



recommended that further regulation (a “global democratic and civil order”) be instituted to keep in check the excesses of international capitalism.¹⁶

Alternatively, developments in Muslim countries can be seen in the context of three emerging global confrontations: economic conflict among the triad of rival economic centres (the United States, Western Europe, and Japan); the on-going North/South confrontation; and the “Spirit of Davos” legacy (neoliberalism) versus the “Spirit of Porto Alegre” (the so-called anti-globalization movement). It has also been predicted that the North/South polarization will intensify, which could lead to further economic and social marginalization in the South.

In the South, three types of reactions may emerge as a result of the widening North-South gap:

1. The “Khomeini” Option (refusal of the geocultural framework) This path could echo the sentiment that ‘our values are fundamentally different from the Western world.’ Osama bin Laden may make this argument.
2. The “Saddam Hussein” Option (direct military confrontation with the North) “The key to the power of the North is military power.” This may not exclusively take place within the “Muslim World.”

3. The “Individual” Option (illegal immigration from South to North)

Hence, conflicts taking place in the “Muslim World” have little to do with radical Islam, and similar struggles are taking place elsewhere in the South. If these three confrontations occur simultaneously, they will become more difficult to contain. Social disorder will also intensify in the North, resulting from the lack of integration and civil liberties of immigrants and other migrants.¹⁷

At the state level, the pains of modernization in Muslim countries have widened the divide between rich and poor within Muslim states. This, combined with further North/South polarization, has contributed to resentment in Muslim populations. In response to this, notions of Islamic social justice have been used by radical Islamic movements as a means of reaching out to ‘have-not’ classes. However, the socio-economic explanation of conflict has come under scrutiny from those who maintain that conflict and terrorism cannot only be explained by poverty, given that many members of radical Islamic movements (including *al-Qaeda*) are affluent and Westernized.

Others observe that global divisions stem from a lack of education in both Western and Muslim societies. In the Western media, Muslims have often been typecast as extremist and intolerant. Western societies may also be

¹⁶ Benjamin Barber, keynote presentation for Thinkers’ Retreat: Clash of Civilizations? (2002) “Can Democracy Survive the War Against Terrorism?”, available in online video at the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development website (www.cfp-pec.gc.ca); see also Benjamin Barber, *Jihad Vs. McWorld: How Globalism and Tribalism are Reshaping the World* (Ballantine Books, 1996).

¹⁷ Immanuel Wallerstein, interview in online video for Thinkers’ Retreat on Canada and the Muslim World (2002), available at the Canadian Centre for Foreign Policy Development website (www.cfp-pec.gc.ca); see also Immanuel Wallerstein, “After Progress in the South: Khomeini, Saddam or Migration?” *New Perspectives Quarterly* (Winter 2002), online: www.npq.org/archive/2002_winter/wallerstein.html.