

SOFT POWER DIPLOMACY AND MUSLIM NATIONS

M.KAMAL HASSAN, ISTAC, IIUM, 16.05.2013

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND SOFT POWER

- Joseph S. Nye Jr.
 - Harvard University
- Soft power is the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment. A country's soft power rests on its resources of culture, values, and policies. A smart power strategy combines hard and soft power resources. Public diplomacy has a long history as a means of promoting a country's soft power and was essential in winning the cold war. The current struggle against transnational terrorism is a struggle to win hearts and minds, and the current overreliance on hard power alone is not the path to success. Public diplomacy is an important tool in the arsenal of smart power, but smart public diplomacy requires an understanding of the roles of credibility, self-criticism, and civil society in generating soft power. (Source: http://ann.sagepub.com/content.)

LIMITATIONS OF SOFT POWER

- "Soft power has been criticized as being ineffective by authors such as Niall Ferguson in the preface to Colossus. Neorealist and other rationalist and neorationalist authors (with the exception of Stephen Walt) dismiss soft power out of hand as they assert that actors in international relations respond to only two types of incentives: economic incentives and force.
- As a concept, it can be difficult to distinguish between soft power from hard power. For example, Janice Bially Mattern argues that George W. Bush's use of the phrase "you are either with us or with the terrorists" was in fact an exercise of hard power. Though military and economic force was not used to pressure other states to join its coalition, a kind of force representational force was used. This kind of force threatens the identity of its partners, forcing them to comply or risk being labelled as evil. This being the case, soft power is therefore not so soft. [15] However, rationalist authors would merely see this as an 'implied threat', and that direct economic or military sanctions would likely follow from being 'against us'." (Wikipedia, accessed 15 May 2013)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS THEORY OF "SYMBIOTIC REALISM"

• "In 2007, Dr. Nayef Al-Rodhan, Director of the Centre for the Politics of Globalisation, published his symbiotic realism theory of international relations [19] that best fits a connected, interdependent and globalized world. Symbiotic realism expands the number of unitary actors in global politics beyond state and non-state actors and allows for nonconflictual competition while allowing absolute gain in a symbiotic yet realist framework. Symbiotic realism theory also posits that international peace and security can only be attained through a governance structure that ensures a mutually beneficial (Symbiotic) coexistence for a myriad of actors as well as the fulfilment of human needs everywhere. The book is entitled: Symbiotic Realism: A Theory of International Relations in an Instant and an Interdependent World (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2007).

 Commenting on this book, Ambassador Theodor Winkler of the Geneva Center for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces (DCAF), said: "This is a rich, thoroughly researched, and masterly book that pushes the theory of international relations significantly forward by integrating such important aspects as gender, climate change, access to natural resources, culture, and civilization to the existing conceptual body. It is marked by a deep humanity and cultural tolerance - as well as much common sense. In short: an important contribution to the international debate." (Wikipedia, accessed 15 May 2013)

DIPLOMACY AND GEOSTRATEGY: "NEO-STATECRAFT AND META-GEOPOLITICS"

"In 2009, Geostrategist Nayef Al-Rodhan proposed the concept of "Meta- geopolitics". The Meta-Geopolitics paradigm proposes a multi-dimensional view of power that accounts for seven capacities of states and assess their relative strengths and weaknesses and enables predictions about their ability to project power. This also includes his concept of "Just Power" as the only sustainable kind of power in the service of the national interest. "Just Power" employs soft, hard and smart power tools. He also proposes a geostrategic "Trip-Wire Pivotal Corridor (TPC)" which accounts for the world's most volatile geopolitical area: a corridor that runs from north to south between 30 and 75 degrees east. The corridor includes countries from three continents: Africa, Europe and Asia as well as the pivotal Middle East. In the east, it incorporates the disputed territories of Jammu and Kashmir, as well as China's Xinjiang province. At its western edge, it includes the Horn of Africa and the entire east coast of Africa. The corridor also includes the Arctic Circle in the north and Antarctica in the south. Al-Rodhan argued that, without stability in the TPC, there can be no stability or cooperation at the international level. This book is entitled Neo-statecraft and Meta-Geopolitics: Reconciliation of Power, Interests and Justice in the 21st Century (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2009)." (Wikipedia. Accessed 15May 2013)

THE NEW WORLD ORDER/DISORDER IN THE ERA OR TUBULENCE AND GLOBAL CRISIS

- SCENARIO OF PROLONGED AND PAINFUL PERIOD OF TURBULENCE
- "The world faces a number of global and regional problems today. Difficult processes are taking place in North Africa and the Middle East, and there is a debt crisis in the euro zone. The overall situation is complex and the international financial markets are unstable. In these circumstances, it is more important than ever to take responsible and coordinated decisions and to work together openly and productively" (President Medvedev of the Russian Federation addressing foreign ambassadors on December 7, 2011 quoted in Alexander A. Kornilov, 25 January 2012, "Russia and Iran in Turbulent International Relations", www.bilgesam.org/.../index.php?...turbulent).

- "By and large, what the world is facing today is a systemic crisis, a tectonic process of global transformation. It is a visible manifestation of our transition to a new cultural, economic, technological and geopolitical era. The world is entering a period of turbulence, which will be prolonged and painful. We should not be under any illusions." (Prime Minister Putin's article in Izvestia, 6 January 2012, quoted by Alexander A. Kornilov,ibid.)
- Foreign Minister Lavrov writes in his article "International Relations in a Turbulence Zone: Where are the Points of Support" in Diplomatic Yearboook for 2011:

In the outgoing year international relations have hit a zone of turbulence. A complicated situation developed in international financial markets - the economies of several countries, including euro zone states, faced the persistent effects of the crisis, among them the accumulation of excessive amounts of sovereign debt. A long overdue renewal of the political and socio-economic systems in different parts of the world, especially in the Middle East and North Africa, was accompanied by outbreaks of armed conflict and violence. The need to avoid fault lines between civilizations and clashes on interethnic, intercultural and interfaith grounds stood all the more pronounced as the pressing task of practical politics. At the same time the cross-border security challenges and threats did not disappear anywhere; they can only be resisted by joint efforts of the international community." (Alexander A. Kornilov, ibid.)

RAND CORP 2007 STRATEGIES FOR THE MUSLIM WORLD

Cheryl Benard, on Civil Demoratic Islam:

• "Contemporary Islam is struggling within itself over its values, identity, and place in the world, with rivals contending for spiritual and political dominance--as well as with the "outside" world. In Western eyes, the ideal Islamic community would be democratic, economically viable, politically stable, and socially progressive and would follow the rules and norms of international conduct. But as the international community strives to understand all this and, possibly, influence the outcome, the best approaches--or even whom to approach--are not always easy to determine. As an aid to the process, this report compares and contrasts the subgroups within Islam. The author recommends careful deliberation in deciding how to proceed, taking into account the symbolic weight of certain issues, the meaning likely to be assigned to any positions U.S. policymakers might take on these issues, the consequences for other Islamic actors, and the opportunity costs and possible unintended consequences. With all that in mind, the author then makes her own series of recommendations."

(www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports)

Angel Rabasa, Cheryl Benard, Lowell H, Schwartz, Peter Sickle, on Building Moderate Muslim Network

• "Radical and dogmatic interpretations of Islam have gained ground in recent years in many Muslim societies via extensive Islamist networks spanning the Muslim world and the Muslim diaspora communities of North America and Europe. Although a majority throughout the Muslim world, moderates have not developed similar networks to amplify their message and to provide protection from violence and intimidation. With considerable experience fostering networks of people committed to free and democratic ideas during the Cold War, the United States has a critical role to play in leveling the playing field for Muslim moderates. The authors derive lessons from the U.S. and allied Cold War network-building experience, determine their applicability to the current situation in the Muslim world, assess the effectiveness of U.S. government programs of engagement with the Muslim world, and develop a "road map" to foster the construction of moderate Muslim networks."

(<u>www.rand.org/pubs/monographs/</u> MG574.html)

SOME ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES OF INTER-CULTURAL, INTER-RELIGIOUS AND INTER-CIVILISATIONAL ENGAGEMENT

- Classical fiqh offers concepts such as DAR AL-ISLAM, DAR AL-HARB, DAR AL-`AHD, DAR AL-SULH in the framework of a binary world.
- Contemporary scholars are critical of these timebound concepts and offer new ones such as DAR AL-DA'WAH, DAR AL-SHAHADAH in the context of a contemporary realities of nation states and Muslim presence in the West and plural societies of the world today.

1.DIVERSITY AS JUSTIFICATION FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN NATIONS AND PEOPLES

• يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَاكُم مِّن ذَكَرٍ وَأَنتَى وَجَعَلْنَاكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَائِلَ لِتَعَارَفُوا إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ اللَّهِ أَثْقَاكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ الْكُمْ عِندَ اللَّهِ أَثْقَاكُمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

AL-Hujurat :13

O men! Behold, We have created you all out of a male and a female, and have made you into nations and tribes, so that you might come to know one another. Verily, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the one who is most deeply conscious of Him. Behold, God is all-knowing, all-aware

2. (a) JUSTICE AND MORAL

EXCELLENCE إِنَّ اللهَ يَأْمُرُ بِالْعَدْلِ وَالإِحْسَانِ وَإِيتَاء ذِي الْقُرْبَى وَيَنْهَى عَنِ الْفَحْشَاء وَالْمُنكرِ وَالْبَغْى يَعِظُكُمْ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَدَكَّرُونَ

al-nahl:90

BEHOLD, God enjoins justice, and the doing of good, and generosity towards [one's] fellow-men; and He forbids all that is shameful and all that runs counter to reason, as well as envy; [and] He exhorts you [repeatedly] so that you might bear [all this] in mind.

2. (b)

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا كُونُوا قُوَّامِينَ بِالْقِسْطِ شُهَدَاء لِلهِ وَلَوْ عَلَى أَنفُسِكُمْ أَو الْوَالِدَيْن وَالأَقْرَبِينَ إِن يَكُنْ غَنِيًّا أَوْ فَقيرًا فَاللهُ أَوْلَى بِهِمَا فَلاَ تَتَبِعُوا الْهَوَى أَن تَعْدِلُوا وَإِن تَلُوُوا أَوْ ثُعْرِ ضُوا فَإِنَّ اللهَ كَانَ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًا

an-Nisa' :135

O YOU who have attained to faith! Be ever steadfast in upholding equity, bearing witness to the truth for the sake of God, even though it be against your own selves or your parents and kinsfolk. Whether the person concerned be rich or poor, God's claim takes precedence over [the claims of] either of them. Do not, then, follow your own desires, lest you swerve from justice: for if you distort [the truth], behold, God is indeed aware of all that you do!

2. (c) MUSLIM UMMAH AS JUSTLY BALANCED NATION

• وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِّتَكُونُواْ شُهُدَاء عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَيْكُمْ شَهِيدًا وَمَا جَعَلْنَا الْقِبْلَة وَكَذَلِكَ جَعَلْنَاكُمْ أُمَّةً وَسَطًا لِّتَكُونُواْ شُهُدَاء عَلَى النَّاسِ وَيَكُونَ الرَّسُولُ عَلَى عَقِبَيْهِ وَإِن كَانَتُ لَكَبِيرَةً إِلاَّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ هَدَى النَّيْ كُنْتَ عَلَيْهَا إِلاَّ لِنَعْلَمَ مَن يَتَّبِعُ الرَّسُولَ مِمَّن يَنْقلِبُ عَلَى عَقِبَيْهِ وَإِن كَانَتُ لَكَبِيرَةً إِلاَّ عَلَى الَّذِينَ هَدَى الله وَمَا كَانَ الله لِيُضِيعَ إِيمَائِكُمْ إِنَّ الله بِالنَّاسِ لَرَوُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ (1432)

al-Baqarah: 143

And thus have We willed you to be a community of the middle way, so that [with your lives] you might bear witness to the truth before all mankind, and that the Apostle might bear witness to it before you. And it is only to the end that We might make a clear distinction between those who follow the Apostle and those who turn about on their heels that We have appointed [for this community] the direction of prayer which thou [O Prophet] hast formerly observed: for this was indeed a hard test for all but those whom God has guided aright. But God will surely not lose sight of your faith-for, behold, God is most compassionate towards man, a dispenser of grace

3. (a)HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHERS

WITH OTHERS

• لَا يَنْهَاكُمُ اللَّهُ عَنِ الَّذِينَ لَمْ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَلَمْ يُخْرِجُوكُم مِّن دِيَارِكُمْ أَن تَبَرُّو هُمْ وَتُقْسِطُوا إِلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ اللَّهَ يُحِبُّ الْمُقْسِطِينَ

Mumtahinah:8

As for such [of the unbelievers] as do not fight against you on account of [your] faith, and neither drive you forth from your homelands, God does not forbid you to show them kindness and to behave towards them with full equity: for, verily, God loves those who act equitably.

3. (b)

• إِنَّمَا يَنْهَاكُمُ اللَّهُ عَن الَّذِينَ قَاتَلُوكُمْ فِي الدِّينِ وَأَخْرَجُوكُم مِّن دِيَارِكُمْ وَظَاهَرُوا عَلَى إِنَّمَا يَنْهَاكُمُ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ (60:9) عَلَى إِخْرَاجِكُمْ أَن تَوَلَوْهُمْ وَمَن يَتَوَلَّهُمْ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الظَّالِمُونَ (60:9)

Mumtahinah:9

God only forbids you to turn in friendship towards such as fight against you because of [your] faith, and drive you forth from your homelands, or aid [others] in driving you forth: and as for those [from among you] who turn towards them in friendship; it is they, they who are truly wrongdoers!

3. (c)

• وَإِن جَنَحُوا لِلسَّلْمِ فَاجْنَحْ لَهَا وَتَوكَّلْ عَلَى اللهِ إِنَّهُ هُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ الْعَلِيمُ

AI -Anfal:61

But if they incline to peace, incline thou to it as well, and place thy trust in God: verily, He alone is all-hearing, all-knowing!

4. NEED TO BE PREPARED TO FACE

• وَأُعِدُّواْ لَهُم مَّا اسْتَطَعْتُم مِن قُونَ ومِن رَباطِ الْخَيْلُ ثَرْ هِبُونَ بِهِ عَدْو اللهِ وَعَدُوكُم وَآخَرِينَ • وَأُعِدُونَ بِهِ عَدْو اللهِ وَعَدُوكُم وَآخَرِينَ مِن دُونِهِمْ لا تَعْلَمُونَ هُمُ الله يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَمَا تُنفِقُواْ مِن شَيْءٍ فِي سَبِيلِ اللهِ يُوفَ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنتُمْ لا تُظْلَمُونَ (8:60) -

Al-Anfal:60

Hence, make ready against them whatever force and war mounts ^[64] you are able to muster, so that you might deter thereby the enemies of God, who are your enemies as well, and others besides them of whom you may be unaware, [but] of whom God is aware; and whatever you may expend in God's cause shall be repaid to you in full, and you shall not be wronged.

5. REASON FOR LEGITIMATE WAR OR CONFLICT

• أَذِنَ لِلَّذِينَ يُقَاتَلُونَ بِأَنَّهُمْ ظُلِمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى نَصْرُهِمْ لَقُدِيرٌ لِمُوا وَإِنَّ اللَّهَ عَلَى نَصْرُهِمْ لَقَدِيرٌ

Al-Hajj:39

PERMISSION [to fight] is given to those against whom war is being wrongfully waged and, verily, God has indeed the power to succour them

5. (b)

الذينَ أخْرِجُوا مِن دِيَارِ هِمْ بِغَيْرِ حَقِّ إِلَّا أَنِ يَقُولُوا رَبُّنَا اللَّهُ وَلَوْلَا دَقْعُ اللَّهِ النَّاسَ بَعْضَهُم بِبَعْضِ لَّهُدِّمَتْ صَوَامِعُ وَبِيَعُ وَمِيعُ وَصِلَوَاتُ وَمَسَاحِدُ بُدْكَرُ فِيهَا اسْمُ اللَّهِ كَثِيرًا وَلَيَنصُرُنَ اللَّهُ مَن يَنصُرُهُ إِنَّ اللَّهُ لَقُويٌ عَزِيزٌ

Al-hajj:40

those who have been driven from their homelands against all right for no other reason than their saying. "Our Sustainer is God!" For, if God had not enabled people to defend themselves against one another, ^[58] all] monasteries and churches and synagogues and mosques - in [all of] which Gods name is abundantly extolled - would surely have been destroyed [ere now]. ^[59] And God will most certainly succour him who succours His cause: for, verily, God is most powerful, almighty,

6. INVITING OTHERS TO GOD'S WAY BY WISDOM AND DECENT DIALOGUE

• ادْعُ إلِى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحِكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسنَةِ وَجَادِلْهُم بِالَّتِي هِيَ أَحْسَنُ إِنَّ رَبِّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ (16:125) رَبَّكَ هُوَ أَعْلَمُ بِالْمُهْتَدِينَ (16:125)

Al-nahl:125

CALL THOU (all mankind] unto thy Sustainer's path with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and argue with them in the most kindly manner- for, behold, thy Sustainer knows best as to who strays from His path, and best knows He as to who are the right-guided.

7.NO COERCION OR COMPULSION TO EMBRACE ISLAM

إكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قد تَّبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِن بِاللهِ فَقدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى لا انفِصنامَ لَهَا وَاللهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ

Al-Bagarah :256

There shall be no coercion in matters of faith. Distinct has now become the right way from [the way of] error: hence, he who rejects the powers of evil [250] and believes in God has indeed taken hold of a support most unfailing, which shall never give way: for God is all-hearing, all-knowing.

8.HEREAFTER AS THE ULTIMATE DESTINY WITHOUT FORGETTING WELL-BEING IN THIS WORLD

وَابْتَغِ فِيمَا آتَاكَ اللَّهُ الدَّارَ الْآخِرَةَ وَلَا تَنسَ نَصِيبَكَ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَأَحْسِن كَمَا • أَحْسَنَ اللَّهُ إِلنَّا لَلَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ المُقْسِدِينَ أَحْسَنَ اللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ المُقْسِدِينَ

al-Qasas : 77

Seek instead, by means of what God has granted thee, [the good of] the life to come, without forgetting, withal, thine own [rightful] share in this world; and do good [unto others] as God has done good unto thee; and seek not to spread corruption on earth: for, verily, God does not love the spreaders of corruption!"

MUSLIM NATIONS

- The need to be guided and imbued with the Islamic principles and values in the process of national reforms and socio-political transformation, to overcome the maladies of corruption, abuse of power, social injustice and internal divisions.
- The need for solidarity and unity in facing the new challenges of changing geopolitical scenario in this era of turbulence and the rise of the China and other BRIC countries.
- While pursuing soft power diplomacy they have to be vigilant not to be deceived by the tactics and strategies of powerful nations as well as International Zionism, and liberate themselves from the traps of economic and cultural bondage coupled with financial and material debt to the rich and powerful nations of the West and the East.



SYMBOL OF ISLAMIC EQUALITY, SOLIDARITY, UNITY IN DIVERSITY, SERVITUDE TO GOD WITH VIRTUOUS LEADERSHIP.

THANK YOU