

AVDENT OF NEO-COLONIALIAM: WHAT
TO DO NOW?

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PROF. KHURSHID AHMAD



ADVENT OF NEO-COLONIALISM: WHAT TO DO NOW?

By Professor Khurshid Ahmad

Success and failure of people, victory and defeat of armies, rise and fall of nations, growth and decline of governments, domination and retreat of civilizations – all have certain inexorable, physical and moral principles that can be seen in action in every field of life and in every period of history. Some people have their eyes fixed only on physical factors, but they have to admit the limited nature of these physical factors. Others talk about moral factors only. This, too, is only one side of the picture. In actuality, reality cannot be fully grasped without complete understanding and coordination of both the physical and moral factors. Similarly, an analysis of the situation or circumstances would be incomplete if it is limited to some short-term physical factors and their effects, which is devoid of an understanding of real factors and insight into the long-term and durable results.

While America has apparently achieved military victory in Afghanistan, in fact it is a worst moral defeat in history. The Taliban government is no more and one can point to their weaknesses, lack of political acumen and flaws in their military strategy, yet the moral victory they have achieved by being committed to principles and values is irrefutable.

The first phase of military invasion of Afghanistan by America and its allies is nearing its end. The storm that came in the aftermath of the events of Sept. 11, that engulfed Afghanistan in its fire on Oct. 7 is now all set to take on its new prey after having torn apart a poor, already destroyed and wretched – yet proud of and ready to sacrifice for its honor and dignity – country. After removing the Taliban government, America has set in motion a new political mechanism through the Bonn Talks, which it considers according to its own framework and hope to consolidate it under the cover of military might of its own and its allies. Taliban's force has apparently melted away and though Osama bin Laden is still out of the reach of those who have dominated militarily and politically, some of his Al-Qaeda's members have been martyred and some are on the run.

The US Secretary of State Mr. Colin Powell feels comfortable and declares:

"We have destroyed Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and we have ended the role of Afghanistan as a heaven for terrorist activity."

(International Herald Tribune, Dec. 17, 2001)

The US Secretary of Defense Mr. Rumsfeld descends on his own destroyed Kabul, celebrates victory and announces:

"There is great deal left to be done and I want to make sure that we are on the same wavelength."

(The Guardian, Dec. 17, 2001)

The US National Security Adviser Ms. Condoleezza Rice is out for new prey:

"No one is willing to declare victory prematurely here and victory would only come when Al-Qaeda network was broken up worldwide."

(International Herald Tribune, Dec. 17, 2001)

In other words, more is to come after the first phase! This is the latest about the storm of Sept. 11. While it is imperative to analyze the developments that have taken place ever since the fateful day from the perspective of what America, international community, Afghanistan and the very perpetrators of the Sept. 11 events have achieved and lost in this bloody game – so that analysis and contemplation, if they have any role in it, can be made use of in future policy making – it is also necessary for the nations and peoples of the world not to be carried away by emotions but pause to assess the situation and to think about taking the humanity to betterment and progress, rather than plunging in destruction. They should at least be ready to face the challenges, for realization of the nature of challenge helps in dealing with it.

Whoever is behind the Sept. 11 events (and the world has not come out of the fog of doubts in spite of death and destruction), he has helped in giving rise to such circumstances at the global level that have changed the map of international politics. In more correct words, what the ruling forces had been wishing for has been rendered possible. Taliban's decision and policies, too, would be a subject of discussion for long times: what would have happened if they had acted in one way and what if they had acted in the other. While only the service of finding faults with them is presently the sole occupation and every wrong is put in their account, their seven-year life and five-year rule have both positive and negative aspects that await the judgment of history. Apparently, they emerged on the scene like a storm and dominated 90 percent of Afghanistan within two year without bloodshed on a large scale. Then, in the last three months of 2001, their resistance could not withstand the aggression of the world's most powerful superpower and the pressure of 'their own' (who turned their back to them after seeing the direction of the wind). In some circles, their adherence to principles and tribal tradition would be the subject of discussion, while others would hold that their political immaturity and defective military strategy brought about their ruin, rather, they would be alleged of having invited their own destruction. Ruins, heaps of corpses and caravans of homeless people would tell their tales to pinch the hearts of those who are to see.

If the Taliban were just a government, then they have been rooted out. And if they were really a movement, then movement do not die with ups and downs. Accountability is needed here as well, and history would continue holding accountability of all, without exception. The new government should not be forgetful of its being accountable. Neither the previous set up was eternal, nor can the present one be. Given the nature of challenges facing not only Afghanistan but the whole Muslim world, transitory changes could be both decisive and misleading.

This is why we want not to restrict our view to New York, Washington, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kabul, Kandahar, and Tora Bora, but to keep in view the scene in its entirety, to 'see the wood and not merely some of the trees'. The need is to take cognizance of what type of Afghanistan is about to emerge on the political map, and the situation not only the Muslim world but the Third World, or more correctly the whole world, is striding to. These circumstances provide a valuable opportunity to all the peace-loving and justice-seeking people for pondering and evaluation. For Muslim countries and Islamic forces, it is rather a time to decide.

Advent of Neo-Colonialism

While one phrase with reference to Sept. 11 that "the world has changed and is no more the same we knew of" is what media is repeating and political leaders and columnist are saying and writing, the irony is that such this has been said in the past on many historical moments. The same sentence was said repeatedly on the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, on the eve of Iranian Revolution in 1979, on the occasion of Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in 1917, and especially on the historical moments of the French Revolution in 1789. This is quite another thing that Chu Enlai, the intellectual prime minister of China, had said about the French Revolution some 200 years after it that it is still premature to say these words about the Revolution! And that more time was needed to say something about it. By the same token, no one knows how much time is to pass before we can say something about Sept. 11, 2001. However, there are some aspects that merit immediate notice, attention and discussion.

1. The way the American President George Bush has 'disciplined' the American people after the events, incited sentiments in a particular way and gave out a call for global war against terrorism – the maximum benefit of this all has gone to Bush himself. Given the way he became the President, his Presidency lacked moral and, to certain extent, legal foundation. With a costly election campaign of \$4 billion, he was lagging behind his competitor by half a million votes. With the electoral colleges system, his fate depended on Florida votes, the state where his own brother was the governor. But when the vote count became a problem and controversy in this state, a six-week long political and legal battle ensued that revealed many a strange facets and twists. 'Acrobatics and miracles' of the Third World countries were employed to decide about the advanced US democracy. At last, a single vote's margin in the higher court made Bush the President of America. The split in the higher court was such that the judges appointed by one of the two main political parties were in one camp while the judges appointed by the other in the other! This is why, in spite of having become the President, Bush was in search of a sound basis for his presidency.

Sept. 11 events provided that much sought after opportunity. After having been under-ground for some hours and in the air for some more hours, Bush descended

on Washington and succeeded in mobilizing the nation's feelings for a new war. His address to the joint session of Congress on Sept. 20 took him to new heights and the man who had less than 50 percent votes achieved the support of 82 percent. With this support, he began to collect the whole world under his flag and to appease the sense of revenge of his nation with aggression against Afghanistan. The circle of 'hawks' around him got stronger with each passing day, and he held his head high as a courageous, wartime and victorious president. This all covered up the failures behind the Sept. 11, especially the follies and failure of political and intelligence agencies, and the 'sole superpower' in the world attacked with all its military might and superiority in technical, economic media fields the weakest and poorest of all countries, Afghanistan, and a single man (Osama bin Laden), or a few hundreds, or a few thousands at the most, of his comrades. It accomplished the 'historical feat' of defeating and dominating its opponents, though it took it complete two months. This 'great success' washed away all the past humiliations and ushered in a new era of successes and global domination for America and its president. This is what is being called 'American triumphalism' and the superpower is overtaken by joy with no bounds!

2. This also helped in removing the sense of vulnerability that had come to haunt after the destruction of the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. This is to say that the feeling of weakness and being wounded was got rid of and America's might and rule was re-established. In addition, three new aspects came to fore that enabled America to establish its status of the most powerful ruler of the world, with no one to share in its rule. First, some 40-50 countries' were joining in, though under duress, with America's asking for it. Second, the use of such a technology in the war that gave America an edge, not by inches but by yards, over other developed countries of Europe, what to talk of poor Afghanistan! Whether war planes or intelligence system, bombs and missiles or other weapons, it was a full show of the extraordinary American advancement in these fields during the past ten years. It was realized that war in Afghanistan can be fought while sitting in Florida and that the order to fire at each and every cave and target can be given from 8,000 miles away. This was a different kind of war, altogether, that changed all the ways of the traditional war. There is no need any more to fight with the opponent, nor is there a need to send ground forces. Just keep bombing from the air and crush the strength of the enemy. Those who could only fight hand-to-hand are left pitying themselves. Even if the prisoners in a jail are to be controlled, they should be humbled down by air fire! Machines are enough for all sorts of tasks, of intelligence and of bombing. This has changed the chessboard and ways of war. And there appears to be no competitor of America in this field. Third, war can bring success for the attacker without much loss of life to it. It is only for the opponent to bear the loss of life. And,

war would be almost one-sided. This is how America has not only achieved military and political victory; it has also attained that status of technical expertise and technological superiority that has restored to it the sense of its invincibility.

3. It was just a 'formality' on the part of America that it kept others along, as the entire game plan was meant for and owed itself to America alone. The first decision was taken by America all alone, and the whole political and military campaign it ran in such a way that practically all depended on its 'nod'. There came critical junctures when Britain, which was playing the role of 'holier-than-thou', had to withdraw. It had to recall its troops after ordering them into the battlefield. The same was the state of affairs at the Bonn Talks as well as the battlefield where the new head of government had to withdraw the amnesty he had announced. Thus two characters of one country and one tradition came to fore: one gave out the country for amnesty, the other did not care about amnesty for the sake of the country. An American political analyst Charles Krauthammer, who writes in the Washington Post, has thrown light on America's 'I and no one else' behavior. He presents us with a fairly clear picture of how he sees the world in the next 50 years:

"A world without protection against nuclear attack or environmental damage for the citizens of any country but the US, a world where 'democracy' means nothing if its results are opposed to US interests, a world in which to express dissent against these interests brands one a terrorist, justifies surveillance, repression, and death."

(The Guardian, Dec. 17, 2001)

4. The American media has played a key role in creating this mental approach. And the political leadership and the media have both used the sentiment of patriotism as a political weapon. A wave of extreme frenzy has been given rise to in the country. Constitution, laws, ethics and justice all have been put on the back burner and political differences are reckoned as treason. Media has shown only those scenes of the Afghan war that give Americans hope for success and victory. It has blacked out the cruelties on Afghan people, the way the country has been destroyed and the people killed. Even a glimpse of bombing and massacre of hundreds of prisoners in Qala Jangi jail has been checked from coming on the screen. American public opinion has been made hostage to political interests, and this uncovers a disgusting aspect of democracy. The 'conformism' the nation is being herded to and which is construed to be the masses' support is in reality a feat of molding public opinion in an artificial and preplanned way. Chomsky calls this 'manufactured consent' and the Americans are now disturbed and wailing this.

5. The US leadership has won a domestic victory as well. This is that the legislation that was hanging in adjournment, especially in the case of defense budget, has been got through in almost no time from both the houses. In the budget, \$50 billion and \$20 billion more than the original demand have been won for defense and intelligence, respectively. The plan of national defense umbrella that was in the doldrums has been got approved. The urge of coming out of the ABM Treaty has also been realized. In the field of energy, all the demands of the industry have been accepted and all opposition to them has faded away. The oil company Eron, with whom President Bush, Vice President Dick Cheney, and other half a dozen of the ruling clique have been associated, that went bankrupt after giving a blow of huge loss of \$70 billion did not face some formidable reaction. This all got covered up in the slogan of patriotism and the dust of victory in the war against terrorism.

These are the major successes of George Bush and the US establishment that have been achieved by using the dread of Osama bin Laden, Al-Qaeda and Taliban. Mechanisms for a new global colonialism are being woven on these bases in the name of 'civilization, freedom, human rights, and democracy'. It seems that the events of Sept. 11 removed all the hurdles and their ensuing wave carried away all the resistance that were obstructing US' global aspirations and their realization. Apparently the war is against terrorism, in reality it is a beginning of a new colonial war with its pretensions of being against terrorism. With Muslims countries and movement for Islamic revival as its first targets, its aims at establishing domination of all countries of the world by Western nations and, in particular, the US; control over their resources; reigning in of freedom movements and institutional political struggle against the Western and Zionist hegemonistic capitalist system, and to make them surrender before the new global system. Outlines of the grand design can be seen in what has happened and what is taking place.

New Challenges Facing the World

While what America and Western nations are doing and what they want to accomplish cannot be 'taken for granted', the new map of international politics and the new system that has emerged in the wake of the developments in recent months has in its folds many dangers and challenges for humanity. The need of the hour is to understand the nature of storm that is taking the East and the West in its grip in the accompaniment of rejoice for victory, the way civilization and values are endangered in the name of protection of civilization and values, and what humanity has achieved in the arena of peace and justice is being put in danger. While Muslims are the foremost target, the reality is that this new incursion has taken on the entire humanity. Today, the powerful segments of society in America are trying quite cleverly to herd the whole world, even their own people and European nations, to a new servitude. If these dreadful shadows are not stopped from growing, darkness can prevail on the entire horizon. This may lead to new dark ages that would plunge not only Muslims but all the peace-loving and justice-seeking into disaster.

1. What is being called war against terrorism, whose first victim has been Afghanistan but plans are being made to take on dozens of other countries in the search of Al-Qaeda members, is something that means differently to different people, for it means nothing itself. There is no clear and consensual definition of what America is fighting against. The United Nations has been unable to arrive at a consensual definition in spite of its repeated attempts, the latest of which was the failure of the General Assembly after the events of Sept. 11. Even those who have analyzed more than 20 official documents in America complain that it has nowhere been defined clearly. Different actions and activities have been termed as 'terrorism' in different documents.

("Only Alternative to Global Terror" by Rohini Hensman, Economic and Political Weekly, Nov. 3, 2001, p. 4184)

Nelson Mandela has said in the United Nations after the start of attacks on Oct. 7 that he was a terrorist at one time and became head of state afterwards. Nobody knows who is a terrorist and who is not. According to the Oxford Dictionary of Politics George Washington's photo on the US dollar is the picture of a freedom fighter or a terrorist (p. 493).

In fact, the question that is of utmost importance for the whole of humanity is that how a country or group of countries can acquire the right to attack whomever it wants to attack and destroy any individual, group, organization, government and even an entire country. And this all in a matter that has not been fixed, nor can it be determined easily. Which danger can be more formidable to humanity than this?

2. Even if the meanings of terrorism are determined, who would decide which act amounts to terrorism, who has committed it, how to deal with it, and what could be its 'reasonable and proportionate' punishment? The problem can be domestic, but can also take place at the global level with international collaboration. In each situation, who has the authority to take steps for fighting terrorism? Within a country, it is not the executive's exclusive task but also of law and the judicial system where the executive has to do its part of the duty and the courts investigate the crime and determine the punishment for it. If terrorism is to be fought with terrorism, then society and ultimately the entire world would become a hellish place to live in. If terrorism is committed at the international level, then dealing with it needs an international court or judicial system. All and sundry cannot be given the authority to kill anyone after declaring him terrorist.

A license to kill would amount to plunging the whole world into destruction. And after Sept. 11, America practically started this course. What befell on Afghanistan can be others' fate tomorrow. The way the US administration is freezing accounts of

individuals and organizations and banning them as well as coercing other countries to do the same, is an abominable example of international terrorism.

In his recent tour to India and Pakistan, Noam Chomsky repeatedly said that while Osama bin Laden's terrorism is still in doubt and has not been proved in an aboveboard manner, what Bush has done is an open terrorism, far more than Osama's still unproven terrorism. Indian Frontline's reporter writes:

"When Chomsky asserted that the US President was a bigger terrorist than Osama bin Laden, as the former had no proof against Osama while the killing of innocent people in Afghanistan was proof against President Bush, the people in the hall clapped."
(Frontline, Dec. 21, 2001)

The fact is that the way America has employed terrorism as a means of its foreign policy is a black and detestable new chapter in the history of imperialism. America's aggressive policy has given rise to serious threats to the peace of the world and it is obvious that if this trend is not checked then the world would plunge into 'global destabilization'. Whatever efforts have been made in the last century for global peace and establishment of justice among peoples and nations are put in danger. Humanity is striding towards "the law of the jungle" and the responsibility of this inverse progress rests with America and its allies. Struggle against oppression, fight for freedom, resistance for the protection of faith and secure existence, and battle against foreign occupation are amongst the basic human rights that provide the legal and moral basis for mobilizing and struggling against tyranny and subjugation. In the contrary, attack on others for suspicion of terrorism and its possibility are nothing but crimes against humanity. If terrorism and struggle against oppression are not distinguished, what would be the way out for getting rid of a tyrant and oppressor once he made it to the throne? America has no legal and moral justification for what it has done against Afghanistan, Taliban and Osama bin Laden.

3. The use of the term of 'war against terrorism' is in itself a regrettable development and a violation of the known legal and political procedure. The concept of war is clear in international relations and international law. The term of 'war against poverty', or disease or illiteracy, only symbolically. This neither warrants military action against any of them, nor does it allow the use of war in that sense in case of terrorism. Terrorism is a crime and action against it can only be taken under some law and judicial process. Whether it was the terrorist act of 1993 in the Trade Tower, or Oklahoma's in which 160 people perished and more than 1,000 injured, or the attack on the USS Cole ship in which 17 soldiers were killed, or the hijacking of the Pan-Am airliner and explosion in which 250 were killed – America pursued all these crimes in courts under the law. But now it has crazily announced global war

against terrorism. Military aggression is committed against an independent and sovereign country that is also a member of the United Nations, and the efforts of replacing its government are on with stubbornness. This is a despicable and destructive attempt to change and re-write the international law that would lead to destroy global peace in the future.

4. This violation of the international law is committed not only by declaring war against terrorism, at least eight such crimes have been committed each of which is a crime against humanity.

- Punish individuals, nations and countries on the basis of suspicion, however strong it may be, and ignoring the demands of justice and due process of law, because of being powerful.
- Attack a country without a regular declaration of war and use of force in violation of the UN Charter by giving up the approach of peaceful settlement of conflicts.
- Punish a country, its government and its people for the crimes of some individuals (even if they are proved), this is a violation of the principles of justice and international law.
- Contrary to the recognized concept of self-defense, attack an independent and thousands-miles-away country in the name of its new concept of self-defense, and thus pave the way for aggression by other countries and for the "law of the jungle". An immediate impact of the American action has been that Israel attacked the areas under the Palestinian Authority, Gaza and Western Jordan with F-16, Gunship helicopters, and tanks in the name of self-defense, giving the example of America. India, too, is in the wings and Vajpayee and Advani both are taking strength from American action in Afghanistan.
- Under its new definition of a well-known legal term 'collateral damage', killing of thousands of people and destruction of the whole of the country is being asserted as an acceptable consequence of the war against terrorism.
- America is not only committing terrorism itself but is enlisting other countries through another form of terrorism i.e. through intimidation and threat of violence. Its logic for others to side with it or be counted as its enemy, is a despotic notion that has left behind even dictators like Hitler. Not only the countries of Pakistan have been hit by this coercive logic but even the European countries have been bulldozed in the same way. It has been reported about Holland's foreign minister that he had to say "Yes,

General!" when General Powell asked him for cooperation under this rule!

- While the principles of justice accord central importance to necessity and legitimacy in connection with crime and punishment and war, but balance and proportion are, too, important requirements. The recent 'war' has trampled upon each one of these.
 - The weaponry used in Afghanistan, carpet bombing, use of the daisy-cutter bomb, bombing on captive prisoners, refusal to grant amnesty after surrender, bombing on civil installations, mosques, hospital, and offices of the Red Cross – these are all war crimes. Yet, amok with power, these have not only been committed but also not counted as crimes. This is the worst form of completely changing (metamorphosis) the international law.
5. From the way America has adopted it is clear that Afghanistan is just the first target. While Iraq, Somalia, Yemen, North Korea, Sudan are openly talked about in discussions on what should be next target, the names of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran and Pakistan too are mentioned. Presently, all these countries are counted among the Coalition, but dangerous plans are being made against them behind the veil and glimpses of this have been coming to fore. A well-planned propaganda campaign is on against Saudi Arabia and it is still unclear whether the aim is a change of system or it is just blackmail as had been the case in Iran in the 70s. Syria and Iran too are under the butt. For Pakistan, which is for now being declared as 'bold ally' and whose military regime is reckoned as democracy-loving, plans are under way to control, supervise and influence its nuclear systems and installations and preparations are on to rein in Islamic sentiments in the people and their military. Indonesia and the Philippines are also mentioned in this connection, and 40-60 countries are involved for having Al-Qaeda network. The matter is not just about Al-Qaeda, the attempt is to subjugate any country America feels threat to its interests from.

The problem is not even of terrorism, it is now openly said that religious extremism and religious education system is the most important force that give rise to terrorism, and terrorism cannot be eliminated without curbing them. With dexterity and scientifically, Islam, movement of Islamic revival, Islamic welfare institutions and religious education system are being vilified. It is being lectured that Islam is in need of 'reformation', that separation of religion from politics is the need of the hour and a means to progress, that terrorism cannot be rid of without the spread of secularism and Western liberalism. This all is part of the broader globalization and modernism, the salvation of the entire world rests on adopting this package or else it would be imposed on, and this is but a part of America's self-defense.

Agenda of Neo-Colonialism

Newsweek, Time and Atlantic and all important newspapers are full of such articles, editorial comments and letters in which the emphasis is on striking a blow to Jehadi culture, political Islam, and Islamic fundamentalism. This is the agenda of the neo-colonialism with four main areas:

1. US' political domination, ensuring this domination in the 21st century and that no competitor emerges on the scene.
2. US' military superiority, not only keeping it undefeatable but protecting its surrogates all over the world, which carry out its tasks as agents and keep the system of the world on the outlines as required by America. Moreover, ensuring that no other country acquires such military competence that can challenge America and its allies, especially Israel.
3. Control of the world's resources by America, its allies and multi-national corporations under its influence. Control of all important sources and routes of oil and gas is most important.
4. In the area of civilization, global domination of the Western culture and civilization, and eliminating the possibilities of consolidation of the collective life on religious, especially Islamic, foundations.

This agenda of the neo-colonialism is now being presented without any covering or wrappings and planning to implement it includes use of all contrivances and methods from propaganda to use of force.

Though American imperialism has always had such designs but the recent 'war on terrorism' has given them a new life and new avenues to realize them. No one is to ask whether terrorism started from Sept. 11? Whether terrorism would we wiped out from the surface of the earth with the destruction of Afghanistan and Al-Qaeda? Is it not that what is called 'fundamentalism' exists not only in Muslim countries; it also exists in America itself where dozens of fundamentalist movements are active? Is it not that American fundamentalist had a role behind George Bush's presidency? Are Israel's Likud party and its Prime Minister Ariel Sharon not the worst examples of the Zionist fundamentalism? Are India's BJP, RSS and Vishva Pareshad different than Hindu fundamentalism and terrorism? Is there any country without any kind of extremism, and which time has been without extremism?

Then, venom is spewed against terrorism but little attention is paid to the causes of hatred against America and the Western nations. Lava is boiling against capitalist system, oppressed people are readying to struggle even at the cost of life. Terrorist act is not a normal or routine activity, it is an indication of some abnormal and extraordinary behavior that can neither be understood nor eliminated unless the causes that give it rise to are identified and cured. Terrorism cannot be rid of without eliminating the causes that give rise to it. Whether it is Palestine or Kashmir, Chechnya or

Philippines, Spain or Quebec (Canada, Ireland or Thailand, Sudan or Somalia, Cuba or Nicaragua, Fiji or Haiti, Japan or Kosova – where there is oppression, it would have its reaction, which also takes illegal and violent means along with the legal and peaceful ones.

Oppression and deprivation take to extremism and terrorism the same way as poverty take to suicide. Crime cannot be eliminated merely by law and use of force. Crimes would decline only with the removal of what cause them, paving way for real peace and harmony. The colonialist mentality is not ready to understand this fact and the colonialist frenzy keeps the evident from its view. It suffers arrogance and wants to maintain its domination merely with use of force and coercion. This sort of mentality and politics is the main cause of the prevalent rein of oppression and tension among peoples. America has become the biggest flag-bearer of this mentality and the overseer on global colonial domination, and the 'war against terrorism' is part of this colonialist agenda.

The Real Target: Islamic Movements

Though the American colonialism and Western civilization have rather made the whole world as their target, but movements and institutions working for Islamic revival have been identified as the first targets. They are the subjects of all attention and ire, for now. The Newsweek's special Davos edition (Dec. 2001-Feb. 2002, on the issues in the year 2002) presents the summary of this global agenda. The essays of Samuel Huntington, Fareed Zakaiya, and Francis Fukuyama, in particular, are of special importance. Here, we are giving just one excerpt from Fukuyama's article:

"This is not simply a "war" against terrorists, as the American government understandably portrays it. Nor, as many Muslims argue, is the real issue American foreign policy in Palestine or toward Iraq. Unfortunately, the basic conflict we face is much broader, and concerns not just a small group of terrorists, but a much larger group of radical Islamicists and Muslims for whom religious identity overrides all other political values."

We are thankful to Fukuyama for stating it all so plainly and pulling the veils of diplomacy to say about what, from the perspective of Western designs and world-view, is the bone of contention, i.e. the relationship between religion and politics: friendship with the West is possible only when politics, culture and civilization are liberated from the influences of religion.

The Decisive Question

With the battle map before us, what should be our response? One of the solutions is quite easy and simple. This is the way to which Western intellectuals and political leaders are inviting and

whose reverberations are heard in the writings and statements of those of us who are fascinated by modernism, who 'see which direction the wind blows' and left them to the blowing wind.

This is the way that has always been advised by the weak-willed opportunists who have little sense of identity and dignity. Those who hanker after comfort and ease have always counseled for adopting this way even it means dispensing with freedom, dignity and honor, and faith. The question is: can this be a way of salvation for Muslims? The answer, in the words of Iqbal, is that even freedom is of little use for Muslims if it comes at the cost of their 'faith'.

Islam is the name of a religion that calls for revolting against transgression, what is evil and submitting before Allah alone: "Who rejects Evil and believes in Allah has grasped the most trustworthy handhold..." (Al-Baqarah 2:256). This way is the way of ceaseless struggle against disbelief, transgression and submission before mortal beings and ephemeral temptations of the world. Power and numbers are not what matters here, for both are just a means to achieving the goal, and hence important, but the real objective and goal is what is the demand of 'faith'. When the Holy Prophet (pbuh) raised started his mission, how many were there under his banner? However little in numbers they were, they were clear and determined about the goal, objective and destination. Their only reply in the face of all opposition was that the mission would be continued even if the opponent and the enemy performed some incredible miracles like placing the sun on the one hand and the moon on the other. The struggle would continue, until the realization of its objective – the supremacy and dominance of Allah's world – or the end of life. Majority and minority, and strength and weakness – none is everlasting. All are subject to changes, yesterday's minority could be today's majority and today's majority could shrink into minority tomorrow. The same is the case of strength and weakness.

For Muslims, the real question awaiting an answer is whether they want to construct their lives as Muslims or they are to adopt the way of seeking the world and its comforts by dispensing with their 'faith'. If it is Islam that is required then there is no way but to remain steadfast in our own faith, ideology, religion, civilization and politics and to face the challenges with courage. No doubt that learning, inquisitive pursuit for knowledge, economic strength, military power, and technological skills, inventions and developments in science are all important in this struggle along with the force of faith, ideology and unity. But, the most important is vision and a determination to realize it. With lack of vision and determination, there are little chances of dignified existence and progress. But if we have them, then resources could be got hold and made use of for changing the trend of the time as had been transformed in the past, with the help of God. No powerful is to last forever, and no superpower is everlasting.

History is the graveyard of a number of superpowers. Even during our own lifetime we have see the fall of two superpowers of Britain and the Soviet Union. America is a superpower today, and to admit this is to accept a reality, but to think that it would always remain dominant and rule the world would be naïve and indication of despair from the possibilities that future might be holding.

So, identification of the destination and understanding of the objectives is the first step. Then comes the preparation and planning for their realization. However lengthy the struggle may be and whatever difficulties come in our way, we would never fail, for we would proceed prudently knowing that there is no way more befitting us than the way of loyalty to whom we love and seek pleasure of.

When a nation struggles to reach its destination with trust in God and chalking out its way with wisdom and prudence, then circumstances change and create new opportunities. Our history stands witnessed to the fact that when we had clear vision and strong determination, trying hour was replaced with solace and reassurance and weakness transformed into strength.

Or, the question that arises is: do we have to adopt the way of confrontation and head-on collision with the forces that are preparing to take on us? While confrontation and opposition are among the inevitable stages of this way, but giving a clear vision for the future our religion has also taught that a struggle has to pass through different and many stages and that to jump in the foray without preparation is foolish, not courageous or wise. Patience and prudence are the characteristic features of Muslims. Our struggle is both long and tiresome. Each moment should be spent in preparing for and marching towards the destination, seeking any short-cut and hurry go against the wisdom of Muslim veracity. Devising a correct strategy and preparing for the struggle are part and requirement of faith as is the rejection of surrendering to the evil, becoming subservient to other civilizations and giving up the way of Satan. To avoid emotionalism is essential for success. The way of devising the course of action with prudence and struggling with diligence are the hallmarks of Muslims.

The 5-Point Principled Stand

Along with the emphasis on these two basic issues, the need is also to state in clear terms the principle stand by adopting which Pakistan and Muslim world can stand up to the challenge facing them.

No matter how strong are America and the Western nations, the reiteration of the assertion, along with an admission of their present domination and control of natural resources, that Muslims have an identity of their own and have a destination, independence and freedom, civilization and its development and growth which cannot be achieved by seeking a place of refuge under the servitude of others. If America's being a superpower is a fact, then Muslim population of 1.3 billion is also a reality, with can neither be ignored nor reduced to servility by resorting to use of force. What is needed is that we avoid confrontation, keep our own house in order, forge unity in our ranks, develop our potentials and resources, and consolidate our strength. For this, we should remain steadfast in our faith, religion and ideology, understand the nature and scale of the

challenge, and build strong foundations to stand on and prepare for the struggle. This should be the focus of all our thought and action.

To accomplish this task, we should make the universal principles the basis of our effort and strategy and try to call all the peoples of the world to them. We should neither boot-lick others, nor adopt the way of isolation and boycott of others. The search for common ground and build relationships on it is the need of the hour. The situation of world is also such that all and sundry can be converged on some agreed upon principles and shared-values, for in it is the welfare of all peoples. Instead of being restricted to reacting against the measures of others, Muslims should move ahead and try to bring the whole humanity (including the Western nations) to agree on some principles.

The following principles should be the focus of our global call:

1. Independence, sovereignty, and security of all nations. The UN Charter is founded on the principles of equality of all people, freedom for all nations and their right of self-determination. This is what Islam had presented before humanity and this root out imperialism.
2. Pluralism that means that domination of a country or a civilization is the biggest threat to world peace. All should accept that each and every nation has the right to uphold and safeguard its own civilization and values, and that the world's being colored in one color runs against the was of nature and requirements of justice. All should have opportunities to development and progress in the light of their own principles and norms.
3. All human conflicts are resolved through dialogue with the strength logic, while the use of force should be made subordinate to law and international system of justice, and limits of use of force and the procedure be determined. Public is educated against every form of extremism and this should include opposition to all forms of terrorism. Moreover, struggle for freedom and for the security of a country and nation be distinguished from terrorism.
4. For justice, all peoples and nations of the world be allowed to make up a judicious global order. Justice is positive values that can ensure global peace and prevent humanity form the tortures of oppression.
5. Respect of the principle of collective self-reliance of nations or groups of countries, in addition to the international cooperation and collaboration. This can give rise to such a global order that would facilitate exchange of human beings, goods, material and other means of transportation on the one hand and establish such global institutions on the other that would protect the weak from the cruelties of the powerful because of disproportionate distribution of resources and power. This

would ultimately result in the just distribution of wealth and other resources of men and material to allow all to live in prosperity, security and dignity.

These are the five founding stones inviting all people of the world to which Pakistan and the Muslim world can lay the foundation of such a global order guaranteeing real peace and justice. Those who are strong today may create hurdles in the way but by organizing the countries of the world and mobilizing the international opinion with peaceful means, the 'common ground' of these principles can be made a foundation for the new system. This would be possible only when the countries of the world rely on themselves instead of depending on others and use their resources correctly and consolidate them and adopt the policy of mutual cooperation and collaboration in all forms that are judicious. The way efforts are made to achieve a balance in the distribution of wealth and other resources within a country, as is aimed in many countries including the developed ones, with some degree of success, the establishment of a balanced and judicious system at the global level is also possible. This, however, demands ceaseless and untiring struggle on the right path.

A Roadmap for the Muslim World

Merely presenting this agenda is not what is required. This agenda could be brought for the world only when the Muslims first set their own house in order and start with self-accountability and introspection.

What is happening since Sept. 11 is enough to serve as eye-opener. Those individual and countries that thought that friendship with America would give them protection, honor and security, those who siphoned out their wealth thinking it was safer in America and Europe instead of keeping it in their own countries, they might have realized by now that they were clinging to a weak and unreliable support and had put them at the mercy of others.

Nothing should now impede their learning the lesson that the borrowed glow cannot be the much needed and cherished light, that independence, belief and honor cannot be protected without own power to safeguard them. While confrontation is to be shunned, building of our own home, strengthening our own countries and putting an end to relying on others is of prime significance for national security.

The realization of an atmosphere of trust in the people in the Muslim countries is also necessary. Peoples should have individual and political rights, difference of opinion is tolerated, and monopoly of a few families in economy and politics is eliminated. This is good for both the ruling and the ruled in Muslim countries.

Along with the need of ideology and national identity for a nation's progress, a blend of political, economic systems and institutional build-up is also required where all could share and the

relationship of the rulers and the masses is of cooperation and understanding instead of tension and confrontation. The Holy Prophet (pbuh) pointed to this need when he said: the best of your rulers are those who love you and you love them, and the worst rulers are the ones who despise you and you also hate them.

Then, this is also necessary that, along with independence and cooperation, education, basic amenities of life, employment opportunities, and judicious distribution of wealth have a central position in national policy making. The latest technology is acquired and progress is made in science and learning through invention, discovery, research and investigation. Self-reliance is not something different from self-sufficiency, nor does it mean opting for isolation. This only means that we should have control of our own resources so that we can determine our aims and objectives and formulate our policies independently and that our reliance on other is not to the extent of impinging upon our decisions. Cooperation and trade with other countries of the world can yield positive results only when the cooperation is extended in absolute freedom, otherwise the same international relations become a means for oppression or exploitation.

In the case of development and progress of the Muslim countries, it should also be kept in mind that they form "the middle path" and whose duty is to carry the message of God to all the peoples of the world, be witness to it, to enjoin what is right and to forbid what is wrong. If extremism and rigidity has made inroads in the ranks of Muslim people, it is not in tune with the Muslim taste and sensibility and is a scourge for it. Islam is against 'imposition' and holding extreme positions in individual as well as collective life, and it wants to promote love and brotherhood, tolerance and accommodation, support and cooperation. The objective of Jihad is the establishment of justice and winning of freedom, honor and justice for all. Jihad, in all its manifestations – to control the self, Jihad with pen and tongue, with wealth and money, and with blood and life – is liable to norms of ethics and rationale. This needs to be realized, understood and spread at all levels so that the real meanings of Jihad are translated and Muslims and non-Muslims should benefit from it. Respecting this concept of Jihad has always been essential in different ages, but today, when attempts are made to bring a bad name to it and Jihadi culture is being portrayed as synonymous with extremism and terrorism, it is all the more important to understand and respect the norms of Jihad. Jihad is part and parcel of Islamic teachings and there can be no compromise on it. But that Jihad is a moral force and positive and constructive factor needs to be fully realized by Muslims themselves, so that non-Muslims too could bear witness to the fact.

In the contemporary times, one of the services of the Islamic movement is that it performed the noble duty of reviving the spirit of Jihad on the one hand, by emphasizing on the objectives and norms of Jihad it focused on its function and role and tried to make the Muslim masses adhere to this, on the other.

Muslim countries need close cooperation, collaboration and common efforts, in the fields of economy, politics, education, technology and media. This should be based on strong foundations

of common interests and political and economic accomplishments, along with the commonality of ideology and history. This is such a need of all that cannot be delayed any further. The system should also have a proper mechanism for the resolutions of conflicts to allow the cooperation grow realistically. Media's real development and able organization is also necessary to present the Muslim view at the global level.

Islam's global role can be effective only when all Muslim countries and the nation construct their collective life on these lines, submit to Allah as the champion of "the middle way", build its own house as calling all humanity to the system of justice and real welfare, and lead the world by example.

Pakistan's Role: The 10-Points

Pakistan and its people have a great responsibility to shoulder to face the challenge of the time. What has happened ever since Sept. 11, either that was materialized because of short-sightedness or under compulsion; we have analyzed it in detail. Afghanistan has had to bear with what befell on it, but the way India is all out to get advantage of the situation is becoming evident and the clouds of war are hovering over the horizon. Foreign meddling and interference in our internal matters are adding to our difficulties and also endangering our independence and sovereignty. The demand of these circumstances is that we give up the policy of confrontation, lack of consultation, and time-buying tactics and adopt a policy that is reassuring for Pakistan, its ideology, national security and progress. For this to achieve, attention should be paid to:

1. Loyalty to and trust in Allah should be given priority to all other considerations. We should turn to Allah, seek His forgiveness for our wrongs and follies, and request His guidance and help. The entire nation and its leadership should turn to Allah and ask for His support.
2. People should be trusted; they should be taken in confidence and mobilized for national security, development and reconstruction.
3. Ideological wrangling and the useless argumentation the Western media and intellectuals want us to embark on, should be avoided. Fundamentalism, extremism and sectarianism are not our problems. The argument of old and new is not new and we have had enough of it. Basic Islamic teachings are very clear; Islam is a complete code of life that builds individual and collective life in the light of moral values. Secularism is a dead horse and it is foolish to think of riding it. The three foundations the Constitution of Pakistan presents – Islam, democracy and federalism – should be made a consensual basis for formulating national policy and these settled issues should not be subject to new experimentations. Islam is a religion of "the middle way", the duties that are due to Allah and the rights of His people are equally important. The need is to act upon them. Our agenda, our freedom movement and

our Objectives Resolution all are laid down in the Constitution. We should hold it fast.

4. Safeguarding the defense capability of the country has a priority. The American military presence is a threat to it. Also, understanding of the Indian designs and harmony among the nation and the military to face it and mobilization of both is imperative.
5. Kashmir policy single-mindedness and firmness.
6. Afghan policy needs urgent reformulation. Coming out of the illusion of 'strategic depth' and helping the establishment of such a government in Afghanistan should be of our interest that is formed by Afghans themselves, which ensures Afghanistan's territorial integrity and its development as a good neighbor and brother. Afghan policy should be formulated by rising above the considerations of interests, so that the follies of the past could be compensated. The hearts of the Afghans throb with the people of Pakistan and the wrongs and follies and injustices of leaderships should not make us adopt the approach of confrontation or promoting 'favorites'. Rather, our policy should be based on that relationship that is there because of religion, history, and common interests, and which has developed love in our hearts and cooperation in our affairs.
7. In the country, the urgent need is to tend to revival of democratic process, refrain from amending the Constitution according to personal liking or disliking, consultations, free and independent election commission and necessary steps in this regard for the restoration of democracy.
8. Revival of economy with consultation at the national level, to seek support from trade, agriculture, industry and labor and take measures for national self-reliance, economic development and business activity is awaiting action.
9. Efforts should be made to establish and expand ties with Muslim countries and form a common strategy for facing the challenges together.
10. Special cooperation with China and Iran and efforts to devise a common strategy and its implementation.

These 10 points merit urgent attention. But the most important is to understand the situation and the challenges correctly. For the protection of our ideology and national security, we should launch a struggle for the betterment of our lot with complete trust in Allah. If we take the events that have happened since Sept. 11 as eye-opener, and wake up and stand up to the challenge, then the next stages would not prove much difficult. May Allah be with us.
