have membership at the ISBO.39

After being set up in 1975, it held its first three meetings in Riyadh, Istanbul and Abu Dhabi, respectively, to formulate the policies to be followed by the ISBO and to decide upon the future plan of action. These meetings were participated by 23 countries in all.40 But today, the radio and television corporations of almost all the 57 member states are

40 Ibid
considered its members. The ISBO also planned to become the primary agent for audio-visual exchange program in the Muslim countries.

Given the inadequate resources of the ISBO, the program exchange was the cheapest activity and the easiest one for it to implement. Such a flow of programs promotes closer intellectual and cultural links among the participating states. Naturally, the area received the ISBO attention since the very beginning. The ISBO asked the member broadcasting agencies to supply it with religious programs, talk shows, discussion programs and interviews (both TV and radio) for the ISBO Audio-Visual Exchange Facility.

Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Libya, Malaysia, Morocco, Oman, Pakistan, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia and the UAE donated programs. Kuwait, for instance, was more enthusiastic and supplied the ISBO with a list of 100 television TV programs, expressing readiness to make copies of any of those for transmission to member states upon request. The ISBO was thus able to establish a recording library and prepared a 135-page catalogue of programs available for exchange.

During 1979-80, six countries exchanged 45 programs (250-hour duration); in 1981-82, the volume rose to 600 programs (364-hours); in 1983, twenty-one countries benefited from 1,802 programs (810-hours); and in 1984, 48 countries received 6,090 programs (covering 1,423 hours) which was a record. A new catalogue of 174 pages was then prepared and circulated. The interest later dwindled and in 1994, for instance, 34
countries and Centers benefited from 363 materials provided in 8,423 episodes totalling 1702 hours.\textsuperscript{41}

Initially, the slogan was “present one hour of program and get forty hours in return”. Many African member states like Gambia, Guinea, Mali, Niger and Senegal received programs free of charge (Djibouti once got 100 ISBO programs as donation) while the wealthier Muslim states used to purchase the ISBO programs. The total volume provided by the ISBO under the exchange program was 35,564 episodes of 1,037 programs, and there were 67 beneficiary states and Centers by 1994.

\textit{Radio programs}: The ISBO has produced 1,200 radio programs, some of them jointly with the radio Centers of Egypt, Jordan and Kuwait etc. The ISBO headquarter had got a radio transmission unit fairly early. The ISBO produced programs on the Prophet’s life, Islamic teachings, Palestine cause, History of Islam, intellectual invasion by the West and Arabic teaching.\textsuperscript{42} The most prominent serials are as follows:

i) \textit{Jerusalem- the city of heaven}: A 30-part serial jointly produced by authors, producers, actors and artists from six countries, on the religious, political and legal aspects of the history of Jerusalem.

ii) \textit{Basic obligations of Islam}: A 30-part serial, in which Muslim youth from fifty nationalities participated, to present and explain the fundamental tenets of Islam. The Islamic Solidarity Fund (ISF) had funded the production.

\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Third ISBO Activity Report}, (1994), Jeddah, p.2.
\textsuperscript{42} See the \textit{Second ISBO Activity Report} ( 1987), Jeddah, pp.7-11, for an account of the audio production activities of the Organization.
iii) *Glimpses from the Prophet’s life:* This 30-part serial dilates upon the life history and the legacy of the Prophet Mohammad.

iv) *The Raid:* The 30-part serial traces the history of selected Muslim minorities, their struggles against oppression and the stories on the fall of Muslim empires in Asia.

v) *The Muslim Family:* The 25-episode program describes the Muslim style of life, social values and the family structure.

vi) *Heart’s inner voice:* A 25-part program on Imam Shafei’s poetry.

vii) *The interpretation of the Koran:* A complete explanation of the Holy Koran in 179 parts.

In addition, there are hundreds of productions on the Prophet’s life and childhood, documentaries on Islamic historical cities, commentaries on Muslim minorities, history of wars, and interviews etc. Most of the programs are available in Arabic but, for many, English and French versions have also been prepared. Many of these ISBO programs have been bought by as many as 20 countries.

*Television programs:* The ISBO has only 75 television programs to its credit. The Organization did not have its own TV recording and transmission facilities. So till 1979, it could produce only 90 hours of TV programs using the facilities of the Saudi Television Center at Jeddah. In 1980, the ISBO entered into agreement with the French and German television networks for jointly producing a six-part series on the History of Islam, but apparently, the plan did not go through, as the ISBO failed to fulfil its part of
the financial obligations. The ISBO, however, has been able to produce a few very popular serials, such as:

i) *The jewel in the palace*: A 13-episode colour serial, dealing with the life of the famous pious Caliph, Omer bin Abdul Aziz.

ii) *The martyr’s mission*: A 19-part colour serial on the heroism and sacrifice of the six companions of the prophet Mohammad against the conspiracies of the infidels. A galaxy of leading artists from Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Pakistan, Palestine and Syria participated in the serial. Some Muslim states bought this program at very high donative prices.

iii) *The Islamic justice*: A 13-part program on the lives of eminent Muslim judges, co-produced with the Iraqi television.

A popular 60-minute documentary on the 1,400-year history of Islam; one-hour dialogue programs on Islamic solidarity, Muslim character and contemporary challenges; interviews with leading personalities like the Shiekh Gad-ul-Haq and Hassan Turabi; and debates on Islamic teachings, are some of the ISBO productions that have been telecast repeatedly by the television Centers in the Muslim countries.

The script of the serial “The city of Jerusalem” has been approved. The work on the joint production of the ISBO and Palestine could not take off since the funding to cover the $675,000 estimated cost, could not be arranged. Meanwhile, the ISBO has also got its TV reproduction and dubbing equipment which will facilitate the exchange of TV programs by the ISBO in future.

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Arabic teaching: With the co-operation from the Egypt Broadcasting Authority, two radio serials teaching the Arabic language in English and in French, with 153 episodes each, have been prepared. Many countries have bought these serials. Now the ISBO is preparing the same program for the television audience (the costs are being borne by the Saudi and Egyptian governments) in the same two languages. Because of the different nature of the TV medium, only 63 episodes of half an hour each, will cover the Arabic language course. The project is expected to be completed soon. The TV students of the Arabic language will be able to learn without necessarily having to buy the syllabus of 10 books, costing $50 a set.

The ISBO has so far conducted only one training course in the field of information and media at Cairo in 1993. Participants from the broadcasting networks of Jordan, Morocco, Oman, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Tunisia and the UAE, attended the course. The ISBO now plans to start regular training courses in co-operation with the Arab Center for Broadcasting and Television Training at Damascus, Syria. The Organization extends positive assistance to Ph.D. and post-graduate students from the Islamic countries doing research works on Islamic media and the information challenge etc. The ISBO is preparing a Declaration on the Islamic Broadcasting Code of Ethics. It has also worked on the Strategy of Islamic Information Activities.

6.3.7 Sports

44 Third ISBO Report, op. cit, p.5.
From 1980 onwards, Muslim leaders were toying with the idea of holding of mini-Olympics for the Muslim countries and decided to constitute an institution called Islamic Solidarity Sports Federation for the purpose.\textsuperscript{45} It was later decided that the Muslim countries’ Olympics would be called Islamic Solidarity Games, and will be held every four years on the pattern of the international Olympic games. In pursuance of the directives of the Islamic summit, the OIC General Secretariat in collaboration with the Saudi Arabia’s General Presidency of Youth Welfare, made preparations for the constituent meeting of the Federation.\textsuperscript{46}

The objectives of the Federation are\textsuperscript{47}:

- to strengthen Islamic solidarity among youth in member states and promote Islamic identity in the fields of sports.
- to inculcate the principles of non-discrimination as to religion, race or class, in conformity with the precepts of Islam.
- to reinforce the bonds of unity, amity and brotherhood among youth in Muslim states.
- to unify Muslim world’s positions in Olympic International and continental conferences and meetings and to co-operate with all the international and continent sports bodies and organizations.
- to promote co-operation among Muslim States on matter of common interest in all fields of sports activities.
- to preserve sports principles and to promote the Olympic sports movement in the Muslim world.

\textsuperscript{45} Daily “Pakistan Times”, Islamabad, 22 May 1980.
\textsuperscript{46} The ISSF Activity Report, p.1
\textsuperscript{47} Statute of the Sports Federation of Islamic Solidarity, p.4
The National Olympic Committees or the official sports authorities in the Muslim states, which attended the Constituent Conference (Riyadh; 1985) are the founder members of the Federation and the National Olympic Committees or other competent authorities in the OIC member states have the right to be affiliated to the Federation.

A brief resume of the ISSF activities in 1995-96 includes the hosting of Bosnia’s football team in Sept. 1995. The team played four matches with Saudi Arabia in different cities of the kingdom and the entire proceeds of the matches were donated to the government of Bosnia.\footnote{Activity Report, op cit, p.3} The same year, the ISSF secretariat, in co-ordination with bodies concerned, finalized the Regulations of proposed Islamic Solidarity Games and also the administrative and financial regulations of the ISSF.\footnote{Ibid, p.4} In March 1996 and Sept. 1996, the ISSF participated in the fifth session of COMIAC and the 20th session of the Islamic Commission for Economic, Social and Cultural Affairs, respectively. On the directives of Prince Faisal, the Federation is making assistance to Bosnian sports and sportsmen. The ISSF has also prepared the draft agenda for the First Islamic Conference of Ministers of Youth Affairs of the OIC member-states, to be organized by the OIC General Secretariat. The ISSF also decided to hold three training courses in administration of sports events. For the first course (Jan. 1997), only 18 countries sent nominations, so the number of participants was twenty-seven (27).\footnote{Ibid, p.6}
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For the future, the ISSF has a very ambitious plan. Subject to the availability of resources, it wants to hold a number of courses on sports medicine, athlete performance and the like, arrange international Muslim youth camps and youth festivals in member states, organize seminars and symposia for greater bilateral and multi lateral co-operation in the field of sports, and last but not the least, to organize Islamic Solidarity Games every four year.\(^{51}\) In this respect, it would be advisable that the ISSF does not restrict the participation to its Solidarity Games to OIC member states only. It would be better, to allow every country of the world to send teams, provided a simple majority of the athletes belongs to the Muslim faith. Such a step will truly internationalize the sports gala, increase revenues for the Federation and encourage the Muslim minority communities to excel in sports, and at the same time, be party to an event for Islamic solidarity. With the initiative of Pakistan and later Iran, the first and second Islamic Solidarity Women Games have been held at Islamabad (1996) and Tehran (1997) respectively. It appears that they were held outside the ISSF framework. If the OIC succeeds in devising a mechanism for generating sufficient funds for the Federation, it can still play a role to keep the ball rolling by conducting the Women Games as well as larger events regularly. The first ever ISSF games were held in 2005 in Riyadh. The ones for 2009 were scheduled for Damascus but they have been postponed.

6.3.8 Harmonization of Jurisprudence/ issuance of Fatwas

Like all other major religions, Islam too is afflicted with doctrinal squabbles. Till recently, there was no single supreme authority for the whole Muslim world, which could

\(^{51}\) *Ibid*, p.7
consider, and give authoritative opinions on, the contemporary problems of Islamic jurisprudence. There are a large number of sects and schools of thought among the Muslims, hardly any of them can be deemed as homogeneous within itself, and all but two of them do not have a semblance of a central religious authority. The calls for the review of interpretations of the Islamic law, were being made by various quarters; that of the late King Fahd of Saudi Arabia was one such voice.

As the Muslim clergy could not, by itself, unanimously agree upon a supreme council for Ijtihad, whose decisions could enjoy enough moral sanctity and authority, to become Ijma’a, the OIC took upon itself to constitute a Fiqh Academy to achieve the “theoretical and practical unity of the ummah” with its seat at Jeddah, just an hour drive from Islam’s holiest city of Makkah in Saudi Arabia.

The Academy has these basic objectives:

- to achieve the theoretical and practical unity of the Islamic ummah by striving to have man conform his conduct to the principles of the Islamic Shari’ah at the individual, social as well as international levels;
- to strengthen the link of the Muslim community with the Islamic faith and to draw inspiration from the Islamic Shari’ah;
- to study contemporary problems from the Shari’ah point of view and to make original efforts to find solutions in conformity with the Shari’ah, through an authentic interpretation of its content.

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52 *OIC Guide, op cit, p.63.*
Each member state of the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation is represented by an active member, who is supposed to be an expert of Islamic law.\textsuperscript{53} The Academy is empowered to co-opt as a member, any Muslim scholar or juris-consult who fulfils all required conditions. All the eight major schools of thought of the Islamic jurisprudence are represented in the Academy. The Council of the Fiqh Academy considers a problem of Islamic jurisprudence when:

a) the OIC requests its opinion. For instance, the cultural committee of the 21\textsuperscript{st} ICFM (Karachi; 1993) called for the universal observation of Friday as the weekly holiday, all over the Muslim world, and for a unified Hijra Calendar and asked the Islamic Fiqh Academy to issue an edict on whether it was allowed under the Islamic law for the Muslim world to have a unified Hijra calendar, in order to be able to observe Islamic religious festivals on the same day all over the world.\textsuperscript{54}

b) an organ of the OIC seeks its legal opinion. A prominent example is the ruling given by the Islamic Fiqh Academy, in response to a request made by the Islamic Development Bank (IDB), declaring the equity participation to companies which carry interest-based finance, as un-Islamic. Consequently, the IDB, a specialized organ of the OIC, has restricted its equity participation to those companies only which have no interest based finances on their books.\textsuperscript{55}

The Academy has given its opinion on scores of topics. They include the legality or otherwise of certain marriage customs, birth control, human organs transplant, test tube

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid
\textsuperscript{54} “Dawn”, 30 Apr. 1993
\textsuperscript{55} See the 20\textsuperscript{th} Annual Report of the Islamic Development Bank, (1996), Jeddah, p.83.
babies and the like. It has given *Fatwas* (religious edicts) on the excommunication of the Qadiani and the Baha’i sects, responsibilities of a Muslim doctor, and the Muslim teacher, and the limits on the techniques to counter anti-Islam propaganda in the present world. The IFA has also given its recommendations on a wide range of economic problems including usury and interest, status of the Islamic banks, hoarding, loans and national budgetary deficits etc. The Academy also adopted resolutions on various aspects of the Islamic rituals including prayers, alms and *Hajj* (pilgrimage) rites.\(^{56}\)

The Academy arranges seminars and discussions on the problems of the Muslim world. It publishes updated versions of its book “Resolutions and Recommendations of the Islamic Fiqh Academy, every two years. The scholars at the Academy are working to produce three major volumes;

- Glossary of Islamic *Fiqh* Terms
- Revival of Islamic *Fiqh* Heritage
- Collection and Simplification of Islamic *Fiqh* rules

The IFA has planned to bring out an encyclopedia of the Islamic jurisprudence. This last monumental research endeavor will take several years to complete.

**6.3.9 Information and news dissemination**

The establishment of pan-Islamic news agency was a tacit realisation of the information and communication challenges and the result of frustration over Muslim peoples

\(^{56}\) Most of this discussion on the IFA activities, except where otherwise indicated, is based upon *The Declarations and Resolutions of the Islamic Fiqh Academy*, (Jeddah, IFA, n.d). The Academy itself did not entertain the request of this author for information.
dependence on Western media where the portrayal of the image of Islam was, to say the least, not very flattering. The Islamic International News Agency (IINA) started operation in May 1979, with its headquarters in Jeddah, with the following basic objectives:\textsuperscript{57}

- to develop close and better relations between member states in the Information field, to safeguard and consolidate the rich cultural heritage of Islam.
- to promote professional contacts and technical co-operation between the news agencies of member states.
- to work for better understanding of Islamic peoples and their political, economic and social problems.
- to enhance and preserve the huge Islamic cultural heritage
- to work for the unification of the objectives of the Muslim world.

The OIC resolutions establishing the IINA also indicated that it would work to facilitate the exchange of information articles and photographs, and also that of reporters and journalists in the Muslim world.

The IINA started working in May 1979. In the last week of October that year, the first conference of Muslim states’ new agencies was held in Istanbul, Turkey, that discussed a joint news strategy. In the beginning, IINA used to telecast around 2,000 words daily for each of its English and Arabic files.\textsuperscript{58} Since it was unable even to have its own


\textsuperscript{58} IINA publication (1995), \textit{Background of the Islamic News Agency}, Jeddah: IINA, p. 2.
telecommunication network, it had to sign a contract with a Rome-based company to broadcast its news through a high frequency radio transmitter. This transmitter is connected with 20-member news agencies via three channel satellites.\footnote{Baba, \textit{op cit}, p. 236}

In Dec. 1982, it established a 24 hour duplex satellite line with Indonesian news agency ANTARA and the Malaysia-based BERNAMA, thus replacing the daily three hour news cast via radio transmitters. By 1986, according to the official claims, the IINA was transmitting news in Arabic and English for seven hours each day. Although French is one of its official languages, the IINA had failed in transmitting news in this language. The daily average of news casts came to about 15,000 words, roughly 7,500 in each of the two languages, consisting of 35 to 45 news items. News in English was transmitted from 0800 to 1500 hours GMT. In Arabic, the transmission is conducted between 1200 and 1900 GMT. In addition, it used to transmit daily about 700 words in Spanish for use in 13 Latin American Countries.\footnote{Ibid} It may be noted that this news was not available to the public directly. It is not accessible to a number of member states news agencies either.\footnote{Abdullah Ahsan (1987), \textit{OIC. An Introduction to Islamic Political Institution}, Herndon: IIIT, p.39}

Since the IINA monitors the news agencies of Muslim countries, its newscasts are mostly based on this source. Thus IINA acts as a source to transmit the news of one Muslim country to the others.\footnote{Abdullah Ahsan (1987), \textit{OIC. An Introduction to Islamic Political Institution}, Herndon: IIIT, p.39} Another problem with the IINA is that it has to care for the sensitivities of all Muslim countries. It cannot take sides with either party in a fratricidal conflict within the Muslim world, though, its news items sometimes show some bias in

\footnote{Baba, \textit{op cit}, p. 236}
\footnote{Ibid}
\footnote{Abdullah Ahsan (1987), \textit{OIC. An Introduction to Islamic Political Institution}, Herndon: IIIT, p.39}
favour of the position of Saudi Arabia, its main donor. The Agency has so far not managed to start a feature service or a photo service.\textsuperscript{62}

In the decade of the 1990’s, the IINA expanded its scope of activities. It started its news service in the French language and made arrangements for the wider circulation of its news. First of all, it entered into agreement with the Qatar News Agency (QNA) to disseminate its news reports to 700 points in the Arab world, Europe and America in Arabic, English and Portuguese languages. Under separate agreements, the Associated Press of Pakistan (APP), and the Pan-African News Agency (PANA) distribute its news in Asia and Africa, respectively. The ANTARA and BERNAMA continue to circulate the IINA news in East Asia and Oceana.\textsuperscript{63}

The IINA has recently been equipped with the latest computers. It has also become able to exchange news with the Muslim states’ news agencies through its Email address \texttt{iina@mail.gcc.com.bh}. It receives on the average, 50 articles a day from this source and redistributes them. The IINA launched its home page on the web with the address \texttt{www.islamicnews.org.sa} to provide the millions of Internet users with its daily news bulletin. Thus the IINA news are now accessible to over 80 countries at very cheap rates.\textsuperscript{64} The IINA has now started sending printed news bulletins to media and news agencies and to Islamic Centers and organizations world-wide. Lately, the IINA appointed correspondents in some new countries and has started sending them to other countries on reporting assignments.

\textsuperscript{62} Baba, \textit{op cit}, p. 237
\textsuperscript{63} \textit{IINA Background, op cit}, p.3.
\textsuperscript{64} \textit{Ibid}, p. 1·Λ
The IINA news coverage has a special emphasis on the Islamic causes (Palestine, Bosnia etc.), condition of Muslim minorities, religious and humanitarian activities, development projects in the Muslim countries, and the opinions of Islamic leaders about the problems being faced by the Muslim states.

The IINA claims that it has brought closer the Muslim communities living in the four corners of the globe through listening and reading to news about each other. The Agency also claims to have become a pressure group by denouncing oppression and publicising aggression and persecution against Muslim communities. The IINA takes credit for creating awareness about the Islamic news in the media, since the news agencies and TV channels have started appointing special editors in charge of preparation of Islamic news. Finally, the IINA purports to have countered, what it calls, the anti-Islam propaganda campaigns, through disseminating the replies and responses of the leading Muslim intellectuals.⁶⁵

Since 1991, the IINA has regularly published an ‘Annual Book of Events in the Muslim World’. Six volumes have been brought out thus far, containing selected news items from the IINA’s daily news bulletins. Each volume thus gives a bird’s eye-view of the preceding year’s events in the Muslim world. All copies of the book are distributed free of charge to the Islamic Centres, universities, and organizations worldwide.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p.2-A, 3-A.
The IINA published a book “Bosnia and Herzegovina” detailing the history, culture and politics of the country as well as the events of the war, drawn from the reports and articles circulated by the IINA. The book was very well received and was reproduced in several Muslim countries. Another book of the type entitled “Somalia” was produced during the civil war in Somalia.

Out of the four big international news agencies, United Press (UP), Associated Press (AP), Reuters and the AFP, the latter two have regular Arabic service while the AP has a feature service in Arabic language. The AFP alone has 8,500 client agencies in almost 200 countries. But this does not show the exact influence of AFP because, for instance the Russian ITAR-TASS news agency, a client of AFP, has 6,000 subsidiary beneficiaries within the country.

Coming back to IINA, we find that it has a staff of 26, no full time correspondents and a meagre budget of $2 million. There is no reason why a potential subscriber would opt for it. Compare it with the AP, which has 132 bureaux with a $50 million budget within the USA and 76 bureaux budget of $40 million abroad. It has 400 full-time correspondents, 315 of whom are international correspondents stationed at destinations outside the home country. Depending upon the speed of printers at the subscriber point, one can get 250 to 600 news items consisting of 51,000 to 112,000 words on the average, every day. The AP did not grow into such a gigantic outfit overnight. It simply depends on the quantity and quality of the news, that a news agency expands its business.
Chapter 6

Cultural Cooperation

The IINA can follow the footsteps of these news agencies and work on a commercial basis. Donations are not the panacea for the sick agency, which have actually the opposite affect. Such parasitic tendency only enhances the lethargy. To resuscitate the IINA, an unqualified commitment of the Muslim states is required.

6.3.10 Miscellaneous Cultural Activities

The Muslim world held coordinated Hijrah celebrations all across the Muslim world in 1979-80 on the advent of the 15th century of Islamic Lunar/Hijra calendar.

The 14th Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (Dhaka; 1983) proclaimed 1410 A.H /1989-90 AD as the “International Islamic Heritage Year”. On the occasion of the International Islamic Heritage year, the Islamic Heritage Commission published and distributed a brochure to promote awareness around the world on the concept of Islamic cultural heritage. Furthermore, the First International Photography Competition and the Third International Calligraphy Competition were held in the framework of the International Islamic Heritage Year. Some member states organized cultural activities to celebrate the event.

Since the Al Aqsa arson in 1969, the whole Muslim world observes Al Quds day on August 21 every year which is marked by cultural activities highlighting the Jerusalem issue.
On issues such as Islamic summit conferences, new *Hijra* year and birth of the Prophet *pbuh*, the Muslim world coordinates to issue commemorative postage stamps to mark the occasions.

6. 4 Pakistan’s Role in pan-Islamic Cultural Cooperation:

Pakistan has played its due role for cultural cohesion in the Islamic world. It has also been an active partner in all the institutions and bodies mentioned in this chapter that operate under the auspices of the Cultural section of the OIC General Secretariat. For one, Pakistan has the rare distinction of timely defraying of contributions of its allocated share to the budget of these bodies.66 Pakistan has also donated generously when called upon to do so by the OIC. Pakistan bought all programs of the Islamic States Broadcasting Organization (ISBO) at high donative prices. State-owned Pakistan Television (PTV) made a number of documentaries on the Islamic world and the same were provided to ISBO, free of charge, for its exchange program. As for the Islamic International News Agency (IINA), Pakistan’s State-owned news agency called the APP (Associated Press of Pakistan) signed a contract with it to provide free news feed from Pakistan and South Asia which the IINA used to disseminate onwards.

Pakistan Post was in the forefront issuing postage stamps on all important occasions and events in the Islamic world. It also issued commemorative stamps on all Islamic summit conferences. Of the stamps issued depicting heritage of Al Quds and the city of

Jerusalem, it transferred all the proceeds to the Palestinian government as donation. Pakistan has always been donating generously for the Al Quds (Jerusalem) Fund also for preservation of cultural heritage of Jerusalem.

The Government of Pakistan, on the call of the Islamic Conference and the Islamic Commission on Cultural and Social Affairs, celebrated the advent of the new Hijrah Century in 1979-80 with fervor at all levels from the federal and provincial governments to elementary schools and local councils etc.

Pakistan also organized the first ever pan-Islamic Women Games in Islamabad in 1996 during the tenure of Ms Benazir Bhutto as the Prime Minister. Pakistan also cooperated with the Organization of Islamic Capitals and Cities (OICC) for holding a Conference of Mayors and Governors of capital cities of the Muslim world in Islamabad. The OICC on its part has selected Lahore as one of the cities where a full fledged documentation of its historical buildings of the Islamic era, shall be carried out.

Pakistan also organized an Arts and Crafts Fair from Islamic countries in the year 1996 at Islamabad. Pakistani artists, photographers and calligraphers have taken part in the pan-Islamic Arts Competitions conducted by the Islamic Commission for Preservation of Cultural Heritage.
6.5 Conclusion: A comparison with EU

Europe, too, is a legatee of many rich cultures, traditions and heritage. But today Europe wants to pride its culture of tolerance, inclusiveness and democracy rather than spires, arches and domes of its buildings. This was not always the case: the whole narrative of colonization was justified on the plea of “enlightenment”. The idea was that the Western culture was superior to the Oriental cultures and it was the duty of the “white Man” to spread the benefits of this civilization. Whether this cultural conflict of yesteryears is relevant to the present day East-West relations is a moot point. That many in the Muslim world still continue to see the Western (both American and European) cultures as hegemonic and tend to resist them sometimes violently, leads the perception in the Western mind about Islam having an “extremist culture”. It is here that the role of OIC and its subsidiary and specialized organs becomes paramount: to project the softer side of Islamic culture from exquisite calligraphy and arts to architecture and music.

The European Union has a more pronounced political culture today through its European flag, European anthem, Europe Days and cross Europe cultural and youth exchange programs. This is not to say that European Union has been apathetic towards the indigenous cultures and sub cultures in the length and breadth of the continent. There are several protocols and agreements extending protection to the cultural rights to various nations and communities. None of this cultural cohesion should be intimidating for any other nation including any in the Islamic bloc. What is called reaction to European culture through opposition to European hamburgers, Coca Cola, jeans and rock music,
and convinces scholars like Huntington about the inevitability of clash between civilizations, is actually the economic preponderance of the West which floods markets elsewhere with their products. Again the remedy boils down to economic strength for the Muslims that we have discussed in chapter 3.

While the record on economic cooperation in the Muslim world has remained anything but envious, the performance on cultural coordination is somewhat better. Islamic Cultural Centers in Europe and elsewhere in non-Muslim world have a role in introducing Islamic culture, if not to the Europeans, then at least, to the Muslim Diaspora living in these countries. Various organizations under the OIC discussed above have contributed their bit in preserving Islamic heritage from ancient Quranic scripts, calligraphic and fine art pieces and the architectural heritage of historic cities.

Some organizations did not perform so well such as the Islamic Sports Federation, the Islamic States Broadcasting Federation or the Islamic International News Agency. The last one’s failure is accentuated by the fact that today is the age of information and the absence of Muslim worldview on world media is perilous for harmony between Islam and the West. Although this information vacuum has been filled somewhat by the private sector such as Al Jazeera’s English and Arabic television networks. Another conspicuous failing is the Islamic Fiqh Academy whose religious edicts (fatwas) have not made any impression on the current discourse on Islamic jurisprudence. Some of the OIC cultural activities have been symbolic such as coupling various Muslim capitals as ‘sister cities’, issuance of postage stamps across Muslim world depicting Islamic holy sites or
Islamic architecture, celebration of Islamic *Hijra* calendar or *Al Quds* (Jerusalem), naming of roads and streets after heroes or statesmen of another Muslim country, and the like.

Incidentally, the present Secretary General of the OIC is the ninth incumbent to hold the post and the only non-political figure who has never held a political post in his home country before. Mr Ekmeleddin Ihsanouglu, basically a Historian, was heading the OIC’s institute of Islamic History and Culture called IRCICA as its Director General, before being elevated as the Secretary General of the OIC. Before him, all eight Secretary Generals had political backgrounds: four had been Prime Ministers, three Deputy Prime Ministers and one had served as Foreign Minister of his country before assuming the office of top diplomat of the Muslim world. During the tenure of present incumbent, one may expect, the Muslim world may see increased cultural cooperation. Protection and preservation of the rich Islamic culture, or any human culture or heritage, is indeed a service to the History and to posterity.
7

History of European Integration

7.1 Introduction

‘Unity’ is a buzzword for politics---- one would hear politicians underlining the need for ‘national unity’, continental diplomats praising virtues of ‘regional unity’ and world statesmen and stateswomen dreaming of an ‘international unity’. The concept of a world-state is something too utopian to merit being a topic of serious academic consideration at this point in time. However, there have been far too many efforts at regional cooperation, sometimes with the ultimate goal of regional integration that one can be forgiven if count is lost. The world has become a global village and it is well nigh impossible to live in isolation as the United States had tried in the nineteenth century or Japan in Asia and Albania in Europe, to name but a few, had tried unsuccessfully in not too distant past of their histories.
It is but natural that a state would try to find natural allies with which it can find some sort of affinity. This can be due to geographic proximity, cultural\(^1\) similarity, religious identity or economic interdependence. This has resulted in a stretching of the meaning of the term “region” to as far as imagination can lead politics. Regional organizations have sprung worldwide. Look at the Association of the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) in the Far East, South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) in South Asia, Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) in the Persian Gulf region, the League of Arab States in the Arab World, the Economic Council Of West African States (ECOWAS) in West Africa, and so on and so forth. There are organizations with much larger remit like the Organization of American States (OAS) and the African Union (AU), formerly called the Organization of African Unity, that have a continent-wide agenda of cooperation and ultimate integration for South America and Africa, respectively.

European Union also falls in the same genre as now it too has become a unifier for nearly the whole continent of Europe, although initially it might not have been the intention or ambition. Starting from small Club of Catholic countries in mid Western continental Europe, the EU grew into engulfing the protestant heartlands of Europe and ultimately, with the recent induction of Bulgaria and Romania, even Orthodox part of European Christendom has made a debut.

\(^1\) Cultural affinity, more often than not, has religious roots. The religious affinity that most people would feel for their co-religionists can largely be cultural (same festivals, similar food and dress, familiar patterns of architecture and the like) than purely theological or doctrinal.
7.2 EU as a Unique Success:

European Union distinguishes itself by the comparative success in relatively short period since its genesis. The European Union in its present form came into existence following the famous Maastricht Treaty of 1992. This pace of integration and the nature and functions of the EU institutions has made the European experience unique and *sui generis*. This has led me to focus my doctorate dissertation on the comparison of Muslim world integration experience, which has relatively been a failure thus far, with the experience of the European integration process.

Although this work for the Muslim world is limited in time to a period between 1970 to 2000, so it will be in the fitness of things if comparison with the EU is made for the same 30 years. However, to place the discussion in proper perspective, the chapter recounts the chronology of European Integration, right from the end of the signing of the Treaty of Paris that created the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). We shall contrast this with the pan-Islamic experience at inter-governmental level, that we have discussed in the previous five chapters of this PhD dissertation. This will lay the basis of the next concluding chapter, where we intend to make a synthesis of the two regional integration processes in order to find out where the Europeans went right and where the Muslims went wrong.

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2 [en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union)
7.3 Seeds of European Integration:

Conflict is as old as human history. Ferocious wars were never unknown to the world, least of all, to Europe. But the second World War (1939-45) had been unparalleled in human history for the misery it brought, the destruction it caused and the blood it spilt. This war, more than any number of sermons or writings, turned over the European nations to the realization and belief that cooperation was the only option for the continent to survive and prosper.

7.3.1 Treaty of Paris (1951) and the establishment of ECSC.³ In the immediate post-war period, coal and steel were considered as the most precious resources for military capacity. Steel was used in all kind of military hardware from warplanes and bombers to warships and submarines, and from tanks and artillery to jeeps and military trucks. Coal was the major source of energy before oil or natural gas was available on industrial scales. Thus the decision of the founding fathers or European integration to bring together rival powers to establish a European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) through the Treaty of Paris in 1951 made immense sense. This brought the coal and steel resources of six countries of Europe, who had fought on opposite sides, during the world war, under a joint control. In case, large amounts of steel or coal were ever to go missing, this could be easily spotted as being diverted for secret arms build up. This initiative was signed by France, Germany, Italy and the three Benelux nations (i.e. Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg). Germany and Italy were the major countries on the Axis side while the remaining four had fought the war from the Allied side. This joint control over crucial

³ For greater details on the history of European integration, the official website of the Union <europa.eu/index_en.htm> is referred.
military materials proved a major confidence and security building measure (CSBM) for the nations involved.

French Foreign Minister, Robert Schumann, was so sanguine about this that in his Declaration at the eve of the launch of the Project on 9 May 1950, he declared that through this arrangement “any war between France and Germany” would become “not merely unthinkable, but *materially impossible.*”\(^4\) [emphasis added]

Schumann was in no doubt that he was laying the foundation of a united Europe of the future. He also prophesied in the same Declaration that the new Community would be “the first concrete foundation of a European Federation which is indispensable to the preservation of Peace.”\(^5\)

Interestingly enough the pulse of the moment was felt by quite a few other statesmen, even those not part of the ECSC or EEC projects in the early years. Sir Winston Churchill, for instance, despite the fact that United Kingdom was not a part of either community till the 1970’s much after Churchill’s own death, had in a speech in Zurich, said “We must now build a kind of United States of Europe... the first step must be a partnership between France and Germany... [these two nations] must lead together.”\(^6\)

7.3.2 *Twin Treaties of Rome (1957) and Beyond:* The next two landmarks came about in 1957 when the two more treaties were signed at the city of Rome, the capital of Italy.

\(^6\) *Ibid*, p.5.
Both the seminal treaties were significant in their own right and quite imaginative. It is well known that the United States had developed nuclear weapons way back in 1945 and had used it too, against Japan, to bring a quick, though brutal, end of the war by securing her immediate unconditional surrender. In 1949, Soviet Union had also tested its first nuclear devices that had exacerbated the ongoing cold war. Between 1951 and 1957, i.e. between the treaties of Paris and Rome, two West European countries also became declared nuclear powers. The United Kingdom tested nuclear weapons in 1953 and France in 1956. It was dawning on Europe that nuclear could be decisive in future conflicts. Meaning thereby that steel and coal could well become near redundant in defense and security calculations. In the new game of rush for military superiority, nuclear weaponry would matter most. Thus it was imperative for the same level of confidence building to continue if nuclear facilities were also placed under joint control along with steel and coal that was already there. Thus, the first Treaty of Rome created the European Atomic Energy Agency (EAEA), later called EURATOM.

But much more than that, another parallel and seminal consciousness was that economic cooperation had the greatest potential to bring the nations together. And stronger economy meant stronger defense. Hence, another treaty of Rome was signed which created the European Economic Community (EEC). For decades to come, it was this latter treaty that remained popular with the name of Treaty of Rome and still does so today.
The EEC laid the basis of economic cooperation in a meaningful way. The eventual goal of EEC was of course to have a common market for the participating European nations but it started with modest intermediate goals. First, it was free trade areas, leading to eventual abolition of all kinds of taxes and customs duties on Community member states. Then, the common external tariff regimes helped form a Customs Union. There was a free movement of goods and services within the EEC over the course of a few years.

It shall be wrong to assume that the EEC was merely an economic instrument; in fact, it served both a political logic as well as an economic one. It was also a step towards another motive: to restore European influence in the wider world, which “had been dissipated by two great fratricidal wars.”

The performance of the three bodies was there for all to be seen and as years passed by, more and more European countries showed interest in joining the three communities. As early as 1963, UK filed for membership but the same was denied due to veto by President Charles de Gaulle-led government of France.

It was a very strange twist in the vagaries of History as just 18 years earlier France and UK were fighting on the same side in the war. While France’s EEC partners, namely, Italy and Germany were the very countries that they had been fighting against. Now France could see economic potential in cooperation with its erstwhile arch enemies while UK was treated as a competitor which would compromise the dominant position of France in the EEC.

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Table IV

List of European Union Members

- Austria
- Belgium
- Bulgaria
- Cyprus
- Czech Republic
- Denmark
- Estonia
- Finland
- France
- Germany
- Greece
- Hungary
- Ireland
- Italy
- Latvia
- Lithuania
- Luxembourg
- Malta
- Netherlands
- Poland
- Portugal
- Romania
- Slovakia
- Slovenia
- Spain
- Sweden
- United Kingdom

Source: http://www.userfocus.co.uk/us/eu.html
7.4 Mergers and Expansion--- the Europe beyond 1970

The six nations decided to merge the three institutions of ECSC, the EURATOM and the EEC into a single European Community (EC), in 1967. Thus instead of a complicated paraphernalia of a high authority as well as an assembly for each of the Councils, the EC had now a single and simple command and control system.

UK’s entry could not be denied for long and as De Gualle also fell from power and from grace in 1969, the major stumbling block towards expansion was removed. The year 1973 saw the triple accession of Denmark, Ireland and the UK, raising the tally to nine, including non-Catholic states into the Community fold for the first time. Fresh inductions also brought fresh ideas and fresh initiatives.

In 1979, despite the rise of Mrs Margaret Thatcher to power as the British Prime Minister, and her proverbial fight for “inter-governmentalism” as against, what she believed, was an increasingly Federalist Europe intruding in to the domain of nation-states, balls had been set rolling in the direction of deepening of union. Proposal for an European Monetary System (EMS) with a strong mechanism for exchange rate stability and a European Currency Unit (ECU) to perform some technical functions had been agreed to.

In the same year, the direct elections to a European Parliament were held and this process is continuing to date every five years regularly. This was the result of insistence by the
Commission and the Dutch parliament, among others, that in the spirit of democratic principles the European budget should be subject to parliamentary control and since multiple national parliaments could not approve the single European budget so where was no choice but to make provision for a European parliament which has its seat in Brussels. This institution became the first, and to date the only, international parliament that draws its members from many countries (i.e. nine in 1979 that had gradually expanded to 27 by the eve of 2009 elections) through direct elections on universal adult franchise basis. Just like in national elections, political parties run for seats and run election campaigns on all-Europe level. The institution of Parliament removed, to a large extent, the democratic deficit that other international organizations including the Organization of Islamic Cooperation face.\(^9\)

In 1981, the admission of Greece after its long spell with military dictatorships ensured that democratic governance was to continue in the country. Similar considerations dictated the speedy accessions of the two nations from Iberian Peninsula, Spain and Portugal, in 1986, which two countries had seen recurrent military dictatorships. In case of former, General Franco, the notorious dictator had enjoyed an uninterrupted autocratic rule for nearly four decades from the start of Spanish civil war between the royalist and the republicans in 1936 right till Franco’s own death in 1975. The EU wanted stability and democracy in its backyard as bad governance could also lead to socialist and communist revolutions. At the height of the Cold War, this was a potent danger and a real

\(^9\) www.euractiv.com/en/eu-elections
concern. And the safest route to strengthen representative government, the rule of law and respected to human rights was through their inclusion in the Union.

Thus, by 1986, the membership of EC stood at twelve, the same continued till the fall of the Berlin wall three years later and ultimate disintegration of the Soviet Union and end of the cold war in 1990-91. However, the year, 1986 is also important for another reason; Single European Act was adopted. Though symbolic, the European Community assumed the first trappings of a Union by adopting a flag, in the same year. The flag had a blue background with twelve stars in yellow, representing the twelve member states at that time, forming a circle.

Earlier in 1985, the European Community got a new vision through the Delores Commission report. Jacque Delores, the then head of the European Commission, gave a road map for an eventual union.

7.4.1 The fall of the Iron Curtain and creation of Union: The incidents of 1989-90 were most revolutionary in contemporary history when the iron curtain dividing Europe between the Democratic West and the Communist East disappeared. In a domino effect, all Communist dictatorships fell one after the other in the public storm that swamped the whole of Eastern Europe.
The atmosphere became conducive to take the giant leap towards a Union. In February 1992, the famed Maastricht Treaty was signed. Its entry into force in November 1993, that led to the birth of the European Union, was not an easy sailing. French voters agreed to ratify it by a razor thin margin in a referendum while the Danish voters rejected it initially, leading to a second referendum which assented to it. The fierce debates in the British House of Commons and the litigation in Germany’s constitutional court about the legality of Germany’s accession to the proposed Union made the whole approval process dramatic and complex.

The following year, the Copenhagen criteria for membership was defined. The European nations enunciated the shared values that they were to protect and defend as their identity. Membership was to be granted not on the basis of geography alone but on the basis of fulfillment of certain political and economic requirements. The political ones related to democracy, respect to human rights, independence of judiciary and the like. The economic ones were to be applied to the nations wishing to join the common currency are, to be called the Euro Zone.\footnote{www.eubusiness.com/EUnews. Also see EU Official Publication, \textit{Talking About Euro}, Luxemburg: EU Publications Office, 1996.}
Several countries that were sitting on the fence during the Cold War felt comfortable to jump into the pan-European bandwagon. In 1995, thus, Austria, Finland and Sweden became members of the European Union bringing up its membership to 15.

Two bold initiatives in the meantime made the Union more meaningful and purposeful. The Treaty of Schengen created a Common Visa regime.\textsuperscript{11} A single visa is needed to enter any country of the Schengen region for any outsider. While their own citizens of this Region can move freely --- without any border controls or checkpoints --- as conveniently as in their own country.

The second initiative was the introduction of the single currency Euro in 1999 that worked side by side with the local currencies for a three year transition period, till 2002, when the twelve national currencies were abolished altogether and Euro alone remains the legal tender for all monetary transactions in the Euro Zone. It may be mentioned here that of the 15 countries of EU in 1999, three had opted not to join the Euro Zone and retained their own currencies--- UK, Ireland and Denmark.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{11} Schengen is a small town in Luxembourg symbolically having borders with both Germany and France, where these three states together with Netherlands and Belgium signed the agreement. In what is now called Schengenland, the number of signatories has grown to virtually all the EU minus a few exceptions such as UK, and Ireland.

The replacement of national currencies by a single trans-European currency had benefits and costs for the countries involved. Trade and movement between countries became easy and, with the abolition of costs of currency changes, the business became cheaper across the national frontiers. However, the issuance of currency became the remit of a single European Central Bank (ECB) and the control of national governments over monetary policy ended. So they have just a single tool, the fiscal policy, to control inflation and manage their economies.\textsuperscript{13}

Obviously, there had to be harmonization in the economies of the participating countries for the monetary union to work. Thus, just like Copenhagen treaty gave criterion for joining the Union, a Lisbon criterion for joining the monetary union was also framed that included among man other requisites that each nation had to bring down its budget deficit to below 3\%, inflation reduced to single digit and the debt to GDP ratio below 60\%, before it could be admitted in the Euro Zone.\textsuperscript{14}

\textbf{7.4.2 European Integration in the 21\textsuperscript{st} Century:} Since the advent of the present century, the Union has seen many ups and downs; had good news and bad ones. The integration had to take two forms; it had to be \textit{broader} and it had to be \textit{deeper}. By broader, we mean the horizontal expansion of the Union by incorporating more and more countries into its fold. By deeper, one refers to further centralization of functions and more power for the

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
\end{footnotesize}
institutions. The European Union fared well on the first account and not so well on the second.

In 2004, there were ten new accessions and the number of Union members rose to 25 with the inclusion of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Cyprus, Malta, Slovenia, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic and Slovakia.\textsuperscript{15} The EU became a truly pan European Union. With 390 million people it was more in population that the United States and also the third largest economy in the world after the USA and China.\textsuperscript{16}

But this success was mellowed by a colossal failure on the deepening part. Since in the same year of 2004, there took place another ceremony at Rome, the same place where in 1957 the famous Treaty of Rome creating the European Economic Community (EEC) was signed. But this time it was the signing of a full fledged constitution for the European Union which created a full time Presidency for the Union and gave her all the paraphernalia of a confederation.

For the constitution to come into force, it had to be ratified by all the 25 member nations. In 2005, referendums were held in many European countries and the voters of France and Netherlands rejected the treaty through a narrow margin. This threw the whole exercise into doldrums. And constitution has been consigned to the dustbin of History.

\textsuperscript{15} Although this inclusion of ten states was the largest single expansion of the EU, two more accessions, namely of Romania and Bulgaria took place in 2006 and 2007 taking the membership to 27 States. See Table IV (List of EU member-States) above in this Chapter.

\textsuperscript{16} Although beyond the scope of this work, the expansion Eastwards has raised eyebrows about whether the integration is becoming deeper or otherwise. For instance, the magnitude of funding through cohesion funds given, for instance, to Ireland, Spain or Greece, does not commensurate in per capital real terms to what is being given to new member states of Eastern Europe in post-2000 expansions.
After 2004, the next major landmark in broadening and deepening issue is the year 2007, where on broadening front, two more accessions---those of Bulgaria and Romania---have been accepted; while on the deepening issue a milder Lisbon Treaty\(^{17}\) was signed to replace the abandoned constitution. After two years of hectic consultations and national approvals, the Lisbon Treaty came into force in December 2009 creating the first full time President of the Union as well as a High Representative on Foreign and Security Policy. The European Union is now truly functional. European Union has become a model that may be emulated elsewhere for nations and communities aspiring for greater regional integration.

The following chart from Wikipedia depicts the evolution of the Union:

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\(^{17}\) This new Lisbon Treaty of 2007, as a substitute for the EU Constitution, must not be confused with the earlier Treaty in the same city that laid down the Lisbon Criterion for entry into Euro-Zone the area with same currency (Euro) and same Monetary Policy under the European Central Bank.
Figure II: Chronology of the European Integration\textsuperscript{18}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event/Community</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951/52</td>
<td>European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957/58</td>
<td>European Economic Community (EEC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965/67</td>
<td>European Communities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986/87</td>
<td>European Community (EC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992/93</td>
<td>European Union (EU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992/93</td>
<td>Maastricht (founded EU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997/99</td>
<td>Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001/03</td>
<td>Nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007/09</td>
<td>Lisbon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{18} Source: www.wikipedia.com/en
7.5 European Union Institutions:

The European Union has its headquarters located in Brussels, the capital of Belgium. It has a European Commission, a European Parliament and a European Court of Justice located at Strasbourg) which we shall discuss below;

7.5.1 European Council of Heads of State and Government: The European Council is the highest decision making body of the Union which sets the policy directions for the Union. It is attended by the Presidents of France and Finland, Chancellor of Germany as well as the Prime Ministers of all EU member states. It meets every six months in the contrary which holds the rotating six-month Presidency of the Union during that half of the year. The EU governments also coordinate policies at the Ministerial level and in that case, the moot is called European Council of Ministers. In case the meeting is on trade related issues, then it shall be called “European Council of Trade Ministers” and shall be attended by the Ministers for Trade of all Member-States and so on.

7.5.2 European Commission: The European Commission is the operational head office of the Union. It consists of a President of the Commission (not to be confused with President of the Union) and as many Commissioners as there are the member states. Each member country is represented by one Commissioner who is nominated by his or her national government. The portfolios are decided by the President of the Commission.

20 As of 2000, there used to be 20 Commissioners with bigger member states being represented by two Commissioners each but the composition has been modified in recent years to cater for the enlargements. When we refer to the European Commission, it is not only about the 20 Commissioners, as was the case at that time, but also the 16,000 European Commission officials--- the EU bureaucrats.
### Table V: Comparison between European Union and OIC institutions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Serial #</th>
<th>European Union Institutions</th>
<th>Comparable Institutions in Organization of Islamic Cooperation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Presidency of the European Union</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>European Council (of Heads of State and Government)</td>
<td>Conference of Kings and Heads of State (CKHS/ also called ‘Islamic Summit’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>European Council of Ministers</td>
<td>Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers (ICFM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>European Commission (Brussels)</td>
<td>OIC General Secreariat (Jeddah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>European Parliament</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>European Court of Justice (Strasbourg)</td>
<td>Islamic International Court of Justice (Kuwait city)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>European Court of Auditors</td>
<td>Financial Control Organ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>European Central Bank (Berlin)</td>
<td>Islamic Development Bank (Jeddah)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The comparison is difficult as two organizations work in different ways and do not have identical organs. For instance, there is no comparable institution in OIC with the EU’s Presidency and the European Union. The FCO of OIC does not work as a Court of Auditors but does internal audit of OIC funds. European Commission is much more than a Secretariat and likewise ECB and IDB are different in their scope and mandate. While the ECB controls monetary policy and issues EU currency ‘Euro’, the IDB is a development bank that gives development assistance (both technical and financial) to member states.*
Each Commissioner is responsible for one department such as Agriculture, Education, Health, or Trade. The European Commission is just like a Cabinet headed by the Prime Minister in a country, but the difference is that it works for the whole Union, i.e. 27 countries.

The President of the European Commission is elected while the Commissioners are selected for a five year term. They have to seek confidence from the European Parliament and are answerable to it for their performance.

The European Commission also has a legislative role as the Treaty of Rome gives it the *sole right* of “legislative initiative”.\(^{22}\) Although not as powerful as Jean Monnet had envisioned but still with this legislative initiative, its role as watchdog of the treaties and its functions in executing EU policies make it much more than a Secretariat of any inter-governmental organization. While it tries to accommodate member governments’ wishes for proposed laws but given its position it is much better placed to resist their pressures where the Commission regards strongly something to be in the wider European interest.

7.5.3 *European Parliament*: European Parliament established in 1979 is the only directly elected parliament in the world that, as noted earlier, draws members from across the national borders and international boundaries. It is the only election for which parties have to campaign in up to 27 different countries together.

There are over 700 members and the seats have been allocated more or less on the basis of population with more populous countries getting more seats and vice versa. Like any

\(^{22}\) Legislative initiative means proposing texts for laws to the European Council and the European Parliament
parliament, the European Parliament is the legislative arm of the Union. It makes laws on subjects that fall into the domain of the Union, rather than the national governments, as determined by the Maastricht Treaty.

In addition, other functions of the parliament are three fold;

a- To repose confidence or no confidence in the European Commission that is the executive arm of the Union

b- To approve or reject the budget of the Union and to sanction all kind of expenditures from the Union budget of around 109 billion Euros annually.

c- To act as a watchdog on the performance of the Union, to debate issues, to raise questions and to deliberate matters in committees
European Court of Justice: The European Court of Justice, consisting of 15 judges, is the highest court of appeal in the Union. Its seat is located in Strasbourg. It can admit and hear appeals against any judgment of the highest court of each of the member countries.
The ECJ also ensures fundamental rights of the citizens of Europe, interprets the treaties, and gives legal opinions on issues when so requested by the Union. Any country, institution of the EU or any ordinary citizen can bring a case in the ECJ.

There is also a parallel Court of Auditors that sees whether the expenditure of the Union has been made as per the procedures laid down and that there has been no embezzlement or pilferage, overlapping or leakage of the public money.

7.5.5 European Central Bank (ECB): The European Central Bank based in Berlin is the monetary arm of the Union. It issues the currency Euro and controls the Monetary Policy of the European Union.

7.6 Conclusion: Ten Keys to Success of EU vis-à-vis OIC

The European Union is a *sui generis* phenomenon. It has emanated from the ashes of the second world war and has become a beacon of hope for the people of Europe and a beacon of light for the rest of the world on how a divided continent can decide to come together to work in concert.

The Union has helped Europe progress and prosper in its march towards a common destiny. The public resources that used to be wasted in military build up against each
other have now been pooled to make Europe a united force to reckon with. Just to give one example, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) used to be a flagship program of the Union. For decades, the agricultural subsidies to farmers constituted 70% of the total budget of the community each year.

Before the CAP and even till after the Second World War, famine in Europe was not at all rare. Frequent famines took over its human toll not only in the form of deaths but also brain drain, such as in the 19th century almost a third of the population of Ireland emigrated to the new land, i.e. America. After the CAP Europe became a food basket for itself and far from food shortages, it became a surplus food producer with the proverbial “mountains of butter and lakes of vine” whose disposal started posing problems. This is not to say that CAP was not controversial, especially so when it was alleged to have distorted agriculture markets outside Europe adversely affecting farmers in the developing countries. Yet, from a European perspective, the benefits of CAP were obvious. 23

It is evident that European Union took a proactive approach for unification. The Union is now standing on three firm pillars that are as follows:

Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP)

Justice and Home Affairs (JHA)

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Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)

A complete discussion on all these policies is outside the scope of this PhD dissertation as the present chapter was meant to give a chronology of European integration to see the path chosen, policies adopted and the institutions built. So we restrict our conclusion to the ten key differences between the EU and OIC approaches towards integration:

At first, the meetings between the heads of Government were held every six months resulting in frequent interaction, while the Islamic summits, one may recall, take place after at least three years.

Secondly, the Presidency of the European Council rotates biannually in alphabetical order. This gave the smaller countries equal say and stake in the Union. Every country tried to make its Presidency memorable by trying to help in bringing about consensus. In contrast, the Chairmanship of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation stays for many years (Pakistan once remained Chairman for seven consecutive years) and the office has revolved round five countries, namely, Iran, Malaysia, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Senegal. Three of these countries, viz. Morocco, Senegal and Saudi Arabia have remained Chairman more than once.

Thirdly, there were --- in addition to the European Council and the Councils of Ministers (the rough equivalents of Islamic Summits and ICFM respectively) --- permanent pan-European institutions of a Federal or quasi-Federal nature and character. When a Minister is a part of the Council of Ministers, his capacity of a representative of his country and his government remains paramount in his mind. But in the European Commission, the
officials become pan-European office-holders, severing links with their national
governments during the incumbency. Thus, they are able to think from a pan-European
perspective. The Muslim world has failed to establish pan-Islamic organizations of
Federal or Confederal nature, hence it is handicapped by the limitations of “inter-
governmentalism”.

Fourthly, Europe decided to come together on a shared set of values such as democracy,
the rule of law and respect to individual freedoms. These values carried the day for
Europe and made the citizens direct stake holders and beneficiaries of the pan-European
project. The Amsterdam Treaty affirms that the “[European] Union is founded on the
principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and
the rule of law, **principles which are common to the member states.**” [emphasis added]
The Muslim world acts in concert on ad hoc basis on specific political issues such as
Palestine, Bosnia etc. It but has failed to develop a set of values that would identify and
solidify its role.

Fifthly, the European nations constructed a concrete set of checks and balances. The
institutions of a directly elected parliament, a Court of Justice, a Court of Human Rights
(which is not an institution of European Union but under the OSCE), a Court of Auditors
as well as a free and vibrant media that acts as watchdogs on the performance of the
Union. The OIC bloc lacks any watchdog institutions to monitor the performance.

Sixthly, the Union started giving direct benefits to the individual citizens. The Common
Agriculture Policy (CAP), though much criticized abroad for distorting the world trade in
agriculture, kept the local farmer community of Europe, or at least, that of France, happy.
Food became cheaper with fourfold drop, in real terms, in prices from 1960’s onwards for the next three decades and was available in abundance. The adoption of single currency lowered the cost of business across borders. Free labor mobility helped people get best jobs across territories and frontiers. The removal of visa hassle for travel in the whole continent made people proud of the benefits, the integration had brought about. Compared to that, there was nothing that the OIC did from photographic and Calligraphy exhibitions to the boycott of Israeli products that had a direct benefit for a poor man or woman on the streets of Baghdad, Khartoum, Dhaka or Kuala Lumpur.

Seventhly, the Union took active steps to bring it closer to the people. For instance, a pan-Europe day was celebrated each year, a flag of Union fluttered side by side with each national flag on public buildings in the member states, a European anthem captures the imagination of the youth about their common heritage and destiny, and translation of drafts, resolutions and publications in all 15 official languages of these 27 states, helps understand the policies of the Union better. The OIC remained aloof from common public and was seen more as a Club of the ruling elite of the Muslim countries.

Eighthly, the European Union was given independent sources of revenue, and a few heads of taxation and duties were taken away from the national Customs departments and given to the Union. The annual budget of the European Union, in 2000, was to the tune of 109 billion Euros (around US $ 150 billion) which is between one thousand five hundred to two thousand times bigger than the OIC budget of US $ 8 to 10 million per annum. The OIC has no independent sources of revenue, thus, it depends on contributions from members which are rarely timely, if at all, defrayed at last. Thus US dollar eight million
that the OIC spends per year for its 1.9 billion subjects (1.4 billion citizens including their own minorities and another 450 million Muslims living in non-Muslim countries), it comes to a spending of US $ 0.004 per person. Now EU’s $ 150 billion for her 390 million subjects translates into a spending of $ 384 per head per year. This comparison comes to one ratio 96,000 times per head expenditure in favor of the European citizens of what they get from the Union in direct spending.

Ninthly, European Union works on consensus on majority of issues, and wherever this was seen to be hindering expeditious decision-making, Qualified Majority Voting (QMV) rule was applied where the weighted votes of the nations were counted, i.e. bigger nations having larger votes. Even then, the EU takes everybody on board where a vital decision such as admission of new member, approval of constitution, or changing accession criterion is involved. The European Constitution of 2005 is a case in point. It was approved by 23 of the 25 member-nations of that time. Yet, only the voters of France with a narrow 55-45 % “No Vote” while the Netherlands with a razor thin margin of 59-41% “No Vote”, rejected it. The whole constitution was abandoned for good. This means that will of the people is taken to be supreme even in pan European matters. There is no comparable democratic connect between the Organization of Islamic Cooperation and its citizenry. Plus the very fact that it works on the basis of majority means that some stake

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24 As in 2000, there were 15 members while the total votes were 87 under QMV formula. For a decision to be made, 62 weighted votes were required. The weight of the votes depended on the size of the member-State; the four bigs, namely, France, Germany, Italy and UK had ten votes each, Luxembourg, the smallest had two, and the others had in between.

Although the period beyond 2000 is outside the scope of this work but w.e.f 1st January 2005, the total QMV votes were revised to 237 with a QMV majority of 70 percent weighted votes to cater for the enlargement of the EU to ten new members the previous year. The big four were gives 29 votes each, Luxembourg’s were raised to four and other nations had weighted votes in between.
holders feel left out when their say, like that of the French or Dutch voters, seems to have been over ruled.

And finally, there is a greater tolerance level in the European Union. Diversity is celebrated, dissent is appreciated and divergence is always taken as asset. There are countries such as Ireland that did not want to be part of the Schengen unified visa system, and remained out of it, without compromising on membership in other spheres of the Union. The United Kingdom does not want to part with its currency --- Pound Sterling--- so remains out of Euro single currency zone. France opted out of military coordination system of Europe. Now compare it with the Muslim world, which expelled Egypt from all intra-Islamic bodies and broke diplomatic relations with it, as a reaction to its signing a peace treaty with Israel at Camp David. The Muslim world meted out similar treatment to Afghan government under a progressive leader Dr Najibullah (r. 1986-92) for his alliance with the Soviet Union when most Muslim countries were allies of the United States and were arming and supporting the Mujahideen (Islamist fighters) against the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Today, the same demobilized Mujahideen have re-emerged and re-grouped under various names like Taliban, Al Qaeda and the Armed Islamic Group (GIA), fighting a bloody was with many Muslim states. Tolerance to opposing views had been a cardinal factor in unity of Europe.

Whether the European Union survives in its present form till the end of the twenty first century or not, its model will remain a role model for centuries to come for all integration movements to learn from.
Chapter 8

Findings and Conclusions

8

Findings & Conclusions

Cooperation, Integration and Beyond:

Comparison between Muslim World and European Union

8.1 Introduction:

There is no dearth of literature in the Muslim World calling for its unity. From fiercely rhetorical speeches to seemingly research based books, argument may end up concluding that unity of the Muslim world is the “only solution”. ‘Solution for what?’ is not something always considered worthy of being defined.

Why the quest for unity is the first question we must answer. The reasons for seeking unity in the Muslim world are the same as in Europe. First is security, the Muslims will feel secure if united. We have seen in Chapter 2 that concerted action on issues such as Palestine and Bosnia rescued these nations from existential threats. Muslim minorities or communities from Bulgaria and Cyprus to Kashmir and Philippines got rights through backing of Muslim nations. This security may translate into conflict resolution mechanism, or expectations of it, between Muslim countries through establishment of political or economic relationships.
Chapter 8

Findings and Conclusions

The second expectation from unity is prosperity. We have discussed in chapter 3 the efforts to bring together Muslim entrepreneurs, traders and investors. The economic opportunities a single market may deliver including if the four freedoms of movement of capital, goods, services and labor are also introduced may make the OIC bloc much bigger economic bloc and help raise the standards of living of the people.

Lastly, a united Muslim bloc will be a much more important actor on the world stage than individual nations. The Muslim world wants to be relevant in the new world order and unity can provide additional levers of influence.

Sadly enough, most literature relies on doctrinal arguments for integration, rather than the above practical ones. The suggested path to effect integration also gets coated in theological colors. For instance, in terms of economic integration, it is seldom academically analyzed whether Muslim countries with different inflation rates can have a single currency, implying, a single monetary policy. If so, how then inflationary pressures in one would be stopped from becoming a contagion in other Muslim countries. It is again rarely touched how an Islamic parliament would or could be elected when many Muslim countries have absolute monarchies and have no democratic institutions or democratic experience within. How will military coordination be possible when armies are trained on different make of weapons, some on American ones, others on Russian made ones and yet others on Chinese military hardware. As for cultural integration, there could be many routes—literature and literary exchange is one of them. For instance, there could have been an exercise in translating literature, such as stories, novels, poetry
and dramas of Muslim countries in other languages spoken in the Muslim world, which has not really started happening barring some odd individual efforts here and there.

This is not to deny that even in Europe, there was a robust inspiration for integration on the basis of common Christian identity, actual or perceived, over the past few centuries. Ideologues from St Peter to Thomas Aquinas fancied a unity based on Christian faith. But the founding fathers of modern EU such as Robert Schumann and Jacque Delors were secular and more practical. The modernists had no dream of a pan-Christian unity spanning the globe. They only made practical assumptions on how to unite feuding states of Europe. They neither considered inclusion of all Christian states including those in the Americas, Africa, or the Oceania in it, nor categorically rule out Muslim states in Europe from membership. That is why, as early as in 1963, when the European Community (EC), was still restricted to only six founding member states, Turkey had the confidence to eye and apply for membership.

The novelty and beauty of the European project lied in the fact that they tried to create an interdependent economy in the continent that would, in turn, create a symbiotic relationship for all European nations. And here lies the principal cause of failure of the Muslim world to unite that practical considerations have been sacrificed at the altar of emotionalism.

During the heydays of the ascendancy of the Church in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, Europe witnesses incessant bloodshed. Today, the challenge religion is posing to
the State in Muslim countries is pushing the Muslim world in a similar direction. The way religious discourse is getting centre stage on every issue from the banking sector reforms to what dress a woman may, or may not, wear in public [modesty debate] is causing serious troubles and conflicts. Iraq, Somalia, Afghanistan, Sudan, Yemen and Pakistan, are all places where religious right is very strong. And these are the very nations that have seen the most bloodshed in recent decades mostly between Muslims trying to enforce their own brands of Islam, posing existential threats to these States.

Thus the first lesson from the whole debate of the previous seven chapters is that unity of Islam cannot come through theological debates. Rather, unity may come from modernity that, in our context, means democracy. Modernity and Islam are neither contradictory nor mutually exclusive. In fact, as Allama Mohammad Iqbal (d. 1938) aptly argues in his book *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Islam is compatible with scientific development, the rule of law and right of people to choose their rulers. He claims that:

*Sultani-e-Jamhoor ka aata hai zamana
Jo naqsh-e-kohan tum ko nazar aaye mita do*

(Tr. The age of government by the people is imminent. Erase all vestiges of past systems, i.e. autocracy etc)

Allama Iqbal, had turned into a thorough pan-Islamist during the final decade of his life. He believed in unity of Islam and thought this could come about through democracy. He was a strong advocate of *Ijihad* (religious reasoning to find answers to contemporary questions) but considered an elected parliament, not the clerics, as the forum competent
and entitled to do *Ijtihad*. His ideas still hold relevance nearly three quarters of a century after his death.

8.2 World in the 21st century: Islam and Europe still worlds apart?

The twentieth century was the most eventful epoch in the known history of humankind. It also saw the meteoric rise of several political ideologies; liberal democracy and free market, communism, fascism, and others. Islam, a set of beliefs and a code of life as it may be for over one and a half billion people, jumped into the bandwagon of international political ideologies around the 1960s. With the passage of time it consolidated itself by increased intrusion into the domestic and foreign policy agendas of the Muslim States. The rest of the world remained pre-occupied with the Communist “threat”; the presence of political Islam became palpable only after the rise to power of radical Islamists in some Muslim States, Iran and Sudan being the obvious examples. It was only after the end of the Cold War, at the turn of 1990s, that the phenomenon of political Islam drew full-blown attention as a potent factor for global peace and stability, or for insecurity and instability, depending on the preconceived notions of the beholder on Islam.

Before making an attempt to comprehend the phenomenon of international political Islam, one should be cognizant that unlike the various other religions, which are basically sets of dogmas, beliefs and rituals, ideologues for Islam argue, it has its own theories for national economic systems, work ethics, business and trade regulations, laws of
succession and inheritance, person’s attitude towards parents and neighbors, governance and ruler-subject relations, and finally, the laws regulating inter-state relations in war and peace. They insist that this makes Islam a doctrine that influences, and demands unqualified adherence from, the followers in each aspect of their individual and collective lives.

The *(international)* political *Islam* is a term coined to denote the role of Islam in determining the nature of inter-state relations between Muslim States on one hand and between the Muslim and the non-Muslim States on the other. The very notion of the international political Islam brackets in itself the whole gamut of bilateral and multilateral agreements, inter-governmental organizations and other forms of diplomacy in the Muslim world. In this context, a union of states on the basis of Islam portends a different political landscape for the future than would there be otherwise.

The contemporary international community operates through international organizations also and that the latter are effective implements of international diplomacy. The proliferation of Islamic inter-governmental organizations, both in number and in scope, can hardly be brushed aside easily. It is for this reason that we have concentrated on the role of inter-governmental organizations to see the extent of intra-Islamic cooperation.

As noted at the outset, the Muslim World accounts for 31.2% of the UN membership, 25.3% of the global population and around 22.0% of world’s surface area. The collectivity of the Muslim states, if there is one, sits over proportionate natural and
human resources, strategic locations and political clout. If the broad spectrum of Muslim States and communities, diverse in culture, geography and political systems, starts orchestrating a distinct “Islamic worldview” through common policies and pooling of resources, as the EU projects a European worldview, it may be a premonition of a potent change in the existing World order. One must nevertheless admit that the phenomenon of divergent perspectives in the Muslim world coalescing into a single paradigm toward an Islamic Union is still in an embryonic stage.

However, it must be argued here that Islam and Europe do not have major conflicts of values--- at least, not that much as many hardliners from both sides would like the world to believe. Accountability of rulers, equality before law, humane behavior in war and conflicts, independence of judiciary, respect to different opinions, emphasis on knowledge and thoughts, are the cardinal principles of European ethos of today. But these were the very notions that Islam also nurtured for centuries. Thus the potential change in equilibrium, alluded to earlier if at all, may, rather than resulting in conflict, well turn out to be mutually rewarding.

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1 Political clout can be gauged in two ways in international politics. In international diplomacy, it is the voting strength in the United Nations, then the Muslims have as many votes as are their numbers in the General Assembly, i.e. 31.2%. But since the decisions on peace and security issues are made in the Security Council, there are hardly 2-3 members at any given point in time in the 15-member body that belong to the Muslim bloc, and none of the permanent veto-wielding members is a Muslim state, so here the clout is considerably less. Outside the diplomatic arena, it is the hard power of the States --- as Hans J. Morgenthau, author of “Politics among Nations” believes --- then as seen in Chapter 5, Muslim states military capacity is limited and consequently, their power and political clout too.
8.3 Genesis and growth of Integration movements in Muslim world and Europe:

As discussed in the Introductory chapter, the Islamic concept of *ummah*, under some interpretations includes non-Muslims too. It is another debate altogether if there is a possibility of a future Union between Islam and the West (i.e. between the OIC and the EU blocs that have potentially some degree of overlapping memberships) or it is simply an outlandish idea. In practice, however, the sense of belonging to the same fraternal community, at least in the ideological plane, alone has rarely ever sufficed to create a political unity among either the Muslims or the Christians with their own folk, let alone, with each other.

This is not to negate the existence of unifying thrusts in virtually all religions, but merely to state that --- as borne out from European integration--- such thrusts in history needed being complemented, or replaced by a host of socio-political factors. The pan-Islamism and pan-Europeanism found expressions in different forms in different eras. The brand of pan-Islamism through inter-governmental organizations, presently being adopted and strengthened is of recent origin and has more chances of fructification than the doctrinal routes professed and propagated by the likes of Syed Qutb and Maulana Mawdudi. Similar case can be made for pan-Europeanism which moved beyond the doctrinal arguments proffered by theologians like Thomas Aquinas.

8.3.1 Neo-pan-Islamism vs neo-pan-Europeanism --- Shift from rhetorical to institutional approaches: One can trace the roots of neo-pan-Islamism, as one may call the
institutionalized cooperation of the past half a century or so, in the reaction to two centuries of colonialism and, what was believed as, the intrusion into and infringement of the socio political fabric of the Muslim society by the West. As for the contemporary pan-Europeanism which had its genesis in the West itself, was a reaction to the fierce state-nationalisms that gave nothing but “blood, sweat, toil and tears”, to quote Churchill’s phrase about taking Britain to the World War, to Europe during the same couple of centuries, after the advent of industrialization. In fact, both the phenomena, that of colonizing the East in scramble for resources and raw materials to feed the industries, and that of ethno-centric nationalisms in the West to outdo each other in industrial progress, were both progeny of the industrial revolution. Even though institutions are quite often products of evolving ideas, the ideas are rarely static and absolute in their manifestations. Same idea can have different practical expression at a different place and on a different point in time. The twentieth century saw the emergence of inter-governmental platforms as a manifestation of the urge for unity both in Europe and in the Muslim world.

This was so principally because of the particular circumstances of the modern times. That is to say that religious and ideological ethos notwithstanding, there is no gainsaying that the present international system begot inter-governmental organizations in all regional groupings, sustained them and even strengthened them. Their emergence and proliferation in the 20th century, was largely facilitated--- rather necessitated --- by the rapid industrialization that revolutionized the transportation and communication systems within and among the States, and thereby reduced the physical world into a smaller unit,
creating an unavoidable network of interdependence among them. This system of interdependence stimulated the creation of trans-national outfits (OIC and its bodies in the Muslim world and EU and its institutions in Europe) that act as channels of cooperation in social, economic and political fields.

Here it is not out of place to mention that the pan-European institutions are more than inter-governmental organizations and have some federalist trappings. The European Commission is much more than a Secretariat of an Inter-Governmental organization as it collects taxes, sets policies and issues directives. The European Parliament, European Central Bank and European-level Courts make the Union closer to a Federal structure because there was a debate in Europe that inter-governmental method was neither effective nor democratic enough to satisfy the needs of citizens of democratic states. So either the federal elements institutions were to be strengthened until the Union became an effective democratic polity, or “it will fail to attract enough support from the citizens to enable it to flourish or perhaps even to survive.”

8.3.2 The decades of 1950s and Sixties: In the beginning, i.e. in the immediate post-World War II years, trajectory of integration efforts followed identical paths, both in Europe and the Muslim world. In Europe, the wounds of conflict were fresh and the trust deficit, not only between the erstwhile foes, but also that in the former allies such as France and Britain, precluded a rapid progress towards integration. The timing was not conducive for a pan-Islamic venture in the Muslim world either, in the 1950s till the mid-

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sixties, as Egyptian President Nasser’s secularism and radicalism reigned supreme in the Muslim countries and few of them were willing to take cudgels with Nasser.

The catastrophic defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 war drastically recast Egypt’s foreign policy orientation and mollified Nasser’s Arab radicalism, who saw the “reactionary” Muslim States coming out to help him in the hour of grief, rather than his Socialist “friends”. The arson at the Al Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem became pivotal in the eventual formation of the first intergovernmental arrangement of the Muslim States, namely, the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation in 1969. Nasser died the following year. Around the same time, President Charles de Gaulle of France, also marched towards his political sunset, and with his fall from power, a big stumbling bloc in European integration, was out of the scene. The three pan-European bodies created in the 1950’s, namely, the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Agency (EAEA) and the European Economic Community (EEC) had already been amalgamated into a single EC before the onset of 1970s. This newt decade saw the first ever expansion in the pan-European initiative\(^3\) and also saw the rise in numbers of OIC membership swell from 22 initially to 41 by the end of the decade. The present work thus takes 1970 as the watershed and compares the integration processes in Europe and the Muslim world in the succeeding three decades.

\(^3\) In 1973, three nations, namely, UK, Ireland and Denmark, joined EC to raise its membership from 6 to 9. This was the first ever expansion in the 6-member EC since the start of pan-European initiative in 1951. Today (2009), the membership stands at 27, through farther expansions mainly after the end of the Cold War.
Table VI: Milestones in Pan Islamic and Pan European Processes

(upto 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Milestones in History of the OIC</th>
<th>Milestones in History of European Integration</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Schumann Declaration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabat (Morocco)</td>
<td>9 May 1950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 22-25, 1969</td>
<td>Announcement of Plans for European unity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Treaty of Paris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 22 - 24, 1974</td>
<td>18 April 1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lahore (Pakistan)</td>
<td>European Coal &amp; Steel Community (ECSC) formed</td>
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<tr>
<td>3rd Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Treaty of Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makkah/Taif (Saudi Arabia)</td>
<td>European Economic Community (EEC) formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>First Schengen Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 16-19, 1984</td>
<td>14 June 1985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casablanca (Morocco)</td>
<td>Border Controls abolished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Treaty of Lisbon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 26-29, 1987</td>
<td>28 Feb.1986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuwait city (Kuwait)</td>
<td>Single European Act (SEA) signed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Second Schengen Agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 9-11, 1991</td>
<td>19 June 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darak (Senegal)</td>
<td>Free mobility of citizens enhanced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Treaty of Maastricht</td>
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<tr>
<td>Casablanca (Morocco)</td>
<td>European Union established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Treaty of Amsterdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec 9-11, 1997</td>
<td>2 Oct 1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tehran (Iran)</td>
<td>Treaty signed</td>
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<tr>
<td>9th Islamic Summit Conference</td>
<td>Treaty of Nice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 12-13, 2000</td>
<td>7-10 Dec 2000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doha (Qatar)</td>
<td>Negotiations concluded</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
8.3.3. Into the 1970s and Beyond: Both European and Islamic blocs embarked on the road of further expansion and deepening. But from the start of 1970’s the trajectory has diverged considerably. Europe had been selective, careful and gradual in expansion policies and was extremely mindful of concomitant deepening of integration. While in the Muslim world, expansion has been quick, rash and somewhat thoughtless, which has made the Islamic bloc, too big, too complex and too unwieldy to be of serious meaningful relevance to the lives of ordinary Muslims. There is now, no single common denominator of national interests, geography, language, culture or even religion. The OIC now has certain countries which have a Christian majority, though, technically speaking, their joining of the OIC ipso facto makes them a part of the Muslim world.

The OIC’s expansion has not only been in membership but in organizational set up as well. In a span of a single decade, a large number of inter-governmental institutions sprang up for co-operation in fields as diverse as trade and economy, aviation, education and research, and culture and information, in the Muslim world. Some of these were directly attached to the OIC, others being nominally affiliated. In the rush to establish these institutions, their viability and sustainability were compromised. Though some organs of the OIC remained active and vibrant, others met a still-birth or died down for lack of funding etc.⁴

⁴ The European Union had always a serious debate about adding new members or new institutions into its fold. Pinder (2001), *op cit.*, rightly says “[the] impact of the Union will be enhanced as it enlarges….but only on the condition that its institutions…are strengthened rather than weakened. If enlargement were to weaken the Union institutions, [EU] would become an inert mass that could stand in the way of global stability and prosperity.” (p. 123)
Even otherwise, the number ---of Members-States or of subsidiary organizations-- could not resolve the problem of disconnect between these organizations and the common citizens of the Muslim bloc. The democratic deficit, where the decisions made at the forums, did not reflect the collective will of the people, for whom they were purportedly bringing about unity, became obvious with each passing year. In fact, when most governments in Muslim countries did not have any popular mandate, there was no institutionalized way of ascertaining whether the decisions being made reflected the will of the Muslim or not. In fact, in the absence of free press and real opposition parties, anything made or done by the rulers could be passed on as being in the public interest. Absence of democracy always leads to inertia, stagnation and crises of legitimacy. At the time of submission of slightly revised dissertation, the democratic uprising engulfing the Middle East, called the Arab Spring, had swept four long term aging dictators from power in Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and Yemen. This seemed a positive harbinger for the future of Muslim world.

During better part of the decades under review, there was ---as British Prime Minister Sir Winston Churchill aptly described ---an iron curtain dividing Europe. In the Middle East, there were several such curtains and walls, like the state of perpetual war readiness between Israel and its Arab neighbors, the Green Line in Beirut (Lebanon) between the areas controlled by the Muslim and Christian warlords, the UN-monitored ceasefire line between the Turkish-controlled North and the Greek-allied South of Cyprus, and
elsewhere. Add to it the ethnic conflicts-cum-armed secessionist movements in Kurdish North of Iraq, animist South of Sudan and Western Sahara under Morocco.

The War readiness and shadows of conflicts in both the regions, Europe and Middle East, had opposite outcomes. In Europe, the nations turned towards democracy and increased civil control over military affairs. Greece and Cyprus saw end to military rules replaced by civilian elected dispensation. Portugal, which was the backyard of Europe--- sort of --- also witnessed a return to civilian rule. Finally, the death of Spanish dictator and military strongman, Gen Franco in 1975, after near 40 years in power, spelt the demise of autocratic rule in Spain as well. European Union --- or EC, as it was then called--- hastened to induct Greece in 1981 and Spain and Portugal in 1986, in order to preempt their return to the eras of coup d’etats. Dictatorships lead to bad governance which could make Communism more appealing to the masses and this was something that the free world (including Western Europe), sensibly enough, did not want to allow. Thus, the European strategy against the Soviet/Communist adversaries was to strengthen democracy and the four fundamental freedoms of movement (of capital, goods, services and labor) for their citizens, so the Western Europe would win through better living standards and greater economic progress. And that is what happened after the lifting of iron curtain when the wave of democratization swayed most of East Europe as well. The West had won the Cold War over the Eastern Europe without a single shot being fired.

The Muslim and Arab countries had taken a different route to tackle their security dilemma. Instead of promoting democracy, they started taking away the limited freedoms
that the citizens had enjoyed before, in the name of security. State security apparatus including army, police and intelligence agencies were strengthened and used brutally against each regime’s domestic opponents. Thus, conflict became an opportunity in the West, but a menace in the Muslim world.

The divergence of trajectory, I shall argue, in the drive towards unification from the 1970’s onwards, between Europe and the Muslim world, despite all the good intentions, largely owes to this factor: democracy and the rule of law in the West in contrast with personalized rule and repressive state structures in the Muslim world. Democracy does not end at electoral cycles alone, which is a manifestation, not the spirit, of democratic systems. It involves independent judiciary, free media, vibrant opposition, respect to human rights and tolerance towards dissenting views. Democracy has to run through the whole society, in class rooms where students must be able to challenge the established notions; in mosques and religious circles where free debate on the fundamentals of religious dogmas must be encouraged; and in the basic nucleus families where man and woman must have equal say in running the household.

8.3.4 End of Cold War and afterwards: There were significant global changes between 1988 and 1990; in Europe, the end of cold war had the greatest political, psychological and material effects through the razing of the Berlin Wall, opening up of East Europe, and disintegration of the Soviet Union. Europe had a re-birth--- not only the countries sitting on the fence during the Cold War such as Austria, Finland and Sweden joined the
Union in 1995 but by 2004, EU had expanded deeper into the East to include most of the adversaries of the yesteryears, including Poland, Bulgaria and Romania.

In the Muslim world too, the Soviet decision to withdraw from Afghanistan, cease-fire on the Iran-Iraq front and easing of tensions with Israel with the decision of Palestinian leadership to concede the existence of Israel, at least, ameliorated the major crises in the Muslim world. The end of East-West divide also removed several regional intra-Muslim tensions between the countries ideologically closer to either of the two camps. The emergence of six new independent sovereign states in Central Asia and the Caucus, and two in Europe (Albania and Bosnia), with Muslim roots, re-energized the Muslim world with a renewed confidence. Unfortunately, it failed to cash any peace dividends arising from the peace process in the Middle East following the Camp David Peace accord by Egypt (1979), Peace Treaty by Jordan (1993) and the Oslo Peace Accords (1994) by the Palestinians signed with Israel. The autocratic regimes turned their guns on domestic dissent, as the raison d’etre of perpetuating their rule--- the perceived threat from Israel--- had diminished considerably.

Lofty speeches, good intentions, and noble ambitions of the past four decades translated into a flurry of conferences and moots, mushrooming of specialized institutions and profundity of resolutions and initiatives on pan-Islamic cooperation that have not realized the objective of some sort of a United States of Islam. Meanwhile the European Union, despite major setbacks like a civil war and genocide in the heart of Europe (Bosnia during 1992-5), reemergence of Russian bogey on the East, major economic recessions,
rise of ultra-nationalist right wing ideologies, and rejection and demise of the EU constitution, is getting stronger. EU has 27 countries, 390 million people, the second largest economy after the United States, and a strong diplomatic, political and military clout. On top of it, with a uniform adherence to the values of democracy, equality and the rule of law, it stands tall and proud as a force to reckon with in the international arena.

I think, by now, we have fairly reached our conclusions on where the Muslim world went wrong and where Europe went right; and why Europe made a Union and Islamic world did not.

8.4 Failure of Pan Islamism and Success of European Integration: Causes of Contrast

Our findings, based on the analysis of history, revolve round the factors of governance, freedoms and education that caused the failure of all pan-Islamic projects while EU could have been a model to emulate. I shall argue that even now it is not too late. One needs to learn from History and from experiences of others, rather than committing all the mistakes that could easily be avoided.

8.4.1 Integration through Practical versus doctrinal approach: The separation of Church and State became more pronounced at pan-European level, as had been at the national levels. Insistence of countries like Spain and Greece, with centuries of history of direct
confrontation with the Muslim world, that reference to common Christian heritage of Europe be enshrined in the preamble to the EU constitution, was over ruled.\(^5\)

The resolutions, speeches and debates in the OIC Conferences on the other hand are filled with religious content. It has been argued earlier that History does not bear out this to be the most successful approach towards integration. Most political successes in the past century in the Muslim world have been accomplished under secular leadership. Religious right, through louder and aggressive voices, has made the larger secular silent majorities in the Muslim world on the defensive. There are hate ideologies in Europe as well but with little electoral prospects. In the Muslim world, a preacher of hate is more often eulogized as a hero. Attacks on civilians in America, such as 9/11 are celebrated and terrorists actions are seen with tacit approval. *Talibanization* of societies has torn apart the Muslim societies in doctrinal conflicts, far from bringing them together.

**8.4.2 Difference in the size of Aims:** The last, but certainly not the least, crucial distinction between the Muslim world and the European integration movements has been in terms of the scope of the aims. The Muslim States always fancied grandiose ideas and plans. The unification or Europe started with pretty modest aims. International affairs are too complex and complicated to allow for short-cut solutions. Initially, critics found the treaty aim of “an ever closer union” to be too open ended but Europe learnt to tailor its aims to the ground realities. It may be recalled that the EU started with just two subject,

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\(^5\) In any case, constitution itself faced voter’s rejection in two of the 25 members of the Union in 2005, and the consensus-loving Union bowed to the will of the voters of those two nations, and consigned the Constitution to the dustbin of history in favor of a much watered down version in the form of Lisbon Treaty.
coal and steel, as a community of only six States, gaining a gradual momentum to become a union of 27 European States with and seven more applicants making a beeline. This political success came through economic coordination such as joint strategies on energy, climate and food security, and through mutual support on shared values.

It was again the vision of Schumann who accurately predicted the way in which the European Community has become the Union of today. In his 9 May 1950 Declaration, he had aptly remarked, “[United] Europe will not be made at once, or according to one single, general plan. It will be built through concrete achievements, which first create a de facto solidarity.”

There were voices, such as the Italian Foreign Minister, Altiero Spinelli, who wanted a quick integration, such as envisaging a European federal constitution achieved at a single stroke. Luckily, the Europeans preferred Jean Monnet’s step-by-step approach that led to success.

The Muslim world tried to reach the summit, as evident from declarations of all Islamic inter-governmental conferences, without setting up a base camp and without anchoring at intervening bases up the hill. No end can ever be achieved without intervening stages. The visionless over-ambitiousness is the singular contributory to failure of the pan-Islamic vision.

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7 Jean Monnet was a former Deputy Secretary General of the League of Nations and the first President of the High Authority of the European Coal and Steel Community. He was also responsible for drafting the Schumann Declaration of 9 May 1950. For a considerable period, he remained President of his Action Committee for the United States of Europe.
8.4.3 **Standing Institutions for political cooperation:** The amateurish approach to diplomacy cannot be more evident anywhere than the failure to establish permanent institutions for political cooperation by the Muslim world. In spite of creating plethora of institutions in the economic and cultural fields, political decision-making was left to ad-hocism through Islamic summit conferences and the Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers that meet only for a few days after every three years and one year, respectively. Even the committees and contact groups on crisis areas are mostly ad hoc and temporary.

In contrast, the EU concentrated on strong and permanent institutions like the European Commission, the European Parliament and the European Court of Justice, *in addition to* the European Council (periodic meeting of Heads of Governments of EU countries that meets every six months, unlike the Islamic summits that are convened every three years) and the European Council of Ministers. Even in the European Coal and Steel Community, the precursor of present Union, the need was felt to have a permanent High Authority and a General Assembly of the Community. The two institutions have evolved into an accountable European Commission and a directly elected European Parliament, over the decades.

This federalist structure for European governance emerged in the teeth of opposition by Euro-skeptics. Not everybody owned the pan-European project; there were people who had ideological or emotional commitment to nation-states, mistrust of other nations, the
belief that democracy can only work within a State and not beyond, or simple attachment to status quo. Europe overcame the opposition because gradually the people who began to own the European project outnumbered the skeptics.

8.4.4 Disparity in Democracy: The democratic deficit that is the lack of accountability of the rulers through democratic control was a major failing in the Muslim world. European integration took place within democratic nations. Greece, Spain and Portugal became part of the game only when military dictatorships had been replaced by elected dispensations.

Europe has established a democratic connect with all its citizens. The concept of “citizenship of the Union” was introduced in the Maastricht Treaty which provided that all citizens of the EU member states were also citizens of the European Union too and it granted certain rights to the citizens of the Union, such as to move, reside and work freely throughout the Union, and to vote for and stand in the local or European, though not national, elections from any member state. The Amsterdam Treaty has provided that the two forms of citizenship are complimentary.

Unless people have control over their governments, unity in Muslim world will remain a mirage because rulers lacking popular legitimacy cement their own rule through hollow shenanigans and useless political antics that bring little or no benefit to their subjects.

8.4.5 Difference in levels of Economic Development and consequent rise of extremism: The West too had seen rise of extremist ideologies when the going went tough. The great
economic depression between 1929 and 1933 nurtured the rise of Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy and other evil hate ideologies elsewhere. But they succeeded in developing knowledge-based economy where such ideologies became marginalized and economic interdependence brought rival nations closer.

On the other hand, most of the Arab world resting on oil wealth failed to turn the national energies towards innovation. This resulted in economic downturn that has given rise to the phenomenon for religious extremism which further retards progress due to economic costs of conflicts.

8.4.6 Difference in literacy rates: Both Europe and East Asia (mainly Japan) underwent an educational revolution back in the late nineteenth century. Education gives awareness and awareness usually leads to peace and cooperation, rather than war and conflict. On the other hand, comparatively lower literacy rates too had unpropitious effect on pan-Islamism as people swayed by unrealistic arguments became more and more directionless. The lack of healthy debate, the intolerance to rival views and taboos on taking socially unorthodox positions, throttled a serious debate in the Muslim world over the benefits and means of cooperation and integration. Hackneyed conspiracy theories continued to attract public imagination rather than genuine self introspection over the national failures.
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The lack of *Ijtihad*, inertia against reform and a lack of will to accept the changing realities of the world, are the biggest challenge to the Muslims at present. According to Iqbal:

*Aaeen-e-nau se darna, tarz-e-kuhan pe arrna*

*Manzil yahi kathan hai qaumon ki zindagi main*

(Tr. The most difficult part in the nations’ lives are when there is a fear of acceptance of new realities and insistence on sticking to old customs)

8.4.7 *Differing levels in Gender Equality between citizens:* The issue of gender equality is inextricably linked to democracy which is as much a social as a political construct. The continuance of patriarchal structures in the Muslim world have perpetuated the dominance of one gender over the other. Gender empowerment in the West was more accidental than by design. It emerged as a by-product of the world wars when the menfolk in greater numbers swarmed the warfronts, leaving the governments with no choice but to induct the female workforce into factories to continue production. Even Hitler era Germany, despite its fascination with the three K’s for the role of women “*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*” [tr., Children, Kitchen, Church], was forced to allow women into industry and the market place, in the latter half of the war period to meet manpower shortages. The earning empowered women in an irreversible process and the equality between the sexes it has engendered, typifies contemporary Western society.
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Today, the success of provisions for gender equality in Europe also show how citizens rights in general generate support for the Union.\(^8\) France was the first European nation to legislate on equal pay for equal work for men and women. It insisted that other European nations adopt the policy too. Eventually, by the time of Amsterdam Treaty, there was “ready agreement to extend the principle of equal pay to equal opportunities and equal treatment [of men and women] in all matters related to employment.”\(^9\)

Far from being an example of Western decadence, as pulpits would bellow in the Muslim world, the contribution of men and women working shoulder to shoulder in the West, has been one of the greatest revolutions of human history. Gender empowerment, it may be pointed out, had a salutary effect on progress in Europe. The input, the wisdom and the contribution of half of the human population could not be kept under lock and key forever. On the other hand, the potential of half of the human resource of the Muslim nations has thus remained untapped in terms of contribution to national development. The Muslim world needs women to be equal partners with men, to achieve the material progress that Europe has attained already.

8.4.8 War weariness in the West and glorification of conflict in the Muslim world: It has been argued in the beginning of this work that Europe had been exhausted by two centuries of warfare by the middle of the last century. Peace was the only path that attracted public imagination. The first post-War initiatives for cooperation in Europe were between foes, not between friends. The treaties of Paris (1951) and Rome (1957)

\(^8\) Pinder, *op. cit.* p. 164.
were signed between the same six nations which had fought on opposite sides in the Second World War: Germany and Italy were the Axis powers while France and the three tiny Benelux states\(^\text{10}\) had been on the Allied side. The experience of punishing the vanquished by the victors, tried at the end of the First World War to disastrous consequences, was too horrific to be repeated after the Second.

On the other hand, the Muslim states were newly liberated from the yoke of Colonialism after successful struggles and most were still enamored with military glories, actual or perceived, that had happened in the [distant] past or were wished for the future. Arabs went to war again and again with Israel, the Pakistanis with India and the Turks with Greece. Missiles, rather than fountains, pictures of Generals rather than statues of philosophers and scientists adorned the streets and crossings in the urban centers of the Muslim world. War, not peace, captured the fancies of Muslim public and governments as a way to success. This warfare destroyed the economies of Muslim states while the Europeans reaped peace dividends through cooperation.

8.4.9 Different domestic approach towards external conflicts: It has been noted above that the Western governments competed with the East by giving their own citizens better living standards and greater freedoms to make the Western model attractive for East European nations. The Muslim states postponed reforms in the name of security, complicating the stability issues and rupturing the harmony in social fabric within the countries.

\(^{10}\) Belgium, Netherlands and Luxemburg
The threat perceived from Soviet Union brought together most West European states into common platforms like NATO and the OSCE, which laid foundations for institutionalized cooperation. In the Muslim world, the pathological animosity towards Israel, far from uniting it, left them bickering about strategies to combat her. Each successive military defeat increased the paranoia and the divisions.

8.4.10 Difference in Experience in international diplomacy: When the OIC was established, most of the Muslim States were either in the process of consolidating the newly-got independence or, in some cases, in the more preliminary stage, that of struggling for independence. They had little or no experience in international diplomacy or diplomatic culture. Any international regime that could even remotely infringe on the jealously guarded, hard-won “sovereignty” was an anathema to the new leaderships. Hence, most of the initiatives fell prey to the divisiveness caused by irreconcilable national interests of the Muslim States. Moreover, the global polarization of the Cold War context, from which the Muslim States were not immune, compounded the problems. It took longer for the new States to become politically mature, and in the meantime, the efforts towards political unity continued to be evaporated in an aura of mutual suspicions. On the other hand, many European nations were independent international actors for hundreds of years with centuries of diplomatic experience behind. They were more successful in making alliance on the tables rather than in the battlefields.

This maturity in diplomacy reflects in many ways within the EU system. For instance, the founding treating requires the Community to take action “only if…and insofar as the
objective of the proposal cannot be sufficiently achieved by the member states”, and can “by reason of its scale and effects, be better achieved by the Community.” 11 The Rome Treaty clearly distinguishes between two kinds of Community Acts: the Regulation, which is ‘binding in its entirety’; and the Directive, which is ‘binding only as to the result to be achieved.’ 12

### 8.5 Future of Muslim States in Europe

Here one would like to touch upon a conundrum about the future of Muslim states in Europe. Should they be part of European Integration or Muslim world integration and, if at all, they need to make a choice.

First of all, there is no bar on Muslim states joining the European Union. Kosovo owes its independence and existence to European intervention against Serbia in 1999 and is a likely candidate in very near future. Bosnia, too, the sooner it resolves its power sharing formulas and future of the Serb Republica Sperska 13, can develop legitimate expectancy of becoming a member of the European Union. Only Albania has serious governance and poverty related problems that preclude her inclusion into the EU in the near future.

True, there are reservations on Turkey’s membership by many countries including Spain, France, Netherlands and Greece, not to speak of Cyprus, but this does not have only to do

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11 Pinder, *op. cit.*, p. 56.
12 *Ibid*.
13 Under the Dayton Peace Accord (1995) that ended the civil war in Bosnia, 51% of the territory has been given to the Bosnian Serb Federation, but the remaining 49%, called Republics Sperska, is a Serb-controlled autonomous region within Bosnia.
with religion, although that is a factor that cannot be dismissed altogether. Turkey has over ninety percent of its area in Asia with porous borders with its neighbors. And the Europeans have legitimate reasons to fear that, in the present circumstances, illegal immigration from Asia would become difficult to control after Turkey’s entry. Then Turkey is also too poor by European standards and public apprehensions regarding influx of unemployed Turks into Europe who will take away the European jobs by offering cheaper services, is another stumbling bloc. Before the rise of Justice and Development Party of current Prime Minister Recep Tayyop Erdogan in Turkey in 2003, there were many other issues such as persistent double digits inflations (signifying weak economy), serious human rights problems in the troubled East of the country populated by a restive Kurdish minority, as well as the issue of divided Cyprus. Now progress has been made not only in improvement of economy but also human rights situation, as well as headway has been made in the resolution of Cyprus dispute. Still Turkey as a long way to go before its application pending since 1963 makes its way to the approval desk.

Even if Turkey is not a member of the European Union, it still sits in several other European platforms. It is the only Muslim country in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and has the second biggest army in NATO after that of the United States. Then, there is also another very important 54-member body called the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) that has eight Muslim majority states as members: besides Turkey it includes Albania and all six former Soviet Muslim republics.
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The experience of these countries has amply demonstrated that being European and being Islamic should not be a problem in the modern world. In fact, if any or more of the four Muslim states, namely, Albania, Kosovo, Bosnia or Turkey, become members of the European Union (three of them are already part of the OIC while Kosovo may well be on the way, as soon as the legal disputes over the legitimacy of its secession get settled), it will be a boon for world peace and security.¹⁴

8.6 The European Union versus an Islamic Union

It needs to be underlined that world politics is not necessarily a zero sum game where one’s community’s advantage is at the cost of other community’s loss. European Union integration was not directed against Islam and nor should a union of Islamic states pose a threat to Europe.

Europe and Islam have seen centuries of conflicts, right from the early Islamic history. The ghazwa (campaign) of Tubuk when Muslims encamped at Tubuk to intercept the widely rumored Christian invasion from the North, took place in the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad. No battle was fought at Tubuk as the news of an impending Christian army turned out baseless but armed conflicts battles did start sooner than had been imagined. As early as during the reign of the first Caliph Abu Bakr Siddiq when the battle of Mauta took place between Muslims and Romans (as Europeans were called then).

¹⁴ It must be noted again at this point that OIC too has some countries as members that have a Christian majority.
Over the next few centuries, Islam and Europe clashed over the status of the holy city of Jerusalem. This warfare called Crusades widened the gaps between Islam and Europe and led to both sides developing a pathological rivalry with each other. The colonization of 18th and 19th century, whereby most Western nations colonized vast swathes of Asia and Africa, that incidentally included most of what is the Muslim world today, did not help matters.

Even today OIC and the European Union, many a times see themselves, at opposite poles on many issues. The “Satanic Verses” issue, the Danish Cartoons issue and the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, are man}y crises where the two groupings had diverging views. But conflict is neither inevitable nor desirable. There have been scholars from both sides who do have prophecies about such eventual conflict, but individual opinions are just that---opinions. Prof Samuel P. Huntington (d. 2009) is one such scholar whose “Clash of Civilizations” thesis has evoked much debate and controversy. He believes that the differences on the basis of cultures are not only real but also getting accentuated with the passage of time. He believes that the future fault lines of the world would be across civilizational divides. He argues that future may see major conflicts among the leading civilizations such as Western (Euro-American), Islamic, Chinese, Hindu civilizations.

But this prognosis is not necessarily borne out by History. In the recent past, there have been instances galore of collaboration between Europe and the Muslim world as well,
such as in getting the Dayton Peace Accord ending bloodshed in Bosnia, liberation of Kosovo, fight against terrorism and non-proliferation regimes etc.

At the cost of repetition, mention is made again that the second largest army in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), after that of the United States, belonged to a Muslim country, i.e. Turkey. And that there are eight Muslim states in the Organization for Security & Cooperation in Europe. As noted before, the Organization of the Islamic Cooperation too has a few Christian majority countries in its fold such as Uganda, Gabon, Guyana and Surinam. It has never been much of a problem in the functioning of the OIC. Thus, in modern institutions Muslim states and non-Muslim ones have worked shoulder to shoulder without any major problems.

I believe that the countries such as Turkey and others, if admitted to the European Union, will act as the much needed bridges between two great civilizations.

In our last section below, we shall be dilating upon the future prospects of a pan Islamic union and attempt suggesting the ways and means that can be adopted.

8.7 Conclusion: Prospects of an Islamic Union:

As the contours of post-Cold War arena gradually become discernible, the protagonists of pan-Islamism are left wondering if the place of the Muslim world could be any other than at the lowest stratum of the emerging political landscape. It would be naïve to
believe that the Muslim States can have any short-cut to arrive at the level of economic or political development where the advanced States stand today. The process of evolution, if at all, has to take decades, but there are three principal factors that may catalyze the process.

Firstly, no nation or a group of nations can remain immune from the current trends towards integration that have engulfed the globe. The experience of the European Union has amply demonstrated how the bitter foes of yesteryears can embrace each other on account of commonality of perceived economic and political interests. There is a swiftly dawning realization that in the coming age, lonely States have little future. There would be no bargaining power for the Muslim States unless they are united, in the face of a united Europe, a united America, and a united East Asia etc.

Secondly, the West’s “over-reaction” at the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, especially in the wake of 9/11 attacks on the United States and the consequential Global War against Terrorism, is backfiring, since there is no dearth of conspiracy theorists in the Muslim world either, who see malice in every Western action or inaction. Thus Muslim politicians may move towards cooperation with each other, if only to counter what they believe are the European hegemonic designs. James Piscatori aptly points out that the problem with the “presumption of automatic antipathy between Islam and the West is that it overstates the degree of coherence in each. Individuals – let alone governments-- rarely
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speak in civilisational terms, and it is hard to conceive Islam speaking with one voice or
the West moving with one purpose”.

And finally, the whole panoply of the OIC and its subsidiary or affiliated institutions can
be the vanguard of an Islamic union. Arguing on the same line that international
organization is the only conceivable framework that can bring together the Muslim
States, Noor Ahmad Baba notes:

“The Muslim world, like the rest of the modern world, operates under the dualistic
pressures of centripetal and centrifugal forces. This is a phenomenon of the post-
industrial revolution world society that has on the one hand, increased interdependence of
countries and thereby necessitated co-operation among them and on the other hand
proliferated the world into smaller identities and further sharpened and strengthened their
consciousness as Nation-States. International governmental organization in this regard
has been a product of the human genius to accommodate these conflicting realities and
make them converge for positive gains. In this connection, the international governmental
organization framework has provided an ideal model for co-operation at different levels
while allowing nations to preserve their separate- hood”

The pace and direction of the consolidation of modern pan Islamism, and its progression
into a coherent or semi-coherent Islamic States Union, would be dependent upon the legal
framework of the world Islamic bodies, primarily the OIC, the quality of Muslim

pp.767-89.
16 Noor Ahmad Baba, “OIC: Theory and Practice of Pan-Islamic Co-operation”, (Karachi, Oxford
leadership, and internal and external environments around the Muslim world.\textsuperscript{17} The internal reforms needed are democracy at the political level, gender equality at the social level, freedom to debate without any dogmatic taboos where none of the contemporary problems of religious \textit{fiqh} (jurisprudence), rights and responsibilities of citizens and State, role of women in society etc, are too holy to be put off the table. Movement for judicial restoration in Pakistan, the restoration of most human rights of Kurd minority in Turkey, the fall of kleptocratic Suharto dynasty in Indonesia and many others are positive internal signs. On the external side, the ascendancy of President Barack Hussain Obama to the Presidency of the United States, a greater appreciation of the rage in Muslim world against Western policies by the EU leadership, and a greater sensitivity shown by the United Nations towards the Muslims are also propitious signs. The need is to capitalize on these positive waves, which requires a capable leadership in the Muslim world, which has yet to emerge.

There is no denying the fact the Muslim world has so far achieved much less than what the pioneers of pan Islamism had envisioned. Most of the lofty goals and ideals are still on paper alone. The Muslim Common Market, the Islamic Free Trade Area, the Islamic Collective Security System and many such things, which the Muslim leadership has long been harping about, are yet far-fetched dreams. But for our purpose, it is the potential, rather than performance of the Islamic institutions that is of relevance. The atmosphere in the Muslim world at present, owing to separate nationhood of the States, parochial outlook, mutual suspicions and the often incongruous economic interests may not be very

\textsuperscript{17} Mohammad el-Selim, “An evaluation of the OIC Performance”, in Mohammad el-Selim (Ed), “The OIC in a Changing World”, (Cairo, Cairo University, 1994), pp.113-15
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hospitable to a serious effort at evolving a consensus on the future political order. Nevertheless, the decades of experience in diplomacy behind the Muslim States and organizations, ramifications of global political trends, fading away of colonial legacies and the existence of a good measure of areas of complimentarity, are the counter-factors that cannot be discounted.

The role of inter-governmental organizations, such as the EU and the OIC, is vital in another respect also--- unlike the hard-line nationalist/Islamist political parties, with localized influence within the European/Muslim States--- these are forces of moderation. Their solidification as bridges between Islam and Europe may eventually contain the Islam-West rhetoric. On their part, the Muslim states should conduct themselves in such a responsible manner that their union, if it ever comes about, is seen by their own Muslim citizens and other civilizations and societies alike, as propitious, so as not to fan the atavistic fears about conflict between Europe and Islam.

For Europe as well as for the United States, any under- or overestimation of the phenomenon of pan-Islamic cooperation would be equally amiss. Much more counter-productive would be dubbing Islam in stereotypes of extremism, anti-Europeanism, and as something repugnant to progress and development. Pan Islamic cooperation is a potential agent of change. Europe should not take change as an undesirable; otherwise this may inadvertently precipitate another cycle of uncalled for rivalry and conflict. The best riposte at present would be cooption, trust and mutual respect.
Economic imperatives are rising to the fore and will inevitably overshadow other imperatives such as politics, ethnicity etc. Every actor or a group of actors recognizes peace and development for the humanity as the ultimate goals, strives for them for its own people but professes them for the whole mankind. A great challenge awaits the world in the 21st century which will neither be European, nor Islamic, neither American nor an Asian century but will be a world century, not by choice but of necessity. Globalization will force the pace of regionalism and the development of regional economic zones which capitalize on complimentarities and synergies with a view to become better competitors in the global market. When that challenge comes, it would require a high degree of sagacity, wisdom and statesmanship, from the leaders and peoples of all the nations, to work collectively for the common good of the human race and its abode--- our world!

In the present scenario, and as a finale to the dissertation, if one is asked to offer some recommendations, nothing could be more pertinent to call for democracy and press freedom in the Muslim world. For next several decades, a persistent pattern of heavy investment in education, science and women empowerment programs shall be required. The European nations, under their Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) must adhere to policy instruments, including selectivity in aid and trade, with their Southern partners that promotes democracy and supports democratic governance and governments.

There is no short cut to any trans national union. The process may be slow and painful but if all energies and resources are devoted to democracy, rule of law, promotion and
protection of human rights, education and creation of knowledge-based economy. Unity may quietly follow, without much loud effort.

THE END
# GLOSSARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Al-Fatah</td>
<td>Literally ‘victory’; the Arabic acronym for Palestine Liberation Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allah</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Quds (al-Sharif)</td>
<td>The (holy) Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ameer / Amir</td>
<td>Ruler (title used by the rulers of several Gulf emirates as well as the present Taliban ruler of Afghanistan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asa’biya</td>
<td>Nationalism (especially the one based on primordial tribal or ethnic identities)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awqaf</td>
<td>Endowments (plural of Waqf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aya’h / Ayat</td>
<td>Verse of the Holy Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Azad</td>
<td>Liberated, Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ba’ath</td>
<td>Renaissance (Also name of the ruling parties in Iraq and Syria)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bait Ullah</td>
<td>House of Allah (Shrine of Ka’aba at Makkah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caliph (ate)</td>
<td>The person holding temporal and spiritual leadership of Muslims. Early Caliphs were known as the Right-Guided Caliphs. But then the institution of Caliphate became a dynamic property that was successively held by the Omayyads, Abbasids, Fatimides and finally Ottomans. The Caliphate was abolished in 1924.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da’wa</td>
<td>Islamic Call, Preaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eid</td>
<td>Either of the two annual Muslim festivals; Eid-ul-Fitr and Eid-ul-Adha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiqh</td>
<td>Islamic jurisprudence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatwa</td>
<td>Religious edict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadith</td>
<td>Sayings of the holy prophet Muhammad (pbuh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hijrah</td>
<td>Migration (refers to the historic migration of the Holy Prophet’s followers from Makkah to Medina in 622 A. D). Islamic calendar is also known as Hijra calendar since it starts from 622 A. D.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijma’a</td>
<td>Consensus; esp. on a religious issue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ijtihad</td>
<td>Literally ‘to exert oneself’; finding the solution of a problem of jurisprudence or Shari’ah deducing from the known sources of law, Koran and Hadith, or through reasoning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imam</td>
<td>Leader; esp. one who leads the Muslim prayers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jihad</td>
<td>Struggle for a just cause (Not necessarily an armed struggle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mufti</td>
<td>Muslim jurist who can issue fatwa (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qawm</td>
<td>Nation (see Ummah below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quran</td>
<td>Literally ‘the most-read book’; the Arabic word for Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shari’ah</td>
<td>Literally ‘the path’. It refers to the Islamic Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shura</td>
<td>Consultation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunnah</td>
<td>The Holy Prophet’s way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sura’ h</td>
<td>Chapter of the Holy Koran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waqf</td>
<td>Endowment</td>
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