

The OIC's potential, capabilities and constraints for International Conflict Resolution

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Introduction

The Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) is one of the largest international organizations, which represents aspirations of 1.5 billion Muslims residing all over the world. It comprises Fifty-Seven member states and many observers; including four states, one Muslim community/organization, two Islamic institutions and five international organizations. The members of the OIC occupy a land mass of over eight million sq km, having enormous human and natural resources. According to population estimates of United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), seven members of the OIC fall in top twenty most populous countries in the world. By 2050, ten Muslim countries will be included in the list of top twenty most populous countries in the world.¹ Many members of the OIC have remained adversely affected by numerous internal/external conflicts, which have had very negative influence on come up a long way, yet it has not been able to develop any viable mechanism for conflict resolution amongst its members and with rest of the world.

Power potential of any state or an alliance of states plays very important role in international politics. Hans J. Morgenthau, a renowned political scientist says, "International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power."² Many political scientists have developed their theories based on the notion of power. "Power", as asserted by Karl W. Deutsch, "is the ability to prevail in conflict and to overcome obstacles."³ Joshua Goldstein defines power "as the ability to get another actor does what it would not otherwise have done (or not to do what it would have done)."⁴ Amstutz states, "each state needs power because it is responsible for its own security and the promotion of vital interests in the world. Kenneth Waltz, a leading international relations theorist, observes that power provides states with four important resources: (1) maintenance of autonomy, (2) increased freedom of action, (3) greater margin of safety, and (4) greater influence in the international community."⁵ National

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power has many dimensions. It is a total sum of multidimensional abilities and capabilities, including manpower, military, economic, technological, psychological and cultural dimension of any nation/group of nations. . “Power can be institutionalized by establishing rules, regimes, and institutions that reflect the distribution of power among groups and communities.”⁶ In contemporary period, United Nations (UN), European Union (EU), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) are a few, amongst many, examples of institutionalization of political, military and/or economic power at international level.

Some important tangible elements of national power include territory (area) /geography, population (availability of work force), natural resources, education standards, economic and technological development, and military capabilities, whereas intangible elements of power include philosophy and ideology of a nation, nature of government and its institutions, and quality of the leadership.

Power Potential of the OIC

Arthur Sharplin defines ‘Power’ as “the ability to influence others”⁷ , whereas Amstutz defines ‘Potential Power’ as “the anticipated capacity of a state to determine outcome based on its tangible and intangible resources.”⁸ Identification of power potential of any country does not provide her the ability to influence international events. In fact, the ability of transforming the potential to capabilities and the political will to use such capabilities can guarantee the desired results. Unfortunately, not much information is available on power potential of the Muslim world. Considerable effort has been made by the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) to launch a Statistical Capacity Building Initiative in 2007.⁹ Similarly, establishment of Statistical, Economic and Social Research and Training Centre for Islamic Countries (SESRIC)¹⁰ is another positive

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development in this regard. Moreover, very useful data/information is available at CIA The World Factbook¹¹, The Military Balance of the International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS)¹² and the Muslim Index¹³. A brief overview of the facts discussed in subsequent paragraphs will indicate that the OIC member states, though weak in certain areas, possess enormous power potential, which provides them a remarkable opportunity to play a positive and effective role in international conflict resolution.

Area/Land of the OIC Members

Most of the OIC member states are located in Asia Pacific, the Middle East, and North and West Africa. The OIC represents fifty-seven member states, which occupy 32,193,125 sq km of area and hold numerous locations that are crucially important for various reasons.

Fourteen member states of the OIC are located in Asia, having an area of 8,712,278 sq km. Three countries; Bangladesh, Maldives, and Pakistan situated in South Asia occupy an area of 948,238 sq km, whereas three countries located in West Asia; Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, and Turkey occupy an area of 1,514,680 sq km. Remaining five countries; Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan occupy an area of 3,994,400 sq km. Three Muslim countries located in South-east Asia; Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia occupy an area of 2,250,960 sq km.

All but one countries (Israel) located in the Middle East are members of the OIC and they occupy an area of 5,298,854 sq km. These countries include; Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates (UAE), and Yemen. Amongst the Middle Eastern member states, Bahrain is the smallest country having an area of 665 sq km only whereas Saudi Arabia, the largest country in the region has an area of 2,149,690 sq km.

Majority of the OIC member states, i.e. twenty-seven countries are located in Africa. Altogether, they occupy an area of 17,775,005 sq km. Seven countries located in North Africa; Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Tunisia, and Sudan have an area of 9,289,410 sq km. Fourteen member states of the OIC are located in West Africa, occupying an area of 5,501,147 sq km. Gambia; with 11,300 sq km is the smallest Muslim state in West Africa, whereas Cameroon, with an area of 475,440 sq km is the largest. Six other members of the OIC, occupying an area of 2,984,457 are located in remaining parts of Africa (centre, south, east and southeast).

Only three members of the OIC are located in Europe and Americas. Albania, located in Eastern Europe, has an area of 28,748 sq km, whereas Guyana and Suriname, in Northern South America, occupy 214,970 sq km and 163,270 sq km respectively.

Region wise Area of the Muslim Countries

Table - 1: Area of the OIC Members in the World

Region	Area(sq km)
Asia	8,712,278
Middle East	5,298,854
Africa	17,775,005
Europe and Americas	378,240
Total	32,193,125

Source: Compiled from the data available at the CIA Factbook, <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos.html>. Accessed on 3 January 2011.

Geopolitical and Geostrategic Significance of the OIC Member States

According to Joshua S. Goldstein “the use of geography as an element of power is called geopolitics”¹⁴, whereas Amstutz considers that geopolitics is “the field that examines the interrelationship of geography, national power, and foreign policy.”¹⁵ Theodore A. Coulombis and James Wolfe consider that geopolitics is a “discipline, which fuses subjects such as geography, strategy and politics.”¹⁶ In nutshell, geography, i.e. the territory/area and location of any state or an alliance/coalition of states plays an extremely important role in international politics.

It is worth noting that nature has gifted unique geo-strategic advantage to the OIC Member States. Most of the important waterways and strategic choke points are either possessed or dominated by Muslim countries.

It is worth noting that nature has gifted unique geo-strategic advantage to the OIC Member States. Most of the important waterways and strategic choke points are either possessed or dominated by Muslim countries. Moreover, many Muslim countries control major hydrocarbon energy sources and other precious natural resources. Among the waterways and international trade choke points, the OIC Member

states can completely control Gibraltar, Southern/Eastern coasts of Mediterranean, Suez Canal, Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. “The Strait of *Hormuz* larding out of Persian Gulf and the Strait of Malacca linking the Indian and Pacific Oceans are two of the world most strategic choke points.”¹⁷ Both these areas are dominated by the OIC member states. Another extremely important passage - *Bab el-Mandab* - that connects Arabian Sea with Red Sea is also totally controlled by the members of the OIC. Approximately, one-half of the total oil production, which has been called ‘lifeblood of modern civilization’,¹⁸ is transported through sea route/waterways. “The blockage of a chokepoint, even temporarily, can lead to substantial increases in total energy costs.”¹⁹ As regards the Persian Gulf, “its coastal areas are the world's largest single source of crude oil.”²⁰ Located between Oman and Iran, the Strait of Hormuz connects the Persian Gulf with the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea. Hormuz is the world's most important oil chokepoint due to its daily oil flow of 15 to 20 million barrels, which is roughly 40 percent of all seaborne traded oil or 20 percent of oil traded worldwide. Closure of the Strait of Hormuz would require the use of longer alternate routes at increased transportation costs.²¹ The Strait of Malacca, located between Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, links the Indian Ocean to the South China Sea and Pacific Ocean. It is the key chokepoint in Asia. Over 50,000 vessels transit the Strait of Malacca per year. If the Strait was blocked, nearly half of the world's fleet would be required to reroute around the Indonesia.²²

In addition to above, many Muslim countries occupy/offer very important land and air routes. The Middle East and Turkey act as a land bridge between Asia and Europe. In South and West Asia, Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan occupy strategically very important locations, as these countries provide the only viable land route from Central Asian States and Russia/China to Indian Ocean. Thus, their strategic significance for ‘Great Game’ in the past and for a ‘New Great Game’ at present.

Muslim Population in the world

Population, like territory, is another important factor in estimating power potential of any nation or group of nations. However, Amstutz observes, “although the size of a nation’s population is not a key determinant of power, it nevertheless contributes to the power potential of a country in part because it determines the size of the pool from which soldiers are selected for military services.”²³ He also adds that “in general, most influential states in the world are those with large military forces and those, with few exceptions, tend to be nations with large population.”²⁴

Similarly, large population can be helpful in economic development of a country by providing a large work force/labor.

Notwithstanding minor variations, the total population of the OIC Members states ranges between 1.485 billion to 1.545 billion. Country wise details are shown at Appendix-1. According to a recent research carried out by The Pew Forum on the Muslim Population in the World, which was published in October 2009 with the title of ‘Mapping the Global Muslim Population’, “study of more than 200 countries finds that there are 1.57 billion Muslims of all ages living in the world today, representing 23% of an estimated 2009 world population of 6.8 billion.”²⁵ According to Pew Research Centre’s Report, more than 60 % of the global Muslim population is in Asia and about 20 % is in the Middle East and North Africa.²⁶ It is important to note that four Muslim countries: Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Pakistan are among ten most populous countries²⁷, whereas seventeen Muslim countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, , Iraq, Malaysia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, Uzbekistan, and Yemen are among fifty most populous countries of the world²⁸. Four countries; Indonesia (228-234 million), Pakistan (163-167 million), and Bangladesh (144- 158 million), and Nigeria (135-151 million) have population of more than 100 million.

It is important to note that four Muslim countries: Bangladesh, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Pakistan are among ten most populous countries¹, whereas seventeen Muslim countries: Afghanistan, Algeria, Bangladesh, Egypt, Indonesia, Iran, , Iraq, Malaysia, Morocco, Nigeria, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Turkey, Uganda, Uzbekistan, and Yemen are among fifty most populous countries of the world

Muslim Minorities

While 80 % of the world’s Muslims live in countries where Muslims are in majority, a significant number live as religious minorities in other countries. Of the roughly 317 million Muslims living as minorities, about 240 million – about three quarters – live in five countries: India (161 million), Ethiopia (28 million), China (22 million), Russia (16 million)

and Tanzania (13 million).²⁹ Europe has about 38 million Muslims, constituting about 5 % of its population. Four million Muslims live in Germany.³⁰ Approximately 4.6 million Muslims live in Americas. About 2.5 million live in the United States and about 700,000 Muslims in Canada³¹. Argentina, with 800,000 Muslims, has the largest number of Muslims in South America.³²

Work Force

The OIC countries, with a large population base, have great potential of large work forces - approximately 455 million males and 439 million females. Indonesia, alone, has a work force of over 150 million (male: 77 million and female: 76 million) followed by Pakistan and Bangladesh having work force of 96 and 95 million respectively. Country wise details of work force are indicated at Appendix 1 and summary of workforce available in top ten OIC member states is shown in Table- 2.

Table-2 Availability of Work Force in Top 10 Muslim Countries

Ser	Country*	Population*	Work/Labor Force (Millions)*			Un-employment Rate*	Population below Poverty *
			Male	Female	Total		
1.	Indonesia	234.69	77.13	76.73	153.86	7.7%	17.8%
2.	Pakistan	164.74	49.59	47.33	96.92	15.2%	24%
3.	Bangladesh	150.45	48.66	46.71	95.37	2.5%	36.3%
4.	Nigeria	135.03	37.54	36.28.	73.82	4.9%	70%
5.	Egypt	80.34	25.96	25.08	50.77	9.7%	20%
6.	Turkey	71.16	24.63	23.86	48.48	14.5%	17.1%
7.	Iran	65.40	23.64	23.09	46.73	11.8%	18.0%
8.	Sudan	39.38	11.08	10.96	22.04	18.7%	40%
9.	Algeria	33.33	11.41	11.24	32.65	12.4%	23%
10.	Morocco	33.76	10.75	10.82	21.57	9.9%	15%

***Source:** Data compiled from the country profiles at CIA World Factbook, <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos.html>. Accessed on 3 September 2010.

The rate of un-employment in most of the OIC Member States is alarmingly very high. Therefore, need to pay special attention towards human resource development to be able to utilize such great potential for economic progress and prosperity of the OIC collectively.

Military Capacity of the OIC Member States

“Realists tend to see military forces as the most important element of national power in the short term.”³³ Since “national security is ultimately based on each state’s ability to protect its territories from foreign aggression and to promote its vital interest abroad”³⁴, Amstutz considers that “military resources are undoubtedly the most important element of power.”³⁵ He declares, “military capacity is the foundation of a country’s national power”³⁶ and emphasizes, “the ability to deter aggression or to influence other actors is ultimately rooted in the capacity to achieve its objective through force.”³⁷ The real capability/capacity of the armed forces depends upon its quantity and quality.

The OIC Member States also have enormous capacity of the manpower, which is fit for military service including a large number of people who reaches to military significant age every year.

It is worth noting that total military strength of the OIC Member States is around 5.3 million (Army: 4.59 million, Navy: 0.27 million and Air Force: 0.44 million). This force is more than the military strength of NATO forces which is 4.07 million (Army: 2.66 million, Navy: 0.66 million and Air Force: 0.75 million), and is almost equal to the military forces of permanent members (P-5) of the UN Security Council, 5.26 million (Army: 3.53 million, Navy: 0.81 million and Air Force: 0.92 million). In addition the OIC Member States have large number of Reserves and Para Military Forces, amounting to 3.25 million and 2.0 million respectively as compared to 3.43 million and 0.49 million with NATO countries. The OIC Member States also have enormous capacity of the manpower, which is fit for military service including a large number of people who reaches to military significant age every year. According to data available at CIA Fact Book, the OIC Member States have availability of 939 million people out of which 481 million people (257 million male and 224 million female) are fit for military service and approximately 21 million people reach up to military significance age every year.

As regards military expenditure, many OIC member states spend considerable amount on their defense. This expenditure ranges from less than 1.0 % of the GDP to as high as 10 % or more of the GDP (Qatar: 10 %, Saudi Arabia: 10 %, and Oman: 11.5%). Summary of the military forces of the OIC members is attached at Appendix-2. Comparison of the military forces and percentage of the GDP spent on defense expenditure

by the OIC Member States along with same information of the NATO, Permanent Five (P-5) members of the UN and G-8 countries is reflected at Appendix-3.

Economic and Natural Resources of the OIC Member States

Possession and exploitation of natural resources and industrial production are essential for the economic development of any nation. Goldstein considers that “the most important single indicator of a state’s power is its total GDP, which combines overall size, technological level, and wealth.”³⁸ It is pertinent to note that GDP of Muslim countries is very low as compared to developed countries. Only ten members of the OIC are amongst the world Top 50 countries with higher GDP in the world. GDP of Top 10 OIC Member States is 2,775,450 Million US \$, which is almost equal to the GDP of France (2,666,000 Million US \$) alone. GDP of Top 25 Muslim countries (3,710,870 million US \$) is hardly slightly more than that of Germany (3,273,000 million US \$), and 4 times lesser than the United States’ GDP (14,430,000 Million US \$). GDP and their world ranking of these countries are shown in Table 5.

Table- 5 GDP (2009) of Top 10 Member States of the OIC

Ser	GDP World Ranking	Country	GDP US \$ (Million)
1.	17	Turkey	608,400
2.	18	Indonesia	514,900
3.	23	Saudi Arabia	379,500
4.	29	Iran	331,800
5.	36	United Arab Emirates	228,600
6.	40	Malaysia	207,400
7.	42	Egypt	188,000
8.	43	Pakistan	166,500
9.	44	Nigeria	165,400
10.	49	Algeria	134,800
Total GDP of top 10 Muslim Countries			2,775,450

Sources: *CIA World Factbook*, <http://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos.html>. Accessed on 10 May 2010.

Human Resource

Corresponding to a large population of the OIC Member States (approximately 1.5 billion), a work force of approximately 900 million

(455 million males and 439 million females) is available with the OIC. Literacy rate and human resource development level in most of the OIC Member States is not very high but such large of number of work force can be utilized to a great advantage of the Muslim world with improved standards of education.

Intangible Elements of Power

Intangible element of power can be called software of the national power, which converts the physical/tangible elements into actual/real power. For OIC, these elements could include cohesiveness and political will, institutional strength/mechanism, nature/type of governments, diplomatic skills and superior leadership.

Cohesiveness and Political Will

Collective worldview and common/shared vision about objectives, goals and aspirations bring cohesiveness in a group of nations. In case of the OIC, the main binding force is religion. Islam is a religion of peace and harmony, which advocates peaceful co-existence. Due to innumerable reasons, Muslim world is neither united nor cohesive. Therefore, lack of unity and solidarity has harmed the Muslims world in many ways.

Nature of Governments

Since the OIC represents a large group of nations, structure, character and nature of governments differ considerably due to their peculiar history. Colonial rule over most of these countries in last two centuries and their division into many small states by their erstwhile colonial masters have had very pronounced effect on the nature of governments in the Muslim countries. Many Muslim countries are being (or have been) ruled by hereditary monarchs or authoritarian military despots. Mostly, interests of these rulers run opposite to the interest of their people and the collective interest of the Muslim *Ummah*. Only a few countries have democratic system, which also suffers from many non-democratic practices.

Leadership

The quality, wisdom, foresightedness, sincerity and vision of the political and military leadership have always played very decisive role in the history of nations. The leaders identify national goals and chalk out strategies to achieve such goals. The decisions made through

institutionalized consultative decision-making process enjoy greater national support. Visionary leadership also play very crucial role in early resolution of complex international disputes, thereby saving their nation from obvious damage caused by conflicts. Unfortunately, in the last two centuries, the Muslim world has not been able to produce many good leaders, who could steer the crucial matters facing the *Ummah*.

Cooperation at the OIC level

The OIC, over a period of time has attained a pivotal position to foster cooperation among its members and has established many subsidiary institutions and organizations for this purpose. These institutions need to work more vigorously to attain desired level of cooperation in the fields of diplomacy/international politics, defense, international peace and security, commerce and trade, industry, education , human resource development, science, and technology to mention only a few. Besides cooperation at governmental level, it needs to be encouraged and promoted at people-to-people level by allowing visa free easy travel to all Muslims countries.

The OIC and International Peacekeeping

The OIC supports all UN efforts to maintain international peace and security. To this end, members of the OIC have made phenomenal contribution towards international peacekeeping. The OIC member states have provided maximum forces to the UN for various peacekeeping operations. It is pertinent to note that in last ten years the OIC Members have provided almost one-half of the total forces made available to the UN for various peacekeeping missions. Interestingly almost half of these forces were provided by only two OIC members - Pakistan and Bangladesh. A brief comparison of international community's total contribution towards UN peacekeeping vis-à-vis that of the OIC members, in last ten years, is shown in Table-3. Country wise participation of the Top 10 OIC members is also indicated at Table 4.

Table-3 International Community’s Contribution towards UN Peacekeeping vis-à-vis the OIC

Ser	Year	International Community, including OIC	The OIC Members	International Community, excluding OIC
1.	2001	44714	18470	26244
2.	2002	44006	18193	25813
3.	2003	37265	13336	23929
4.	2004	58308	27240	31068
5.	2005	68985	31288	37697
6.	2006	72790	33429	39361
7.	2007	84094	37573	46521
8.	2008	88354	39887	48467
9.	2009	93354	43926	49428
10.	2010	100501	49289	51212
Total		692371	312631	379740

Source: Data about monthly contributions by UN Member States avail at UN Peace-keeping website www.un.org

Note: No compiled data is available. These figures are near accurate.

Table-4 The OIC Top Ten Members’ Contribution towards UN Peace-keeping (2001-2010)

Serial	Country	Contribution of Peacekeepers	Serial	Country	Contribution of Peacekeepers
1	Pakistan	83160	6	Morocco	12937
2	Bangladesh	79993	7	Egypt	11598
3	Nigeria	38214	8	Benin	7404
4	Jordan	27173	9	Indonesia	6265
5	Senegal	14968	10	Tunisia	4427
Total					286157

Source: <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/cntributors/pages>

Note: Data/Information compiled from monthly/year wise contributions

Constraints of the OIC and its Member States for Conflict Resolution

Although, most of the OIC Member States have enormous resources yet they lack the ability to transform this potential to useable capabilities. It is more applicable in conflict resolution at three levels, the intra-state conflicts, the interstate conflicts between members of the OIC, and interstate conflicts between a member state of the OIC and any other

state(s). Such constraints can be divided into three categories; constraints pertaining to organizational matters, politico-military capabilities and resource constraints.

Organizational Matters

Since weakening and eventual fall of Ottoman Empire, the Muslim world has lost its ability to organize itself at international level. Most of the Member States of the OIC got their independence after World War II. Only four countries; Afghanistan, Albania, Saudi Arabia and Turkey had the status of an independent country prior to 1939. Many Muslim countries have been fragmented into tiny states by their erstwhile imperial/colonial masters and most of the boundaries in Africa are totally unnatural. Since its inception, in 1969, the OIC has come up a long way, yet it lacks the organizational framework to become a true representative of the Muslim world. The OIC, at present is neither politically structured nor has the mandate to make binding decisions. The Islamic Summit, the highest forum of the OIC, meets after every three years³⁹ whereas the Council of Foreign Ministers meets on yearly basis.⁴⁰ Mostly the decisions are made through consensus and in practice have no binding obligation on the Member States.

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Capacity for Proactive Response

The OIC cannot take cognizance of any issue/dispute which is considered as internal matter of the state⁴¹ and all members are required to refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of others⁴². They are also required to “settle their disputes through peaceful means and refrain from use or threat of use of force in their relations.”⁴³ Therefore, , no mechanism exists, which can help and assist the member states to resolve their internal/external disputes and especially where potential danger exists for escalation of an internal dispute to become an international dispute, which is likely to invoke international response/intervention. Ongoing situations in Afghanistan, Iraq, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Sudan in last few years and current situation in Middle East and North Africa are case in point. The OIC, besides developing organizational ability to resolve the internal

(intra-state) disputes and inter-states dispute among its Member States, needs to develop the capability for ‘collective defense’ and collective security’.

Politico-military Capabilities

The influence of any nation or group of nations in global politics is greatly dependant on its/their military capabilities and economic strength. Clausewitz has considered war as a rational instrument of state policy. His most famous phrase regarding *Politik* has been generally translated, as “War is a continuation of ‘policy’— or of ‘politics’— by other means.”⁴⁴ Barring a few Muslim countries, most members of the OIC have not been able to train their political, diplomatic and military leadership to handle international crisis in befitting manner. No organizational mechanism, such as European Union (EU), Atlantic Council, Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), Commonwealth of Independent Countries (CIS) or Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), exists in case of the OIC Member states, which would provide an appropriate forum to consider their security concerns in global context and allow them to adopt politico-military measure for their collective security.

One of the major impediments in the OIC’s capacity for international conflict resolution is the resources constraint. Though per capita GDP of some members of the OIC is quite high, yet most of them badly suffer due to very low per capita GDP.

Military capabilities include four major components: force structure, modernization, readiness, and sustainability.⁴⁵ Most of the members of the OIC do have sufficient force structure but they lack other three elements in varying degree.

Resource Constraint

One of the major impediments in the OIC’s capacity for international conflict resolution is the resources constraint. Though per capita GDP of some members of the OIC is quite high, yet most of them badly suffer due to very low per capita GDP. Many members of the OIC have enormous natural resources, which have not yet been either fully

exploited/developed or being looted and plundered by occupying/foreign forces due to prevailing conflicts in those areas.

The OIC's Role in International Conflict Resolution

The OIC Charter provides very limited space for interference/intervention in case any internal conflict situation in its Member States. However, many member of the OIC have contributed positively in the UN efforts for international conflict resolution by actively participating in UN peacekeeping operations.

The OIC's Efforts for Resolution of Arab-Israel Dispute and Palestinian Conflict

The OIC came into existence primarily due to atrocities committed by Israel against Palestinian people and their attempt to destroy the holy *Al-Aqsa* Mosque but the OIC has not been able to achieve its objective of liberating Palestine. Neither could it stop increasing brutalities and state sponsored terrorism of Israel against the innocent Palestinian people, nor the construction of illegal settlements, which have been declared totally unlawful, and illegitimate activity by the UN and the International Court of Justice. The OIC has also not succeeded to facilitate return of many million Palestinian refugees to their homeland. It also could not force the Israel to withdraw to pre-1967 borders and vacate illegally occupied Palestinian and Arab land. On the political front, the OIC has made some progress but most of its efforts and activities, at best, can be termed as politico-diplomatic rhetoric, which are not backed by corresponding political will, diplomatic determination and required military and economic measures.

The OIC's Efforts for Resolution of Kashmir Dispute

The OIC has extended some diplomatic and moral support to the perpetually oppressed Kashmiris, which has also primarily remained restricted to political rhetoric. No worthwhile effort has been made to provide any material or real support to Kashmiri people in their war of liberation against illegal occupation by India and heinous crimes perpetrated by Indian Armed forces against innocent Kashmiris.

Other Conflicts and Crises faced by the OIC Member States

Various other conflicts confronted by the OIC members can be divided into four categories; occupation by foreign forces, intra- state disputes, the

internal disputes and the freedom struggles by Muslim minorities in their home country. The first category includes current situation in Iraq and Afghanistan as emerged after U.S. led invasion in both countries. Notwithstanding the multinational composition of foreign forces and their legal status that has remained questionable since the first day of such operations, political opposition and militant resistance against foreign presence in both the countries is prominently visible. The OIC has not been able to play any role to facilitate withdrawal of the foreign forces from these countries.

Some conflicts exist between members of the OIC and their neighbors, such as territorial dispute between Armenia and Azerbaijan and the Turkish and Greek Cyprus. The OIC has extended some political support to its Member States in these conflicts. The situation in Darfur/Sudan, the

The problems of Kosovo, Chechnya, and issues pertaining to Moro Liberation Front in Philippines and Muslims in Southern Thailand are case in point. The OIC has always expressed its solidarity with these Muslim minorities in their just political struggle for freedom but does not support any militant activity.

dispute in southern Nigeria, the problem in Sierra Leone and ongoing anarchy in Somalia are some examples of internal disputes. Politico-military assertions by militants groups in Pakistan, Uzbekistan, and Yemen and recent political disturbances in Middle East and North African certainly demand a more comprehensive response from the OIC otherwise many situations may worsen like the situation in Libya providing a good pretext to neo-colonization forces to occupy these countries.

The problems of other Muslim minority communities that are struggling for the freedom and independence are likely to draw more attention in the future. The problems of Kosovo, Chechnya, and issues pertaining to Moro Liberation Front in Philippines and Muslims in Southern Thailand are case in point. The OIC has

always expressed its solidarity with these Muslim minorities in their just political struggle for freedom but does not support any militant activity.

Recommendations

It can be concluded from the facts mentioned above that; the OIC has sufficient resources to play an important role in global politics, especially in international conflict resolution, provided it can demonstrate required unity and determined political will to do so. Following recommendations are proffered to vitalize the OIC to embark upon such crucial undertaking.

Re-naming the OIC

The OIC certainly needs a new title that reflects the political aspirations of more than 1.5 billion Muslims across the world, provides renewed hope and optimism, demonstrates political will and desire to overcome ongoing turmoil, chaos, despair and helps to prevent virtual anarchy in most the Muslim countries. Some suggested titles are; the Organization of Islamic Unity (OIU), Organization of Islamic Solidarity (OIS), the Organization of Islamic Unity and Solidarity (OIUS) and Islamic Union (IU).

Reforming the OIC Charter/Structure

The OIC Charter was revised in 2008 but it does not provide adequate means of conflict resolution – an issue of serious consequences for survival and progress of the OIC member states in the 21st Century. Another challenge for the OIC is to guard its member states against neo-colonization and neo-imperialism in the garb of variety of multinational activities, so called globalization and humanitarian/international intervention. Therefore, the need to develop more meaningful Charter and new structure of the OIC.

Collective Security and Collective Defense for the OIC

Adequate arrangements for ‘Collective Security’ and ‘Collective Defense’⁴⁶ of the OIC Member States are required to be developed. The OIC needs to constitute a ‘Peace and Security Committee’ for this purpose. Defense/security experts and senior diplomats of international repute from the OIC member states should be assigned this task. New provisions for peace and security, having binding obligations on all members, should be incorporated in the revised Charter.

Enhanced Cooperation

The OIC should also develop mechanism to enhance better cooperation and contact on people-to-people basis. Region blocks of visa

free arrangement should be encouraged. Closer inter-action among youth organizations and exchange programs among universities can be very useful in fostering greater cooperation among the OIC Member States. The key to success, progress and prosperity for the OIC lies in enhancing cooperation among its members to all possible limits.

Peace and Security Committee and the Office of the Peace and Security Advisor to the Secretary General

In order to continuously monitor the global security situation and analyze its implications for the member states, with a view to suggesting appropriate response, 'the OIC Peace and Security Committee' should be formulated. The Committee may consist of the foreign or/and defense ministers and Armed Forces chiefs of seven Member States of the OIC elected by the Council of Foreign Ministers. The Committee should meet on quarterly basis and submit periodic reports to the Council of Foreign Ministers. The 'Office of the Peace and Security Advisor' to the Secretary General should also be established to work as the secretariat for the Committee. Preferably, a serving/retired senior military officer having requisite experience and exposure at the international level should be appointed as Peace and Security Advisor to the Secretary General.

Besides undertaking the OIC mandated peacekeeping missions, the OIC must ensure that in case of any peacekeeping missions authorized by the United Nations Security Council in any OIC Member State, at least fifty percent peacekeeping force must be contributed by the OIC Member States.

Peacekeeping Operations by the OIC

In order to ensure that various conflicts affecting the Muslim world are resolved at an earlier stage, the OIC must undertake peacekeeping operations, under the OIC's auspices, as envisaged in Article 52 and 53, Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. The organizational capability and force structure should be developed accordingly. Besides undertaking the OIC mandated peacekeeping missions, the OIC must ensure that in case of any peacekeeping missions authorized by the United Nations Security Council

in any OIC Member State, at least fifty percent peacekeeping force must be contributed by the OIC Member States.

Creation of the OIC Standby Peacekeeping Force

Many OIC Member States have extensive experience and expertise of providing large number of military and police force for the UN peacekeeping missions. In order to meet complex requirement of peacekeeping operations, much longer time is required for planning and force generation. Therefore, the OIC must maintain Standby Peacekeeping Force. The standby arrangement can be made functional on similar lines as already established by the United Nations and some other regional organizations. Participation in the OIC Peacekeeping Standby Force should be mandatory for all Member States. It is recommended that five percent of the national defense forces, three percent of para-military forces and two percent of the police force should be made available for the proposed OIC Peacekeeping Standby Force by all member states. The Member States shall remain responsible for necessary training and provision of equipment for envisaged peacekeeping operations.

At present, there are more refugees and displaced persons in the Muslim countries than any other part of the World. This number is increasing due to numerous conflicts prevailing in many Muslim countries.

Development of Rapid Response and High Readiness Force

In crises, such as rapid/swift deployment for humanitarian assistance, search, rescue and relief operations during natural disasters, peacekeeping and peacemaking or other crises demanding immediate response, the only answer is 'Rapid Response/High Readiness Force'. Most the Muslim countries live in highly volatile environment, which demand rapid reaction to many emerging crises. Such response is more important as part of preventive strategy, in order to avert further deterioration and aggravation of the crisis. It is, therefore, suggested that the OIC should develop reasonable 'rapid response capability' to be able to respond to such situations.

Establishment of the OIC Commissioner for Displaced Persons and Humanitarian Assistance

At present, there are more refugees and displaced persons in the Muslim countries than any other part of the World. This number is

increasing due to numerous conflicts prevailing in many Muslim countries. Unfortunately, ongoing conflicts in many Muslim countries have caused a lot of internal displacement. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the UN Office of Coordinator for Humanitarian Assistance (OCHA) and many NGOs extend considerable help but magnitude of the problem demands much greater response. Many Muslim countries have also been adversely affected by natural calamities and disasters, such as earthquakes, tsunamis, floods and droughts, resulting into shortage of shelter, food and medicines. It is suggested that the OIC should establish an Office of the Commissioner for Displaced Persons and Humanitarian Assistance for better-coordinated response in all such crises. Establishment of this office will facilitate high-level coordination with UN/international agencies.

Establishment of Conflict Resolution Institutions in the Muslim World and Conduct of Peace Dialogue

Many Muslim societies and countries are facing the horrendous damages caused by variety of conflicts. Muslim countries and societies need to analyze the real causes of their miseries and sufferings. Hence, the need to establish centers of excellence for 'conflict resolution'. These institutes of 'peace and conflict studies' should be established at all major universities in the Muslim countries. Besides recommending remedial measures to get rid of this menace, they should interact with the world at large to remove misgivings and negative perceptions about Islam. They can also act as centers of inter faith and inter societal dialogue on all such issues.

Establishing Peacekeeping Training Centers

While conflict resolution institutes need to be established at the OIC level to provide conceptual framework for resolution of conflict all OIC Member States, which are maintaining a military force of more than one hundred thousand, should be asked to establish a 'Peacekeeping Training Centers'. These centers may be integrated into an Association of the Islamic Peacekeeping Centers (AIPC) at an appropriate stage. They can also become member of International Associations of Peacekeeping Training Centers.

The OIC Conflict Resolution Fund

The OIC requires sufficient funds to implement the proposed steps. Keeping in view the financial capacity of the OIC members, the

contributions can be divided into two categories: mandatory contribution, which should be proportionate to the GDP of the Member States, and a voluntary contribution.

Economic and Political Cooperation – A Comprehensive Security Concept

Unity, solidarity, peace and harmony at home and above all the economic progress provide necessary strength and ability to deal with the outside world. Disarray and division sends luring invitation to rest of the world to invade, conquer and capture natural resources and subjugate the people. Security is an all-encompassing concept, which does not mean protection from military threat alone. It also includes protection from political coercion, economic exploitation and cultural invasion. The security and safety of all natural resources, including food and energy resources is also essential. The survival and development of the Muslim world depends upon their ability to attain and maintain political unity and economic cooperation. In addition, harmonious and peaceful coexistence within the Muslim societies is essential for progress and prosperity. These goals can only be achieved if the Muslim world is free from internal strife and strong enough to protect itself from outside aggressions. Internal harmony demands fair and just distribution of resources and equal opportunities for progress and prosperity – in other words good governance. Strong economy and sincere leadership can create Muslim world's ability to withstand global pressures and safeguard national interests, while keeping the collective interests of the *Ummah* supreme in all matters.

Democratic Political Dispensation

The OIC member states need to incorporate fundamental changes in their governing style. Socio-economic justice, majority participation in collective decision-making, rightful access to and fair distribution of national resources, promotion of democratic practices, elimination of exploitation and intimidation of minorities, and equal welfare for all citizens are essential requirements to maintain peaceful Muslim societies. The rulers of the Muslim countries must address genuine grievances of their fellow citizens otherwise conflicts will keep perpetuating, which will have very adverse affects on the Muslim World. Recent upheavals in North African and Middle Eastern Muslim countries indicate such challenges.

Implementation of Recommendations of the OIC Commission of the Eminent Persons and the OIC Ten-Year Plan of Action

The OIC Commission of Eminent Persons was established during the Tenth OIC Summit held in Putrajaya in October 2003. The Commission was tasked to prepare a strategy and plan of action enabling the Islamic *Ummah* to meet the challenges of the 21st Century⁴⁷. The Commission submitted its report in 2005, making comprehensive recommendations for reforming and restructuring the OIC. During the Third Extra Ordinary Session of the Islamic Summit, held at Makkah on 7-8 December 2005, it was realized that the Muslim World is faced with grave political, socio-economic, cultural and scientific challenges.⁴⁸ A 'Ten-Year Program of Action to Meet the Challenges Facing the Muslim Ummah in The 21st Century' was also issued. Recommendation of the 'Commission of Eminent Persons' and the OIC 'Ten Year Program of Action' must be implemented in true letter and spirit.

Conclusion

The OIC member states have enormous resources, which can be used for their progress and prosperity, provided peace and stability prevails in these countries. Unfortunately, many members of the OIC are suffering from internal/international conflicts. However, if the OIC potential is translated into capabilities and its capacity for conflict resolution is enhanced, peace and stability can be achieved in the Muslim world, which will result into much greater peace and harmony at the global level and much awaited progress and development in the Muslim countries as well.

*The OIC's potential, capabilities and constraints for
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Appendix - 1

Population and Work/Labour Force - The OIC Member States

Ser	Country	Population (in million)				Work/Labour Force (in million)		
		CIA Fact Book ¹	Muslim Index ²	Military Balance ³	SESRIC ⁴	Male	Female	Total
1	Afghanistan	28.40	27.14	32.73	28.14	7.86	7.47	15.34
2	Albania	3.64	3.19	3.61	3.14	1.25	1.19	2.44
3	Algeria	33.33	33.86	33.76	34.36	11.41	11.24	22.65
4	Azerbaijan	8.12	8.47	8.17	8.68	2.70	2.80	5.49
5	Bahrain	0.71	0.76	0.72	0.77	0.28	0.21	0.49
6	Banglad-esh	150.45	158.67	153.54	144.66	48.66	46.71	95.37
7	Benin	8.08	9.03	8.29	8.66	2.14	2.20	4.34
8	Brunei	0.37	0.39	0.32	0.40	0.13	0.13	0.26
9	Burkina Faso	14.33	14.78	15.64	15.21	3.64	3.65	7.29
10	Cameroon	18.06	18.55	18.46	18.90	5.03	4.99	10.02
11	Chad	9.89	10.78	10.11	11.07	2.25	2.68	4.93
12	Comoros	0.71	0.68	0.00	0.64	0.19	0.20	0.39
13	Cote d'Ivoire	18.01	19.26	18.37	20.59	5.13	5.06	10.19
14	Djibouti	0.50	0.83	0.51	0.85	0.14	0.13	0.26
15	Egypt	80.34	75.50	81.71	81.53	25.69	25.08	50.77
16	Gabon	1.45	1.33	1.48	1.45	0.39	0.39	0.78
17	Gambia	1.69	1.71	1.73	1.66	0.45	0.45	0.90
18	Guinea	9.95	9.37	0.62	9.83	2.61	2.61	5.22
19	Guinea Bissau	1.47	1.70	1.50	1.58	0.39	0.43	0.82
20	Guyana	0.77	0.74	0.77	0.76	0.27	0.26	0.53
21	Indonesia	234.69	231.63	237.51	228.25	77.13	76.73	153.86
22	Iran	65.40	70.50	65.87	72.58	23.64	23.09	46.73
23	Iraq	27.50	28.99	28.22	30.41	8.02	7.81	15.83
24	Jordan	6.05	5.92	6.19	5.91	2.04	1.78	3.81
25	Kazakhstan	15.28	15.42	15.34	15.67	0.17	5.41	5.58
26	Kuwait	2.51	2.85	2.59	2.73	1.13	0.64	1.77
27	Kyrgyzstan	5.28	5.32	3.35	5.28	1.65	1.71	3.35
28	Lebanon	3.93	4.10	3.97	4.14	1.26	1.36	2.62
29	Libya	6.04	6.16	6.17	6.28	1.94	1.83	3.77
30	Malaysia	24.82	27.17	25.27	26.99	7.84	7.79	15.62
31	Maldives	0.37	0.31	0.00	0.31	0.10	0.10	0.20
32	Mali	12.00	12.34	12.32	12.71	2.89	2.96	5.85
33	Mauritania	3.27	3.12	3.36	3.20	0.85	0.87	1.71
34	Morocco	33.76	31.22	34.34	31.23	10.75	10.82	21.57

Population and Work/Labour Force - The OIC Member States

Ser	Country	Population (in million)				Work/Labour Force (in million)		
		CIA Fact Book ¹	Muslim Index ²	Military Balance ³	SESRIC ⁴	Male	Female	Total
35	Mozambique	20.91	21.40	21.28	21.78	5.35	5.63	10.98
36	Niger	12.89	14.23	13.27	14.67	3.35	3.17	6.53
37	Nigeria	135.03	148.09	138.28	151.32	37.54	36.28	73.82
38	Oman	3.20	2.60	3.31	2.79	1.03	0.72	1.75
39	Pakistan	164.74	163.71	167.76	163.76	49.59	47.33	96.92
40	Palestine	2.46	4.02	4.14	3.84	0.74	0.71	1.45
41	Qatar	0.91	0.84	0.93	1.28	0.46	0.21	0.66
42	Saudi Arabia	27.60	24.74	28.16	24.81	9.32	7.09	16.41
43	Senegal	12.52	12.38	12.85	12.21	3.43	3.45	6.88
44	Sierra Leone	20.93	5.87	62.94	5.56	6.95	7.26	14.21
45	Somalia	9.12	8.70	9.55	8.95	2.42	2.41	4.83
46	Sudan	39.38	38.56	40.21	41.35	11.08	10.96	22.04
47	Suriname	0.47	0.46	0.48	0.52	0.15	0.16	0.31
48	Syria	19.31	19.93	19.74	21.23	5.95	0.66	6.62
49	Tajikistan	7.08	6.74	7.21	6.84	2.15	2.18	4.33
50	Togo	5.70	6.59	5.85	6.46	1.54	1.62	3.15
51	Tunisia	10.28	10.33	10.38	10.33	3.57	0.54	4.11
52	Turkey	71.16	71.75	71.89	73.91	24.63	23.86	48.48
53	Turkmenistan	5.10	4.97	5.17	5.03	1.54	1.57	3.10
54	UAE	4.44	4.38	2.70	4.48	2.56	0.93	3.49
55	Uganda	30.26	30.88	31.36	31.66	7.23	7.19	14.42
56	Uzbekistan	27.78	27.37	28.26	27.31	8.64	8.82	17.45
57	Yemen	22.23	22.39	23.01	23.05	5.78	5.59	11.37
	Total	1,484.66	1,492.72	1,545.25	1,501.69	454.99	439.08	894.07

Source:

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* *CIA World Factbook*, op.cit.

Note: Data compiled from the OIC Member States' country profile.

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Appendix - 2

Military Capabilities - The OIC Member States

Ser	Country	*Total Military Force	*Army	*Navy	*Air Force	*Reserve	*Para Military Forces	*Foreign Forces
1	Afghanistan	53,400	52,000	0	1,400	0	0	62,556
2	Albania	14,295	Joint	Joint	Joint	0	500	0
3	Algeria	147,000	127,000	6,000	14,000	150,000	187,200	0
4	Azerbaijan	86,940	56,840	2,200	7,900	300,000	15,000	0
5	Bahrain	8,200	6,000	700	1,500	0	11,260	1,324
6	Bangladesh	157,053	126,153	16,900	14,000	0	63,900	0
7	Benin	4,750	4,300	200	250	0	2500	0
8	Brunei	7,000	4,900	1,000	1,100	700	2,250	1,050
9	Burkina Faso	10,800	10,600	0	200	0	250	0
10	Cameroon	14,100	12,500	1,300	300	0	9,000	50
11	Chad	25,350	25,000	0	350	0	9,500	3,378
12	Comoros	0	0	0	0	0	500	0
13	Cote d'Ivoire	17,050	15,450	900	700	10,000	1,500	8,017
14	Djibouti	10,450	10,000	200	250	0	2,500	4,850
15	Egypt	468,500	420,000	12,500	30,000	479,000	397,000	1,690
16	Gabon	4,700	3,200	500	1,000	0	2,000	800
17	Gambia	800	0	0	0	0	0	0
18	Guinea	12,300	11,100	400	800	0	7,000	0
19	Guinea Bissau	6,453	6,008	350	100	0	2,000	0
20	Guyana	1,320	1,100	120	100	0	300	0
21	Indonesia	302,000	233,000	4,500	2,400	400,000	280,000	0
22	Iran	523,000	475,000	18,000	30,000	350,000	40,000	0
23	Iraq	577,056	573,269	1,900	1,887	0	0	149,213
24	Jordan	100,500	88,000	500	12,000	65,000	10,000	0
25	Kazakhstan	49,000	34,000	3,000	12,000	0	31,500	0
26	Kuwait	15,500	11,000	2,000	2,500	23,700	7,100	555
27	Kyrgyzstan	10,900	8,500	0	2,400	0	9,500	500
28	Lebanon	56,000	53,900	1,100	1,000	0	20,000	12,543

Strategic Studies

Ser	Country	*Total Military Force	*Army	*Navy	*Air Force	*Reserve	*Para Military Forces	*Foreign Forces
29	Libya	76,000	50,000	8,000	18,000	40,000	0	0
30	Malaysia	109,000	80,000	14,000	15,000	51,600	24,600	128
31	Maldives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
32	Mali	7,350	7,350	0	0	0	4,800	0
33	Mauritania	15,870	15,000	620	250	0	5,000	0
34	Morocco	195,800	175,000	7,800	13,000	150,000	50,000	0
35	Mozambique	11,200	10,000	200	1,000	0	0	7
36	Niger	5,300	5,200	0	100	0	5,400	0
37	Nigeria	80,000	62,000	8,000	10,000	0	82,000	0
38	Oman	42,600	33,400	4,200	5,000	0	4,400	80
39	Pakistan	617,000	550,000	22,000	45,000	528,500	304,000	0
40	Palestine	0	0	0	0	0	56,000	0
41	Qatar	11,800	8,500	1,800	1,500	0	0	453
42	Saudi Arabia	221,500	188,000	13,500	20,000	0	15,500	287
43	Senegal	13,650	11,900	950	770	0	5,000	840
44	Sierra Leone	10,500	Joint	Joint	Joint	0	0	0
45	Somalia	0	0	0	0	0	0	6,400
46	Sudan	109,300	105,000	1,300	3,000	8500	17,500	9,333
47	Suriname	1,840	1,400	240	200	0	0	0
48	Syria	292,600	255,000	7,600	30,000	314,000	108,000	1,043
49	Tajikistan	8,800	7,300	1,500	0	0	7,500	280
50	Togo	8,550	8,100	2,000	250	0	750	0
51	Tunisia	35,800	27,000	4,800	4,000	0	12,000	0
52	Turkey	510,600	402,000	48,600	60,000	378,700	102,200	1,570
53	Turkmenistan	22,000	18,500	500	3,000	0	0	0
54	UAE	51,000	44,000	25,000	45,000	0	0	112
55	Uganda	45,000	45,000	0	0	0	1,800	0
56	Uzbekistan	67,000	50,000	17,000	20,000	0	20,000	163
57	Yemen	66,700	62,000	1,700	3,000	0	71,200	0
	Total	321,177	4,590,470	265,580	436,207	3,249,700	009,910	267,222
	Total in Mn	5.32	4.59	0.27	0.44	3.25	2	0.27

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Appendix - 3

Military Capabilities - Comparison between The OIC, NATO, G-8 and P-5 (in Mn)

Ser	Country	*Total Military Force	*Army	*Navy	*Air Force	*Reserve	*Para Military Forces
1	OIC	5.32	4.59	0.27	0.44	3.25	2
2	NATO	4.06	2.66	0.63	0.75	3.43	0.49
3	G 8	6.03	4.05	0.91	1.07	22.29	1.3
4	P 5	5.26	3.53	0.81	0.92	22.05	1.15
	TOTAL	21	15	3	3	51	5

@Manpower Available for Military Service (Age 16-49 years)		@Manpower Fit for Military Service (Age 16-49 years)		@Manpower Reaching Military Significant Age Annually		@Military Exp (% of GDP)
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
344.04	295.47	256.96	224.82	13.03	8.06	3.38%
199.19	196.76	163.29	160.86	5.58	5.32	2.02%
533.64	512.24	428.66	421.8	18.47	17.34	2.49%
474.23	455.29	380.21	375.41	17	15.95	3.3%
1,551	1,460	1,229	1,183	54	47	2.8%

Source: * *The Military Balance 2009*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, Routledge, London, 2009

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- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Joshua S. Goldstein, op.cit., p. 51.
- ³⁹ Article 8 of the OIC Charter 2008. .
- ⁴⁰ Article 10 of the OIC Charter 2008.
- ⁴¹ Article 1 &2 of the OIC Charter 2008.
- ⁴² Article 1 (serial 4) of the OIC Charter 2008.
- ⁴³ Article 1 (serial 3) of the OIC Charter 2008.
- ⁴⁴ Christopher Bassford, “Clausewitz and His Works”, <http://www.clausewitz.com/readings/Bassford/Cworks/Works.htm>. Accessed on 27 May 2010.
- ⁴⁵ Military Capability, *Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms*, U.S. Department of Defense 2005. <http://usmilitary.about.com/od/glossarytermsm/g/m3958.htm> Accessed on 29 May 201
- ⁴⁶ A collective security organization settles disputes among its members. In contrast, a collective defense organization assists a member state under attack by an outside country. For further details see Paul E. Gallis, Nato: article V and Collective Defense – CRS Report for Congress, Congress Research Service, The Library of Congress, <http://www.fas.org/man/crs/97-717f.htm>. Accessed on 27 May 2010. NATO is a collective defense organization whereas United Nations is a collective security organization.
- ⁴⁷ Senate *Foreign Relations Committee Report 6: Pakistan and the OIC*, September 2005, Senate of Pakistan, Islamabad, 2005. http://www.foreignaffairscommittee.org/includes/content_files/PAKISTAN ANDTHEOIC.pdf . Accessed on 12 June 2010.
- ⁴⁸ Ten-Year Programme of Action to Meet the Challenges Facing the Muslim Ummah in The 21st Century, <http://www.oic-oci.org/ex-summit/english/10-years-plan.htm>. Accessed 12 June 2010.