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Social misrepresentations and their role in breeding violence: a comparative study of realism in contemporary Pakistani literature in perspectives of fundamentalism, neoliberalism, and neocolonialism

Syeda Sughra Naqvi

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Social Misrepresentations and Their Role in Breeding Violence:
A Comparative Study of Realism in Contemporary Pakistani Literature in
Perspectives
of Fundamentalism, Neoliberalism, and Neocolonialism

Directeur : Prof. David Waterman

Jury :

Yvan Daniel, Professeur, Université Clermont Auvergne, Rapporteur

Nukhbah Taj Langah, Associate Professor, Forman Christian College, Lahore, Pakistan,
Rapporteur

David Waterman, Professeur, Directeur de Thèse, La Rochelle Université

Micéala Symington, Professeure, La Rochelle Université

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**Social Misrepresentations and Their Role in Breeding Violence:
A Comparative Study of Contemporary Pakistani Literature in Perspectives
of Fundamentalism, Neoliberalism and Neocolonialism**

Abstract in English

Differences of opinion are the essence of life, helping to establish healthier social behaviours and alternative ways of interpreting one's environment. New social representations develop around the split ends of a social structure. These points of cleavage provide an absence of meaning that allows new representational systems to reset a sense of fluency by familiarizing the unfamiliar (Moscovici, 2001). However, discriminative social misrepresentations may become dominant within the social system, deforming the originality of the unfamiliar, and with the passage of time their malformed, distorted familiarity morphs into psychological reality.

Islam, Muslims and Pakistan have been obsessively under discussion, particularly with negative portrayals, in the mainstream media and scholastic colloquy in the post 9/11 period. This research project is an attempt to represent some of the misrepresentations which are familiarized along with political lines for making an unknown a known. The decolonised representation of such misrepresentations is needed to understand this phenomenon and the ideologies working behind the scenes for popularizing these unfamiliar representations of/by fundamentalism and fundamentalists in comparison with misrepresentations of/by liberalism and liberals. Thus, the thesis is divided into three sections; a) Fundamentals of Islam and Fundamentalism, b) Neoliberalism and Neo-global colonialism, and c) Social Misrepresentations which are breeding psychological trauma for humanity in the post 9/11 era.

This project highlights the variant aspects of the reluctance of fundamentalism in post-colonial contemporary Pakistani literature, both in English and Urdu, analysing comparatively the similarities and variances, both exclusive and inclusive, of its extensive canvas.

Pakistani English literature refers to English Literature that has been written and developed in Pakistan by native authors who write in the English language. English is one of the official languages of Pakistan (the other being Urdu) and has a history going back to British colonial rule in South Asia (the British Raj); the national dialect spoken in the country is known as Pakistani English. Today, it occupies an important and integral part in modern Pakistani Literature. Dr. Alamgir Hashmi introduced the term "Pakistani Literature in English" with his "Preface" to his pioneering book *Pakistani Literature: The Contemporary English Writers* (New York, 1978; Islamabad, 1987) as well as through his other scholarly works and the seminars and courses taught by him in many universities since the 1970's. His introduction of the term Pakistani Literature in English was established as an academic discipline more generally, following his lead and further work by other scholars, and is now a widely popular field of study.

In the early years of the 21st century, a number of Pakistani novelists writing in English won or were shortlisted for international awards. Mohsin Hamid published his first novel *Moth Smoke* in 2000, which won the Betty Trask Award and was a finalist for the PEN/Hemingway Award. He has since published a second novel, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007), which was shortlisted for the Man Booker Prize, and *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* (2013) is his third novel while *Exit West* (2017) the fourth, is listed

as one of the ten best books of the year 2017 by *The New York Times*. Kamila Shamsie, who won her first literary award in Pakistan for her first novel, was also shortlisted for the John Llewellyn Rhys award for her third novel, *Kartography* (2002); she has since published *Broken Verses* (2005), *Offence: the Muslim case* (2009), *Burnt Shadows* (2009), *A God in Every Stone* (2014) and *Home Fire* (2017). Uzma Aslam Khan was shortlisted for the Commonwealth Writers Prize (Eurasia region) for her second novel, *Trespassing* (2003). British-Pakistani writer Nadeem Aslam won the Kiriya Prize for his second book, *Maps for Lost Lovers* (2004). The first novel by Mohammed Hanif, *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* (2008) was shortlisted for the 2008 Guardian First Book Award. Kamila Shamsie and Daniyal Mueenuddin have garnered wide attention. One could not really continue to write, or read about, the slow seasonal changes, the rural backwaters, gossipy courtyards and traditional families in a world taken over by gun-running, drug-trafficking, large-scale industrialism, commercial entrepreneurship, tourism, new money, nightclubs, boutiques etc. Where was the Huxley, the Orwell, the Scott Fitzgerald, or even the Tom Wolfe, the Jay McInerney, or the Brett Easton Ellis to record this new world? (Desai, 2000) Mohsin Hamid, Umaira Ahmed (an Urdu novelist and playwright) and Shoaib Mansoor for the first time, presented a truer picture of that world. Maybe we, the readers, are the ones who jump to conclusions; maybe the novels of the 21st century are intended to reflect our unconscious assumptions back onto us. It's even possible that a random act of violence might occur anywhere, at any time, to anyone. But more likely we are left holding the bag of conflicting worldviews by the contemporary Pakistani English writers. We're left to ponder the symbolism of Changez having been caught up in the game of symbolism - a game we ourselves have been known to play.

The contemporary world of English Literature in Pakistan and the different approaches provide material for examining who is who and what is what, in order to determine the underlying motives at work behind the scenes, especially the schools of thought encouraging extremism of all kinds, working against peace and harmony in favor of violence and terrorism. Literature, in this context, is a mouthpiece of the Age. We will be analysing the social misrepresentations using Moscovici's theories of social representations which are used to familiarise the unfamiliar or defamiliarize the familiar. Similarly, Roy's theory of facts in fiction is utilised for analysing contemporary Pakistani literature (examples are taken from Mohsin Hamid's and Umaira Ahmed's contributions) as a mouthpiece of the twenty-first century while examining Chomskian views of neocolonialism. Meanwhile, fundamentalism or Islamism will be inspected under the theoretical lens of *la ikraha fid Deen*, presented in the Holy Quran and Hadith. The research work is an attempt to answer the following questions and analysis of ideological perspectives of the themes presented in contemporary Pakistani Literature, especially in the fiction written by Mohsin Hamid Shoaib Mansoor and Umaira Ahmed (Urdu).

- How to define Fundamentalism? A definition of this term is necessary, as it will be used to refer to both religious and secular/economic contexts.
- Does Fundamentalism give everyone the “fundamental” right to practice one's own fundamentals, deliberately, whether of religious schools of thought or a secular liberal stance? And in parallel, does neo-liberalism give neo-liberals the right to practice a secular, liberal approach towards Fundamentalism?
- What is the pertinence of what Mohsin Hamid has called ‘Reluctance’ to

Fundamentalists and liberals in the contemporary age?

- Can liberal fundamentalists and fundamental liberals be equally categorized as extremists?
- What might be a more moderate approach that would help in converting extremists into moderates which would be equally acceptable for both fundamentalists as well as neo-liberals?

Hopefully, the research would be able to provide a comprehensive, productive groundwork that will be helpful to spread a peaceful message with a moderate approach to life, against extremism.

Key Words: Reluctance, Fundamentalism, Neoliberalism, Neocolonialism, Social Misrepresentations, Migration, Radicalisation, Violence, Humanity and Peace.

Fausses représentations sociales et leur rôle dans le développement de la violence : étude comparative de la littérature pakistanaise contemporaine en perspective avec le fondamentalisme, le néolibéralisme et le néocolonialisme

Résumé en Français

Les différences d'opinion sont l'essence de la vie, car elles aident à adopter des comportements sociaux plus sains et apportent de multiples perspectives pour interpréter notre environnement. De nouvelles représentations se développent autour des fractures d'une organisation sociale. Ces points de clivage fournissent une absence de sens qui permet au nouveau système de représentation de réinitialiser un sentiment de familiarité, en rendant l'inconnu familier (Moscovici, 2001). Cependant, des représentations sociales discriminantes peuvent devenir dominantes dans un système social qui a déformé le caractère original de l'inconnu et qui, au fil du temps, a vu cette déformation se présenter comme une réalité psychologique.

L'Islam, les Musulmans et le Pakistan ont fait l'objet de discussions obsessionnelles ; des points de vue négatifs ayant été majoritairement adoptés dans les principaux médias et les colloques au lendemain du 11 septembre. La présente recherche est une tentative de représentation de certaines des fausses déclarations qui sont popularisées par les différentes lignes politiques dont le but est de faire d'un inconnu, un connu. La représentation décolonisée des fausses représentations est nécessaire pour comprendre ce phénomène et les idéologies qui sous-tendent les voies de la vulgarisation de ces représentations peu familières de / par le fondamentalisme et les fondamentalistes par rapport aux fausses représentations du / par le libéralisme et les libéraux. La thèse est divisée en trois sections :

- a) Fondements de l’Islam et fondamentalisme,
- b) Néolibéralisme et néocolonialisme mondialisé,
- c) Représentations sociales engendrant un traumatisme psychologique pour l’humanité après le 11 septembre.

Ce projet met en évidence les divers aspects de la réticence du fondamentalisme dans la littérature pakistanaise contemporaine post-postcoloniale, en anglais et en ourdou, analysant comparativement les similitudes et les différences, à la fois exclusives et inclusives, de ses nombreuses ramifications.

Le terme de « littérature anglaise pakistanaise » fait référence à la littérature anglaise écrite et développée au Pakistan par des auteurs locaux écrivant en langue anglaise. L’anglais est l’une des langues officielles du Pakistan (l’autre étant l’ourdou) et son histoire remonte à la domination coloniale britannique en Asie du Sud (le Raj britannique) ; le dialecte national parlé dans le pays est appelé l’anglais pakistanaise. Aujourd’hui, il occupe une place importante et essentielle dans la littérature pakistanaise moderne. Le Dr. Alamgir Hashmi a introduit le terme de « littérature pakistanaise en anglais » dans la « préface » de son livre avant-gardiste : *Pakistani Literature: The Contemporary English Writers* (New York, 1978 ; Islamabad, 1987), ainsi que dans ses autres ouvrages universitaires et les séminaires et cours qu’il a donnés dans de nombreuses universités depuis les années 1970. Ce néologisme de « littérature pakistanaise en anglais », a depuis été établi comme une discipline universitaire partout dans le monde, à la suite de ses travaux et des contributions d’autres confrères, et il est devenu un domaine d’étude très populaire.

Au début du 21^{ème} siècle, un certain nombre de romanciers pakistanaise écrivant en

anglais ont été récompensés ou sélectionnés dans des prix internationaux. Mohsin Hamid grâce à son premier roman, *Moth Smoke*, en 2000, a remporté le prix Betty Trask et a été finaliste du prix PEN / Hemingway. Depuis, il a publié un deuxième roman, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007), lequel a fait partie de la présélection du prix Man Booker. *How to Get Filthy Rich in Rising Asia* (2013) est son troisième roman, mais c'est *Exit West* (2017), son quatrième roman qui figure parmi les dix meilleurs livres de l'année 2017 selon la liste du *New York Times*. Kamila Shamsie, qui a remporté son premier prix littéraire au Pakistan pour son premier roman, a également été sélectionnée pour le prix John Llewellyn Rhys pour son troisième roman, *Kartography* (2002). Elle a depuis publié *Broken Verses* (2005), *Offence: The Muslim Case* (2009), *Burnt Shadows* (2009), *A God in Every Stone* (2014) et *Home Fire* (2017). Uzma Aslam Khan a quant à elle été sélectionnée pour le Commonwealth Writers Prize (région Eurasie) pour son deuxième roman, *Trespassing* (2003). L'écrivain anglo-pakistanaï Nadeem Aslam a remporté le prix Kiriyaama pour son deuxième livre, *Maps for Lost Lovers* (2004). Le premier roman de Mohammed Hanif, *A Case of Exploding Mangoes* (2008), a été sélectionné pour l'édition 2008 du Guardian First Book Award. Kamila Shamsie et Daniyal Mueenuddin ont suscité une grande attention. Nous ne pouvions pas vraiment continuer à écrire, ou à lire sur les sujets suivants : les lents changements saisonniers, les coins perdus dans la campagne, les bruits de couloir et des familles traditionnelles dans un monde envahi par le trafic d'armes, le trafic de drogue, l'industrialisation de masse, l'entrepreneuriat commercial, le tourisme, la nouvelle monnaie, les discothèques, les boutiques etc. Où étaient Huxley, Orwell, Scott Fitzgerald, ou même les Tom Wolfe, Jay McInerney ou Brett Easton Ellis pour témoigner de ce nouveau monde ? Mohsin Hamid, Umaira Ahmed (un romancier et dramaturge de langue ourdoue) et Shoaib Mansoor ont présenté pour la première fois une

image plus réaliste de ce monde. Peut-être que nous lecteurs allons directement aux conclusions ; peut-être que les romans du 21^{ème} siècle sont-ils destinés à refléter nos suppositions inconscientes sur nous-mêmes. Il est également possible qu'un acte de violence arrive de manière aléatoire n'importe où, à n'importe quel moment et à n'importe qui. Mais plus vraisemblablement, les écrivains pakistanais contemporains anglophones sont toujours aux prises avec des visions du monde divergentes. Il ne nous reste plus qu'à réfléchir au symbolisme de *Changez* qui a été impliqué dans le jeu du symbolisme - un jeu au lequel nous nous sommes ouvertement livrés.

Le monde contemporain de la littérature anglaise au Pakistan et les différentes approches utilisées fournissent de la matière permettant d'élucider des variables, afin de déterminer les motivations sous-jacentes à l'œuvre dans les coulisses, plus particulièrement les écoles de pensée qui encouragent l'extrémisme de toutes sortes, et œuvrent contre la paix et l'harmonie mais favorisent la violence et le terrorisme. La littérature, dans ce contexte, est un porte-parole de l'époque. Nous analyserons les fausses représentations sociales en ayant recours aux théories de Moscovici à propos des représentations sociales, qui sont utilisées pour rendre l'inconnu familier ou bien rendre inconnu ce qui est familier. De la même manière, la théorie de Roy sur les faits dans la fiction pourrait être utilisée pour analyser la littérature pakistanaise contemporaine (des exemples sont tirés des contributions de Mohsin Hamid, Umaira Ahmed et Shoaib Mansoor) en tant que porte-parole du 21^{ème} siècle lors de l'examen de la théorie chomskienne du néocolonialisme. Pendant ce temps, le fondamentalisme ou l'islamisme sera examiné dans l'optique théorique de *la ikraha fid Deen*, présentée dans le Coran et les hadiths. Nos travaux de recherche tentent donc de répondre aux questions

suivantes et sont un essai d'analyse des perspectives idéologiques des thèmes abordés dans la littérature pakistanaise contemporaine, en particulier dans la fiction écrite par Mohsin Hamid et Umera Ahmad (ourdou).

- Comment définir le fondamentalisme ? Une définition de ce terme est nécessaire car il sera utilisé pour désigner à la fois les contextes économique, religieux et laïc.
- Le fondamentalisme donne-t-il à chacun le droit « fondamental » de pratiquer ses propres fondamentaux, qu'il s'agisse des pensées religieuses fondamentales ou d'une position libérale fondamentale ? Et en parallèle, le néolibéralisme donne-t-il aux néolibéraux le droit de pratiquer une approche libérale à l'égard du fondamentalisme ?
- Ce que Mohsin Hamid a appelé « réticence » est-il pertinent pour les fondamentalistes et les libéraux à l'époque contemporaine ?
- Les fondamentalistes libéraux et les libéraux fondamentaux peuvent-ils être considérés de manière égale comme des extrémistes ?
- Quelle pourrait être une approche plus modérée qui aiderait à convertir les extrémistes en modérés et qui serait acceptable tant pour les fondamentalistes que pour les néolibéraux ?

Espérons que cette recherche soit en mesure de fournir un travail de base complet et productif qui sera utile pour diffuser un message pacifique, celui d'une approche modérée de la vie en opposition à l'extrémisme.

Mots clés: réticence, fondamentalisme, néolibéralisme, néocolonialisme, représentations sociales déformées, migration, radicalisation, polarisation, violence, humanité et paix.

معاشرتی غلط بیانیوں اور تشدد پسندانہ رویوں کی حوصلہ افزائی میں ان کا کردار
بنیاد پرستی، آزاد خیالی اور نوآبادیاتی نظام کے تناظر میں ہم عصر پاکستانی ادب کا تقابلی و
تجزیاتی مطالعہ

پیش لفظ): اردو میں خلاصہ / (Abstract in Urdu)

اختلاف رائے زندگی کا حسن ہے کیونکہ یہ مثبت اور صحت مند معاشرتی رویوں کو قائم کرنے میں مدد کرتا ہے۔
نئی سماجی نمائندگیاں، افکار اور خیالات معاشرتی نظام کے مختلف حصوں میں ارتقاء پزیر رہتے ہیں۔ نظام میں بے
ربطگی پیدا کرنے والے یہ نکات لا یعنی خلا پیدا کرنے کا سبب بنتے ہیں اور اس معاشرتی تعطل کے خلا کو پر
کرنے کے لیے نئی روایات کو معاشرت میں متعارف کروانے کا موقع ملتا ہے جس کے ذریعے غیر معروف اور اجنبی
روایات کو معرفت و واقفیت مل جاتی ہے اور اس طرح معاشرت ایک جدت کے ساتھ پھر سے رواں دواں ہو اور وہ
(۲۰۰۱ء، معاشرتی دھارے میں شامل ہو جاتی ہیں۔ جاتی ہے۔ (موسوکوسی

تاہم اس بات کا امکان بھی موجود رہتا ہے کہ نئی معاشرتی جہنوں کے ساتھ ساتھ ارادی طور پر معاشرتی غلط
تشریحات بھی معاشرتی نظام میں متعارف کروا دی جائیں جو کہ معاشرتی قبولیت پانے کے بعد نظام پر اثر انداز ہو
سکتی ہیں۔ جس سے مثبت نظریات کی معرفت کو غیر معروف کر کے منفی نظریات کو مقبولیت بخشنا آسان ہو جاتا
ہے۔ اور وقت گزرنے کے ساتھ منفی غیر معروف خیالات کے ناسور کو حقیقی اصلیت ثابت کر کے معاشرے میں اٹل
حقیقت کا روپ دے دیا جاتا ہے۔ بدقسمتی سے معاشرت کی یہ مسخ شدہ شناسائیاں نفسیاتی بدنیتی کی بنیاد کے طور پر
پائی جاتی ہیں جو تحمل اور رواداری کے صحت افزا نظریات کے برعکس سماج میں عدم برداشت اور شدت پسندی
کو بوا دے کر تشدد پسند معاشرہ قائم کرنے میں اہم کردار ادا کرتی ہیں

اسلام، مسلمان اور پاکستان خاص طور پر گیارہ ستمبر کے بعد کے منظر نامے میں میڈیا کے مرکزی دھارے اور
تعلیمی نصاب میں ایک منفی منظر کشی کے ساتھ خاصی بحث و مباحثے میں ہیں۔ یہ تحقیقی مقالہ ان تمام غلط
بیانیوں کو منظر عام پر لانے کی ایک کوشش ہے جو کسی بھی نامعلوم کو معلوم حقیقت ثابت کر دیتے ہیں جبکہ
معلوم نظریات و روایات نامعلوم ہو جاتی ہیں۔ اس واقفیت اور ناواقفیت کی موقت اور ناموافقیت کا خاص سیاسی و
سماجی مقاصد کے تحت کھپلا جانے والا کھیل اور اس کے رجحانات کو سمجھنے کے لیے ان غلط بیانیوں کی پردہ
کشائی، تجزیہ اور مقاصد پر روشنی ڈالنے کی ضرورت ہے۔ اس ضمن میں نظریہ آزاد خیالی اور آزاد خیال لوگوں
کی طرف سے / کے بارے میں پیش کی جانے والی غلط بیانیوں کا تقابلی جائزہ بنیاد پرستی اور بنیاد پرستوں کی
طرف سے / کے بارے میں پیش کی جانے والی غلط تشریحات سے کیا جانا ان نامعلوم نظریات و افکار کو مقبول بنانے
کے لئے پس پردہ کام کرنے والے عوامل کو سمجھنا مددگار ثابت ہو سکتا ہے۔ اس مقصد کے حصول کے لیے پیش
نظر مقالہ کو تین حصوں میں تقسیم کیا گیا ہے۔ الف) اسلام کے بنیادی اصول اور بنیاد پرستی کی بنیادیں، ب) آزاد

خیال نظریات اور نوآبادیاتی عالمی استعمار کی تجدید نو، اورج(سیاسی، سماجی، مذہبی اور معاشرتی غلط بیانیوں جو گیارہ ستمبر ۲۰۰۱ کے بعد کے تکلیف دہ دور میں انسانیت کے لئے نفسیاتی صدمے کا باعث بنی ہوئی ہیں۔ اس مقالے میں بنیاد پرستی اور آزاد پسندی کی نفسیاتی تذبذب کے مختلف پہلوؤں پر روشنی ڈالی گئی ہے۔ یہ تحقیق اکیسویں صدی کے پاکستانی انگریزی اور اردو ادب میں پیش کیے جانے والے مماثل اور مخالف نظریات کا تقابلی طرز پر خصوصی اور جامع تجزیہ پیش کرنے کی ایک کوشش ہے۔

پاکستانی انگریزی ادب سے مراد وہ انگریزی ادب ہے جو انگریزی زبان میں لکھنے والے مقامی مصنفین نے پاکستان میں لکھا اور تیار کیا ہے۔ انگریزی پاکستان کی ایک سرکاری زبان ہے (دوسری زبان اردو ہے) اور اس زبان کا اس خطے میں موجودگی کا پس منظر جنوبی ایشیاء میں برطانوی نوآبادیاتی حکمرانی یعنی برطانوی راج کی تاریخی حقیقت کی وجہ سے ہے۔ ملک میں بولی جانے والی قومی بولی کو پاکستانی انگریزی کے نام سے جانا جاتا ہے۔ آج، یہ جدید پاکستانی ادب میں ایک اہم اور لازمی جزو کی حیثیت رکھتی ہے۔ ڈاکٹر عالمگیر ہاشمی نے انگریزی میں "پاکستانی ادب" کی اصطلاح "پیش لفظ" کے ساتھ اپنی ابتدائی کتاب "پاکستانی ادب: ہم عصر انگریزی مصنفین" (نیویارک، ۱۹۷۸ اور اسلام آباد، ۱۹۸۷) میں بیان کرنے کے علاوہ اپنی دیگر علمی کاوشوں اور سیمینار اور ۱۹۷۰ کی دہائی سے کئی جامعات میں ان کے ذریعے پڑھائے جانے والے کورسز کے ذریعے بھی بار بار متعارف کروایا۔ ان کی متعارف کروائی گئی پاکستانی انگریزی ادب کی اصطلاح میں دوسرے مدرسین و محققین کی دلچسپی، اور مزید تحقیقی کام کی ضرورت کے باعث اسے دنیا میں ایک تعلیمی شعبہ کے طور پر متعارف کروایا گیا، اور اب یہ شعبہ مطالعہ دنیا بھر میں ایک وسیع پیمانے پر مقبول ہے۔

اکیسویں صدی کے ابتدائی برسوں میں، انگریزی میں لکھنے والے متعدد پاکستانی ناول نگار ناصر فارنن کا دل جیتنے میں کامیاب ہوئے بلکہ انہیں بین الاقوامی ایوارڈز کے لئے بھی نامزد کیا گیا اور کئی مصنفین ایوارڈ جیتنے میں بھی کامیاب ہوئے۔ محسن حامد نے سن ۲۰۰۰ میں اپنا پہلا ناول "ماتھ سموک" شائع کیا، جس نے بیٹی ٹراسک ایوارڈ جیتا تھا اور وہ پین / ہیمنگ وے ایوارڈ کے لیے بھی نامزد ہوئے۔ اس کے بعد اس نے ایک دوسرا ناول "دی ریلیکٹنٹ فنڈامینٹلسٹ" (۲۰۰۷) شائع کیا جسے مین بکر پرائز کے لئے نامزدگی ملی۔ "ہاؤ ٹو گیٹ فدی رچ ان رائزنگ ایشیاء" ۲۰۱۳ میں لکھا جانے والا محسن حامد کا تیسرا ناول ہے جبکہ "ایگزٹ ویسٹ" (۲۰۱۷) چوتھا جو کہ نیو یارک ٹائمز کی سال ۲۰۱۷ کی دس بہترین کتابوں میں شامل ہے۔ کمبلہ شمسی، جنہوں نے اپنے پہلے ناول کے لئے پاکستان میں پہلا ادبی ایوارڈ جیتا تھا، کو ان کے تیسرے ناول، "کارٹوگرافی" (۲۰۰۲) کے لئے جان لیولین رائس ایوارڈ کے لئے بھی شامل کیا گیا تھا۔ اس کے بعد اس نے "بروکن ورسز" (۲۰۰۵)، "اوفینس: دی مسلم کیس" (۲۰۰۹)، "برنٹ شیڈو" (۲۰۰۹)، "اے گاڈ ان یوری سلٹون" (۲۰۱۴)، "ہوم فائر" (۲۰۱۷) شائع کیا ہے۔ عظمیٰ اسلم خان کو ان کے دوسرے ناول، "ٹریس پاسنگ" (۲۰۰۳) کے لئے کامن ویلتھ رائٹرز پرائز (یوریشیا خطہ) کے لئے شارٹ لسٹ کیا گیا تھا۔ برطانوی پاکستان کے مصنف ندیم اسلم نے اپنی دوسری کتاب "میس فار لوسٹ لوورز" (۲۰۰۴) کے لئے کریمیا انعام جیتا۔ محمد حنیف کے پہلے ناول، "اے کیس آف ایکسپلوڈنگ مینگو" (۲۰۰۸) کو ۲۰۰۸ گارڈین فرسٹ بک ایوارڈ کے لئے نامزد کیا گیا تھا۔ کمبلہ شمسی اور دانیال معین الدین نے بھی بھر پور

توجہ حاصل کی۔

گزرتے ماہ سال میں رونما ہونے والی تبدیلیوں کے اس جدید دور میں، (مثلاً بندوق کا چلنا ، منشیات کی اسمگلنگ ، بڑے پیمانے پر صنعت کاری ، تجارتی کاروبار ، سیاحت ، نیا پیسہ ، نانٹ کلب ، بوٹیک وغیرہ کے ذریعہ چلنے والی تیز دنیا میں)، سست موسمی تبدیلیاں ، دیہی ندی نالوں، صحنوں او چوپال کی گپ شب ، اور روایتی کنبوں کی واقعاتی تحریروں کی تصنیف یا پڑھنت کو ناصرف جاری رکھنا بلکہ مقبولیت بھی پانا اتنا آسان نہیں ہوتا۔ ، اس نئی دنیا کو ریکارڈ کرنے کے لئے ہکزلے ، اورویل ، سکاٹ فٹزجیرالڈ ، یا پھر ٹام وولف ، جے مکینزی ، یا بریٹ ایسٹون ایلس کہاں تھے جب محسن حامد ، بیسی سدھوا، شعیب منصور اور عمیرہ احمد (ایک اردو ناول نگار اور ڈرامہ نگار) پہلی بار اس دنیا میں تیزی سے فروغ پزیر شدت پسندی کی ایک حقیقی تصویر پیش کر رہے۔ ممکنہ طور پر اس کی وجہ ہم ، قارئین ہی فی الفور بنا غور و فکر نتائج اخذ کرنے والے افراد ہوں۔ یا ہوسکتا ہے کہ اکیسویں صدی کے ناولوں کا مقصد ہی ہمارے لاشعوری مگر شدت پسندانہ مفروضوں کی عکاسی کرنا ہو۔ اس امکان سے بھی انکار ممکن نہیں کہ شدت پسندی کے فروغ کی وجہ سے کسی کے ساتھ ، کسی بھی وقت ، کہیں بھی ، بلا امتیاز تشدد کے واقعات رو پزیر ہو سکتے ہیں۔ بلکہ زیادہ امکان یہ ہے کہ ہم عصر حاضر کے پاکستانی انگریزی مصنفین کو اسلام، پاکستان اور مسلمانوں سے متعلق ناپسندیدگی بھرے متضاد عالمی نظریات کا بوجھ قلم اٹھانے پر مجبور کرتا ہو۔ ہم ان ادبی تصنیفات کے ذریعے علامت پسندی کے کھیل میں پھنسنے تبدیلی کی علامت چنگیز کے کردار پر غور کرنے پر مجبور کر دیئے گئے ہیں ، ایک ایسا کھیل جس کو کھیلنے کے لئے شاید ہم خود جانے جاتے ہیں۔

پاکستان میں بمعصر انگریزی ادب کی دنیا کثیر الجہتی طریقہ کار کے ذریعے پس پردہ عوامل اور ان کے کام کرنے کے بنیادی محرکات کا تعین اور جانچ کرنے کے لئے ان عوامل کا تجزیہ فراہم کرتی ہے جسے خاص طور پر تشدد پسندی اور دہشت گردی کے حق میں امن اور ہم آہنگی کے خلاف کام کرنے والے متشدد مکاتب فکر ہر طرح کی انتہا پسندی کی حوصلہ افزائی کے لیے استعمال کرتے ہیں۔ اس تجزیے کے ذریعے یہ پتا چلانا ممکن ہو پاتا ہے کہ دراصل کون کون ہے؟ کون کیا کر رہا ہے؟ اور کیوں کر رہا ہے؟ اس تناظر میں ، ادب عہد کا ایک شاہکار ہے۔ ہم معاشرتی نمائندگی کے موسوکووسی کے نظریہ کا استعمال کرتے ہوئے معاشرتی غلط بیانیوں کا تجزیہ کریں گے جو نا واقف لوگوں کو متعارف اور مقبول کرنے کے لئے یا واقف افراد کو بدنام کرنے کے لئے استعمال ہوتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح محسن حامد، شعیب منصور اور عمیرہ احمد کی تصنیفات سے استفادہ کرتے ہوئے نوم چومسکی کے بیان کردہ تجزیہ کی رو سے اکیسویں صدی کے نوآبادیاتی استعماری سلطنت کے قیام میں نظریہ نوائے وقت سازی کا مطالعہ جبکہ اروندھتی رائے کا نظریہ ادبی حقائق (جس کے مطابق کہانیوں میں چھپے حقائق اور حقائق میں چھپی کہانیاں ایک ہی تصویر کو دو پہلو ہیں) کو عصر حاضر کے پاکستانی ادب کا تجزیہ کرنے کے لئے استعمال کیا جائے گا۔ دریں اثنا ، قرآن پاک اور حدیثوں میں پیش کردہ لا اکرہ فی الدین کی نظریاتی عینک کے تحت بنیاد پرستی اور اسلام کے بنیادی اصولوں کا تقابلی معائنہ کیا جائے گا

اس تحقیق کے ذریعے ہم عصر حاضر کے پاکستانی ادب ، خاص طور پر محسن حامد ، شعیب منصور اور عمیرہ احمد

(اردو) کی افسانہ نگاری میں پیش کردہ موضوعات کے نظریاتی نقطہ نظر کو درج ذیل سوالات کے منطقی جوابات کی تلاش کی ایک کوشش کریں گے :

لیبرل ازم کے مقابلہ میں ، بنیاد پرستی کی تعریف کیسے کی جائے ؟ اس اصطلاح کی ایک جامع تعریف اس لئے بھی ضروری ہے ، کیوں کہ یہ مذہبی اور سیکولر / معاشی دونوں ہی نظریات کے سیاق و سباق کو واضح کرنے کے لئے استعمال کیا جائے گا

کیا بنیاد پرستی سبھی کو اپنے بنیادی اصولوں پر عمل کرنے کا بنیادی حق دیتا ہے ؟ چاہے بنیادی دینی مکتب فکر ہو یا بنیادی آزاد خیال موقف۔ اور متوازی طور پر ، کیا نیا لیبرل ازم اپنے پیروکاروں کو یہ حق دیتا ہے کہ وہ بنیاد پرستی کی طرف اپنے آزادانہ نقطہ نظر پر عمل کرسکیں

ہچکچاہٹ یا تذبذب کیا ہے ؟ جسے محسن حامد نے عصر حاضر میں بنیاد پرستوں اور رجائیت پسندوں کے درمیان - بھروسہ قائم کرنے میں رکاوٹ قرار دیا ہے

؟ کیا رجائیت پسند بنیاد پرستوں اور بنیاد پرست رجائیت پسندوں کو برابر درجے کے انتہا پسند قرار دیا جاسکتا ہے ایسا معتدل نظریہ کیا ہوجو انتہا پسندوں کو اعتدال پسند بنانے میں مددگار ہو۔ اور جو بنیاد پرستوں کے ساتھ ساتھ رجائیت پسندوں کو بھی یکساں طور پر قابل قبول ہو

امید ہے کہ یہ موجودہ تحقیق، مزید تحقیق کے لیے ایسی جامع اور نتیجہ خیز بنیاد فراہم کرپائے گی جو پسندی کے خلاف اعتدال پسند نقطہ نظر کا پر امن پیغام پھیلانے میں مددگار ثابت ہو۔

اہم لغت :

تذبذب و ہچکچاہٹ ، بنیادی اصول پرستی ، آبادیاتی نظام، نوآبادیاتی نظام، معاشرتی غلط بیانیوں ، ہجرت و نقل مکانی ، بنیاد پرستی ، تشدد پسندی ، انسانیت اور امن

Chapter 1

Introduction

Perspective and Motivation

The journey of this thesis began with the author's curiosity regarding an element of reluctance between two characters of *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, a novel written by Mohsin Hamid, a Pakistani English writer. The two characters, Changez and an unnamed American visitor, lean toward two different schools of thought: Changez to fundamentalism and the American to liberalism. The only common thing that they share is reluctance, reluctance to trust each other, reluctance to rely on each other, reluctance to have any positive expectations from the other. So, the curiosity urged to answer the question:

Why this mistrust? Why can't we, being humans, trust each other? What are the causes which separate us? Why don't we give everyone the basic right of leading life according to one's own deliberate choices?

According to Hamid's novel, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, the element of reluctance has distanced people between two different philosophies of life, developing a communication gap among them. To comprehend the major cause of mistrust, the reluctance, becomes important if one wants to understand the pulse of this mistrust as a disease for humanity. What is reluctance? The abstract

state of mind and heart that is known as reluctance means hesitation that expresses unwillingness to act. It is a type of internal resistance caused either by timidity or trepidation towards something or someone, to do something or trust someone. This resistance develops in reaction to some mindset that has developed mistrust, ambiguity and doubt. In Hamid's novel, this internal resistance to trust others is caused by the ideologies which the characters of the novel adhere to; the ideology of fundamentalism and the ideology of liberalism. Although not necessarily negative all the time, these ideologies have divided humans into right-wing-people and left-wing-people (although this left wing / right wing is a spectrum, a matter of degree, and not a clear cut binary): the fundamentalists and the liberals, the brown and the white, the religious and the secular; depriving them of plurality, commonality and unity, the essentials of a carefree society. The very beginning of the novel introduces Changez' doubts about an unknown American who seemed "to be on a *mission*"¹ (italics are original) while he might simply be a tourist, just like many others. But his being a *gora* (white) with an American "bearing"² and a stubborn look made Changez suspicious about him, as though he were on a mission and thus an untrustworthy fellow. The American's suspicion towards Changez is revealed soon after, when

¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 1

² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 2

he prefers sitting with his “back so close to the wall”³. This gesture shows him to be more conscious and more careful, to avoid or if necessary to handle any misadventure possibly caused by Changez, an untrustworthy, brown, apparently fundamentalist fellow with a beard. That both are doubtful towards each other is clearly visible throughout the novel, representing the mistrust of two schools of thought toward each other. Thus we will analyse this aspect of reluctance and mistrust between the liberals and the fundamentalists in detail.

Literature Review

When we study the philosophy of world religions, we come to know that almost all religions, somehow or other, are discussed under two main notions, morality and identity.

a) Morality:

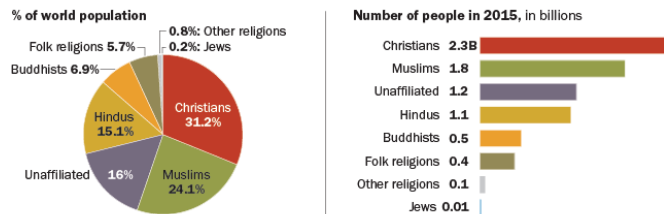
The moral values of all religions are almost the same and rooted in humanity, human rights and humanism⁴. Just one example may clarify the importance of unified moral values towards humanity and humanism in the top three religions⁵; Christianity, Islam and Hinduism.

³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 2

⁴ Puniyani, Ram (2015), *Deconstructing Terrorist Violence: Faith as a Mask*, SAGE Publications India, Lecture delivered in a Workshop (2016) <https://youtu.be/z7SavJJaja0>

⁵ C.L. Illsley (10 Sep. 2018), *Largest Religions In The World*, on the website of World Atlas: www.worldatlas.com, Category: World Facts, <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-religions-in-the-world.html>

Christians are the largest religious group in 2015



Source: Pew Research Center demographic projections. See Methodology for details.
"The Changing Global Religious Landscape"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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Christianity commands us to love and take care of the human beings around oneself, in the neighbourhood, "..., Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."⁷ Islam announces the same notion in these words: "The one whose neighbour sleeps hungry while he was full, can never enter Jannah."⁸ Allah also commands us to do good to other human beings: "Worship Allah and associate nothing with Him, and to parents do good, and to relatives, orphans, the needy, the near neighbor, the neighbor farther away, the companion at your side, the traveler, and those whom your right hands possess. Indeed, Allah does not like those who are self-deluding and boastful."⁹ Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) explained the neighbours' rights in these words: "Angel Jibril (peace be upon him) kept exhorting me about (the rights of) the neighbor, so much so that I thought that

⁶ Image credit: [PEW Research Centre](#) (2015)

⁷ Bible, King James Version, Matt 22, Verse 39

⁸ Puniyani Ram (2016), quoted the Quran in his Lecture in a workshop 2016 <https://youtu.be/z7SavJJaJa0>

⁹ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Nisa, Verse No. 36

the neighbor might be included as one of the heirs.”¹⁰ Abu Hurairah reported: The Prophet (SAWA) said, “By Allah, he is not a believer! By Allah, he is not a believer! By Allah, he is not a believer.” It was asked, “Who is that, O Messenger of Allah?” He said, “One whose neighbor does not feel safe from his evil.”¹¹ Hinduism also expresses the same moral value for humanity that favours humanism through its command that says: “All the people of the world are part of my family.”¹² The notable common point is that none of the commands in any of the three major religions indicate the neighbours should be of the same faith or religious beliefs; the Christians are not morally obliged to love other Christians only, the Muslims are not supposed to do good only to Muslim orphans or needy neighbours [Neighbours include 70 homes located in each direction], and similarly, Hinduism does not consider only Hindus as part of the family, instead it talks about the people from all around the world. So it becomes clear that the primary moral values of all major religions are not contradictory to each other and the main focus is to promote mutual harmony, love and care for all humanity without any discrimination.

¹⁰ Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail Al (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

¹¹ Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail Al (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

¹² Puniyani, Ram (1945-date), *Deconstructing Terrorist Violence: Faith as a Mask* (2015), SAGE Publications India, Lecture delivered in a Workshop (2016) <https://youtu.be/z7SavJJaja0>

b) Identity:

All religions are recognized with some identical symbols which include:

1. attire, clothes, *wastr*
2. Holy books; Quran, Bible, Taurah, Psalm, Geeta, Rama'in
3. Holy places; Mosques, Churches, Temples, for example
4. worship and rituals
5. religious scholars; Molvi, Mufti, Monk, Pope, Pandit
6. Saints; Sufi, Sadhu, Sant, Mystic

As we discussed, all religions follow similar moral values so there are rarely any disputes on issues regarding morality. Although, Gandhi claimed like any other religionists, "My religion forbids me to belittle or disregard other cultures, as it insists under pain of civil suicide upon imbibing and living my own,"¹³ but still most of the disputes are centered on issues of identity that forms culture. For example Al Qaeda and Taliban were both working together in Afghanistan, demolished statues of Buddha saying that such representations of idols are against Islam. Another example is that of *Rath Yatri* who claimed that Ram was born at the place where the Babri Mosque now stands, so Hindus have the right

¹³ Gandhi, Mahatma (1921), Compiled & Edited by: R. K. Prabhu & U. R. Rao (1960), *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi: No Culture Isolation For Me*, (Encyclopedia of Gandhi's Thoughts), pg. 277, Printed and Published by : Jitendra T. Desai, Navajivan Mudranalaya, Ahmedabad-380014 India, ISBN 81-7229-149-3, <https://www.mkgandhi.org/momgandhi/chap90.htm>

to demolish the Mosque to build a temple for Ram at his birth place.¹⁴ These examples indicate that such issues of identity are exploited to radicalise people through radicalised narratives in order to initiate violence. Who constructs such narratives? And why? To know that we need to know who benefits from the violence and what their real aims are. Do religions command us to do so? Certainly not, I believe, because no particular religion preaches violence, rather all religions advocate tolerance, harmony and compassion for humanity. The analysis of communal violence taking place in our contemporary age shows that violence has targeted all communities. A few examples are as follows.

Examples of Contemporary Communal violence

On 15 March 2019, the Christchurch mosque shootings were two consecutive terrorist attacks at mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, during Friday Prayer. 51 Muslims were killed and 40 others injured including men, women and children by a Christian white supremacist terrorist who used a shotgun and a semi-automatic rifle to shoot down innocent Muslims worshipping at the Al Noor Mosque and at the Linwood Islamic Centre¹⁵. The terrorist was Christian. The terrorized were Muslims.

On 21st April 2019, three churches and three hotels located in different

¹⁴ Puniyani, Ram (1945-date), *Deconstructing Terrorist Violence: Faith as a Mask* (2015), SAGE Publications India, Lecture delivered in a Workshop (2016) <https://youtu.be/z7SavJJaja0>

¹⁵ Horton, Alex (15 March 2019), *With strobe lights and guns bearing neo-Nazi slogans, New Zealand gunman plotted a massacre*, [The Washington Post](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2019/03/15/new-zealand-gunman-plotted-a-massacre/)

cities of Sri Lanka, including the capital Colombo, were attacked. The series of explosion killed at least 257 people, including 11 foreigners, while more than 500 people were injured. The church bombings occurred during Easter services, targeting the Christian community.¹⁶ The terrorists were Muslims. The terrorized were mostly Christians.

At least 6,700 Rohingya Muslims, including at least 730 children under the age of five, were killed in one month after violence broke out on 25th August 2017, by a Buddhist mob led by government officials. The United Nations described the military offensive in Rakhine as a “textbook example of ethnic cleansing”.¹⁷ The terrorists were Buddhists. The terrorized were Muslims.

On 21st January 2019, the Taliban killed 126 people including more than 100 members of Afghan security forces inside a military compound in central Maidan, Wardak province, by an explosion inside the military training centre.¹⁸ Both terrorists and terrorized were Muslims.

There are many other examples of such communal violence: in India (Gujarat) by Hindus on Muslims, in Bangladesh by Muslims on Hindus, in Pakistan by Muslims upon Christians, in China by Confucians upon Muslims, in Palestine by Jews upon Muslims, in Kashmir by Hindus on Muslims and the list

¹⁶ Al Jazeera (2 May 2019), *Sri Lanka bombings: All the latest updates*, Source: [Al Jazeera and News Agencies](#)

¹⁷ BBC News Report (24 April 2018), *Myanmar Rohingya: What you need to know about the crisis*, [BBC News](#)

¹⁸ Reuters, Kabul (21 January 2019), *Taliban attack kills 126 security personnel in Afghanistan*, [Dhaka Tribune](#)

goes on. One thing is clear, that no single religion is either solely responsible for, or victims of, terrorism. Instead, all religions call for love, peace, tolerance, freedom of belief and mutual understanding, whereas some extremists commit acts of violence in the name of religion and consider themselves religious. They commit a gross sin by saying, ‘we found our parents doing this, and God has commanded us to do it.’ God never advocates sin. Then what is it that creates hatred among and between people?

On the basis of the issues of identity, a “social common sense”¹⁹ is developed, hostile to other religions, that fosters radicalisation and radicalisation with the purpose of increasing communication gaps and distrust for the followers of other religions to achieve their political goals by the popular ‘divide and rule’ policy of the neoliberals and revival of the caliphate by the extremist fundamentalists. Both policies serve their inventors for political ends. That is why Moira Fradinger’s explanation of violence as “woven into and bound to the fragile determinations of political membership”²⁰ seems accurate.

These social antagonisms help demolish the mutual harmony of the notions of humanity and humanism. Both sides have reached the extreme point of zero tolerance regarding each other and are, directly, not only in conflict but

¹⁹ Puniyani, Ram (1945-date), *Deconstructing Terrorist Violence: Faith as a Mask* (2015), SAGE Publications India, Lecture delivered in a Workshop (2016) <https://youtu.be/z7SavJJaja0>

²⁰ Fradinger, Moira (2010), *Binding Violence: Literary Visions of Political Origins*, Stanford University Press, pg. 3

even at war. One side calls it a 'war on terror' for so-called democratic norms to prevail, and the other side is in a so-called holy war, spreading terror in the name of religion, most often Islam. This research study, developed over the past few years, through different international conferences and fieldwork regarding radicalised Islamic fundamentalism conducted in Pakistan, Iraq and Iran, indicates that this global game, either of wars on terror or wars for terror, has nothing to do with religion or democracy or humanity or peace in the world. Instead, it is merely a political game of thrones that is being played by both fundamentalists and neo-liberals. Both are using the same tools of fabrication, misquotations, misinterpretations and misrepresentations to wage war against each other. The different fundamentalists, who I would prefer to refer to as 'Islamists' instead of fundamentalists in this context, are radicalising innocent humans by promoting jihadist ideology through hand-picked quotations from religious texts, dissimulating the contextual references, while at the same time neo-liberals are radicalising societies through islamophobia by validating the same radicalised, extremist version of the Islamists and overlooking the peace-loving majority of Muslims. What is common in both ideologies is the bloody war, war waged for terrifying people into following their ideologies: a) the ideology of Islamism and b) the ideology of liberalism or, perhaps more

accurately, neoliberalism.

Islamism is an ideology emerging as a subsection of fundamentalism. According to this ideology, Islamists must dedicate their lives to setting up the rule of the Islamic State all over the world, and for that they would have to perform *Jihad*, which they define contrary to its genuine sense. The term Jihad will be discussed in detail, under the section of Misrepresentation with the title ‘Deconstructed Representation of Jihad in Islam and Jihad Narrative’. Jihad, as it is wrongly portrayed, is a battle or outright war to establish Islam as the ruling religion of the entire world, or what I call Islamism. The notion of fundamentalism basically refers to the movements that were started to reconnect with the fundamental beliefs and faiths of the religions by bringing the basic religious practices back into day-to-day life. Later on, the same notion evolved into an ideological program to motivate others, to reconnect with the fundamental religious beliefs, faiths and practices, initially through invitations and awareness. The popularity of such motivational invitations and awareness brought the fundamentalists into the limelight and they became powerful stakeholders on the political scene, as power is necessary to rule and a mandate to rule can only be gained through politics, and when it comes to politics and especially power politics, then the fundamental beliefs and faiths and practices

are no longer very important. What is important is to be in power. So the fundamentalists started using religion and religious vocabulary as tools to access power. Henceforth, the role of fabrication and misrepresentations begins to gain more and more currency as well as attracting more manpower to their side. What fundamentalists need to do is assure people that their call is the call of religion and God, and reassure them that they are simply serving religion by chanting *labbaik* (welcome) to the call of God. More coercive and extremist versions of the religion are introduced and to endorse this version they fabricate, misinterpret, misquote, misrepresent in order to radicalise common, innocent people. They try to achieve their objectives through terrifying people in the name of religion and fear of God's anger that could lead them to an eternity in hell. Some join the movement in the fear of God to escape hell, some join through misguided motives of securing a place in heaven, and those who don't pay heed are terrified by threats of killing and bombing and chopping limbs and beheading. It is these extremist fanatics who I refer to as Islamists and their ideology as Islamism. It has nothing to do with Islam because the beginning of this ideology of Islamic fundamentalism or Islamism is not as old as Islam. It was born in the 1970's while Islam was born in 610 AD.

The term neoliberalism is one of the most vague and overused terms in journalism and academia. It seems to refer to an ideological movement that is often blamed for a variety of grievances about the world today: inequality, poverty, climate change, deregulation, globalization, and the proliferation of money in politics. According to some specialists of economic history, there are at least seven schools of neoliberalism. (Some of the older schools, like the First Chicago School (Frank Knight, Henry Simons, Jacob Viner), the Second Chicago School (Milton Friedman, Aaron Director, George Stigler) as well as older schools, like the Italian or Bocconi School (Maffeo Pantaleoni, Luigi Einaudi) as well as more marginal schools, like the Virginia School (James Buchanan, Gordon Tullock) – itself influenced by the Italian school (see Nancy MacLean, history Professor at Duke University). According to certain writers, the term originates from a small academic conference held in Paris in 1938, now referred to as the Walter Lippmann Colloquium. The term’s current familiarity is mainly derived from the 1978–79 lectures of French philosopher Michel Foucault, who seemed not to adopt the overwhelmingly derogatory implication of its neocolonial uses. Foucault did however cite the Walter Lippmann Colloquium as a central moment of its origin. Referring to the French-language transcripts of the 1938 proceedings, Foucault noted that “in the course of this

colloquium the specific propositions peculiar to neo-liberalism are defined... In all the texts of the neo-liberals you find the theme that the government is active, vigilant, and intervening in a liberal regime.”²¹ This distinctive view broke from laissez-faire doctrine, Foucault acknowledged, and also permeated ‘neoliberalism’ with a form of political agency — thus the view’s modern reputation as supportive of proactive governance on behalf of free markets. This neoliberalism with a political agenda is taking the world towards neocolonialism that is a modern way of occupying the economies for the sake of imperialism or, in Roy’s words, neoimperialism.

Imperialism has distorted the economies of the underdeveloped countries which have been made dependent on the developed nations. In 1961, Che Guevara, in his famous speech, *Cuba: Historical exception or vanguard in the anticolonial struggle?*, explained the economic mechanism of neocolonial control in the following words:

The countries “politely referred to as “underdeveloped,” in truth are colonial, semicolonial or dependent countries ... [imperialism] has abnormally developed those branches of industry or agriculture needed to complement its complex economy. “Underdevelopment,” or distorted

²¹ Magness, Phillip W. (10 Dec. 2018), ‘The Pejorative Origins of the Term “Neoliberalism”’, Published by AIER: American Institute for Economic Research., <https://www.aier.org/article/the-pejorative-origins-of-the-term-neoliberalism/>

development, brings a dangerous specialization in raw materials, inherent in which is the threat of hunger for all our peoples. We, the “underdeveloped,” are also those with the single crop, the single product, the single market. A single product whose uncertain sale depends on a single market imposing and fixing conditions. That is the great formula for imperialist economic domination. It should be added to the old, but eternally youthful Roman formula: *Divide and Conquer!*”²²

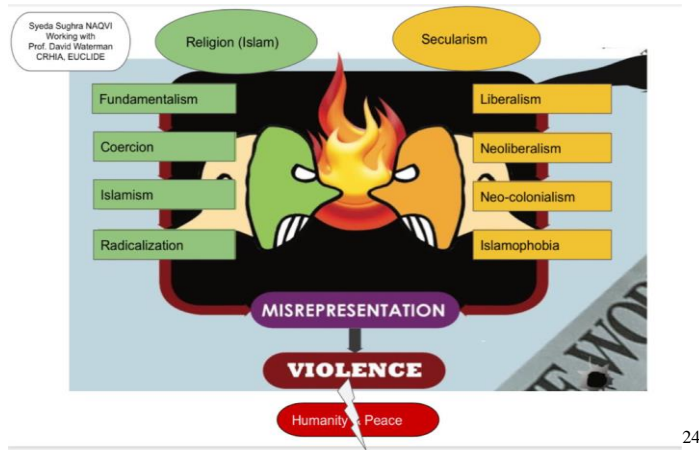
Neocolonialism occupies economies without occupying the land in the guise of support and assistance on the basis of human compassion. Beast disguised as charming Beauty.

Fundamentalism and neoliberalism have built walls of social misrepresentation to blur the realistic view of the common people. That is why, perhaps, Mohsin Hamid feels it necessary to say, Pakistan needs to be reviewed “without makeup and fangs”²³. Social misrepresentations serve the ideology of revisionism through which global neocolonisers want to transform the world. This is what I call Post-postcolonial colonization. It is nothing but a game of thrones that benefits the players and leaves humans and humanity with nothing but darkness and destruction. Victorious violence laughs at defeated peace.

²² Guevara, Che (9 April 1961), *Cuba: Historical exception or vanguard in the anticolonial struggle?*, Source: *The Che Reader*, Ocean Press, © 2005, Translator unknown, Accessed at the website Marxists.Org

²³ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Penguin Publishers

Extremism rules out harmony and tolerance. Terrorism drowns humanism.



24

Islam, Muslims and Pakistan have been obsessively discussed in the mainstream media and academic conferences in the past decade and a half. This current obsession has a negative impact, given the global media’s predominantly discriminatory representation of all three, portraying Islam as a religion of coercion and terrorism, Muslims generally as barbaric extremists, while Pakistan is seen as a state that “sponsors terrorism”²⁵, a state of extremist fundamentalists that “promotes the export of terror”²⁶. So, this research is an attempt to shed light on many of the misrepresentations which are familiarized for purposes of transforming an unknown into a known, an unfamiliar into a familiar, and

²⁴ Special thanks to Dewi Hadin Waterman for her graphic assistance

ultimately a non-existence into an existence.

A decolonised - and perhaps de(neo)colonised, too - representation of such misrepresentations is needed to understand this phenomenon and the ideologies working behind the scenes for popularizing these representations of/by fundamentalism in comparison with misrepresentations of/by neoliberalism.

Research Hypothesis and Plan

The research began with the hypothesis that reluctance is the main cause of mistrust between two people representing two different schools of thought. So, the initial goal was to find the causes of this element of reluctance that has created a distance between human beings, on the basis of their differing life philosophies. One philosophy of life is based upon a religious school of thought while the other is based on liberalism. So, we need to understand both philosophies as well as their evolutionary shift from peacefulness for humanity towards radicalised extremist fundamentalism on the one hand and radicalised, supremacist neoliberalism on the other, both equally exploiting violent ideologies. When I talk about humanity or humanism and whenever I will be mentioning it later, let me make it very clear at the beginning to avoid any confusion, I mean humanity and humanism in a large sense, not only defined and

²⁵ Byman, Daniel, 2005, *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism*, Cambridge University Press

²⁶ Cameron, David (28 July 2010), *UK PM Cautions Pakistan Over Terror Export*, [BBC News](#)

appropriated by, or connected to, liberalism or fundamentalism. Humanity means humanness, goodness, benevolence, gentleness, a divine virtue to be compassionate towards fellow human beings irrespective of their race, caste, colour or creed. In addition, acclaimed as an essence of the world religions, humanity also recommends love for the creator of the universe, God Almighty, in gratitude as well as tenderness for animals and nature too. Humanism is a concept that advocates equity as well as equality, welfare as well as justice, brotherhood as well as friendship, sharing as well as caring, harmony as well as tolerance, healthcare as well as security and so on for everyone without any privilege or immunity. Thus, the concept of humanity and humanism is neither liberal nor fundamentalist because it is not in possession of any particular ideology, rather it supports everyone who favours working for the well-being of humanity.

Thus, the thesis is divided into three sections; a) fundamentals of Islam, traces of fundamentalism and the construction of coercion in the history of Islam and Post-postcolonial representations of fundamentalism and radicalisation, b) radicalisation of neoliberalism with white supremacist ideology and economic colonization with the help of capitalist neocolonialism to establish neo-imperialism, c) Decolonised representations of socio-cultural, religio-political art

and misrepresentations which are causing psychological trauma for many humans in the post 9/11 era.

The first section highlights some of the traces of fundamentalism in the history of Pakistan. Pakistan came into being with the two-nation theory of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. The idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India was opposed by the fundamentalists initially, as they had the view that Islam is transnational and does not allow for the limits of geographical boundaries. In spite of their opposition, the idea flourished and was achieved through the struggle of secular leaders, such as Quaid-e-Azam Muhammed Ali Jinnah and companions. Then these fundamentalists realised that in order to gain power, they needed politics, and for that a State becomes necessary. Since Pakistan was brought into existence in the name of Islam, as a separate State for the Muslims of India, it was named the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Quaid's vision, conveyed to the nation during his first speech to the legislative assembly as the first Governor General of Pakistan, was clear: the State has nothing to do with religion, but this idea was buried along with him, which made it easy for the fundamentalists not only to be active in politics but gradually become the stakeholders by sidelining the politicians with a liberal approach while working on the first constitution of Pakistan in 1954. Meanwhile

they found support in the ranks of the Pakistan Army, becoming part and parcel of the mainstream geopolitics of Pakistan with all of its consequences. Later on, this ideology found even stronger support during General Zia's regime (1977-1988) when jihadist ideology emerged with support from the US and Saudi Arabia to tackle the USSR in Afghanistan.²⁷ This was the era when these extremist fundamentalists were equipped with weapons by the US to perform so-called Jihad for the freedom of Afghanistan. The US had lost the war in Vietnam and the morale of its forces was down. However, it could not allow Russia, the competitive superpower of the time, to sustain its occupation in Afghanistan. So Muslim manpower was recruited against Russia. For this purpose, Wahhabism, a fanatically extremist section of Islam from Saudi Arabia, was exported to Pakistan. Saudi Arabia, since its birth in 1927, has been depending on this ideology rooted in the eighteenth century, founded by Muhammad Abdul Wahhab along with Muhammad ibn Saud "to create a religiopolitical movement"²⁸. This movement is "a source of their [Saudi kings] religious and political legitimation"²⁹ to make Saudi Arabia "a self-styled Islamic State with a rigid, puritanical, Wahhabi brand of Islam"³⁰. According to Ram Puniyani, the

²⁷ Clinton, Hillary (2009), *Hillary Clinton speaks out about US links with Taliban*, [South Asia News](#)

²⁸ Esposito, John L. (2003), *Unholy War, Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pg. 6

²⁹ Esposito, John L. (2003), *Unholy War, Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pg. 6

³⁰ Esposito, John L. (2003), *Unholy War, Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pg. 6

US provided 8,000 million US\$ to Al Qaeda along with 7000 tons weapons.³¹ *Madrasahs* (Religious Institutions) were turned into centres of radicalisation where the definition of two critical words, *Kafir* and *Jihad* were indoctrinated for serving this ideological monstrosity of terrorism in the name of Islam.³²

This section of the thesis will locate those traces of fundamentalism by an attempt to answer this question: What happened that allowed fundamentalists to gain a hold on the geopolitics of Pakistan, by developing their coercive ideology gradually, in a way that led them to occupy a dominant position? The findings help the readers to trace the association of radicalised fundamentalism with alternating Martial Law and democratic eras through comparative analyses with the political construction of coercion in the history of Islam for the sake of political power.

“Religion has been the chief source of violence and oppression in history.”³³ So says Sam Harris, an American author, in *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason*. There are a large number of religions in the world and many different beliefs being preached, promoted and practiced as well. Generally, a religion is defined as a specific system of faith and worship

³¹ Puniyani, Ram (1945-date), *Deconstructing Terrorist Violence: Faith as a Mask* (2015), SAGE Publications India, Lecture delivered in a Workshop (2016) <https://youtu.be/z7SavJJaja0>

³² Puniyani, Ram (1945-date), *Deconstructing Terrorist Violence: Faith as a Mask* (2015), SAGE Publications India, Lecture delivered in a Workshop (2016) <https://youtu.be/z7SavJJaja>

³³ Harris, Sam (August 2004), *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason* <https://www.samharris.org/>

/ a pursuit or interest followed with great devotion / the belief in and worship of a phenomenal controlling power, especially a personal God or gods.³⁴ Different writers have been trying to define religion according to their own perspectives. So, it will be interesting to have a look at some of the definitions from the philosophers who were/are extremely influential thinkers of the time. An anthropologist, Edward Burnett Tylor, defined religion simply as “the belief in Spiritual Beings”.³⁵

James George Frazer defines it in the following words: “By religion, then, I understand a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life”³⁶. Another British anthropologist, William James, presents yet another shade of definition, saying religion is “the feelings, acts, and experiences of individual men in their solitude, so far as they apprehend themselves to stand in relation to whatever they may consider the divine.”³⁷ In the view of the most eminent French sociologist, Émile Durkheim: “A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden – beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a

³⁴ *Oxford Advanced Learner Dictionary* (originally published in 1948), Oxford University Press

³⁵ Tylor, Edward B (1831-1917), *Primitive Culture: Research into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom* 1st published in 1871, Cambridge University Press, print publication 2010, online publication 2012

³⁶ Frazer, James George (1854-1941), *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, 1st published in 1890, Then expanded version was published in 1911-15, Abridged Edition 2002 by Dover Publication

³⁷ James, William (1842-1910), *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, pg 39, 1985, Harvard University Press, source edition 1902

Church, all those who adhere to them.”³⁸ He also says that religion is “the self-validation of a society by means of myth and ritual.”³⁹ Clifford Geertz, an American anthropologist, describes religion as “a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, persuasive, and long lasting moods and motivations [...] by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.”⁴⁰ Frederick Streng also believes that religion is a source to ultimate transformation⁴¹ while Joseph Adler, too, considers it a means of ultimate transformation and/or orientation⁴².

In the twenty-first century, this is a very hotly debated issue, whether the world needs religions any more or not? Those who advocate the importance of religion in the lives of people are allegedly called fundamentalists in a large sense, including 99.99% of peace-loving Muslims with a moderate approach as well as 0.01% radical Islamists with an extremist approach.⁴³ Those who dislike religion, with the argument of its being intolerant and sometimes violent, present

³⁸ Durkeim, Émile (1858-1917), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Translated by Carol Cosman (2008), Oxford World Classics, original: *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912)

³⁹ Durkeim, Émile (1858-1917), *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Translated by Carol Cosman (2008), Oxford World Classics, original: *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* (1912)

⁴⁰ Geertz, Clifford (1926-2006), *Religion as a Cultural System* (1993), pg 90-91, *The interpretation of cultures: Selected Essays*, Fontana Press

⁴¹ Streng, Frederick (1933-1993), *Understanding Religious Life* (1984), Wadsworth Pub Co

⁴² Adler, Joseph A (2003), *Varieties of Spiritual Experience: Shen in Neo-Confucian Discourse*, Weiming Tu & Mary Evelyn Tucker (eds.), Confucian Spirituality. Crossroad Pub. Company. pg. 2-120

⁴³ Hasan, Mehdi (3 July 2013), *Mehdi Hasan | Islam Is A Peaceful Religion | Oxford Union*, Published by [OxfordUnion](#) TV Channel on youtube.com

themselves as liberals apart from the fact that there are some secular humanists, too, just as there are some religious-humanists other than fundamentalists. Does religion really breed violence through its preaching? To find the correct answer, we need to have an overall view of the evident differences between the basic, foundational preachings of this or that religion and the politicised exploitation of religion, fabricated and promoted later by the self-appointed authorities / gatekeepers of the religions (by which I mean the religious scholars of all religions, including Popes, Maulvis, Muftis, Pandits and so on). An anonymous scholar explained with reference to Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali, an eminent religious scholar from Egypt, that half of disbelief in the world is carried by religious people who made God detestable to His creation by their terrible conduct and terrible speech. Thus the following argumentative / comparative study hopes to verify the premise that no religion, in its ideal form, preaches violence. The basic teachings of the religions are taken into consideration in comparison with the social, political and cultural influences that construct obstacles for the acquisition of the genuine teachings, preachings and practices.

In this regard, different religions of the world need to be explored carefully regarding the code of conduct introduced by their scholars and how it is being misinterpreted by the fundamentalists. As it is a well-known saying that

charity begins at home, and the religious status of the author being Muslim, Islam and Islamic fundamentalism will be taken as a case study. Chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 will cover the traces and causes of fundamentalism and coercion in the history of Islam and Pakistan with a comparative analysis of Islamists' coercive ideology and Islam itself, addressing the main areas of contradiction - Coercion, Humanity, Jihad, Human Reasoning and Blasphemy - and the conspiracy theories which play a recurring role in breeding violence through the misrepresentation of these concepts. The section exposes the construction of extremist fundamentalism in the process of transferring the knowledge of religions from generation to generation. Contrary to the peaceful messages in favour of humanity, politicised versions of religions have been justifying the practice of coercion and extremism that has been breeding violence and terrorism in the contemporary era. This chapter would be an attempt to answer the question by scrutinizing Islam as a case study. Islam means the religion of peace, its preachings support humanity, tolerance and harmony for setting up a peaceful society by promoting the idea of 'No Coercion in Religion'. If so, then how did coercion become so common when it is obviously against the Holy Quran? This section traces the historical perspective of the notion of spreading Islam through the power of the sword. This section will also provide an analytical study of the

causes of wars and Ghazwas (the wars in which the Holy Prophet Muhammad PBUH himself participated) fought by Holy Prophet (PBUH) during His life, in comparison with the later wars fought by Muslim rulers for the purpose of expanding the geographical boundaries of the Islamic States in the history of Islam, with the justification of spreading Islam. To highlight the concept of coercion in Islam, the author provides a comparative study of Jihad, its variations, the circumstances for its practice in light of the Quran and Hadith and in contrast with the current Jihad narrative that is spreading terrorism instead of Islam's true message of peace.

The second section consists of chapters 6, 7, and 8 highlights the significance of globalization as subservient to American hegemony through its variant definitions. It focuses on globalization in the form of 're-colonization in a new garb' in the third world countries, increasing deprivation instead of the promised economic stability – a rising tide lifts all boats. Deprivation, consequently, breeds violence. It provides an argumentative analysis of globalized violence. American hegemony and its terrorizing consequences have introduced new ideologies that include Islamo-phobia, xenophobia, Islamization, radicalisation and Zionism to the world. The emergence of these ideologies is playing havoc, not only in the Middle East and central Asian countries but in the

West as well. The section discusses the aspects in which the people whose identities are threatened react and it becomes very difficult to estimate the scope of that reaction. The double standards of America and the West favor the state terrorism of Israel and India against Palestinians and Kashmiris for their freedom fights, by conflating it with terrorism while providing full-fledged support to intensify similar uprisings in Egypt, Libya and Syria that have nearly brought Egypt and Libya into the status of non-existence, and in Syria there is a state of anarchy, chaos, instability and violence. The section argues that an inhumane radical movement, in the form of ISIS, has emerged and spread terror throughout the Muslim world, and is the outcome of planned destabilization in the area by the US, to fit the world into the frame of its global New World Order. In addition, it also highlights the powerful role of 'socialistan' (social media) in breeding violence that provides platforms to radicals to spread their inhumane school of thought worldwide without much effort.

In this section we will also address the rationale of neocolonisation or neo-imperialism through revisionism introduced by the United States as neo-global coloniser. There are different aspects which highlight the theme of this section: 1) US hegemony in the form of revisionism, through social misrepresentations, exploitation and neocolonisation in the garb of globalization; 2) The factor of

nuclear power and American domination that informs the evolving “great game” in the Middle East and Afghanistan; 3) American imperialism regarding internal policies of Pakistan and the relationship between the US and Pakistan in the aftermath of 9/11. While addressing the main theme of the thesis, this section will be helpful to discuss the transition from British colonization to American imperialism. The notion of the US as global economic coloniser, or perhaps neocoloniser, will be explained in light of Arundhati Roy’s indictment of the United States for introducing nuclear technology to the world, Umaira Ahmed’s denunciation for exploiting the economic resources of third world countries, thus leaving poverty, chaos and instability in its wake, humiliated sovereignty of the developing nations through drone attacks and imposed social reforms, and the Americans’ delusion that they can transform the world. Moreover, this section also highlights the racism that exposes the extremism of neo-liberalism that is inflamed by Brexit, travel bans and other Islamophobic policies which are playing a prominent role in displacement of identities by reinforcing borders. These policies are making neoliberal societies more racist and intolerant towards Muslim migrants. Threats to liberty and Islamophobia have shaken the secular approach in the West and, consequently, harmonious human connectivity is in trouble.

The third section deals with the social misrepresentations and their political effects on life through the art of distortion, inventions and forgeries; the conversion of facts into fiction and fiction into facts through revisionism in chapters 9, 10 and 11. Chapter 9 provides a comprehensive study regarding what is revisionism. And how does it work? Revisionism is the ideology to revise or reform or, in some circumstances, replace the socio-political setups of societies, regions or nations. Post-postcolonial revisionism is twofold. On one side, there are religio-political extremist Islamist groups like Al-Qaeda, Tehreek e Taliban, or ISIS/ISIL which are actively restructuring the Islamic world to reconstruct it according to their ideal, for the sake of Islamization or Islamism, using the name of Islam. To achieve their goal, they incite common people as warriors of Jihad to fight against the established Islamic order. Scholars of Islam have denounced this misuse of Jihad by the clear declaration that it contradicts Islam.

On the other hand, the radicalised neoliberals of the West are studying Islamic fundamentalism to trace the fabrications, distortions and misrepresentations of faith, not in the context of history and politics in which they actually arise, but to locate problems within the religion itself.⁴⁴ Globalisation - even while pretending to achieve equality of opportunity between

⁴⁴ See also: Raja, Masood Ashraf (2011) 'Neoliberal Dispositif and the Rise of Fundamentalism: The Case of Pakistan', Source: *Journal of International and Global Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pg. 21-31, Publishers: [Directory of Open Access Journals](#)

rich and poor nations - has nevertheless allowed global hierarchies to be dominated by former colonial nations.⁴⁵

As far as social misrepresentations are concerned, these misrepresentations are twofold. On one side, there are fundamentalists who introduce coercion and extremism by exploiting religion for political purposes and to validate their coercive version, and they invent self-serving, fanatically-forged misinterpretations of the available religious texts. On the other hand, neo-liberals and revisionists also use religious texts out of context to radicalise the racism and Islamophobia that may serve their political goals to transform the world to fit into their frame of revisionism. This art of using religious texts out of context by both fundamentalists and neo-liberals is addressed in the third section of the thesis, by taking Islam and Pakistan as examples. The misrepresentations regarding the dominant status of the Urdu language as an evident reality in the multilingual society of Pakistan are criticised with an argument that the mother tongue of only 7.59% of immigrants is the national language of the country that provides opportunity to traditional rivals of Pakistan to provoke ethnic crisis, ignoring the reality of its being the main language of communication country-wide.

⁴⁵ Zakariya, Rafia (24 July 2013), *Neoliberalism and Taliban*, [DAWN News](#)

Chapter 10 highlights the decolonised representation of the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, contrary to its colonised version. It includes the historical and geopolitical perspectives of this conflict in relation to the UN resolutions, the UN Commission for Kashmir and its helplessness. The chapter presents the analysis of Pakistani and Indian stance on Kashmir and different phases of freedom movement in light of Joseph Korbels views⁴⁶. The chapter argues against Christine Fair's representation of Pakistan's legal and moral stand regarding the plebiscite in Kashmir by analysing her erroneous claims about UN Resolution 47, 1948⁴⁷ in which she declares that the first three steps of the resolutions were sequential and conditional and Pakistan didn't fulfill the first step that could then be followed by the second and third sequential steps for resolving the dispute. This section also highlights the differences and connections among fighting for freedom, jihad narrative and state terrorism. Through the analytical findings of this section, we may be able to conclude who (India or Pakistan or Kashmiris themselves as an independent state) has the legal and moral grounds to claim Kashmir in light of the UN resolutions, reports of the UN commission to India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and of other mediators.

Moreover, the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) will also be

⁴⁶ Korbels, Josef (1966, Originally published in 1954), *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton University Press

⁴⁷ Fair, Christine (2014), A presentation about her book *Fighting To The End: Pak Army's Way of War*, on the forum of The Heritage Foundation <https://youtu.be/sjnrETPDuls> (1:11)

discussed in the perspective of China's rising neocolonialism and the sole superpower's concerns regarding the project. Is this an indication of the beginning of another Cold War, between the US and China this time? We will address this aspect in Chapter 11.

Selection of Source, Theoretical Framework and Methodology

This thesis examines as "primary literary sources" one of Umaira Ahmed's novels (*Aab-e-Hayat*, 2017); two novels and a nonfiction work by Mohsin Hamid (*The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, 2007, *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, 2014 and *Exit West*, 2017); and a film story written by Shoaib Mansoor (*In the name of God*, 2007). Theoretical resources come primarily from the following: *The End of Imagination* (2016), a compilation of journalism and talks regarding her research from 1998 to 2004 by Arundhati Roy; Noam Chomsky's book of interviews based on his research work (*How the World Works*, 2011); Serge Moscovici's *Social Representations* (2000); and 9th Century texts by Sahih Al Bukhari and finally the Holy Quran. These sources are examined in an attempt to analyse representations of Islam, Muslims and Pakistan through the prism of religious extremism on the one hand and neoliberal economic extremism on the other. The chronological disparity of sources is confounded by the differing status and nature of these sources.

Mohsin Hamid is well-known for his bestsellers; *Moth Smoke*, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, *How To Get Filthy Rich In Rising Asia* and *Exit West* along with his non-fiction publication *Discontent and Its Civilizations*. He deals with the post-postcolonial reluctance of fundamentalism, especially the post 9/11 ‘war on terror’ by using the global canvas for his literary expressions to portray contemporary disillusionment in Pakistan and about Pakistan in the minds of the ‘global colonisers’ who have yoked the Pakistani nation into the obsessive race of making money. Economic terrorism caused by this race is breeding violence and consequently all efforts for pluralism seem destined to fail. Umaira Ahmed, in contrast, is one of the Urdu writers who succeeds in touching the hearts of the readers by plotting her fiction around the local, social, cultural and economic perspectives of Pakistani society with all of its variations. Although her literary canvas is not as vast as Mohsin Hamid’s, her picturesque skills in a more limited range promote a moderate approach towards life by contrasting the reflective portrayal of abstract features like good and evil, lavish and penury, fundamentalism and liberalism and so on with their extremist qualities. Some of her Novels are *Peer e Kaamil*, *Aab e Hayat*, *Man o Salwa*. ‘*Meri Zaat Zarra e Benishan*’, ‘*Shehr e Zaat*’, ‘*Aye Tair e Lahoti*’, *Zindagi Gulzar Hai*, *Thora Sa Asman*, *Amar Bail*, *Haasil*, *La Haasil* and *Aks*. Although Ahmed’s limited range

largely focuses on the social patterns and domestic issues of Pakistani society, in *Aab e Hayat*, for the first time, she attempts to set up her story on a wider canvas, addressing the theory of neocolonialism in comparison with fundamental economic systems introduced by Islam. It is captivating to compare two writers who share the same origin, speak the same language, follow the same culture but write in two different languages with two contrasting perspectives, approaches and ideas. If Mohsin Hamid is a ‘liberal fundamentalist’ who is reluctant to be associated with his own creation, the reluctant fundamentalist Changez, then Umaira Is a fundamentally liberal in the character of Imama who jettisons her inherent religion boldly, following the voice of her immanent liberties. Neither of them is a liberal or a fundamentalist in the binary sense of fundamentalism or liberalism. They preach humanism, indeed.

However, the literature is not taken in an extremely “literary” way, but more along the lines of the message that it carried, its connection with what we might call the ‘real world’ and how literature functions along political lines, political here meant in a broad sense. In other words, how does literature / fiction represent our societies, what does it have to say about our situation, what social problems are identified and what kinds of solutions might be proposed?

For this purpose, we will be using a qualitative approach with deductive method to analyse the selected literary pieces. The contemporary context of English Literature in Pakistan and the different approaches provide material for examining who is who and what is what, in order to determine the underlying motives at work behind the scenes, especially the schools of thought encouraging extremism of all kinds, working against peace and harmony in favor of violence and terrorism. Literature, in this context, is a mouthpiece of the Age. So, selection of Mohsin Hamid's three books, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007), *Exit West* (2017), and *Discontent and Its Civilizations* (2014) along with Umaira Ahmed's *Aabe Hayat* and Shoaib Mansoor's film story *Khuda Kay Liye* (In the Name of God) for analysing the social misrepresentations is based on the notion that these literary pieces are more relevant to the theme of this project than others in terms of social critique.

Serge Moscovici and his elaboration of social representation theory and how that works in a normative, prescriptive manner, establishing 'common sense' within a particular community, facilitating communication and group identification – yet often at the expense of critical thinking as the unfamiliar is made familiar – provides the analytical tool of social misrepresentation, essential for the thesis. Meanwhile, what Noam Chomsky and Arundhati Roy have to say

about how our societies are represented, and often misrepresented depending on various political agendas is also in line with Moscovici's theory. Thus, the argument will be constructed under the theoretical framework based on Serge Moscovici's theories of social representations which are used to familiarise the unfamiliar or defamiliarize the familiar by nuancing it as social misrepresentations. Since social misrepresentation is the main theme of the thesis, we will be focusing on it while working on different aspects of the whole document. For example, religious misrepresentations introduced by the fundamentalists, or rather Islamists, will be exposed in the first section. Meanwhile, fundamentalism or Islamism will be inspected under the theoretical lens of *la ikraha fid Deen* (No Coercion/Compulsion in Religion), presented in the Holy Quran and the Hadith. The selection of the Holy Quran and the Hadith, composed in the 9th century, is purposefully done to provide context as well as a comparative analysis of the defamiliarised, original version of Islam adevented in 610 AD and the familiarized, misinterpreted current version expounded by Islamists. Thus the Holy Quran is used as the only reliable source for analysing the fundamentals of Islam while the Hadith is used in light of Quran to verify the original version. However, the current perceptions of Islam are observed through the field work in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan to further examine the extremist

ideologies which have been brought into existence and are being normalized in the name of religion. We will be targeting five of the main ideas in Islam including Coercion, Jihad, Blasphemy, Humanity, and Human Reasoning to expose the misrepresentations which played a recurring role in converting these ideas into ideologies. Moreover, neocolonial misrepresentation familiarised by the neo-global-colonisers will be highlighted in the second section while social misrepresentations regarding Pakistan are addressed in the third section. We will try to focus on exhibiting practical implications of social misrepresentations by exposing the political ideologies of fundamentalism/Islamism and neocolonialism which are working to breed violence and extremism. Similarly, Roy's theory of facts in fiction is utilised for analysing literature as a mouthpiece of the twenty-first century while examining Chomskian views of neocolonialism according to which foreign capital is used for exploitation rather than for the development of the less developed parts of the world. Under neo-colonialism, investment increases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world.

The research project is initiated to look more deeply into contemporary literature in Pakistan and the different approaches being practiced or introduced within the puzzle of social misrepresentations, a process which necessarily

involves going beyond the bounds of the literary texts themselves in order to place them within their socio-historical, geopolitical and linguistic contexts. As such, the use of some institutional documents, press and other media will be done to confirm or provide a fact check to globalization as a neocolonial project. Chapter 8, for example, highlights globalization as recolonization or neo colonization to confirm the analysis obtained from the literary argument in chapter 6 and 7. Similarly, social misrepresentations regarding Pakistan are discussed in the third section through Hamid's nonfiction *Discontent and Its Civilizations* to review Pakistan "without makeup and fangs". Since the word "social" covers all aspects of society - religious, political, linguistic, economic and cultural, for example - we decided to further elaborate the social misrepresentations and contemporary neocolonial wave in chapters 10 and 11. Geopolitical misrepresentations regarding the Kashmir Conflict and China Pakistan Economic Corridor, respectively, are addressed in detail to highlight neocolonial links which are active to 'familiarise the unfamiliar' by attempting to make the unknown known. Christine Fair's stance that Pakistan has no legal or moral claim on Kashmir and her biased interpretation of the UN Resolutions regarding Kashmir Conflict indicate the US neocolonial shift favouring India for its vested interest in the region. There is also the US-Indian critique of CPEC to

suggest that the Cold War II might have begun, and China's loud and clear intention to become the emerging neocolonizer in the future is also alarming. Thus chapter 11 regarding CPEC is a type of epilogue with an indication of the neocolonial future of parts of the world. These non-literary chapters are actually added to back up our main argument of social misrepresentations for the sake of a fact check in relation to the analysis presented in the literary chapters, and reinforcing our claim that literary texts do indeed have something to say about the real world. We focused the social misrepresentation theory to expose the appropriations of the neo-colonial global game-changers who have familiarized economic development as human progress while compromising humanness. Freedom fights are being equated with terrorism. Loans are being exploited as debt traps. Humanness is being compromised for vested interest. Thus, we may find a combination of both a quantitative approach with conductive method and qualitative approach with inferential analysis in the first section of the thesis, while the second and third sections are relying on more qualitative arguments.

Non-literary sources will be used only to support the main literary argument of social misrepresentations and not to construct a new argument. Comparative analysis of the Quran and the Hadith with contemporary, familiarised perceptions obtained through surveys and interviews during

fieldwork exposes the political game of the religious managers – the fundamentalists. By exposing capitalist manipulations and exploitation of third world countries, we will try to determine the role of globalization in terms of neocolonial misrepresentation to unmask neo-colonisers and their wars, while Kashmir and CPEC chapters highlight the neocolonial “makeup and fangs” Pakistan has had to wear.

This all is planned in the hope of examining the schools of thought provoking extremism of all kinds that work against peace and harmony in favor of violence and terrorism, within a contextual perspective of literature being a mouthpiece of the age. Fradinger equates literary imagination with political imagination, while we take this political imagination as the foundation of the political fabrications and social misrepresentations that work to familiarise fiction as facts and facts as fiction. Moreover, we may well find facts in literature because literature has always been playing a role in unveiling the characteristics of their times through different forms of realism. Hence, it may help examining and exposing the schools of thought provoking extremism of all kinds that work against peace and harmony in favor of violence and terrorism, within a contextual perspective of literature / fiction being accepted as quite possibly “true”.

The research seeks to answer the following questions in the perspective of themes presented in variant forms of Contemporary Pakistani Literature; fiction (novel, drama, film etc.) or non fiction. In the contemporary era, fiction is not limited to the literary text in written form. It is being presented through media - films and dramas - as well. Thus, while extracting slices of “real life” from the literary texts written by Mohsin Hamid (English) and Umaira Ahmed (Urdu), Shoaib Mansoor’s story of his film *Khuda kay Liye* (In The Name of God) will also be taken into account.

- How to define Fundamentalism? A definition of this term is necessary, as it will be used to refer to both religious and secular/economic contexts.
- Does Fundamentalism give everyone the “fundamental” right to practice one’s own fundamentals, deliberately, whether of religious schools of thought or a secular liberal stance? And in parallel, does neo-liberalism give neo-liberals the right to practice a secular, liberal approach towards Fundamentalism?
- What is the pertinence of what Mohsin Hamid has called ‘Reluctance’ to Fundamentalists and liberals in the contemporary age?
- Can liberal fundamentalists and fundamental liberals be equally categorized as extremists?

- What might be a more moderate approach that would help in converting extremists into moderates which would be equally acceptable for both fundamentalists as well as neo-liberals?

The research study, developed over the past three years, through different international conferences world-wide and fieldwork regarding radicalised Islamic fundamentalism, conducted in Pakistan, Iraq and Iran, indicates that this global game, either of wars on terror or war for terror, has nothing to do with religion or democracy or humanity or peace in the world. Instead, it is merely a political game of thrones that is being played by both fundamentalists and neo-liberals. Both are using the same tools of fabrication, misquotations, misinterpretations and misrepresentations to wage war. The fundamentalists are radicalising innocent humans by promoting jihadist ideology through hand-picked quotations, hiding the contextual references, while neoliberals are radicalising societies through racism and Islamophobia by validating the radicalised extremist version of Islamists and overlooking the peace-loving majority of Muslims. What is common in both ideologies is the bloody war of power politics. Fradinger says in *Binding Violence*, “Politics is one form of praxis that binds and is bound by violence; the literary imagination is another.”⁴⁸ She implies literary imagination as the equal of political imagination while I take

⁴⁸ Fradinger, Moira (2010), *Binding Violence: Literary Visions of Political Origins*, Stanford University Press, pg. 3

this political imagination as the foundation of the political fabrications and social misrepresentations that work to familiarise fiction as facts and facts as fiction. However, we may find facts in literature because literature has always been playing a recurring role in unveiling the characteristics of their times through realism. Thus, we will be analysing these social misrepresentations using Moscovici's theory of social representations which are used to familiarise the unfamiliar or defamiliarize the familiar. Similarly, Roy's theory of facts in fiction will be utilised for analysing contemporary Pakistani literature written by Mohsin Hamid and Umaira Ahmed as mouthpieces of the twenty-first century while examining Chomskian theories of neocolonialism. Meanwhile, fundamentalism or Islamism will be inspected under the theoretical lens of *la ikraha fid Deen*, presented in the Holy Quran and Hadith.

Section A

**Fundamentals of Islam and
Fundamentalism**

Chapter 2

The Element of Reluctance: The Main Cause of Mistrust between Adherents of Fundamentalism and Liberalism

This chapter highlights the variant aspects of what I call the reluctance of fundamentalism in post-postcolonial contemporary Pakistani literature, both in English and Urdu, analysing comparatively both exclusive and inclusive elements of its extensive canvas. Examples are taken from Mohsin Hamid's and Umaira Ahmed's contributions to the debate. Hamid deals with the post-postcolonial reluctance of fundamentalism; the post 9/11 period of 'war on terror' by using a global canvas for his literary expressions to portray contemporary disillusionment in Pakistan and about Pakistan in the minds of the global colonisers, the West in general and the US in particular, who have yoked the Pakistani nation into the obsessive race of making money. Economic terrorism caused by this race is breeding violence and consequently all efforts for pluralism seem destined to fail.

As I have said in the introduction, the journey of this thesis began with curiosity regarding an element of reluctance between two characters of Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*. The two main characters of the novel, Changez and an unnamed American visitor, represent allegiances to two different schools

of thought: Changez to fundamentalism, and the American to liberalism. They have nothing in common except Reluctance, reluctance that does not allow them to trust each other, reluctance prevents them from relying on each other, reluctance that has played a key role in the evaporation of any positive expectations from the other. So the question arises, why this mistrust? This project seeks an answer to the question: Why can't we, being human, trust each other? What are the causes which separate us? Why don't we give everyone the basic right of leading his/her life according to one's own deliberate choices? Corinna Byer, quoted in Waterman, explains the significance of identity phenomenon and its recognition in the following words,

“The recognition and embracing of one's essential, or primary self often leads to a kind of personal salvation ... such realization and acceptance are essential for a person to move forward in his life and discover his true capabilities. His problems may not be magically solved by embracing his primary self, but life will begin to seem less like a confusing struggle and more like a coherent and meaningful whole. (Byer 2001: 167)”⁴⁹

David Waterman says, “The attacks of 9/11 and its far-reaching

⁴⁹ Byer, Corinna (2001) quoted by Waterman, David (2015), *Where Worlds Collide: Pakistani Fiction in the New Millennium*, Oxford University Press, pg. 19

consequences are a benchmark in contemporary Pakistani fiction.”⁵⁰ The literary study of Hamid’s novel, *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, helps determine that the element of reluctance found in personal, social and political identities has separated the people with faith into two different philosophies of life (although neither of these philosophies is defined with a clear, impermeable boundary), expanding the communication gap between them. To comprehend the major cause of mistrust as an infection for humanity, reluctance needs to be defined before moving ahead. The abstract state of mind and heart that is known as reluctance generally means hesitation that expresses unwillingness or disinclination to act. It is an internal resistance caused by timidity or fear of something or someone, a lack of trust. The resistance develops in reaction to some action or event that has engendered mistrust, ambiguity and doubt.

Here, in Hamid’s novel, this internal resistance to trust others is caused by the ideological adhesions of the characters; the ideology of fundamentalism and the ideology of liberalism. Although not necessarily negative all the time, these ideologies have divided humans into binary categories: the fundamentalists and the liberals, the brown and the white, the religious and the secular, depriving them of plurality, commonality and unity, the essentials of a carefree, peaceful society. These divisions, according to Waterman, “are more complex than simple

⁵⁰ Waterman, David (2015), *Where Worlds Collide: Pakistani Fiction in the New Millennium*, Oxford University Press, pg. 6

geographic or ethnic differences,”⁵¹ covering religious and sectarian differences too.

The Element of Reluctance in *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*

The very beginning of the novel introduces Changez’ doubt towards an unknown American whom he suspects ‘to be on a *mission*,’ ignoring the possibility of his being merely a tourist like many others. But his ‘typical’ American attitude with a stubborn look about him gives Changez a perception of him as an untrustworthy fellow. The American’s suspicion towards Changez is revealed soon after, when he prefers sitting with his “back so close to the wall”⁵². His gesture shows him to be more self-conscious and more careful, to deal with any misadventure that may possibly be caused by Changez, an untrustworthy brown man, an apparently fundamentalist fellow with a beard. Sitting with his ‘back so close to the wall?’ adds another question to Changez’ list of suspicions, as an ordinary man would have preferred benefitting from the “intermittent breeze”⁵³ which makes the warm afternoons of Lahore more pleasant. The American sits without removing jacket, which increases Changez’ suspicion, as “that is not typical for Americans,” according to his experience of them. At the same time, this gesture expresses the American’s self-conscious behaviour.

⁵¹ Waterman, David (2015), *Where Worlds Collide: Pakistani Fiction in the New Millennium*, Oxford University Press, pg. 22

⁵² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 2

⁵³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 2

Observing him being self-conscious and uneasy, Changez tries to build a friendly environment by sharing the accounts of his life when he was in the USA. At the arrival of the waiter, the American seems worried and tries to reach under his jacket. Changez, noticing his unusual movement, ensures him “this burly fellow is merely our waiter”⁵⁴; a fundamentalist reassuring the liberal who becomes “ill at ease”⁵⁵ at the appearance of the waiter, who belongs to the tribe that lives on the Pak-Afghan border and which has suffered from American military offensives. While Changez doesn’t overtly express other suspicions about the American, he nevertheless thinks to himself that he looked like “undercover security agents”⁵⁶ with an “armpit holster”⁵⁷ under his jacket. Instead, he reassures himself by assuming that the American may simply be trying to reach for his wallet to pay bill, another expression by the fundamentalist to comfort the liberal. “I believe we have passed through too much together to begin to raise questions of this nature [the questions that show mistrust] at so late a stage.”⁵⁸

The Causes of Reluctance

Being uncomfortable is the major cause of reluctance. And the reluctant fundamentalist was uncomfortable with his being poor, his being subordinate, his

⁵⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 5

⁵⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 108

⁵⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 139

⁵⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 139

⁵⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 152

being less privileged, his being needy, his inferiority complex and most of all his being lost. He feels uncomfortable for what he calls his “complexities.” The complexities of every Muslim losing status in the world: of being rich to poor, being self-dependant to dependant, being ruler to colonised, being higher rank to lower rank, being learned to ignorant, being humble to aggressive, being tolerant to violent, being moderate to extremist, and thus being peaceful to terrorist.

These complexities cause “a temper”⁵⁹. Changez’s joke about his dream, “one day to be the dictator of Islamic republic with nuclear capability”⁶⁰ shocked his fellows. It was a joke, of course, that had to be explained by a fundamentalist to his liberal friends. But was it really a joke? Or perhaps, some internal “sense of longing”⁶¹, a desire to regain “what we had had and lost”⁶²; the status that the Muslims enjoyed before being colonised. The difference is of civilizations. Civilizations rise and fall, and of course, technologically advanced civilizations of the powerful “troubles”⁶³ the colonised when a comparison of two civilizations is made.

The western colonisers have universities with budgets greater than the national budgets for the education of the colonised nations. The postcolonial era,

⁵⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 9

⁶⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 29

⁶¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 71

⁶² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 71

⁶³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 34

having left poverty in its wake, kept the former colonies busy struggling for basic necessities of life, with no thought of rebuilding the planned cities with proper sanitation systems. Such comparison brings embarrassment as well as resentment for those who are now in this position. “Four thousand years ago, we, the people of the Indus River basin, had cities that were laid out on grids and boasted underground sewers, while the ancestors of those who would invade and colonise America were illiterate barbarians.”⁶⁴ Moreover, the typical American tone of condescension strikes “negative chords”⁶⁵ even if it points out the real problems of Pakistan and the Pakistani people, particularly when it comes to fundamentalism. Sown by America, in its dealings with the Inter-Services Intelligence, the Pakistan Military and Saudi Arabia, recruiting mujahidin and importing a wahhabi brand of hard-line Islam to defeat the Soviet Union.⁶⁶ But now this problem is ours to deal with, we are told. We are “touchy”⁶⁷. We are touchy about where we come from, where we belong. Everyone is. It’s natural. Because it makes us “so alive”⁶⁸. And it hurts when we are told about our fundamentalism, particularly by the ones who played a recurring role in

⁶⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 34

⁶⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 55

⁶⁶ Clinton, Hillary (2009), *Hillary Clinton speaks out about US links with Taliban*, South Asia News <https://youtu.be/X2CE0fyZ4ys>

⁶⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 56

⁶⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 81

entangling us in the complexities of the current extremist “wahhabi brand”⁶⁹ of fundamentalism.⁷⁰ This is what Hamid calls “Third World sensibility”⁷¹. The sensibility that makes us, Pakistanis, feel “disoriented”⁷² in the company of *goras*, the people of the developed West, making us closer to the people of colour, the people of the Third World. And maybe it was this sense of disorientation that led many protagonists to feel pleased, initially, at the collapse of New York’s World Trade Centre. This pleasure was not at the loss of so many lives, instead it was for watching America, visibly, brought to her knees.⁷³

Changez has to reassure the American several times that “there is nothing to fear”⁷⁴. He even tastes the food from every plate. To assure the tea is not “poisoned”⁷⁵, Changez exchanged the cups to make him more comfortable; to make him “not look so suspicious”⁷⁶ as the stiffness appears in his body language when the waiter brings tea and *jalebi*⁷⁷ for them. The American looks “distracted”⁷⁸ at the appearance of a man with a beard; a beard, an identity

⁶⁹ Clinton, Hillary (2009), *Hillary Clinton speaks out about US links with Taliban*, South Asia News <https://youtu.be/X2CE0fyz4ys>

⁷⁰ Chossudovsky, Michel (2018), *Hillary Clinton: “We Created Al Qaeda”. The Protagonists of the “Global War on Terrorism” are the Terrorists*, Global Research: Centre for Research on Globalization), <https://www.globalresearch.ca/> 1st published on 1 June 2013

⁷¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 67

⁷² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 66

⁷³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 73

⁷⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 122

⁷⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 11

⁷⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 11

⁷⁷ A subcontinental dessert

⁷⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 22

marker of many religions, is suspected because of its being connected to the extremists and hence potentially harmful for the liberal. But the exchange is not one-sided, the fundamentalist is suspicious in the same way. The mobile phone with its capability of “communicating via satellite”⁷⁹ reveals the fear of new western technology as well as its potential use against them as has been practiced by the colonial liberals. Often “a few words are more than sufficient”⁸⁰ to understand the concerns of the liberals, why they opt “to write a text message”⁸¹ instead of calling, in the presence of the fundamentalist and being in “unfamiliar surroundings”⁸², favorable for ‘fundamentalism’. These nervous gestures with an “unusual telephone”⁸³ and the constant checking with the “company”⁸⁴ alert the fundamentalist, too, considering the liberal is there on a particular mission. Both are uncertain. Uncertain about being “predator or prey”⁸⁵. Both notice “the frequency and purposefulness”⁸⁶ in the other’s glance moving from one point to the next, on that “night of some importance”⁸⁷. Suspicion is in their heads, increasing the reluctance, thus mistrust towards each other under the influence of ‘situated knowledge’ through misrepresentations that help in familiarizing and

⁷⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 30

⁸⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 30

⁸¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 30

⁸² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 31

⁸³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 115

⁸⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 115

⁸⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 31

⁸⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 31

⁸⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 92

fixing a meaning, in line with Serge Moscovici's theory of social representation, to see things 'this way rather than that way.'⁸⁸

The American "recoils"⁸⁹ when a beggar approaches him. At his refusal to help the beggar, Changez appreciates his wisdom of discouraging begging, but the appreciation sounds sarcastic when he says: "it is far better to donate to charities that address the causes of poverty than to him; a creature who is merely its symptoms."⁹⁰ This sarcasm finds an echo in Marence's research about charity organizations which serve the propaganda of the West, according to her point of view that will be discussed later in detail.

Trust needs level ground before it begins to build up. The "scar on [a fundamentalist's] forearm"⁹¹ could be suspected for his involvement in some training camp. Even the momentary electric "blackout"⁹² is alarming enough for the liberal to 'jump' out the seat, with the hands in 'jacket', as though he gets ready to respond to any possible threat. Reluctance is visible. The fundamentalist is "curious"⁹³, too, and ask the liberal "to reveal" his "*business*"⁹⁴ and "purpose" of his presence there in Lahore a couple of times, but in vain.

⁸⁸ Duveen, Gerard (2001), *Introduction: The Power of Ideas*, as quoted by Waterman, David (2015), *Where Worlds Collide: Pakistani Fiction in the New Millennium*, Oxford University Press, pg. 27

⁸⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 40

⁹⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 40

⁹¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 46

⁹² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 60

⁹³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 64

⁹⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 64

Reluctance of identity, inferiority complex:

Hamid highlights Changez's complexity regarding his national identity during his visit to Manila, Philippines where he suspects his Pakistaniness "was invisible"⁹⁵ because of his expensive dress, expense account, and - most of all - his American colleagues. He attempts "to act and speak ... like an American"⁹⁶ compromising his dignity to share the respect for status "as members of the officer class of global business"⁹⁷. The fundamentalist is reluctant to reveal his nationality, instead he prefers to relate himself to America by saying "I was from New York"⁹⁸ in reply to the question about his origins. And it was embarrassing for him since he has many achievements, despite his young age to be proud of. His 'genuine aptitude' like a 'shark' for his work and 'glowing reviews' for his 'performance'. That was what had 'ashamed' him while acting as an American. It was easy for him to recognise that New York was wealthier than the city of his birth but harder "to swallow"⁹⁹ was the fact of being behind the "laggard"¹⁰⁰ that is Manila. It was this inferiority complex that made him smile on seeing the collapse of the World Trade Centre. It was not that he was pleased at the killing

⁹⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 71

⁹⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 65

⁹⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 65

⁹⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 65

⁹⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 64

¹⁰⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 65

of thousands of people but it was the “symbolism”¹⁰¹ of bringing America, “the leader of the pack”¹⁰², to his knees. It was not to ‘gloat over’ the misfortune of other countries but to feel “joy”¹⁰³ over “munition laying waste the structures”¹⁰⁴ of the enemies during war. This clearly shows that: 1. the fundamentalists consider liberals enemies whether they are formally at war with them or not, 2. the US as neocoloniser with its “We are America,.... the mightiest civilization the world has ever known; you have slighted us; beware our wrath,”¹⁰⁵ supremacist approach is disliked by the postcolonial nations who had experienced the traumas of colonization, 3. mutual suspicions will forever keep them “separated”¹⁰⁶. A “respectful nod of approval”¹⁰⁷ from the dominant civilization is sufficient for the survivors of colonization. Hamid reminds us, through Changez, and the neoliberals in particular, about the glorious history of the Muslims.

“We were not always burdened by debt, dependent on foreign aids and handouts.... We were not the crazed and destitute radicals But rather saints and poets and -- yes -- conquering kings. We [the Muslims] built the Royal Mosque and the Shalimar Gardens in this city [Lahore] and we built

¹⁰¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 73

¹⁰² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 65

¹⁰³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 73

¹⁰⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 73

¹⁰⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 79

¹⁰⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 75

¹⁰⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 85

the Lahore Fort with its mighty walls and wide ramps for our battle-elephants. And we did these things when your country [America] was still a collection of thirteen small colonies, gnawing away at the edge of a continent.”¹⁰⁸

Missing Persons as Universal Phenomenon

Hamid touches the sensitive issue of missing persons as a universal phenomenon. The neocoloniser’s “self-righteous rage”¹⁰⁹ led it to set up “shadowy detention centers”. The “armor of denial”¹¹⁰ by a well-established Princeton graduate for the disappearance of Muslims was an attempt to ignore “the FBI raiding mosques, shops and even people’s houses”¹¹¹. It could not happen to him, he presumes, as it only happens to the helpless poor. But the reality was different. “Things always change,”¹¹² and “Power comes from becoming change.”¹¹³ Thus he decides to stop selling himself and his skills anymore to contribute to a nation that discriminates against his community for being Muslims since hearing of the “tales of discriminations Muslims were beginning to experience in the business world”¹¹⁴. Moreover, he is agonised by

¹⁰⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 101-102

¹⁰⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 94

¹¹⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 95

¹¹¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 94

¹¹² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 96

¹¹³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 97

¹¹⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 120

the thought that the country he belongs to “was condemned to atrophy,”¹¹⁵ with a repetitive demand to do more. America’s perpetual intrusion and intervention in the affairs of other states is oppressive. Vietnam, Korea, the straits of Taiwan, the Middle East, African countries, Afghanistan and now Iran: in each of the major conflicts and standoffs that ringed Asia and Africa, “America played a central role”¹¹⁶. And to implement American imperialism, the US uses “finance”¹¹⁷ as a primary level of influence. Thus Changez’s refusal “to participate any longer in facilitating this [American] project of domination”¹¹⁸ is justifiable. It is a No to exploitation. It is a No to capitalism. It is a No to imperialism. It is a No to neocolonialism.

Effects of Colonial Disillusionment

Changez feels “shamed”¹¹⁹ at the poor condition of his provenance. Actually, he was looking at himself and the condition of his home and homeland with the eyes of “a foreigner”¹²⁰, rather like the particular type of “unsympathetic American”¹²¹. The “unwelcome sensibility”¹²² overwhelms most of the migrants

¹¹⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 97

¹¹⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 156

¹¹⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 156

¹¹⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 156

¹¹⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 124

¹²⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 124

¹²¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 124

¹²² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 124

changing their perspective to see things differently, “lacking in substance”¹²³. In spite of the assistance Pakistan had provided America in Afghanistan, “America would not fight at our side.”¹²⁴ Between India and Pakistan, the US was maintaining “a strict neutrality,”¹²⁵ a position that favours the larger. Waterman elaborates this sense of complexity in US-Pak relations in which the US exploits “Pakistan to accomplish strategic goals then abandoning the Pakistanis when those goals are achieved, with no consideration of long-term consequences.”¹²⁶ This is humiliating. And humility breeds mistrust. And mistrust causes reluctance. And reluctance creates distance. The distance between the powerful and the weak. The rich and the poor. The colonists and the colonised. This supports my stance regarding Post-postcolonial colonization that there is no post in postcolonial ideology. It is the same. We may call it recolonization as will be discussed in the chapter entitled “Recolonization in New Garb of Colonization Breeds Violence.” Transitional forms of colonialism occurred during the Cold War period. While some see it as the period of decolonization, neo-global-colonization may be a better term for this era because, first, colonization is not yet over. It still exists with a new mask; the mask of globalization, or we may

¹²³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 125

¹²⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 127

¹²⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 143

¹²⁶s Waterman, David (2015), *Where Worlds Collide: Pakistani Fiction in the New Millennium*, Oxford University Press, pg. 6

refer to it as economic colonization or neo-global-colonization. Secondly, even if the process of decolonization takes place, everything cannot possibly be completely decolonised. And it is because “Humanity’s respite [i]s brief”¹²⁷.

Coming back to the idea of disillusion, America is respected for its “progress”¹²⁸ and development in technology. Changez expresses his appreciation for the US because he “had always thought of America as a nation that looked forward”¹²⁹ but after 9/11 it was determined to focus on the past for the first time. And the world was disillusioned by its “determination to look back.”¹³⁰ To fight a so-called war on terror. The war to terrorise the terrorists. The war which has terrorised and killed more civilians than terrorists, exposing “American interests in the guise of the fight against terrorism”¹³¹. According to a neocolonial definition of terrorism, it refers only to the politically motivated killings of civilians by killers “not wearing the uniform of soldiers”¹³². And neocolonialism is in uniform, the well-tailored suits of business and administration. The killers in neocolonial uniforms are “justified in bringing so many deaths”¹³³ to the world. No country wreaks death so promptly upon the

¹²⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 178

¹²⁸ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a character named Mansoor

¹²⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 115

¹³⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 115

¹³¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 178

¹³² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 178

¹³³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 178

dwellers of other countries as America does. The calamity of this so-called war on terror is that it may target any individual, organization or nation that is weak and hostile to American interests. For their part, the powerful rivals and competitors are dealt with through diplomacy, the Cold War policy against Russia in the past and China in the present, for example. “Such an America had to be stopped in the interest not only of the rest of humanity, but also in [their] own,”¹³⁴ Hamid suggests.

Cultural Reluctance of Fundamentalism

Changez’s “focus on the fundamentals”¹³⁵ upsets his tranquillity when he sees American soldiers landing in Afghanistan; “a fellow Muslim nation”¹³⁶. His ‘focus on fundamentals’ has been an asset for the company he was working for. Then how could he remain calm when confronted with the invasion of a country with which he has a threefold connection? The friend, the neighbour and the Muslim. All three relations are very important to we Pakistanis. The neighbourhood means a lot to us. Friendship within the neighbourhood is even more important. And Islam binds us far closer to each other than ever before. So, it is harder to remain untroubled if a neighbour, who is a close friend as well as a Muslim, is in trouble. Changez is reluctant to share his feelings with Jim because

¹³⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 168

¹³⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 98

¹³⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 100

“at the level of human beings our connection was nil”¹³⁷ because Jim was a boss. Changez’ “financial future” cannot take precedence over “the critical personal and political issues that affect one’s emotional present.”¹³⁸

Concept of Social Reluctance in Ahmed’s *Zindagi Gulzar Hai (Life is a Bed of Roses)*

Zindagi Gulzar Hai is one of Umaira Ahmed’s novels which was teleplayed in episodes in the year 2012-2013. This novel addresses the social reluctance and confusion of Pakistani society, the reluctance that does not allow people, particularly women, to be decisive about their lives. This very reluctance does not permit Rafia to get divorced from Murtaza, who had no role in her life any more as a life partner but still her husband he is. Being a husband and being a life partner are two different things for individuals at least, if not for the larger society. The fundamentalist society and its patterns do not give the fundamental right to the one of its victims, either man or woman, to free him or herself from the cruel clutches of the social norms and values that have nothing to do with any religion, belief or faith but rather something that is against religious beliefs and faiths.

Another example of social reluctance of fundamentalism is Kashaf’s hesitation to accept a lift from her class fellow Zaroon just because he is a boy,

¹³⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 144

¹³⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 145

and if someone in her area would see her coming in a boy's car, the echoes of gossip, questioning her modesty and chastity would follow her for the rest of her life.

Zaroon's reluctance to inform Kashaf, his wife, about his meetings, incidental as well as planned, with Asmara, his ex-fiancé, is based upon his fear of losing Kashaf's trust. This reluctance that reflects the depth of his love for Kashaf is also the social reluctance of its kind that later becomes the cause of the very mistrust and distance he was afraid of.

The diffidence of Kashaf's emotional attachment to Zaroon, her husband, as we see in her diary and her conversation with him, expressing disinterestedness and carelessness yet hiding her love for him, highlights her reluctance to trust in a man because of her father Murtaza's indifferent personality. These examples in Ahmed's fiction are taken from day to day life in Pakistani society and reflect how social reluctance plays a prominent role in creating indifference in relations, an indifference which can cause mistrust.¹³⁹

Capitalist coloniser's mindset, training

Hamid's critique of the US for its neocolonial imperialism, accompanied by a popular narrative of freeing the masses from their dictatorial regimes as

¹³⁹ Ahmed, Umaira(2011 episode-wise in a Digest and 2012 in book form), *Zindagi Gulzar Hai*, Televised in 2012-2013 by Hum TV, Directed by Sultana Siddiqui

self-appointed liberator, is not an alien prospect to the world; the prospect of sugaring one's tongue before undertaking "the bloodiest of tasks"¹⁴⁰. Neocolonialism in the costume of liberation and democracy. The psychological resemblance between the supremacist neoliberals and extremist fundamentalists' inferiority complexes, according to Hamid, is that both are reluctant to share the agony of which they are victims; the fundamentalists' agony of decline, losing their glory and rule at the hand of neo-liberals while neo-liberals' agony is the challenged glory, epitomized by the 9/11 attacks, of current imperialists at the hand of weak factions of ex-subjects. Changez, as Hamid's mouthpiece, points out America's unwillingness "to reflect upon the shared pain that united [them] with those who attacked [them]."¹⁴¹ Uncertain and undefined goals of the Afghanistan invasion baffle every human soul, like Hamid's, having little empathy for human suffering caused by wars. What are the neoliberals concerned more about: "A time of unquestioned dominance? Of safety? Of moral certainty?"¹⁴² Similar to Hamid's doubts about America's unclear goals, Amna Mufti, an Urdu writer and journalist, also questions the undefined "*ahdaaf*, (target)" of the Afghanistan invasion, calling the war "*zyada be*

¹⁴⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 138

¹⁴¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 168

¹⁴² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 115

maqsad, (more pointless)¹⁴³ than the Vietnam war.

“Amreeki sar zameen par Al Qaeda kay hamlon ko rokna? Osama bin Laden ko girftar kar kay marna? Mulla Umer ki hakoomat ka khatema? Roos kay paros main jang jari rakhna ya duniya main yun he apni dada geeri qa'im rakhna?”

My Translation:

“Was it for halting Al Qaeda’s further attacks on American soil? Capturing and killing Osama Bin Laden? Ending Mullah Umar's Government? Setting up an environment of war in Russia’s neighbourhood? Or reaffirming consistency of its dominance to the world?”¹⁴⁴

Mufti, in her column on BBC News Urdu, analyses the advantages and disadvantages of ‘Afghan Jihad’ to the US. She sarcastically notes that the US has achieved its defined or undefined goals as it is ready to quit Afghanistan. First of all, if the US goal was to ensure the security of its soil, Zalmay Khalilzad is pleading with the Taliban during US-Taliban negotiations to ensure that there will be no attack on US soil in the future, after the US exits Afghanistan. While Haibatullah Akhundzada, a Taliban representative’s response has made it clear

¹⁴³ Mufti, Amna (2 June 2019), *Afghan Jihad Mein Humne Kya Khoya Kya Paya?* (What is lost and gained in Afghan Jihad?), [BBC News: Urdu](#)

¹⁴⁴ Mufti, Amna (2 June 2019), *Afghan Jihad Mein Humne Kya Khoya Kya Paya?* (What is lost and gained in Afghan Jihad?), [BBC News: Urdu](#)

that the Taliban will neither forget the sufferings of the war caused by the US, nor abandon its so-called Jihad. Moreover, there is a noticeable rise in Islamist extremism and militancy from 2001 to now. If a goal is achieved by “Orchestrating an entire war in Afghanistan... legitimizing through its actions the invasion of weaker states by more powerful ones”¹⁴⁵ one wonders if it was worth the heavy price. Since the US “has not been involved in fighting a war “on its own soil”¹⁴⁶ in living memory, it is no longer aware of the monstrosity of war in its close to home sense.



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Secondly, if one understands the eighteen-year-long war was fought to capture and kill Osama Bin Laden, then he was indeed killed in 2007 and

¹⁴⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 131

¹⁴⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 127

¹⁴⁷ Image credit: [GETTY IMAGES](#)

according to “hearsay”¹⁴⁸ his dead body was thrown into the ocean. Perhaps the objective was to ‘drown’ Osama Bin Laden’s dead body in revenge. A third possible goal could be ending Mullah Umar’s or the Taliban’s rule, but the most predictable outcome is that the Taliban would be in a position of setting up its government as a result of successful US-Taliban negotiations. Is accepting the Taliban as a major stakeholder of the country’s political system really a “mission accomplished”? And what about goals which are further down the line, such as establishing unrest in Russia's neighbourhood? If negotiation was the only real solution, why in 2019 and not in 2001? Why not before the horror of Apache helicopters, daisy cutter bombs and drones making innocent Afghans’ lives miserable?

The Russian army left Afghanistan, just as Britain left India. The American army invaded Afghanistan just as the Russian army did.¹⁴⁹ The colonisers need to realise the fact that nothing is eternal in this world. The imperial powers of yesterday are mourning today for their lost glory. The imperial powers of today are going to mourn tomorrow. Communism or capitalism, extremist fundamentalism or neocolonialism, no imperial ideology of dominance is going to last forever against human liberty.

¹⁴⁸ Mufti, Amna (2 June 2019), *Afghan Jihad Mein Humne Kya Khoya Kya Paya?* (What is lost and gained in Afghan Jihad?), [BBC News: Urdu](#)

¹⁴⁹ Mufti, Amna (2 June 2019), *Afghan Jihad Mein Humne Kya Khoya Kya Paya?* (What is lost and gained in Afghan Jihad?), [BBC News: Urdu](#)



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Neocolonial imperialism develops the economy as an animal that evolves. For its evolution, it needs brain, muscles, blood and sweat. And the cheapest blood and sweat of the people comes from “colonial, semicolonial or dependent countries”¹⁵¹ The neocoloniser exploits the blood and sweat until their needs are met and when it starts overflowing then impose travel bans and Brexits to keep the unnecessary extras away. Hamid explains the same in the following words: “The economy’s an animal ... It evolves. First it needed a muscle. Now all the blood it could spare was rushing to its brain ... You’re blood brought from some part of the body that the species doesn’t need any more.”¹⁵² The imperialists are trained to recognize another person’s style of thought, harness their agenda, and redirect it to achieve their desired outcome; indeed one might describe it as a

¹⁵⁰ Image credit: GETTY IMAGES

¹⁵¹ Guevara, Che (9 April 1961), *Cuba: Historical exception or vanguard in the anticolonial struggle?*, Source; *The Che Reader*, Ocean Press, © 2005, Translator unknown, Accessed at the website Marxists.Org

¹⁵² Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 96, 97

form of mental judo for the business of politics. It is the thirst of one's narrative that determines the significance, not the precision of one's details.¹⁵³

Changez's Psychological shift

Changez becomes disillusioned observing the humiliation imposed by the US through the use of drones. He returns to America leaving his country and people behind in the time of need for something less worthy; a big salary and a woman who does not love him. He is disgusted with himself for being a coward, escaping from the situation when the sovereignty of his country was being violated in the name of a war on terror by a neocolonial power. In this state of disillusionment, he decides to keep his beard, not wanting "to blend in with the army of clean-shaven youngsters"¹⁵⁴, the Americans, who were violating the sovereignty of his nation. The disillusionment doubles after facing 'verbal abuse' and becoming unpopular among his colleagues for having a beard. In addition, "Fucking Arab"¹⁵⁵ types of racist behaviour are enough to elicit reactionary responses, with "sufficient violence to shatter the bones"¹⁵⁶. This all made him uncertain about his connection to "where [he] belonged,"¹⁵⁷ and lost identities

¹⁵³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 118

¹⁵⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 130

¹⁵⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 117

¹⁵⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 118

¹⁵⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 148

are “fragile”¹⁵⁸. Changez’s psychologically “Inflective journey”¹⁵⁹ leads him to return to Pakistan to rejoin his original identity, disassociating “himself with the American dream”¹⁶⁰. This phenomenon of psychological shift will be addressed in detail later in the chapter of Displaced Identities.

Conclusion

Sociocultural complexities - particularly societies which have been designated as fundamentalist societies - and the imperial supremacist approach leaving humiliation to the imperial subjects - particularly the ones who were imperialists themselves, once - have created a cleavage that is increasing day by day, dividing humanity into ‘ours’ and ‘theirs,’ declaring ‘us’ as human while placing ‘others’ in a “zone of exception”¹⁶¹ blurring even the borders of legality and illegality.¹⁶² It is this blurred view that does not let people see each other as humans, whether speaking of fundamentalism or liberalism. This blurred view has led people towards the extremist ideologies of white supremacy, radicalisation and Islamophobia versus humiliated ‘primary selves’ with displaced identity, radicalisation and Islamism. Islamist fundamentalism,

¹⁵⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 148

¹⁵⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 146

¹⁶⁰ Chamberlin, Cayla & Piestrak, Lindsey (year unknown), The treatment of Muslim Americans: Post 9/11, book analysis of *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Published online on a private website <http://thereluctantfundamentalist.weebly.com/book-analysis.html#>

¹⁶¹ Fradinger, Moira (2010), *Binding Violence: Literary Visions of Political Origins*, Stanford University Press, pg. 17

¹⁶² Waterman, David (2015), *Where Worlds Collide: Pakistani Fiction in the New Millennium*, Oxford University Press, pg. 139

neocolonialism and their misrepresentations are in full swing in the twenty-first century, accompanied by zero level of trust for each other. All the necessary components are available on both sides, ready to defeat peace through violence. According to the call of nature, no one can keep one's goodness or badness exclusively oneself. The world is like the human body with its various members, just like the organs of the human body. If one part of the body is in pain, it is felt in the whole body. Rot in one part inevitably poisons the whole system.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Gandhi, Mahatma (1946), *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi: One World*, (Encyclopedia of Gandhi's Thoughts) , pg. 154, Printed and Published by : Jitendra T. Desai, Navajivan Mudranalaya, Ahmedabad-380014 India, ISBN 81-7229-149-3, <https://www.mkgandhi.org/momgandhi/chap90.htm>

Chapter 3

Traces of Fundamentalism in Pakistan

This chapter will highlight the traces of fundamentalism in the history of Pakistan. Pakistan came into being with the two-nation theory of a separate homeland for the Muslims of the subcontinent. The idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India was opposed by the fundamentalists initially, while it flourished and was achieved by the struggle of liberal/secular leaders (Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and companions) who had been declared 'Kafir e Azam' (The great atheists) instead of Quaid-e-Azam by the fundamentalists of the time who were strong supporters of united India and allies of the All India National Congress. But now fundamentalism seems part and parcel of the mainstream of the geopolitics of Pakistan, with a very strong impact. Fundamentalism found support in the Pakistan Army in the 1950's soon after Pakistan came into being. Later on, this ideology found stronger support during General Zia's regime when Jihad narrative or Jihadist ideology emerged with the support of the US to encounter the USSR in Afghanistan. This was the era when these extremist fundamentalists had been equipped with weapons to do Jihad for the freedom of Afghanistan. So the goal of this chapter is to locate those traces of fundamentalism by an attempt to find out the answers to the question: What

happened that allowed fundamentalists to gain a foothold on the geopolitics of Pakistan by developing their coercive ideology gradually in the way that led them to achieve their current, strong position? The chapter will also help the reader to trace out the association of fundamentalism with alternating Martial Law dictatorship eras and periods of democracy through comparative analysis.

Introduction of Fundamentalism with a Variety of its Definitions

The term fundamentalism, according to a Princeton Religious Research Centre poll 2002, refers to a discernible pattern of religious militancy by which self-styled true believers attempt to arrest the erosion of religious identity, fortify the borders of the religious community, and create viable alternatives to secular institutions and behaviours.¹⁶⁴ Peter Herriot sums up a central feature of fundamentalism as ‘reactivity against modernism’ that is reinforced by the four secondary features; dualism (the tendency to evaluate in transparently twofold terms, as good or bad), authority (the compliance to believe and obey the sacred books), selectivity (the choice of certain beliefs and practices in preference to others from the sacred books or the movement tradition), and millennialism (the belief that God will triumph in the end and set up His kingdom on earth).

Fundamentalism has many different meanings for different people, for

¹⁶⁴ Princeton, NJ, *Princeton Religion Research Centre poll* (2002), Princeton University.

example, some liberals' biased lens to fundamentalism defines it in a negative sense by highlighting its extremist approach and violence towards a peaceful society. Fundamentalists are interpreted as extremists and terrorists by extremist liberals. Alternatively, fundamentalists define fundamentalism as the divine and sacred affiliation towards their religious beliefs not only to follow them but also to make efforts for implementing the religious code of conduct that is prescribed in the religious books without ever looking outside those texts. *Sociology of Religion* scholar Tex Sample asserts that it is a mistake to refer to Muslims, Jews or Christians as fundamentalists. Rather, a fundamentalist's fundamentalism is their primary concern, over and above other denominational or faith considerations.¹⁶⁵ A study at the University of Edinburgh found that of its six measured dimensions of religiosity, 'lower intelligence is most associated with higher levels of fundamentalism'. Howard Thurman declared theologies as "invention[s] of the mind"¹⁶⁶ in his interview in the late 1970s for a BBC feature on religion.

Contrary to the advocacy of fundamentalism, it has also been observed and analysed with strict criticism by liberals. In Elliot N. Dorff's view, it is very hard to practice the approach of fundamentalism in real life. He explains his

¹⁶⁵ Sample, Tex (2006). Public Lecture, Faith and Reason Conference, San Antonio, TX.

¹⁶⁶ Thurman, Howard (1970), An Interview to BBC, (youtube version 2015), 'Conversations with Howard Thurman Pt 1(Improved Quality)', Mischa Scorer, [Youtube.Com](#), and Pt 2 [Youtube.Com](#)

point of view in the following words:

“In order to carry out the fundamentalist program in practice, one would need a perfect understanding of the ancient language of the original text, if indeed the true text can be discerned from among variants. Furthermore, human beings are the ones who transmit this understanding between generations. Even if one wanted to follow the literal word of God, the need for people first, to understand that word necessitates human interpretation. Through that process human fallibility is inextricably mixed into the very meaning of the divine word. As a result, it is impossible to follow the indisputable word of God; one can only achieve a human understanding of God's will.”¹⁶⁷

Influential Criticisms of Fundamentalism

Influential criticisms of fundamentalism include James Barr's books on Christian fundamentalism and Bassam Tibi's analysis of Islamic fundamentalism. Political usage of the term ‘fundamentalism’ has also been criticized. Fundamentalism has been used by political groups to attack their opponents, using the term flexibly depending on their political interests. According to Judith Nagata, a professor from the Asia Research Institute in the

¹⁶⁷ Dorff, Elliot N. and Rosett (1988), *Arthur, A Living Tree: The Roots and Growth of Jewish Law*, SUNY Press, quoted in Sharda R. Javia, *Religion, Rights and Fundamentalism in Indian Perspective*, Jaipur, Vital Publication, 2008, pg. 252

National University of Singapore, “The Afghan mujahidin, locked in combat with the Soviet enemy in the 1980s, could be praised as 'freedom fighters' by their American backers at the time, while the present Taliban, viewed, among other things, as protectors of American enemy Osama bin Laden, are unequivocally 'fundamentalist'.”¹⁶⁸

Howard Thurman further elaborated, in the same BBC feature on religion, to the interviewer:

“I say that creeds, dogmas, and theologies are inventions of the mind. It is the nature of the mind to make sense out of experience, to reduce the conglomerates of experience to units of comprehension which we call principles, or ideologies, or concepts. Religious experience is dynamic, fluid, effervescent, yeasty. But the mind can't handle these so it has to imprison religious experience in some way, get it bottled up. Then, when the experience quiets down, the mind draws a bead on it and extracts concepts, notions, dogmas, so that religious experience can make sense to the mind. Meanwhile religious experience goes on experiencing, so that by the time I get my dogma stated so that I can think about it, the religious experience becomes an object of

¹⁶⁸ Nagata, Judith (June 2001), *Beyond Theology: Toward an Anthropology of 'Fundamentalism'* *American Anthropologist* 103 (2): 481–498. [doi:10.1525/aa.2001.103.2.481](https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2001.103.2.481).

thought”¹⁶⁹.

It is very important to analyse the conditions regarding how fundamentalism emerged and gained influence by manipulating Pakistani politics and Pakistanis, while all these Islamic fundamentalist groups and political parties had been opposing the demand of the All India Muslim League for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India under the liberal (in the views of the fundamentalist political parties of pre 1947 India) leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, after independence from British Rule. Pakistan was believed to be a state of freedom for the Muslims as well as for the minorities, where every individual would be free to practice one's own religion freely without any fear of discrimination by the state. Quaid-e-Azam's first presidential address to the first procession of the National Legislative Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947 was the reflection of that visionary liberty of action in Pakistan for everyone. He clearly announced to the people of Pakistan, “You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this state of Pakistan.”¹⁷⁰ His address was a clear indication for the religious fundamentalists that there is no room for these politicised religious practices in Pakistan. Everyone who lives in Pakistan is its respectable citizen

¹⁶⁹ Thurman, Howard and Eyre, Ronald (July 1981), ‘An Interview With Howard Thurman and Ronald Eyre’, *Theology Today*, Volume 38, Issue 2, pg. 208-213

¹⁷⁰ Jinnah, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali (11 August 1947), *Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's presidential Address in Legislative Assembly of Pakistan*, on , Punjab Text Book Board.

with a status equal to others, none has any privilege, as he continued, “You may belong to any religion or caste or creed; that has nothing to do with the business of the state.”¹⁷¹

People who supported the Pakistan Movement for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India had the faith that they would be more secure in Pakistan and there would not be any cultural injustice such as was imposed by the All India National Congress during the Congress Ministries 1937-1939. Congress Ministries enforced Hindu culture through the Wardha Scheme of education with many facets that were deemed unacceptable to Muslims, including the introduction of the Hindustani language, repressing Urdu (that had already been done by the British who declared English as an official language, replacing Urdu and Persian, in the 19th century), requiring an anti-Muslim song *Bande Mataram* to be sung in the schools (without naming it as the national anthem, though), along with a mandatory salute to Gandhi’s photo that was idolatrous for Muslims.¹⁷² Jinnah clearly rejected Congress’ commitment to “establish Hindu Raj”¹⁷³ at a student union in early 1938, saying, “I respect the philosophy and culture of others. I love and adore my own, and can never agree to the coming

¹⁷¹ Jinnah, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali (11 August 1947), *Quaid e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah's presidential Address in Legislative Assembly of Pakistan*, in Punjab Text Book Board

¹⁷² Karim, Saleena (2010), *Secular Jinnah & Pakistan: What The Nation Doesn't Know*, CheckPoint Press, Ireland, pg.21-22

¹⁷³ Jinnah, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali (1936), *Presidential Address at All India Muslim League*, Patna, NV Volume 1, pg. 329

generation thus being lost to Islam”¹⁷⁴. However, what was ignored while demanding a separate homeland for the Muslims of India were the challenges for the newborn state, with the name Islamic Republic of Pakistan. These challenges were of all kinds: psychological, constitutional, social, cultural, financial, and administrative.

Historical Perspective of a Psychologically Disillusioned Nation

The most important aspect of the early postcolonial era was that the newborn nation was, psychologically, split into two categories: the local folks and the immigrants. The local folks who succeeded in grabbing the left-over properties of Hindus and Sikhs who had migrated to India formed a more liberal society, rather disillusioned themselves with the elite class by adopting similar mannerisms (trying to speak English, organizing evening parties, joining clubs, practicing more liberal norms while forgetting the fact that Pakistan is not only a Republic but also an Islamic state). But the immigrants, who had not only struggled harder than the local folks for the Pakistan Movement but also risked and sacrificed much for this Independence, had to struggle hard once again to make ends meet. The writers of the postcolonial era, including Saadat Hasan Manto, Amrita Preetam, Abdullah Hussain, Bapsi Sidhwa and so on, being

¹⁷⁴ Jinnah, Muhammad Ali (5 Feb. 1938), *Speech at meeting of the Muslim University Union, Aligarh*, as text appeared in *The Light*, (Yusufi Volume 2, pg. 729)

mouthpieces of the age, had been obsessed with the same themes of disillusion and discontent for a long time after independence. If the elite class was obsessive regarding secular/liberal lifestyles (burger lifestyle, indeed) then the immigrants who managed to migrate to Pakistan after sacrificing the lives of many of their dear ones, their women's respect, their homes, their properties, were also disillusioned for it was not that kind of Pakistan they had been struggling for. Reflection of this psychological disillusionment can be observed in the dialogues of Bano, the main character of the teleplay *Dastan*¹⁷⁵, a story adopted from Razia Bano's novel *Bano*, that shows the disapproval for sexual assault, symbolizing the character of Basanta as a crime-root in the society of Pakistan, the land of the pure. She had been the victim of such sexual assaults numerous times while trying to migrate to Pakistan to escape post-partition violence with the hope that there would be no Basanta to rape her any more. Basanta is a character who kept Bano hostage for his sexual pleasure for years after Partition. Finally, she succeeds in escaping to Pakistan with the hope that Pakistan would be a safer place for immigrants like her. "*Pakistan main koi Basanta nahi ho ga.*"¹⁷⁶ (There will be no Basanta in Pakistan.) Her hope kept her alive even after being raped several times while she was outside of the pure land, but she lost her sanity

¹⁷⁵ Butt, Razia (2015-16), *Dastan*, a Pakistani Urdu Teleplay ; an adapted story of Razia Butt's novel *Bano*

¹⁷⁶ Butt, Razia (first time on aired 2010-2015-16), *Dastan*, a Pakistani Urdu Teleplay, Hum TV; an adapted story of Razia Butt's novel *Bano, Sa'g e Mee'*

in disillusionment when she is assaulted in the land of her hopes, too. Some of her following dialogues highlight the psychological state of mind of the immigrants, “*Yahan ab koi Basanta nahi, mein ne maar diya Basantay ko* (I killed him, Pakistan is now free from any Basanta).”¹⁷⁷ She kills the one who attempts to assault her while she is in Pakistan, where she could never imagine being assaulted. Then she claims that she eradicated the evil so that it could not thrive in Pakistan, the land of pure people. Her reaction to the attempted assault was something beyond her imagination after independence, and elaborates the intensity of her disillusionment.

There is also a glimpse of the liberal (Burger) group of society in the above mentioned drama *Dastan*. This group of society is presented as obsessed with the English language and culture, portraying their imperialised mentality; they cannot yet say goodbye to British colonial influence.

Political Perspective

An attentive look at the history of Pakistan reveals how the US sponsored Cold War served to set an alliance between the US imperialism and the Pakistan Army in the 1950's that initiated the ensuing process of militarization in the state, justified on the basis of ‘national security’ in Pakistan. No civilian government

¹⁷⁷ Butt, Razia (first time on aired 2010; 2015-16), *Dastan*, a Pakistani Urdu Teleplay, Hum TV; an adapted story of Razia Butt's novel *Bano, Sang e Meel*

succeeded to complete its tenure before the completion of six decades of independence - one elected prime minister was hanged, a second was assassinated on her return to the country after a long, forced exile as a 'threat to national security' while a third escaped life imprisonment by accepting self-exile for ten long years.¹⁷⁸ However, not to ignore the fact that “Pakistan's economic growth of the early 1960s, which led economists at the time to predict that the country would be one of the future leading economic powers of Asia”¹⁷⁹, was during a dictator’s period of rule, while the worst economic growth occurred during democratic governments, notably because of corruption. During Ayub Khan’s regime in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a combination of a comparatively honest, dynamic and far-sighted administration with an abundance of US aid - as it was the Cold War - and sound foreign policy led to Pakistan’s achieving the highest rates of economic growth in the world.

In fact, fundamentalism was a phenomenon rooted in colonial politics and later become a vehicle by which post colonial authoritarian regimes worked to subordinate democratic forces.¹⁸⁰ Since its birth in 1947, Pakistan has been the central point of interest for the global community, because of its strategic

¹⁷⁸ Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (PM from 1971-1977 and then hanged in 1979), His daughter Benazir Bhutto (Elected twice as PM from 1988-1990 & 1993-96 and then assassinated in 2007,) and Nawaz Sharif (Elected thrice as PM from 1990-1993 & 1997-1999, then self exile and then third time elected PM from 2013-2017), respectively.

¹⁷⁹ Lieven, Anatol (16 Nov 2015), 'The China-Pakistan Corridor: The Fate /changer?', [Aljazeera](#)

¹⁸⁰ Munir, Imran (2002), *The Consequences of Fundamentalism on Pakistani Media*, Simon Fraser University

geographic location. Being an entry point into China, an obstruction block for the Soviet Union and an influential force in the oil-rich Arab World, for over six decades Pakistan has been attracting foreign researchers with a keen interest in the various fields of research such as political upheavals, martial laws, disputes over occupied Kashmir with India and wars, Dhaka's fall in 1971, democracy as *demo-kursi*¹⁸¹ (dummy chair) or civilian dictatorship, the population explosion in the absence of basic necessities of life, poverty and inflation, education, women's empowerment, human rights issues and abuses, pollution, corruption and economic terrorism, drugs, nuclear arms, the Indus Valley civilization, militant insurgencies in neighbouring countries, freedom of speech for media and restricted constitutional policies, fundamentalism in the form of extremism and terrorism. The list is long.

Most of the time, the term fundamentalism is used to mean religious obscurantism, militancy and extremism as well as the use of Islam and religion as tools to serve political ends in Pakistan and beyond.

Just as fault lines are located to determine the tendency of earthquakes, examining the history of the affected people helps explain the initiation of an extreme form of fundamentalism in general and Islamic fundamentalism and

¹⁸¹ Kursi is an Urdu word that means chair and it indicates the post, the power, the throne. demo is derived from demonstration to form this term demo-kursi. Demo-kursi refers to the democratic forces which are demonstrating their power in the name of democracy while it does not exist any more in its original sense.

extreme Muslim fundamentalist groups in particular.

“When Russian, American, or European leaders condemn Muslim terrorism and terrorists, they rarely if ever mention the behaviour of Russia and European countries towards Muslim ones in the seventeenth, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries.”¹⁸²

Who did what to whom determines the intensity of the reaction. The undeniable fact is that almost every Muslim country on the planet was occupied and colonised, either by Europeans or Russians, all of which left the traces and long-lasting dark shadows of colonization. Even after achieving independence, in every Muslim country that experienced colonization, the considerable numbers of the population living today, who either lived under colonization or were born after that, are psychologically still affected. Although the United States never occupied or colonised any Muslim country in a literal sense, US policy in the Middle East since World War II to pre 9/11 made the United States appear to Muslims as 'a quasi colonial power'. US policy includes:

1. its support for dictatorial regimes in the oil states,
2. its single-minded anti-communist policies against Russia in Afghanistan that left extremist monsters in the form of Al-Qaeda and Taliban to the

¹⁸² McDonnell, Thomas M. (Routledge 2009, Revised ed. 2011) , *The United States, International Law and the Struggle against Terrorism* Chapter 1. *The West's Colonization of Muslim Land and the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism*, Elisabeth Haub School of Law at Pace University, New York, Pace Law Faculty Publication

Muslim world,

3. its invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11 and then Iraq without any solid proof of the existence of weapons of mass destruction that left anarchy, chaos and ISIS in its wake,
4. Last but not the least, its unconditional support for Israel, ignoring and/or overlooking the fact that both the Jews and the Muslims have suffered conquest and colonization or exile from their territory. If the Jewish people had ruled Palestine for over a millennium then others had also been governing it since the second century A.D.

McDonnell supports the view that even after experiencing the monstrous violence against it on September 11, 2001, post 9/11 US policies against the Muslims remained constant, with even more biased policies, ignoring both national and international limitations of the laws for counter terrorism activities that governments would usually follow to avoid any kind of political fallout. He tries to justify the US leadership of that time for overlooking the historical lessons with the integral understanding of world affairs along with exceptional judgment that could endure such political invasions in reaction to such a 'mega-terrorist event' with the argument that, "Their electorate will probably demand such a response. Perhaps only leaders with exceptional judgment, strength, and

integrity, and with an understanding of the world and world affairs, could withstand such a political onslaught in reaction to such monstrous violence.”¹⁸³ That was why legal, moral and even practical constraints for such an approach were disregarded, that consequently led the common, peaceful Muslims to understandably support, rather than isolate, extreme fundamentalist groups like Al-Qaeda and Taliban. Little evidence suggests that the administration in power on September 11, 2001 appreciated how violating international law might ultimately affect the reputation of the United States and its ability to stem the violence wrought by al Qaeda and its allies.

Cultural Aspects

Fundamentalism usually has a religious connotation that indicates unwavering attachment to a set of irreducible beliefs.¹⁸⁴ However, fundamentalism has come to apply to a tendency among certain groups—mainly, though not exclusively, in religion—that is characterized by a markedly strict literalism as applied to certain specific scriptures, dogmas, or ideologies, and a strong sense of the importance of maintaining ingroup and outgroup

¹⁸³ McDonnell, Thomas M. (Routledge 2009, Revised ed. 2011), *The United States, International Law and the Struggle against Terrorism*, Chapter 1. *The West's Colonization of Muslim Land and the Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism*, Elisabeth Haub School of Law at Pace University, New York, Pace Law Faculty Publication

¹⁸⁴ Nagata, Judith (2001), *Beyond Theology: Toward an Anthropology of 'Fundamentalism'*, *American Anthropologist*, 103 (2): 481–498. doi: [10.1525/aa.2001.103.2.481](https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2001.103.2.481).

distinctions,¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶. Fundamentalism is not connected simply with religions any more. Many other domains of fundamentalism have also been introduced in the past few decades. Judith Nagata's claim in this regard in *Beyond Theology: Toward an Anthropology of 'Fundamentalism'*, *American Anthropologist* 103 (2): 481–489, seems right to some extent when she says, “Fundamentalism...has recently migrated from its original narrow religious reference band to other domains.”¹⁸⁷

In Pakistan, Islam has been a binding force for developing unity and strengthening nationhood. Pakistan as “a test bed for pluralism on a globalising planet,” is still struggling for “more pluralism”¹⁸⁸ through this binding force. In this regard, Pakistan has been putting in extra efforts to frustrate the extremist elements, by bringing the non-state religious actors into the mainstream of the nation through negotiation so that they may play an important role in diminishing the ideology of terrorism by uniting the nation on a platform against extremists. These efforts become useless when America strikes Pakistan with drones. American drone attacks have had a deeply detrimental effect on these

¹⁸⁵ Altemeyer, B. and Hunsberger, B. (1992), *Authoritarianism, Religious Fundamentalism, Quest, and Prejudice*, *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 2 (2): 113–133. doi: [10.1207/s15327582ijpr0202_5](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327582ijpr0202_5).

¹⁸⁶ Hunsberger, B (1995). *Religion and Prejudice: The Role of Religious Fundamentalism, Quest, and Right-wing Authoritarianism*. *Journal of Social Issues* 51 (2): 113–129. doi: [10.1111/j.1540-4560.1995.tb.01326.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1995.tb.01326.x).

¹⁸⁷ Nagata, Judith (June 2001), *Beyond Theology: Toward an Anthropology of 'Fundamentalism'*. *American Anthropologist* 103 (2): 481–498. doi:[10.1525/aa.2001.103.2.481](https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.2001.103.2.481).

¹⁸⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Penguin Books, pg. xiv

efforts by refusing the sovereignty of Pakistan and Pakistani society. These attacks lead those religious non-state actors to distrust any commitment of the Pakistani Government that seems unable to prevent American drone attacks.

However, the US withdrew its support from these terrorist groups in the 1990s after the fall of the USSR, but Pakistan could not, even though Pakistan had been collaborating with the US, it was not as easy to quit in the middle, leaving neighbouring Afghanistan in chaos and misery, particularly with the huge influx of Afghan migrants into Pakistan and the problems that came along with it, including the Kalashnikov culture. This long struggle to support and to stabilize Afghanistan introduced the Tehreek e Taliban that was not opposed by the US in the 1990s until the 9/11 attacks and the subsequent Tehreek e Taliban refusal to hand over Usama Bin Laden. The war on terror in Afghanistan forced Pakistan to back away from its support of the Tehreek e Taliban. But Pakistan's retreat was taken as backstabbing by the extremist fundamentalists who have been playing the role of middle men between Pakistan and the Tehreek e Taliban Afghanistan. Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan vowed revenge against Pakistan, which had strong links and contacts and a soft corner for these extremists within the establishment of Pakistan. All this caused Pakistan to be the victim and target of its worst terrorism during the post 9/11 years. On 16 December 2014, the Army

Public School massacre in which militants from the Pakistani Taliban (none of the militants was a Pakistani national, though) attacked an army-run school in Peshawar, killing 141 people, 132 of them children, made the decision easy for the Pakistan Army Chief General Raheel Sharif to launch what he called an “indiscriminate operation”¹⁸⁹ to go all out against these terrorist extremists groups. And only a year after the APS attack, the tide of violence fell dramatically. “The country has changed completely because of the sacrifice of our children,”¹⁹⁰ said Ajoon Khan, a lawyer who lost his 15 year-old son Asfand in the incident, while talking to *The Guardian*’s reporter. Although much damage had already been done, it is always better to be late than never.

Western Revisionism for Transformation

The fall of the USSR led the world towards the end of the Cold War. The US emerged as the sole superpower on the global map and ushered in a new world order that not only included the change of imperial regimes in the Middle East but also introduced the possible change in geographical boundaries. Christine Fair (2014) expressed this notion of Americans in these words: “We

¹⁸⁹ BBC News (16 Dec 2014), *Pakistan Taliban: Peshawar school attack leaves 141 dead*, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-30491435#share-tools>

¹⁹⁰ Boone, Jon (16 Dec. 2015), *Peshawar school attack: one year on 'the country is changed completely'*, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/dec/16/peshawar-school-attack-one-year-on-the-country-is-changed-completely>

love this idea that [...] we can transform a problematic state” (youtube.com)¹⁹¹. The West in general and the Americans in particular are obsessed with this idea that they can transform countries. They believe that there would be no problem if the world would be transformed to fit into the Western ideological framework, ignoring the natural phenomenon of social psychology that varies from region to region, country to country, religion to religion, culture to culture. These political goals of the global powers are rooted in some very clear notions; 1) to sustain power, 2) to control petro-dollars, 3) to empower Israel by opposing all who can possibly threaten Israel ¹⁹². As a matter of fact, the Muslims of Pakistan, following a theocentric lifestyle, are antagonists to the West while the West is signified by the disconnection of church and state and encouraging secularism.

Conclusion

Fundamentalism, especially coercive forms, in Pakistan is not only connected with religion but is politicised for the sake of power that has been bred through global ideology of revisionism and Social Misrepresentation. In the shifting soils of our homeland, Pakistan, we may fantasise about having the freedom ‘to invent ourselves’¹⁹³ in Hamid’s words, but the transnationalism of

¹⁹¹ Fair, Christine, *Fighting To The End: Pakistan Army’s Way of War* (2014), Her Lecture on her book at youtube.com <https://youtu.be/JMgijhexkqE> (19min:30sec-20min)

¹⁹² Clinton, Hillary (24 Apr 2008), Position of Hillary Clinton on Iran, during an Interview to France 24 English, youtube.com, <https://youtu.be/YtiJqng9jy8>

¹⁹³ Hamid, Mohsin, *Discontent and Its Civilizations* (2014), Haryana, India, Penguin Group pg. xi

we Pakistanis is informed by a globally de-centred Pakistani perspective and, additionally, a growing interest in post-national collectivities and the utility of our country's Asian inter-connectedness. The country or the community that does not template itself to fit into the global power's democratic frame is presented as a 'problematic' one. Pakistan has been one of the most 'problematic states' for the global revisionists. Pakistan is still struggling for pluralism.

Chapter 4

Fundamentals of Islam and Peace for Humanity

This chapter highlights the fundamentals of Islam in light of the Quran and hadiths. Contrary to the meanings of Islam as a religion of peace, its politicised version justifies the practice of coercion and extremism that is breeding violence and terrorism in the contemporary era. We will attempt to proceed further in the next chapter to answer the question: ‘how was the practice of coercion maintained, in spite of the fact that it goes against the verse of the Holy Quran that clearly says “No Coercion in Religion”¹⁹⁴?’ An analytical study of the historical perspective of spreading Islam through the use of the sword or by using power highlights the causes of wars and Ghazwat (the wars Holy Prophet Muhammad PBUH himself participated in) fought by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) during His life, while other wars were fought by later Muslim rulers for the purpose of expanding the geographical boundaries of the Islamic States within the history of Islam, with the excuse of spreading the Islamic faith. It will be interesting to explore both the expansion of boundaries through the sword,

¹⁹⁴ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No 256

spreading Islam, or this coercive power-seeking strategy which deconstructed the very idea of Islam which is rooted in humanity and humanism.

Religions, with a variety of definitions, have already been discussed in the Introduction and have introduced a diversity of perspectives to the world. The variant perspectives include positive perceptions spread by the believers of the religion and negative perceptions coming from those who do not believe in the religion and the existence of God or gods. The positive theory of religion, being older as a cultural tradition, has a larger number of followers than the negative one.¹⁹⁵ Theocracy, or “the belief in Spiritual Beings”¹⁹⁶ seems to begin with the advent of humankind while negative attitudes toward religion advocating “there is no power in the human mind superior to human reason or human will”¹⁹⁷ had been coined in the 16th century as a follow-up of the Renaissance Movement and the works of University Wits - Christopher Marlowe’s *Doctor Faustus*, as one of the most pertinent examples. The Renaissance could be viewed as an effort by European intellectuals to study and improve the secular and worldly, both through the revival of ideas from antiquity, and through novel approaches to thought.

¹⁹⁵ See also Clifford Geertz’s *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (2017), 3rd edition, Published by Basic Books New York

¹⁹⁶ Tylor, Edward B (1831-1917), *Primitive Culture: Research into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom* 1st published in 1871, Cambridge University Press, print publication 2010, online publication 2012

¹⁹⁷ Hancock, Ralph C. & Lambert, Gary (1996), *The Legacy of the French Revolution*, Chapter 1. *The Unfinished Revolution* written by Mansfield, Harvey C., pg. 22, Published by Rowman & Littlefield

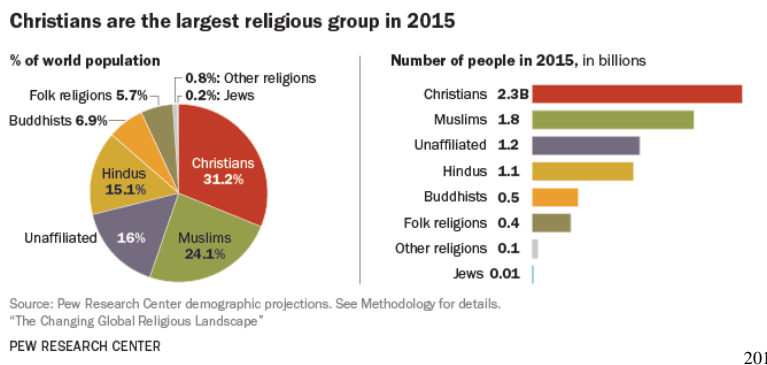
The renaissance period is considered the early modern period with an intellectual wave all around Europe. By the sixteenth century, it had influenced art, architecture, philosophy, literature, music, science and technology, politics, religion, and other aspects of intellectual inquiry. It was a cultural movement. Renaissance scholars employed the humanist method in study, and searched for realism and human emotion in art.¹⁹⁸ In the revival of neo-Platonism, Renaissance humanists did not reject Christianity; quite the contrary, many of the greatest works of the Renaissance were devoted to it, and the Church patronized many works of Renaissance art. However, a subtle shift took place in the way that intellectuals approached religion that was reflected in many other areas of cultural life.¹⁹⁹ In addition, many Greek Christian works, including the Greek New Testament, were brought back from Byzantium to Western Europe and engaged Western scholars for the first time since late antiquity. This new engagement with Greek Christian works, and particularly the return to the original Greek of the New Testament promoted by humanists Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus, would help pave the way for the Protestant Reformation.

This idea of secularism gained more followers in the 18th century through Henry Fielding's novel *Joseph Andrews* and expressed later at the end of the

¹⁹⁸ Perry, M. *Humanities in the Western Tradition*, Ch. 13

¹⁹⁹ Open University (Retrieved May 10, 2007), *Looking at the Renaissance: Religious Context in the Renaissance*

20th century by Hancock and Lambert in *The Legacy of the French Revolution*, to give just two examples. However, in the 21st century, both perspectives have gained enough popularity to succeed in dividing humankind into theocracy and atheism; the religious believers are still the bigger figure though (84% religious believers vs 16% atheist / agnostic/ unaffiliated of the total population of the world)²⁰⁰.



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The twenty-first century is observing rather blunt advocates of the idea that alleges religion as “the chief source of violence and oppression”²⁰² that spreads terrorism. Sam Harris claims that religion plays the primary role “in

²⁰⁰ Hackett, Conrad & McClendon, David (2017), *Christians remain world's largest religious group, but they are declining in Europe*, [Pew Research Centre](#)

²⁰¹ Image credit: PEW Research Centre (2015), repeated to recall for clarity of the concept here.

http://www.pewresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/FT_17.04.05_projectionsUpdate_globalPop640px.png

²⁰² Harris, Sam (2005), *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason*, W.W. Norton Paperback

justifying and rewarding it [terrorism]”²⁰³. The terrorists, according to Harris’ conception, “actually believe what they say they believe”²⁰⁴ and others blame ‘extremists’ who ‘distort’ the ‘true’ message of religion. Harris claims that the root of the problem is religion itself and terrorists are only following what is commanded to them by their religion; Islam. Even moderate religion, according to him with an endorsement by other atheists, is a menace because it leads us to respect and “cherish the idea that certain fantastic propositions can be believed without evidence.”²⁰⁵ He presents peaceful Muslims as apologists who disown radical violent extremists along with their misrepresentations regarding the true message of religion, i.e. peace for humanity. This means the neo-liberals validate the above mentioned “0.00001 percent of all Muslims,”²⁰⁶ rejecting the beliefs representing true Islam and practised by 99.9 percent of the Muslims. This latest religion-as-rival phenomenon may rightly be called Islamophobia for its being more anti-Islam than ‘anti’ any other religion, “born in the febrile aftermath of 9/11, when belief in a deity – or, let’s be honest, specifically in Allah [and Islam] – seemed to some people a newly urgent danger to western civilisation.”²⁰⁷ Does

²⁰³ Dawkins, Richard (2005), *Review on The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason*, Samharris.org, <https://samharris.org/books/the-end-of-faith/>

²⁰⁴ Harris, Sam (2005), *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason*, W.W. Norton Paperback

²⁰⁵ Harris, Sam (2005), *The End of Faith: Religion, Terror and the Future of Reason*, W.W. Norton Paperback, Samharris.Org

²⁰⁶ Alnatour, Omar (12 Sep 2015, updated on 9 Dec 2016), *Muslims Are Not Terrorists: A Factual Look at Terrorism and Islam*, Huffpost.com.

²⁰⁷ Poole, Steven (2019), *The Four Horsemen review - whatever happened to 'New Atheism'?*, [The Guardian](http://TheGuardian)

Islam really preach violence? To acquire a more comprehensive understanding, we need to analyse the evident differences between the basic, foundational preachings of Islam and the politicised exploitation of Islam, fabricated and promoted later by self-appointed authorities / gatekeepers of the religion, and exploited politically.

Fundamentals of Islam

Islam is acclaimed as a religion of peace by a majority of its followers. This claim is built upon the word Islam itself that is derived from the Arabic root word *Salama* that means peace and safety. So common Muslims believe it to be a religion of peace and prosperity for humanity on the grounds of its fundamental code of conduct for leading a life in the most peaceful, tolerant and harmonious way, avoiding any act of terror, intolerance or violence. The laws of the previous scriptures that applied to earlier generations are repeated and emphasised for the Muslims in the Quran. Muslims are commanded to follow such laws. Islam teaches love and compassion for every human being, regardless of their religion, caste, colour or creed. According to the Holy Quran, humanism is the core foundation of Islam. Islam is a religion revealed to humankind with the intention of presenting a peaceful life where the limitless compassion and mercy of God manifests itself on earth. John L. Esposito highlights that Islam is not a pacifist

religion; instead it “emphasizes action, performing the will of God. It more closely resembles Judaism with its focus on following the law than Christianity with its emphasis on belief. Muslims are enjoined to act, to struggle (*jihad*), to implement their belief, to lead a good life, to defend religion, to contribute to the development of a just Islamic society throughout the world.”²⁰⁸ In support of their belief, the Muslims present evidence from the Holy Quran, the Holy Book for Muslims consisting of the sayings and commands of Allah (God) as per their faith while non-Muslims take it as the book written by Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), and also the books of hadiths which are formed by collecting the sayings and doings of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) during His life. Both sources of Islamic preaching for leading a proper life are believed to be the most authentic guides towards the righteous ways of living in this world, without discrimination of any kind.

Quranic Codes of Conduct for Humanity

God advises all people to live by the moral values He sets so that compassion, mercy, peace and love can be experienced all over the world. He calls, “*Ya ayyoha allazeena amanoo odkhuloo fee alSsimi kaffatan wala tattabii’oo khutuwati alShaytani annahu lakum aduwwun mubeenun.*” Translation: “O You who believe! Enter absolutely into peace (Islam). Do not

²⁰⁸ Esposito, John L. (2003), *Unholy War, Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pg. 5

follow in the footsteps of Satan. He is an outright enemy to you.”²⁰⁹ In this verse, Islam intrinsically calls for peace and promotes a life of absolute sincerity and honesty before God. Therefore, it is vitally important for an individual to believe in God with his own will and aspiration, and observe God’s commands through personal, meticulous gratitude.²¹⁰ Allah’s invitation towards Islam is called the invitation towards “*Daar alsSalaam*”²¹¹; *daar* means home or shelter and *Salaam* means peace, security, contentment, so the full phrase means a shelter of peace, home of contentment.

Allah shows peaceful ways of leading life to those who seek His pleasure. That means if Allah is pleased with one, He enlightens him/her with the knowledge of righteous, peaceful manners by taking him/her away from the darkness of ignorance. Regarding this in the Quran, Allah says: “*Yahdee bihi Allahu maani ittaba’a ridwanahu subula alsSalaami wa yukhrijuhum mina alZulumati ela alNnoori bi iznihe wa yahdeehim ilaa siraatin mustaqeemin.*” Translation: “By which Allah guides those who pursue His pleasure to Subulas Salaam [the ways/manners/paths of peace] and brings them out from darkness into the light, by His permission, and guides them to Sirat Al-Mustaqeem

²⁰⁹ Holy Quran: Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 208

²¹⁰ Oktar, Adnan (pen name Harun Yahya) (1956), *Islam Denounces Terrorism* (January 30, 2003), Publishers: Tahrike Tarsile Quran; 1st edition, Turkey

²¹¹ Holy Quran, Surah Yunus, Verse No. 25

(righteous path).”²¹² Allah also commands in the Quran that no one should be forced to embrace Islam, rather it should be through free will and deliberation. “*La Ikrahu fi aldeen.*” Translation: “There is no compulsion/coercion in religion.”²¹³ As stated in the verse, no one can be compelled to live by Islamic morals by force. Conveying the existence of God and the morals of the Quran to other people is a duty for believers, but they call people to the path of God with kindness and love and they should never rely on force. Ultimately, it is only God Who guides people to the right way. This is related in the following verse: “*Innaka la tahdi mun ahbabta wa lakinna Allaha yahdi mun yasha’o, wa huwa a’alamu bil mohtadeena*” Translation: “Indeed, you do not guide whom you like, but Allah guides whom He wills. And He is most knowing of the (rightly) guided.”²¹⁴ The Quran provides an environment where people can fully enjoy freedom of thought and freedom of religion and allows people to live by the faith and values they believe in. According to Islam, everyone has the right to live freely by his beliefs, whatever they may be. Anyone who wants to support a church, a synagogue or a mosque must be free to do so. In this sense, freedom of religion, or freedom of belief, is one of the basic tenets of Islam. There is always freedom of religion wherever the moral values of the Quran prevail. That is why

²¹² Holy Quran, Surah al Ma’ida, Verse No. 16

²¹³ Holy Quran: Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 256

²¹⁴ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Qasas, Verse No. 56

Muslims are commanded to treat Jews and Christians, who are described in the Quran as “the People of the Book,” with great justice, love and compassion. God says in the Quran: *“La yanha kum Allahu ani Allazeen lam yuqaatilo kum fee aldeeni wa lam yukhrijukum min diyarikum un tabarruhum wa tuqsitoo ileihim, inna Allaha yuhibbul muqsiteena.”* Translation: “God does not forbid you from being good to those who have not fought you in the religion or driven you from your homes, or from being just towards them. God loves those who are just.”²¹⁵ Allah clearly requires one to act justly and acknowledge the existence of people from different faiths and opinions and welcome cordially, because this is how He created and predestined humankind in this world: *“Likulli ja’alna minkum shira’atan wa minhajan, wa lau sha’a Allahu lajalakum ummatan wahidatan wa lakin liyabluwakum fee ma’aata kum, fastabiqoo alkheirati ila Allahi marji’ukum jamee’an fayunabbi’ukum bima kuntum feehi takhtalifoona.”* Translation: “We have appointed a law and a practice for every one of you. Had God willed, He would have made you a single community, but He wanted to test you regarding what has come to you. So compete with each other in doing good. Every one of you will return to God and He will inform you regarding the things about which you differed.”²¹⁶ Thus Muslims who share these basic values believe in the need

²¹⁵ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Mumtahanah, Verse No. 8

²¹⁶ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma’ida, Verse No. 48

to act together with Christians and Jews who also, according to the Holy Quran, share the same values. They therefore strive to eliminate prejudices, refrain from reacting to provocations and incitements by atheists as well as by the radicalised bigots and fanatics. Thus the violent and intolerant behaviour of Islamists go against the teachings of the Quran. The values of the Quran hold a Muslim responsible for treating all people, whether Muslim or non-Muslim (All: Christians, Hindus, Jews, Buddhists or even atheists), kindly and justly, protecting the needy and the innocent and preventing the dissemination of mischief. Mischief comprises all forms of anarchy and terror that remove security, comfort and peace. God does not like *fasaad* (terrorism, violence, anarchy, chaos, riots)²¹⁷. Islam not only advocates freedom, peace and mutual agreement but also admonishes aggression and forbids the killing of innocent people, irrespective of the reasons, be they religious, political or social. “*Wa la taqtaloo alnnafsa allti harrama allahu illa bilhaqqi...*” Translation: “...And do not kill anyone which Allah has forbidden [to be killed] except for the right.”²¹⁸ God has made life sacred except in the course of justice. *Adal* (Justice) in Islam favours oppressed against oppressor, supports victim of oppression against aggressor, weighs the defensive side against offensive, voices for terrorized

²¹⁷ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqara, Verse No. 205

²¹⁸ Holy Quran, Surah Al-An'am, Verse No. 151

against terrorist, stands firmly in favour of prey against predator. However, there is a gap between what we consider different people deserve and what we see that they receive, and may cause an ‘unjust’ in ‘just’ depending upon our perceptions and intentions. This phenomenon is summed up in the following quatrain cited from Geertz’s *The Interpretation of Cultures*:

*“The rain falls on the just
And on the unjust fella;
But mainly upon the just.
Because the unjust has the just’s umbrella.”*²¹⁹

Allah commands His believers to stay forbearing and patient in hard times and try to seek help through patience and prayer²²⁰ instead of being aggressive. In reward for their forbearance, they will be helped by Allah because He is always with the ones who remain calm, tolerant and patient in tough times, “*Ya ayyuha allazeena amanu istaenu bilSsabri wa AlSsalati, inna allah ma’a alSsabireena;*” Translation: “O believers, seek help through patience and prayer, indeed, Allah is with patients”.²²¹ He also commanded believers to not only

²¹⁹ Geertz, Clifford (2017), *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 3rd edition, Published by Basic Books New York, pg. 114

²²⁰ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 45

²²¹ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 153

observe patience and compassion towards humanity but also advise and guide others to be more tolerant and compassionate too.

On the other side, all acts leading society towards disturbance, riots, anarchy, chaos or violence are strictly forbidden in Islam, according to Quranic teachings. Allah clearly says in the Quran: “*Wa La Tufsidoo fee alardi ba’ada islahiha...*” which means “And do not cause *fasaad* (violence/ anarchy/ chaos/ unrest/ corruption/ riots) in the Earth after the reformation...”²²² It shows that Islam advocates freedom, peace and mutual agreement and admonishes aggression, violence, coercion and corruption. Barbarous people are condemned in the Quran: “*Wa Iza qeela lahum la tufsidoo fee alardi qaloo innama nahnu muslihoona.*” Translation: “And when it is said to them (*fasaadi*: chaotic, anarchic or turbulent people) do not cause *fasaad* in the Earth, they say (in excuse), ‘indeed we are *muslihoon* (reformers/ preachers/ peacemakers) only’.”²²³ Allah calls these *mufsidoon* who break their promise of following Allah’s commands in favour of peace and work to spread fear through *fasaad* or acts of terrorism, as *khaaseroon*: the losers.²²⁴ Allah expresses His contempt for *fasaad* violence and terrorism in these words: “*Wa iza tawalla sa’aa fee alardi*

²²² Holy Quran, Surah Al-A’raaf, Verse No. 56

²²³ Holy Quran; Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 11

²²⁴ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 27

liyufsida feeha wa yohlika alharsa walNasla, waAllahu la yuhibbu alfasada.”

Translation: “And when he is in authority, he strives throughout the land to cause *fasaad* therein and destroy crops and living beings. And Allah does not like *fasaad*.”²²⁵ Another verse of Holy Quran declares that killing of one human being is equal to the killing of the entire humanity. “...*Annahu mun qatala nafsun begheiri nafsin au fasaadin fee alardi faka annama qatal alNnaasa jamee’aa wa mun ahyaha fakka annama ahya alNnaasa jamee’aa....*” Translation: “Whoever killed a soul unless for a soul (for justice) or for causing terrorism in the land, it is as if he had slain all of mankind. And whoever saves a life, it is as if he has saved all of mankind.”²²⁶ Islam condemns the killing or even the persecution of people merely because they follow a different religion. The Quran mandates absolute freedom of religion in society. It does not permit Muslims to fight except in self-defence and afterwards to resume peace. It does not allow restrictions on those who disagree on religious issues. It urges the Muslims to treat such people kindly and equitably. “*Ya ayyoha AlNaas inna khalaqunaakum min zakarin wa unsaa wa Ja’alnakum sho’uuban wa qaba’il lita’arafuu inna akramakum inda Allahe atquaakum...*” Translation: “O humankind, We created you from [same kind] a male and a female, and made you families and tribes [to

²²⁵ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 205

²²⁶ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma’idah, Verse No. 32

give you a distinct identity] so that you may recognise one another. The noblest among you, in the sight of God, is the self disciplined person [the one who is the best in moral conduct]...”²²⁷ Here, it is notable that all humankind is being addressed to make it clear that the division into families and tribes and castes and creeds is merely to be identified respectively, and no one has any privilege over others except those who are more disciplined and more strict in piety and moral values. In acknowledgment of this fact, common Muslims are taught by Islam to have an inner love and compassion for people of all faiths, races and nations, for they consider them as the manifestations of God in this world and treat them with respect and love. This is the very basis of communities administered by true Islamic morality. Thus Allah Almighty cursed the ones who misrepresent Him and His message by inventing lies. “And who is more unjust than the ones who invent a lie about Allah? Those will be presented before their Lord, and the witnesses will say, ‘These are the ones who lied against their Lord.’ No doubt! The curse of Allah is upon the *Zalimun* (oppressors).”²²⁸

Sayings of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) Promoting Peace

Allah Almighty says in the Holy Quran that Prophet (SAWA) never said

²²⁷ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Hujraat, Verse No. 13

²²⁸ Holy Quran, Surah Hud, Verse No. 18

any single word or did any single action except what was commanded to him by Allah.²²⁹ So, all of his deeds and commands are in line with the message of Allah given in Quran, that is of peace for humanity. He urged the people to put in efforts to establish peaceful environments. There is a narration from Um Kulsoom bint Uqba, who heard Prophet (SAWA) say, “He who makes peace between the people by inventing good information or saying good things, is not a liar.”²³⁰ It shows that for making peace, one may go to any extent. Regarding fights between the two groups, Anas, as quoted in Sahih Bukhari, says that the companions were told by Prophet (SAWA) to reconcile the agitators and make peace according to the Will of God because “the following divine verse was revealed [in this regard]: ‘And if two groups fall to fighting, then make peace between them’ (49:9)”²³¹

When the Holy Prophet was told about Banu Quraish’s plan to wage war against the pilgrims, He vowed in the name of Allah Almighty to establish peace by saying, “if they (i.e., the Quraish infidels) ask me anything which will respect

²²⁹ Holy Quran, Surah An-Najm, Verse No. 3, 4, 5

²³⁰ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 503, hadith No 2692

²³¹ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, hadith No 2691

the Ordinances of Allah, I will grant it to them,”²³² because they travelled from Madina to Makkah to perform Umrah and not to fight anyone. He offered to conclude a truce with them to avoid interference towards each other.²³³ Then many representatives of Banu Quraish went to Prophet (SAWA) turn by turn and returned with the same views that they “do not think it is advisable to prevent them from visiting the Ka’bah.”²³⁴ Finally they agreed to sign a treaty with the Prophet and Az-Zuhri, as quoted in Sahih Bukhari, “The Prophet accepted all those things, as he had already said that he would accept everything they would demand if it respects the Ordinance of Allah.”²³⁵ And the Ordinance of Allah is nothing but the message of peace for humanity. And for advancing this message of peace, Prophet (SAWA) proposed the Hudaibiya Treaty to defuse the environment of war established by pagans of Banu Quraish. There were three conditions of the treaty: 1) The Prophet (SAWA) would be bound to return to Banu Quraish any person from them coming towards Muslims, even those embracing Islam. 2) Banu Quraish would not be bound to return any of the

²³² Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 527-536, hadith No. 2731 & 2732

²³³ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 527-536, hadith No. 2731 & 2732

²³⁴ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 527-536, hadith No. 2731 & 2732

²³⁵ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 527-536, hadith No. 2731 & 2732

Muslims going to them and 3) The Prophet (SAWA) and His companions would visit Makkah the following year and would stay there for three days while keeping “their weapons in cases”.²³⁶ This treaty was signed at a time when the morale of the Muslims was very high because of their success in defending themselves against Banu Quraish in the wars waged by them²³⁷ while the Banu Quraish were angry and shattered by their consecutive defeats. Holy Prophet (SAWA) was in a position to put His favourable conditions in the Treaty. But for the sake of Peace and to avoid war, He did whatever was requested by the enemy.²³⁸ He even removed ‘Allah’s messenger,’ the title of His name, from the agreement at the demand of the pagans, and succeeded in making peace with them. Although some of the Companions were not in favour of this treaty and expressed their strong disagreement, Allah’s Apostle (SAWA) wanted peace and not war.²³⁹ All the Muslims are commanded strictly to avoid harming others. According to a hadith, “A Muslim is the one who avoids harming Muslims with

²³⁶ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia hadith No. 2698

²³⁷ See Armstrong, Karen (10 Sep 1993), *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, 1st Paperback edition, Harper Collins Publishes Inc., New York, pg. 164-210

²³⁸ Armstrong, Karen (10 Sep 1993), *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, 1st Paperback edition, Harper Collins Publishes Inc., New York, pg. 211-250

²³⁹ Armstrong, Karen (10 Sep 1993), *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, Harper Collins Publishes Inc., New York, pg. 221-222

his tongue and hands.”²⁴⁰ This statement makes it very clear that the way Al Qaeda, ISIS and Taliban extremists are terrorising humankind, irrespective of their religion, is against the above-cited hadith, thus against Islam. Once a man asked the Prophet (SAWA), “Whose Islam is good” or “What (sort of) deeds in (or what qualities of) Islam are good?” The Prophet replied, “To feed (others), and to greet those whom you know and those whom you do not know.”²⁴¹ This hadith encourage us to help needy people without any discrimination, while fanatic fundamentalists have been criticising Abdul Sattar Edhi for his aid for humanity following the true Islamic school of thought with the fundamental idea that one need not know another’s religion or caste or creed while helping. One of the four signs of a hypocrite is “Whenever he fights, he behaves in a very imprudent, evil and insulting manner.”²⁴² And this hadith may be viewed in light of radicalised fundamentalists’ intolerant and brutal behaviour towards other human beings on social media or live conversations and hate speeches, all of which are against Prophet (SAWA)’s guidance. “Abusing a Muslim is Fusūq (an

²⁴⁰ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 59

²⁴¹ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 60

²⁴² Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 72, hadith No.34, repeated in vol. 3, pg 369

evil doing) and killing him is Kufr (disbelief).”²⁴³

“Religion is very easy and whoever overburdens himself in his religion will not be able to continue in that way. So you should not be extremists, but try to be near to perfection and receive the good tidings that you will be rewarded...”²⁴⁴ This hadith is to convey the message that Islam does not like people to suppress while, contrary to this hadith, twenty-first century fundamentalism, with its radicalism and extremism, is making religion difficult. “Make things easy for the people, and do not make things difficult for them and give them glad tidings and do not repel them.”²⁴⁵ Another hadith reinforces the same message of performance within the bounds of self-capacity, “Do (good) deeds which are within your capacity (without being overtaxed) as Allah does not get tired (of giving rewards) but (surely) you will get tired and Ad-Din (good, righteous deed act of worship) loved most by Allah is that which is done regularly.”²⁴⁶

Another hadith says, “None of you will have faith till he likes for his

²⁴³ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 80, hadith No. 48

²⁴⁴ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 74, hadith No. 39

²⁴⁵ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 97, hadith No. 69

²⁴⁶ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 76, hadithNo. 43

(Muslim) brother what he likes for himself.”²⁴⁷ It means to be selfless and treat others as one wants to be treated. Noticeably, this hadith does not include only Muslims, instead, it covers all people; brothers to each other in human relations. The word ‘Muslim’ is added by the writer of Sahih Bukhari in bracket that indicates this word is not present there in the original hadith. This fact verifies my stance regarding this hadith, that it talks about all people irrespective of religion, caste, colour or creed.

A Muslim and a Jew quarrelled. The Muslim said, “By Him Who gave Muhammad superiority over all the people!” The Jew said, “By Him Who gave Musa [Moses] superiority over all the people!” At that the Muslim raised his hand and slapped the Jew on the face. The Jew went to the Prophet and informed him of what had happened between him and the Muslim. The Prophet (SAWA) called the Muslim and asked him about it. The Muslim informed him of the event. The Prophet told him, “Do not give me superiority over Musa, for on the Day of Resurrection all the people will fall unconscious and I will be one of them, but I will be the first to regain consciousness, and will see Musa standing and holding the side of the Throne (of Allah). I will not know whether (Musa) has also fallen unconscious and got up before me, or Allah has exempted him

²⁴⁷ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 1, Pg. 60-61

from that stroke.”²⁴⁸

One of the seven commands to be a better human is “to help the oppressed”²⁴⁹ On another occasion, Allah's Apostle said, “Help your brother, whether he is an oppressor or he is an oppressed one. People asked, “O Allah's Messenger! It is all right to help him if he is oppressed, but how should we help him if he is an oppressor?” The Prophet said, “By preventing him from oppressing others.”²⁵⁰ The Prophet warned people, “Be afraid, from the curse of the oppressed as there is no screen between his invocation and Allah.”²⁵¹ Because “*Az-Zulm* (oppression) will be a darkness on the Day of Resurrection.”²⁵² It was even encouraged to be kind to animals, too. The people asked, “O Allah's Messenger! Is there a reward for us in serving the animals?” He replied: “Yes, there is a reward for serving any animate (living being).”²⁵³

²⁴⁸ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 341-342, hadith No. 2411

²⁴⁹ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 362, hadith No. 2445

²⁵⁰ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 362, hadith No. 2444

²⁵¹ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 364, hadith No. 2448

²⁵² Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 364, hadith No. 2447

²⁵³ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 373, hadith No. 2466

However, taking revenge is allowed in Islam, not only for oneself but also on behalf of the oppressed ones. “The recompense for an evil is an evil like thereof, but whoever forgives and makes reconciliation, his reward is with Allah; verily, He likes not the *Zalimün* (oppressors). And indeed whosoever takes revenge after he has suffered wrong, for such there is no way (of blame) against them. The way (of blame) is only against those who oppress men and wrongly rebel in the earth without justification; for such there will be a painful torment. And verily, whosoever shows patience and forgives, that would truly be from the things recommended by Allah. And whomsoever Allah sends astray, for him there is no *Wali* (protector, helper, guardian) after Him. And you will see the *Zalimun* (oppressors) what they behold the torment. They will say: Is there any way of return (to the world).”²⁵⁴

Does Islam Preach Violence?

Contradictory to the above-mentioned evidence that provides excellent support to Islam as a religion of peace, there are people who accuse Islam of being a religion of violence by quoting selected verses from the Holy Quran and sayings of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). So, it is very important to have a deeper look into the contextual and comparative study of this concept. All of the religions - particularly, the religions of the Book - also have verses which seem

²⁵⁴ Holy Quran, Surah Ash-Shuraa, Verse No. 40-44

to support violence, however, only in the context of eliminating oppression and for saving humanity. Perhaps that's part of the 'test' during the Last Days – measuring, by our actions, which verses of Holy Quran or Bible, or whatever, we chose to focus on. The laws of the previous scriptures that applied to earlier generations are repeated and emphasised for the Muslims in the Quran. Muslims are commanded to follow such laws. For example, all religious texts, including the Holy Quran, contain passages, seemingly contradictory because of the various interpretations and perceptions, with justifications for divine violence in certain contexts. The best way to understand Islam is through a holistic study of the Holy Quran with a focus on its fundamentals and not contradictions. The comprehension of the concept of divine violence - and how it functions - is very important. Walter Benjamin in his essay, *Critique of Violence*, rightly says, “Divine Violence, which is the sign and seal but never the means of sacred dispatch, may be called “sovereign” violence.”²⁵⁵ However, sometimes, people distort principles preserving violence, claiming the exercise of divine violence because the meaning of “the legitimate and illegitimate violence”²⁵⁶ is not obvious. However, the answer to “the question ‘May I Kill?’ meets its

²⁵⁵ Benjamin, Walter edited by Marcus Bullock & Michael W Jennings (1996), *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Volume 1 1913-1926: Critique of Violence (1921)*, pg. 252, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England

²⁵⁶ Benjamin, Walter edited by Marcus Bullock & Michael W Jennings (1996), *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Volume 1 1913-1926: Critique of Violence (1921)*, pg. 238, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England

irreducible answer in the commandment ‘Thou shalt not kill’²⁵⁷.’²⁵⁸ as God is preventing the killing; the “predatory violence”²⁵⁹ advocating peace through inspirational awareness utilizing “[t]he educative power”²⁶⁰

Islam condemns the killing or even the persecution of people merely because they embrace a different religion. The Quran mandates absolute freedom of religion in society. It does not allow Muslims to fight except in self-defence and to enforce peace. It does not allow restrictions on those who disagree on religions matters. It urges the Muslims to treat such people kindly and equitably.

However, there are passages, as we discussed earlier, which allow violence in certain contexts and are misused by the political game changers, whether fundamentalists or neoliberals. For example, Allah commands in Surah Al Anfal, “*Wa qatilihukum hatta la takoona fitnatun ...*, (And fight them until there is no *fitnah*)”²⁶¹. Here, ‘them’ and ‘*fitnah*’ are appropriated most often according to one’s targeted requirement. ‘Them’ is usually interpreted to refer to disbelievers who cause *fitnah*, ignoring the fact that the *fitnah* could be caused

²⁵⁷ Bible, 20: 13, 6th out of 10 commandments of God

²⁵⁸ Benjamin, Walter edited by Marcus Bullock & Michael W Jennings (1996), *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Volume 1 1913-1926: Critique of Violence (1921)*, pg. 250, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England

²⁵⁹ Benjamin, Walter edited by Marcus Bullock & Michael W Jennings (1996), *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Volume 1 1913-1926: Critique of Violence (1921)*, pg. 240, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England

²⁶⁰ Benjamin, Walter edited by Marcus Bullock & Michael W Jennings (1996), *Walter Benjamin Selected Writings Volume 1 1913-1926: Critique of Violence (1921)*, pg. 250, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England

²⁶¹ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Anfal, Verse No. 39

by some believers of Islam, too. The most important examples of *fitnah* deployed by some so-called believers (I prefer to call them so-called believers because the true believers always try to avoid *fitnah* by following holistic commands of the Quran) are the Battles of *Jamal* (Camel) (36AH / 656 AD), *Siffin* (37AH / 657AD), and *Karbala* (61AH / 680AD). So fighting is recommended against the ones who cause *fitnah* who could be either Muslims or non-Muslims. Secondly, the word *fitnah* is also translated as ‘disbeliever’ by some islamophobes to validate their point that Islam commands one to kill all disbelievers and by some fanatics to justify their terrorism as an Islamic command. *Fitnah* means a situation of chaos, instability, uncertainty, disorder, riots, terror; in short, absence of peace and stability is called *fitnah*. Now the context for this particular command by Allah is expressed in earlier verses in the same chapter which highlight the reason, “*Wa iz yamkuroo bika alladheena kafaru le yusbitooka au yaqtulooka au yakhrujooka*, (And [remember, O Muhammad], when those who disbelieved plotted against you to restrain you or kill you or evict you [from Makkah].)”²⁶² Then “*Wa hum yasuddoona anil Masjid Al Haram*, (And they obstruct [people] from al-Masjid al Haram)”²⁶³; Masjid al Haram refers to the place of worship. In response to these offensive actions, Prophet (SAWA) was

²⁶² Holy Quran, Surah Al-Anfal, Verse No. 30

²⁶³ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Anfal, Verse No. 34

commanded to fight with them. In the same chapter, verses 33 and 38 explain precisely to cease fighting and forgive in case they stop oppression and hostility. “*Wa maa kan Allahu Muazzibahum wa hum yastaghfiroon*, (Allah would not punish them while they seek forgiveness).”²⁶⁴ And if they cease hostility, what has previously occurred will be forgiven to them.²⁶⁵ There are a number of other examples like this which are exploited by extremists to radicalise fundamentalists or to polarise supremacist islamophobe neoliberals with one common interest, to hold power by gaining the support of manpower.

Since some terrorist groups have used the name of Islam to promote their political power-seeking agendas, this gave many non-Muslims an opportunity to label the Muslims as terrorists, sometimes deliberately, and sometimes it’s because people don’t, as a rule, think very critically – they are formatted in this way or that, as a function of what they see on the news, what they hear in the community, promoted as common sense. And they make no effort to see the more realistic, holistic picture. And of course, islamophobia, as I have said earlier, serves the interests of a certain political class, ignoring the fact that there are many terrorists who happen to be non-Muslims. This does not make these

²⁶⁴ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Anfal, Verse No. 33

²⁶⁵ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Anfal, Verse No. 38

principles evil but rather brings to light the evil nature of the criminals, whether Muslim or not.

Terrorism is an act of violence committed by people belonging to all religions. Terrorists, who are born Muslims by chance, raise their religious beliefs to claim legitimacy for the violence and terrorism that they commit on thousands of men, women, and children in attempts to achieve special interests, whether political, social or religious. Those who do not comprehend Islam and those who have an interest in distorting the truth about Islam have been trying to make terrorism synonymous to Islam. A mistaken notion has been common in the western media. Several groups have used terrorism to implement their own agenda, issues or beliefs. None of them represents a true religion. Novjot Singh Sidhu, a famous Indian cricketer, Member of Parliament, social worker and a humanitarian, says: “*dehshat gardi ka koi mulk nahi hota. Shiddat pasandon ka koi mazhab nahi hota, na hé koi zaat hoti hey*”²⁶⁶ Translation: Terrorism does not have any country. Extremists have neither religion, nor caste.” Attacks on civilians around the world by such groups cannot be justified by any religion. It is strongly condemned in all religions, including Islam, as clarified by the word of God in the Quran, and the New Testament of the Bible, for example.

²⁶⁶ Sidhu, Novjot Singh (16 Feb 2019), *Pulwama Hamla: 'Dehshat Gardi ka Koi Mulik Nahi Hota'*, [BBC Urdu](#)

Some terrorist groups which massacre innocent people consider themselves as martyrs. Those who kill innocent people in the name of their religion or in the name of God and who consider themselves as martyrs should think twice. Their act is strongly condemned by God in the verses of the Quran. These people are disobeying God's commandments and the truth as revealed in the Quran. Instead they blindly follow the views of their corrupt leaders and self-serving scholars. The Quran is very clear on this issue; the believers must defend themselves but never aggress. It is true that Islam advocates the use of strength to secure peace, but never to aggress unless in self defence. God of the Muslims is the same as the God of the Jews and the Christians and all the other religions. God does not permit any group to kill innocent people belonging to any religion. The blame lies with the terrorists and not the religion they claim to follow. Not everyone who calls himself a Muslim is a genuine Muslim, as much as not everyone who thinks of himself as a Jew or a Christian is one. Islam should not be confused with what the so-called Muslims have done. Actually, by the definitions of the Quran, they are not Muslims in the true sense of the term. We should not let our emotions overcome logic and understanding.

Islam stands for peace, harmony and understanding. It does not preach hatred or condone acts of violence. Unfortunately the message of Islam has been

distorted by the enemies of Islam, both from within and without.

The Causes of Sariyah / Ghazwat / Wars in Islam:

It is argued that the Holy Prophet (SAWA) fought many wars which are called *Ghazwat* and the sole purpose of these wars was to enforce Islam and expand its influence, according to some anti-Islamic ideologies which have bred Islamophobia. For that reason, Islam is alleged to be spread through the sword or *Jihad bil Saif*. So it may be enlightening to analyse the causes of *Ghazwat* and *Sariyahs* carried out during the first 10 years (622 to 632 AD) after *Hijrah* (migration) from Makkah to Madina, in Benjamin's theoretical perspective regarding divine violence. Banu Quraish of Makkah were hostile to the Prophet (SAWA) from the very beginning because of His preachings regarding Islam, which was against their belief of polytheism, so they wanted to kill Him (SAWA). The Prophet (SAWA), along with His companions, migrated to Madina to escape their savagery. But Banu Quraish started preparations of war to fight against Muslims and Islam. Meanwhile, they started attacking the Muslims' trade caravans. So defensive action was needed to demonstrate the strength of Muslims to ensure their protection and avoid further attacks. The battle of Badr was fought for the purpose of preventing the Quraish's preparations for war.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁷ Ibn Sa'd, Muhammad (1985), *at-Tabaqatu'l-Kubra*, Beirut, Vol. II; Samhudi, Nuruddin Ali b. Ahmad, *Wafa Ul-Wafa*, Beirut, ed., I, pg. 281.

The sariyyas of Saif al-Bahr and Rabigh, along with Abwa, Buwat, Hamraul Asad and small Badr were carried out to ensure the security of the weaker against the brutal dominance of the powerful all around the region. That was also to determine that the Muslims of the region were strong enough to protect themselves as well as the weaker ones who cannot defend themselves against oppression; the small tribes residing in the vicinity of Madina. The Battles of Badr, Uhud and Khandaq are the greatest defensive battles in terms of legitimacy and strategy that aimed to defend against aggression. Since permission is given by the Quran for battling in self defence,²⁶⁸ with an emphasis that battles can only be fought based on legitimate reasons: in self defence, to help oppressed communities, against violation of peace treaties, to take revenge, to avoid enemies' preparations, to establish peace, to abandon terrorism and coercion.²⁶⁹ As we have said, no war is permitted in Islam for spreading Islam because there is 'no compulsion in religion'. In the same manner, it is forbidden to fight for expanding the boundaries of Islamic States.

Some of the Sariyyas took place when the Prophet (PBUH) sent patrol teams and spies in order to collect information regarding preparations for battle

See also Ibnu'l-Athir, Abu'l-Hasan Ali b. Muhammad (1965), *al-Kamil fi 't-Tarikh*, Beirut, Vol. II, pg. 113&116; Bukhari, *Manaqib*, 251, Maghazi, 2.

²⁶⁸ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Hajj, Verse No. 38; Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 190; Surah Ash-Shura, Verse No.41.

²⁶⁹ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 194

by enemies who could launch instant attacks. Those patrol teams, while on their mission to gather information, were involved in incidental combat. And then backup troops were sent to assure the security of patrolling teams. Examples are the Sariyahs of Nahla, the first Dhul Qassa, Wadil Qura, the second Jinab, Hunayn, Abdullah ibn Rawaha, and Khaybar.

The breach of treaties constitutes a crime in international relations. So some of the Ghazwat and Sariyahs were to encounter the tribes who breached the treaties by helping enemies and providing them with secret information. It was also to prevent enemies from getting support in the surrounding territories that could be harmful for the State of Madina. Similarly, if the states do not react by taking precautionary measures after receiving the news of the enemy's attack plan, it would mean to further expose oneself against enemy attack. The military expeditions of Tabuk, Taif, Khaybar and the Ghazwa of Fadak, and the large number of Ghazwat and Sariyahs were carried out as a result of receiving information of pending attacks. Declaration of war by the enemy is one of the reasons which justifies fighting according to the Prophet (SAWA) and to answer the declaration of war is regarded as self defense.²⁷⁰ There were some battles which were fought against the robbers and plunderers who looted the trade

²⁷⁰ For detailed information on Ghazwat and Sariyahs, see Nargül, Veysel, Kur'an

convoys or plundered herds from the shepherds. The defence of property and life in the event of raids and plunder is also considered self-protection.

Some of the wars were fought in order to end the pressure regarding freedom of religion applied by the tribes and states that oppressed and tortured Muslims or other minorities. If communities which are oppressed in terms of practising their religious rituals and worship and which are being deprived of their fundamental rights - freedom of belief and worshipping - and their places of worship are being demolished²⁷¹, then Muslims are held responsible to make an effort to end this oppression through permitted fighting, and then to establish peace as soon as the oppressor retreats from oppressive actions by signing peace treaties.²⁷² “And why should ye not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)?— men, women, and children, whose cry is: “Our Lord! rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from Thee one who will protect; and raise for us from Thee one who will help!”²⁷³ The Sariyah of Bi'r al-Mauna and the Ghazwa of Dumatul-Jandal were the military interventions that the Prophet (SAWA) carried out in order to help the Muslims who were victims of oppression.

²⁷¹ Holy Quran, Surah al-Hajj, Verse No. 40

²⁷² Holy Quran, Surah al-Hajj, Verse No. 39

²⁷³ Holy Quran, Surah al-Nisa, Verse. 75

The Prophet (SAWA) sometimes sent delegates to some tribes and states when he was asked and he sometimes sent delegates with the intention of conveying the message of Islam without being asked. Some of these delegates whose aim was nothing but to convey the message of Islam were ambushed and betrayed; they were martyred.²⁷⁴ The delegates had to defend themselves when they were attacked. In other words, wars were fought not because the addressees did not accept Islam but because they attacked Muslims. Therefore, the Prophet (SAWA) fought in order to eliminate the barriers that prevented *tabligh*, not to make people accept Islam by force. Thus there were some wars which were carried out to punish those who mistreated and killed the diplomats and envoys, since it is the state's duty to take care of its citizens.

Wars and Political Perspective

The analysis of the causes of Ghazwat and Sariyahs indicate that no war was fought for spreading Islam or expanding the boundaries of the Islamic state of Madina under the Prophet (SAWA)'s command, as is misrepresented by some atheists, neoliberals and extremist fundamentalists; misrepresentation for the sake of political interests. Thus the wars fought by Muslim rulers with the purpose of expanding geographical boundaries, contrary to the Ghazwat and

²⁷⁴ Nargül, Veysel (2003), *What are the purposes of wars that Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) fought?*, Published online at the site of [Questions on Islam](#)

Sariyahs, cannot be categorised as wars of Islam. Those wars were in line with pure political purposes, to expand the geographic area of rule and power, and had nothing to do with Islam. The only resemblance is the religion of the rulers and the majority of their soldiers was Muslim. These rulers had been assassinating their own brothers, sons, cousins, friends in order to remain in power, eliminating any opposition or family rivalry that could cause the rule to change hands. The wars fought by Mughal, Turkish and Ottoman emperors are some of the many vital examples of such political games of thrones. An eminent Indian poet, Dr Rahat Indori, rightly expressed this idea of politics distorting peace by exploiting the name of Islam, presenting humanity as a secondary concept, in favour of political power,

“Milana chaha hey insaan ko jab bhe insaan say

Tou saaray kaam syasat bigaar detii hey”²⁷⁵

My translation: ‘Whenever the effort is made to unite people, politics intervenes to escalate the differences, thus divisions.’ This is the same politics that escalates tensions on the borders that helps in diverting the attention of the people in order to win elections. The 2019 elections in India, for example, were won by the Bharti Janta Party (BJP) that was in government and was very unpopular because

²⁷⁵ Indori, Dr Rahat (2012), *Rahat Indori - Hamari Association Mushaira - Dubai 2012*, Next TV, via Youtube.com <https://youtu.be/eUWepBwa26k>

of its full fledged support to the radical notion of Hindutva and failed economic policies. To divert people's attention from its poor performance and to regain the lost popularity, it played the card of Pak-India traditional rivalry by escalating the tension on the Line of Control (LOC) between Pakistan and India, just one month before elections. A so-called airstrike with no damage to Pakistan benefitted the Modi government, defining him as a 'strong,' 'virile' leader, and he easily won reelection. Indori addressed this situation in his verses as,

Sarhadon pr boht tanao hey kya?

Kuch Pata tou karo, chunao hey kya?

Khauf bikhra hey donon samton main

*Teesri samt ka dabao hey kya*²⁷⁶

My Translation:

Oh, there is tension on border?

Hmm, if election is in order?

Petrified is either side!

Certain is Third's disorder!

Here, Indori pointed out the intervention of a third power in escalating the wars between the two rivals. And the third power is supposed to be superior to the

²⁷⁶ Indori, Dr Rahat (2012), *Rahat Indori - Hamari Association Mushaira - Dubai 2012*, Next TV, via Youtube.com
<https://youtu.be/eUWepBwa26k>

others, able to escalate or de-escalate the controversies, thus called a superpower of the World. And the superpowers can easily forge the facts. A religion can be declared the religion of terrorism, and this misrepresentation of Islam has stuck, through Jihad Narratives encouraged by the superpower of the contemporary world, to incite combatants against Russia in Afghanistan. The superpowers can easily persuade other states to sponsor their political agendas. And Saudi Arabia served the intentions of the aforementioned superpower by becoming its agent while establishing Al Qaeda, Taliban and the centres of radicalisation in the form of Madrassahs in Pakistan, all with a misrepresented concept of Jihad that will be discussed in detail later in the next chapter titled *Construction of Religious Misrepresentation and Coercion in History of Islam* under the heading 'Decolonised Representation of Jihad Narrative'. The superpowers can make almost any state their friend for their self-serving political purposes, and then after achieving their goals can apply sanctions on the same states, alleging support for terrorism. And US-Pak relations over the past forty years is a good example of this relationship in which the regime of a dictator, Zia ul Haqq, an agent of this superpower, manufactured terrorists and terrorism shaded in Jihad and Mujahideen during the 1980's while democratic governments faced sanctions later for the same Jihad and Mujahidin, labeling them as terrorists and

terrorism. This will be discussed in detail later in the thesis. And now the same US-built Jihad Narrative is being termed as terrorism for which Islam and the whole Muslim community is being blamed. Not only the same US-trained Al Qaeda and Taliban, but Mujahideen and Jihadi groups are being termed as terrorists, all of whom are, not surprisingly, Muslims. Indori expressed this forgery and politically-exploited notion of ‘Islamic Terrorism and Muslim Terrorists’ in a *Mushaira* held in Lakhnau, India saying: how can terrorism be related to Islam that itself means peace? He drew attention to the consequences if these misrepresentations turn into truth. He points out through his poetry:

“Maseeha dard kay hamdard ho jaien tou kya ho ga?

Ravadaari k jazbay Sard ho jaien tou kya ho ga?

Jo yeh laakhon karoron panch waqton kay namazi hein

Agar such mooch main dehshat gard ho jaien tou kya ho ga?²⁷⁷

My Translation:

What would happen if saviors turn sympathetic to cruelty?

If harmonious morality turns into frozen, cold senselessness?

If these millions of Muslim worshippers who offer prayers five times a day, regularly, become terrorists, in reality?

²⁷⁷ Indori, Dr Rahat (2015), Video Titles: *Latest Mushaira - Rahat Indori*, Bismillah Channel, Copyright Master Cassettes, Lucknow, India, [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com)

If Islam preaches violence, terror and intolerance, then why are a majority of Muslims peaceful people? In this regard, it is important to note again that the problem is not with theology but bad people who, through their erroneous interpretations, misconceptions and misrepresentations, often intentionally and often with a political goal, start practicing extremist violence and in addition, start preaching it in the same way as well.

Conclusion

In this regard, it is important to note again that the problem is not the fundamental principles of Islam or any other religion, but political exploitation. The narrations from Quran and hadith cited and referenced above are a few examples from many more, left for the reader to explore. So we may conclude that Islam - according to the above-mentioned fundamentals of Islam - just like other religions, is a religion of peace that promotes the welfare of humanity, founded on compassion for humanity, based on love for all without any discrimination of caste, colour or creed. Holy Quran is a Book in which 113 chapters out of 114 begin with the introduction of the God of Islam as God of Mercy and Compassion. Islam does not have any god of war or hate or injustice. However, Islam is not a pacifist religion. It allows military action in certain contexts, contrary to the politically-motivated extremist interpretations that allow

them to use these quotations out of context for self-serving purposes to validate their terrorism. Islam is also a victim of the same types of accusations of terrorism as Christianity is for the Crusades, the Spanish Inquisitions, Anti-Jewish pogroms, European colonialism in Asia and Africa, the Lords Resistance Army in Uganda and many other acts of violence during the twenty-first century. As a matter of fact, the allegations against Islam, like any other religion, are based on misrepresentations.²⁷⁸ Thus for the sake of exploring misrepresentations and the roots of coercion and extremism, fieldwork was conducted in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan to analyse how these fanatic fundamentalists succeed in finding support to achieve their political goals. So, the next chapter, in continuation of this chapter, will highlight the religious misrepresentations according to the results of the fieldwork data.

²⁷⁸ Hasan, Mehdi (3 July 2013), *Mehdi Hasan / Islam Is A Peaceful Religion / Oxford Union*, Published by [OxfordUnion](#) TV Channel on [youtube.com](#)

Chapter 5

Construction of Religious Misrepresentations and Coercion in the History of Islam

This chapter continues the previous chapter in which we discussed the fundamentals of Islam in light of the Quran and Hadith. Henceforth, we will try to trace the construction of a coercive ideology introduced in the twentieth century, entitled Islamic fundamentalism, which played a recurring role in the defamation of Islam as a religion of terrorism. The chapter is based upon the findings of research done through fieldwork in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan with the intention of exposing the misrepresentations which support the mainstreaming of coercion, extremism and terrorism by radical Islamists. To highlight the concept, five main aspects are selected which include: Jihad, Coercion, Human Reasoning, Blasphemy and Humanity. Humanity is the foundation of Islam. Coercion is strictly forbidden in Islam. Both the Holy Quran and Hadith require humans to seek righteous knowledge and understanding in all matters of life while blasphemers and wrongdoers had been forgiven or foregone by Prophet (SAWA), leaving the matter for the Day of Judgment. Similarly, the genuine concept of Jihad, its varieties, the circumstances for its practice in the light of Quran and hadith is in contradiction with the current Jihad narrative that is spreading terrorism instead of the true message of Islam, which is peace. In spite

of this clear Islamic message of peace for humanity, the current fundamentalism with its extremist ideology is intolerant, even violent. So the role of religious misrepresentations, how they are constructed and for what purpose will be discussed.

“Half of the weight of the spread of disbelief in the world is carried by religious people who made God detestable to His creation through their terrible conduct and terrible speech,”²⁷⁹ so says Shaykh Muhammed Al-Ghazali, quoted by Mudasir Maqsood in his article ‘Gender Equality and Social Engineering’. One must verify whether religions really preach violence and coercion or whether they are being misrepresented by the representatives, the fundamentalists, the scholars, the interpreters, the translators, the evaluators, the reviewers or the commentators. The basic teachings of the religion Islam are taken into consideration and we have examined some of the fundamentals of Islam in the previous chapter. Now, we will further look into them in comparison with the social, political, and cultural influences that build hurdles for the acquisition of the genuine teachings, preachings and practices which were introduced originally. For the current wave of extremism, whether through radicalisation or through radicalisation, is connected directly with Islam. On one

²⁷⁹ Maqsood, Mudasir (10 June 2018), *Gender equality and social engineering*, Publishers [Rising Kashmir](#)

side, there is radicalisation that is leading to militant terrorism in the name of Jihad, and on the other side there is radicalisation in the form of Islamophobia and hatred toward the believers of Islam as well as toward any kind of Islamic display or practice.

To trace out the roots of coercive fundamentalism in Islam, field work was conducted in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan (2017), in the form of interviews from the religious scholars and surveys from common people. The core idea of the field work was to have a comparative analysis of the perceptions of the teachings of Islam through Quran and hadith, and the perceptions of widespread extremist Islamic fundamentalism, hereafter called Islamism. Five often misrepresented, misinterpreted concepts, including Jihad, Blasphemy, Peace and Coercion, Humanity and Islam, and Human Reasoning were picked up to form a questionnaire for surveys and interviews. However, during interviews, some other misrepresentations also came under discussion, emerging as follow ups to the answers, for example covering the status of women in Islam, education for women, patriarchy, *haqooq Allah* (God's Rights) and *haqooq ul ibad* (Human Rights), hypocrisy of power politics and its distortions, terrorism and terrorists, and of course Islamist fundamentalism. Results were mostly according to expectations, along with some interesting yet shocking exceptions. One should

never underestimate exceptions. Exceptions, in fact, play a recurring role in forgery and fabrications required to strengthen ambiguities for misrepresentations. Before sharing the results of the collected data, we need to locate the traces of coercion and aggression which caused *fitnah* (disorder) in the history of Islam.

Traces of Coercion and Aggression in Islam

“Disorder (Fitnah) was and remains a primary political and social evil,”²⁸⁰ Esposito writes in his book *Unholy War: Terror in the Name of Islam*. While digging deep into the social misrepresentations in Islamic societies, one finds coercive *bid'aat* (deviations). The signing of the Hudaibiya Peace Treaty, as has been discussed in the previous chapter, caused doubts in the minds of some aggressive Muslims who wanted the Prophet (SAWA) to deal with Banu Quraish aggressively. Even Umar Ibn Khattab dared²⁸¹ to question the Prophet (SAWA), asking if He was really a Messenger. Al Bukhari quotes Umer Ibn Khattab asking Prophet (SAWA), “Aren't you truly the Messenger of Allah?,”²⁸² while the companions did not even respond to the Prophet (SAWA)’s call commanding

²⁸⁰ Esposito, John L. (2003), *Unholy War, Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, pg. 36

²⁸¹ Armstrong, Karen (10 Sep 1993), *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, 1st Paperback edition, Harper Collins Publishes Inc., New York, pg. 211-250

²⁸² Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 527-536, Hadith No. 2731 & 2732

them to shave heads and sacrifice on the day of Eid al Adha. “By Allah none of them got up, and the Prophet [SAWA], repeated his order thrice. When none of them got up, he left them...,”²⁸³ in grief for their attitude.

The same aggression can be observed at the time when the Holy Prophet (SAWA) wanted to write His Will to declare a clear line of succession with the purpose of avoiding *fitnah*. “*Aatuni be dawatin wa qirtasin iktubu lakum kitaban lan tadhilu ba’dahu abada* (Fetch me an inkwell and a paper. I write a Will for you so that you do not deviate, later [after me]).”²⁸⁴ The purpose was very clear, that the Muslims would not indulge in contradictions regarding that which had been announced already on 18 Zilhaj 10AH (16 March 632 AD) at the place of Ghadeer e Khum, on the way back to Madina after performing the last Hajj.²⁸⁵ According to that announcement, Prophet (SAWA) declared Ali (as) to the Muslims just as He himself was to them in the following words: “*Mun koontu Maula fahaza Aliun Maula* (Ali is the *Maula* (leader) to all whom I am the *Maula*).”²⁸⁶ And that time all companions, including Abu Bakar, Umer ibn

²⁸³ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 527-536, Hadith No. 2731 & 2732
See also, Sahih Muslim, Tirmadhi Shareef

²⁸⁴ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 7, Hadith No. 5669

²⁸⁵ Ibn Al-Hajjaj, Muslim (817/818 - 874/875), Translated by Abd-al-Hamid Siddiqui (2000: 1st edition Edited by: Mika'il al-Almany Created: 2009-10-02, Last modified: 2009-11-05), *Sahih Muslim*, Kitab Bhawan Publishers, Hadith No. 2625-2628, also see Sahih Bukhari, and [Event of Ghadir Khumm](#)

²⁸⁶ Ibn Al-Hajjaj, Muslim (817/818 - 874/875), Translated by Abd-al-Hamid Siddiqui (2000: 1st edition Edited by: Mika'il al-

Khattab, Uthman among them, congratulated Ali (as) and gave allegiance at his hand as commanded by the Holy Prophet (SAWA). But later on Ibn Khattab said that there was no need to write a Will, declaring the Book of Allah (Quran) suffices for guidance, adding “The Prophet is speaking in delirium.”²⁸⁷ Upon hearing this, the Ahl-al Beit became irritated and opposed Ibn Khattab, arguing that if Allah’s Apostle (SAWA) wanted to write the Will, why stop Him? This argument divided the companions into two groups; some endorsed Ibn Khattab while others endorsed providing paper and pen to the Prophet (SAWA) as He demanded.²⁸⁸ The heated argument disturbed Holy Prophet (SAWA) and He commanded them to “Get away,”²⁸⁹ reminding them of the Quranic command of not raising one’s voice in front of Prophet (SAWA) out of respect.²⁹⁰ This intentionally-created obstacle for writing a Will resulted in perpetual internal contentions following His (SAWA) demise. Sunni sections of the Muslims give credence to Ibn Khattab’s intentions, with the excuse that he did so out of

Almany Created: 2009-10-02, Last modified: 2009-11-05), *Sahih Muslim*, Kitab Bhawan Publishers, Hadith No. 2625-2628, also see Sahih Bukhari, and [Event of Ghadir Khumm](#)

²⁸⁷ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 7, Hadith No. 5669, repeated also Hadith No. 4431-4432, See also Ibn Al-Hajjaj’s *Sahih Muslim*, Hadith No. 4232 &nd 4234, See also *Mishkat*, Hadith No. 5966

²⁸⁸ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 7, Hadith No. 5669, repeated also Vol. 5, Hadith No. 4431-4432

²⁸⁹ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail (194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 7, Hadith No. 5669, repeated also Hadith No. 4431-4432

²⁹⁰ Holy Quran, Surah Al Hujurat, Verse No. 2, See also Verse No. 1, 3, 4, 5

concern for the Prophet (SAWA)'s health and to avoid disturbance,²⁹¹ while the Shia strongly believe in the idea that Ibn Khattab intentionally did that to avoid Imam Ali (as)'s succession announcement in writing, endorsing the verbal announcement on the day of Ghadeer,²⁹² as well as the use of the word 'delirium' regarding the Holy Prophet (SAWA) as blasphemy because Allah declares in the Quran that Prophet (SAWA) says or does nothing but as commanded by Allah. Henceforth, the Muslims divided into two sects, those who condemned Ibn Khattab's act of obstruction against a written Will, later recognised as Shian e Ali²⁹³ or Shiites, while the others named themselves Sunnits. Here, it is significant to mention that the majority of Sunni scholars confess that it was better to have Prophet (SAWA)'s Will in written form, which could be helpful in avoiding many divisions and contradictions among the Muslim Ummah. Maulana Shibli Naumani, a well-known scholar of the subcontinent, found a way to get rid of this bone of contention by denying the truthfulness of this hadith in his book *Al Farooq*. That act of denial faced severe criticism from all around the subcontinent with a strong argument that a truthful hadith cannot be denied merely with a purpose to give a clean chit to Ibn Khattab.²⁹⁴ The criticism

²⁹¹ Ishaq, Maulana (31 August 2015), *Pen and paper hadith, Moulana ishaq Urdu*, channel Khanwade Abutalib, [Youtube.Com](https://www.youtube.com)

²⁹² This day is celebrated by Shias as Eid e Ghadeer

²⁹³ The group of people who follow Ali (as) after Prophet (SAWA)

²⁹⁴ Ishaq, Maulana (31 August 2015), *Pen and paper hadith, Moulana ishaq Urdu*, channel Khanwade Abutalib,

compelled Naumani to correct himself but with a promise to release Ibn Khattab from this charge by declaring his act as an unintentional mistake instead of an intentional blunder.²⁹⁵ Naumani's attempted denial of a factual truth is one of the innumerable forgeries that I call misrepresentations.

The third example of aggression in the history of Islam that provided space for violence and misrepresentations is the event of Saqifa soon after Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s demise in 632 AD, but before His funeral arrangements. Saqifa Bani Sa'ida was a central meeting point of the local Muslims of Madina known as Ansar. Hearing the news of Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s demise, Ansar gathered at Saqifa. When Ibn Khattab heard the news of their gathering and gossiping about succession, he called upon Abu Bakar and both proceeded to Saqifa, leaving Prophet (SAWA)'s funeral arrangements right there. There, Ansar had the view that there should be two leaders of the Muslims, one from *muhajireen* (immigrants) companions of the Prophet (SAWA) and another from among the Ansar of Madinah. Abu Bakar was among the immigrants, and responded to Ansar, "We are rulers and you are ministers,"²⁹⁶ a deal which the Ansar were not ready to accept. A long argument followed, then Abu Bakar

[Youtube.Com](https://www.youtube.com)

²⁹⁵ Also narrated by an anonymous scholar interviewed during fieldwork

²⁹⁶ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol 5, Hadith No. 3668 (here it is a curtailed version of hadith)

repeated with an argument in favour of the immigrants by highlighting their privilege of belonging to Banu Quraish which was, according to Abu Bakar, “the best family amongst the Arabs and of best origin;”²⁹⁷ Thus, Ansar had to elect one of the immigrants as their ruler. Sa’ad Bin Ubaidah initially tried to remind the people there about the Prophet (SAWA)’s declaration in Ali (as)’s favour, but in vain. Then he was nominated by Ansar as their ruler while Muhajireen were left open to decide for theirs. The argument continued and a consensus could not be developed. All of a sudden, Ibn Khattab took out his sword and said, “I pledge my allegiance to Abu Bakar”²⁹⁸ adding that whoever would not do likewise would be killed. The situation turned violent and Bin Ubaida was killed. Abu Bakar’s speech there at Saqifa was the first ever violation of the concept of equality in Islam that allows no discrimination regarding caste, colour, or creed with the argument, ‘we belong to Banu Quraish thus are superior’ and the enforced allegiance of the Muslims present in favour of Abu Bakar’s succession as caliph was the first undemocratic dictatorship of an Islamic State. None of them participated in the Prophet (SAWA)’s funeral prayer that was offered only by 7 (some historians number it 11) members of Banu

²⁹⁷ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol 5, Hadith No. 3668 (here it is a curtailed version of hadith)

²⁹⁸ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol 5, Hadith No. 3668 (here it is a curtailed version of hadith) repeated with detailed version

Hashim, the Prophet (SAWA)'s progeny. So, the power politics started immediately after the Prophet (SAWA)'s demise, which led the rulers to get involved in expanding the geographical boundaries with the goal of expanding the domain of their power rather than spreading Islam through peaceful means. This same kind of Islamic history was witnessed in Jamal, Safeen, Karbala, Syria where the Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s *Ahl-al Beit* (Holy Progeny)²⁹⁹ was assassinated and humiliated. The two most important things He left among the Ummah were the Quran and the *Ahl-al Beit*. The *Ahl-al Beit*, about whom He (SAWA) advised the Muslims to defend and to remain connected with for righteous guidance about Islam.³⁰⁰ And this same power politics misrepresented the *Ahl-al Beit* as deviants to the people. In the Friday sermons, the same *Ahl-al Beit* had been abused and accused of deviance for 80 long years, starting from 658 AD in Syria. At the news of Ali (as)'s Martyrdom in the Mosque in about 662 AD, Syrians expressed their astonishment, asking what he was doing in a Mosque when he was a deviant.³⁰¹ The same *Ahl-al Beit* were butchered on the battlefield of Karbala in 680 AD, the women and children were made captives and stoned in the streets of Syria with shouts of '*khawarij! khawarij!*' meaning

²⁹⁹ Holy Quran, Surah Al Ahzab, Verse No. 33

³⁰⁰ Ibn Al-Hajjaj, Muslim (817/818 - 874/875), Translated by Abd-al-Hamid Siddiqui (2000: 1st edition Edited by: Mika'il al-Almany Created: 2009-10-02, Last modified: 2009-11-05), *Sahih Muslim*, Kitab Bhawan Publishers, Hadith No. 2625-2628, also see Sahih Bukhari, and [Event of Ghadir Khumm](#)

³⁰¹ Alvi, Asif Raza (13 Dec 2018), *Muavia or Sham Mai Islam k Halat by Allama Asif Raza Alvi*, Published by Ali Syed on [Youtube.Com](#)

deviants, ignoring the Islamic commands to treat women and children gently even during warfare, as has been discussed in the previous chapter.

Abandoning *Ahl-al Beit* for the throne brought people with lesser knowledge about Prophet (SAWA) and His Message of Peace to power, and led to aggression and violent ‘Apostasy wars’ that bred extremism which, as we have said, is opposed to Islam’s basic concept of peace for all. The problem for the majority of Muslims is that some groups are following traditions and superstitions invented centuries after the Quran was first revealed and the Prophet’s own lifetime, and these indoctrinated superstitions have become more radical over time. “And do not transgress, God dislikes the aggressors,”³⁰² is a clear message in the Quran to be tolerant and patient because He does not like transgression, aggression and oppression. There are verses in which Allah encourages us to forgive the wrongdoers and to stay away from ignorants who could test our tolerance. Allah says, “You should resort to pardon, advocate tolerance, and disregard the ignorant.”³⁰³ The relations of Muslims with others are based primarily on peace, mutual respect and trust. The theme in the Quran is peace as long as there is no oppression or injustice that cannot be resolved by peaceful means. How do extremists succeed then in sowing coercive ideologies

³⁰² Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 190 (See also verse No. 191), Repeated in Surah Al Maida, Verse No. 87

³⁰³ Holy Quran, Surah Al-A’raaf, Verse No. 199

which produce radical bigots and fanatics as stains on the face of Islam?

The fieldwork conducted in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan, with a goal of locating the misconceptions or misperceptions of the people regarding Islam, helped in determining the findings regarding the hypothesis upon which the research is based. Overall results generally endorse the hypothesis regarding familiarised concepts through religious misrepresentation and their role in breeding violence. However, expectations do not always come true completely, as there can be surprises and there are indeed some surprising results as we will see during detailed discussion.

The cities visited include Najaf, Karbala, Musayyab, Hilla, Balad, Samrah, Kadhimiya, Kufa along with some small towns and villages while travelling in Iraq, Tehran, Qom, Mashhad, Jamkaran, Hamdan, Kashan, Isfahan, Kirmanshah, Naishbur, Kashmar, Sabzawar, Bojnord, Qazvin and Zanzan in Iran, and Lahore, Karachi, Faisalabad, Sahiwal³⁰⁴, Pakpattan, Burewala, Muzaffarabad and Multan in Pakistan, as are shown on the map.

³⁰⁴ Sahiwal is my hometown, the city where I was born, brought up, educated from grade 1 to Masters, served as a teacher, got married and to which I will be returning soon, InShaAllah.



Map indicates the cities visited during fieldwork in Iraq Iran and Pakistan. The shaded squares indicate the most dangerous cities in Iraq which had been once under control of ISIS/ISIL

Balad³⁰⁶ and Samrah were attacked and almost captured by ISIS, which almost succeeded in entering Kadhimiya, too. However, these cities were under the control of Iraqi forces at the time of the visit. The road going through danger zones was not recommended to foreigners, thus we joined a convoy of pilgrims to avoid any mishap and, Alhamdulillah, nothing bad happened throughout the journey of exploration. As it was the sacred month of Muharram according to the Islamic calendar, we did not need to buy food, in fact, folks were pleading to

³⁰⁵ Special thanks to Pascal Brunello for his cooperation for drafting the map, indicating all the cities travelled to during fieldwork

³⁰⁶ The city of my forefathers. Sayed Muhammad whose shrine was bombed by ISIS on July 8, 2016, was my grandfather in direct lineage

host travellers with food stalls and edibles of all kinds: tea, juices, fruits, dry fruits, snacks, a variety of cooked packed meals and such. Their hospitality was inspirational in this age of capitalism, when people try to make money from the foreigners during tourism, whereas they were providing free food and services. One would never imagine that they are the people who are victims of both neoliberals' transgressions and Islamists's terrorism. They are neither liberals nor fundamentalists, thus neither neoliberals nor Islamists. They are Muslim. They follow Islam. They have compassion for humanity. They are genuine humanists.

Survey Criterion and Framework (Information about the participants)

Total number of participants : 150 (50 in each country)

Gender: both male and female, in relatively equal numbers

Age group: between 25 to 70 years

Community: Literate Muslims with a certain basic understanding of Islam since they are living around the religious sites.

Locality: Pakistan, Iraq and Iran (the societies most obviously affected by Fundamentalism, especially within the Pakistani context of the thesis). It is important to mention that being a fundamentalist state, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (KSA) was also a part of the initial plan for conducting the fieldwork,

but the researcher was not granted permission by Saudi embassy to conduct any sort of activity or survey in their state that could relatively be controversial against the fundamental ideologies of the state.

Purpose: to discover the popular perceptions of religious misrepresentations through obtaining more objective data regarding of the current ideology of fundamentalism being espoused by the Islamists in comparison with the original message of Islam elaborated in chapter 4.

The Rationale behind the Choice of questions or Statements:

A questionnaire was formed to collect data regarding selected topics. It comprised ten statements covering the five above-mentioned topics to cross check the understanding of the common people regarding the most misrepresented concepts of Islam. All ten statements were derived from the Quran or Hadith without referencing. Some statements were intentionally constructed as opposite to the meaning to the Quran or Hadith, in a negative manner, the purpose being to cross check the participants' own understanding of the question, in order to test:

1. If they believe in Islam as a religion of peace, free will and forbidding coercion, then how do they perceive the extremists' ideology of Jihad bil Saif to spread Islam.

2. If they consider Jihad bil Saif as a main method of spreading Islam instead of only being permitted against oppression or in defence. Then what is the status of Jihad bil Ilm and self accountability i.e. greater Jihad to them.
3. If they agree that the religious managers, such as scholars, mujtahid, molvi, mufti, maulana (including religious quacks) have ultimate authority regarding Islam and should not be questioned, then how do they interpret the well-known ‘there are signs for those who ponder over’ call to human reasoning, time and again in the Quran.
4. If they endorse that the Holy Prophet (SAWA) used to forgive blasphemers, dealing with them with tolerance and patience, then how do they justify a zero-tolerance for blasphemy.
5. If they believe in Islam as a religion of humanity, then what is their concept about Abdul Satta Eidhi’s famous quote, ‘no religion is above humanity’.

Or vice versa for the opposite opinions, as a means of verifying the coherence of responses; for details, see the questionnaires below. Interviews from religious scholars as well as religious quacks were also based on this questionnaire, pursuing the follow-up questions derived from the answers. A model of the

questionnaire is given, while results will be shared one by one under the headings of the five aforementioned concepts.

Sample Questionnaire

Name: _____ Signature _____

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	'No religion is above humanity'.					
2	Blasphemy law (with blasphemers' death penalty) is exactly according to Islam. Zero tolerance for blasphemers!					
3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.					
4	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.					
5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.					
6	Islam is a religion of humanity.					
7	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).					
8	'No compulsion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.					
9	Holy Prophet (peace be upon Him) used to forgive and pray for God's mercy upon His blasphemers. He never even allowed His companions to react harshly against them.					
10	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle with sword) is a command of God permitted only for self defence and against oppression.					

Concept of Humanity in the Views of Common Muslims:

We have discussed the fundamentals of Islam in a previous chapter in light of the Quran and hadith and found that Islam is founded on compassion for humanity. Humanity is a phenomenon that makes a social animal humane by raising humankind's moral approach higher than greed and selfishness, with full of compassion and sensitivity not only towards other humans but also towards animals, plants and nature. We have narrated earlier a number of Quranic verses and hadiths proving the compassionate approach of Islam regarding humanity. Khwaja Meer Dard, a well-known Muslim Sufi poet of the subcontinent, declares the ultimate status of humanity as the foundation of Islam through his poetry, speeches, letters and writings. One of the most often recited verses is the following, highlighting the purpose of humankind's creation:

Dard - e - dil kay wastay paida kiya insaan ko

Warna ata 'at kay liye kuch kam na thay karobiyen

Translation:

The reason for creation of Humans is to Love and Compassion for others

Else, for obedience, the angels did not have a match.

That means Allah did not want human beings to remain all the time busy in worship, instead they are created to have compassion, sensitivity and pain for all

other creatures and not only to worship God. For Allah's obedience, loyalty and worship, He already had a large number of angels who are always obedient to Him because per their creation, they do not have any instinctive desire to be seduced by anything that would deviate them from their Lord.

Molna Altaf Hussain Hali, another eminent Muslim Sufi poet expresses the same idea in the following words:

*“Yehi Hey Ibadat, Yehi Deen-O-Eemaan
Keh Kaam Aye Duniya Main Insaan Kay Insaan”*

Translation: The real worship, faith and religion is to be helpful for others.

He also versed Allah's message in Quran as:

*Yeh Pehla Sabaq Tha, Kitaab-E-Khuda Ka
K Hai Sari Makhlooq, Kunmba Khuda Ka
Wohi Dost Hai Maalik-E-Do-Saraa Ka
Khalaaiq Say Hai Jis Ko Rishta Wilaah Ka*

Translation:

The first lesson of Allah's Book (Quran) was

That all creatures of the world are like one family

The friend of the Creator is only the one

Who feels compassionate connections towards all the creatures.

This is the message almost all Muslim Sufi poets and writers share and which is in line with the concept of human compassion as the base of Islam.

In this regard, the results of the fieldwork survey are very interesting as well as (almost) according to expectations. The two assertions ‘no religion is above humanity’ and ‘Islam is a religion of humanity’ were stated to check the understanding of the common, well-educated Muslims. The first statement is a famous quote from Abdul Sattar Edhi, a world famous humanitarian and founder of Edhi Foundation, who had been criticised by extremist fundamentalists³⁰⁷ for this statement, declaring it an act of downgrading Islam. He had also been criticised for his indiscriminate help for all humans, irrespective of religion, caste or creed, the critics reasoning that the charity donated by Muslims should be spent on Muslims only. The third logic of criticising him was his act of parenting kids, adopting legally those who are placed in the Edhi Baby Carts by anonymous people. Edhi initiated this idea of placing baby carts outside the building of Edhi foundation when many horrible incidents, one after another, overwhelmed mainstream media reporting that the infants were found on piles of garbage in different cities, some dead and some half dead. There could be two possible reasons: one, most probably, the illegitimate children of unmarried mothers who could not keep their babies, or two, the dire poverty of the parents

³⁰⁷ Khan, Mufti Zarwali (10 July 2016), *Mufti Zarwali Khan: Edhi Jahanam Mein Jaye Ga*, [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...)

who could not financially afford to raise these infants. There are many examples of parents killing their children because of dreadful poverty. Umaira Ahmed, in her novel *Aab e Hayat*, highlights the same poverty that leads Ghulam Fareed to brutally kill his wife and children. Similarly, she also highlights the brutal act of twin infants found on a garbage pile, adopted by Fatima, a Muslim humanist, in her novel *Thora Sa Asman*. Edhi, as a humanitarian, took the initiative to place baby carts with a message ‘Don’t throw your infants on the pile of garbage if you cannot own or raise them, we will.’ This way he became the legal father of hundreds of kids whose biological parents are anonymous. The criticism was, and still is, that Edhi’s this act encourages adultery and illegitimate pregnancies,³⁰⁸ disregarding the fact that the infants are not at fault. Thus they announced a fatwa that donating to the Edhi Foundation is *haram* so Muslims should abandon donations to Edhi Foundation, whereas their own Madrassahs deserve all donations.³⁰⁹ However, there are religious scholars who came forward in Edhi’s robust defence,³¹⁰ warning extremists to rescind such an unislamic fatwa, exposing their real agenda of propagating criticism in search of charity and donations.

³⁰⁸ Rizvi, Khadim Hussain (15 Oct 2016), *Allama Khadim Hussain Rizvi about Sattar Edhi*, [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...)

³⁰⁹ Khan, Mufti Zarwali (10 July 2016), *Mufti Zarwali Khan: Edhi Jahanam Mein Jaye Ga*, [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...)

³¹⁰ Mirza, Engineer Muhammad Ali (24 July 2016), *Abdul Sattar EDHI Sb. say motalliq Mufti ZARR WALI Sb. ki GANDI Statement ka ILMI-o-ILZAMI JAWAB*, [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...)

Moving towards the collected data, 99.33% of the participants endorsed Islam as a religion of humanity with zero % disagreement while 0.67% did not take a certain position, most probably, confused by the sense of the statement. The results are according to expectations, endorsing my stance that Islam is perceived as a religion of humanity and not of terrorism. However, Edhi's slogan-quote is endorsed by 68% of the participants with 4% disagreement while 28% neither agree nor disagree, which reveals that a reasonable number of people are confused about this idea, and of course because of the above-mentioned criticism from the religious managers (whom I call religious quacks) who have certain influential effects on the minds of the common people.

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	'No religion is above humanity'.	19 = 12.67%	83 = 55.33%	42 = 28%	05 = 3.33%	01 = 0.67%
2	Islam is a religion of humanity.	149 = 99.33%		1 = 0.67%	0%	0%

Accumulative Result:

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
	'No religion is above humanity'.	102= 68 %	42 = 28%	06 = 4%
2	Islam is a religion of humanity.	149 = 99.33%	1 = 0.67%	0%

Moreover, a large number of participants wrote ‘except Islam’, ‘but Islam’, ‘*siwaiey* (except) Islam’, ‘*illa* (except) Islam,’ types of short phrases in addition to the ticks in the column of their choice while agreeing with the statement ‘no religion is above humanity’. This reminds me of the answers from the interviewed molvis and scholars to this statement. Most of the scholars began their answers by expressing their reservations regarding the definition of humanity. An anonymous scholar began like this, “Well, it depends upon what your concept of humanity is.” He later explained that the western concept of capitalistic humanity with an advocacy of freedom of even hurtful speech is a certain violation of others’ freedom of listening, thus is impermissible in Islam. He described the Islamic concept of humanity as based upon selflessness, care, love and respect for all creatures including animals. We are born two legged animals then our acquisition of social and moral values transforms our instinctive animalism into humanism. Humanity in Islam does not allow anyone to be disrespectful or hurtful or humiliate others. In this manner, no religion is above humanity and Islam, founded upon a conception of humanity as “equivalent rather than synonymous” with its Islamic definition.

Concept of Jihad

The results of the surveys conducted in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan indicate

that 100 percent of educated Muslims who took part in the survey, believe that Jihad bil Ilm is Jihad e Akbar (greater struggle) and to spread the message of Islam, Muslims are commanded by Allah Almighty and Holy Prophet (SAWA) to struggle for enlightenment through awareness. Similarly, the use of Jihad bil Saif or an armed struggle to fight against oppression is endorsed by 100% of the participants of the survey. However, the result of the second question reveals that there is a small fraction of 6.67 % among the literate people too, who believe that Muslims should do Jihad bil Saif for spreading Islam. It shows how effectively the coercive concept of Jihad for spreading Islam has been familiarised in the minds of the common people. The people generally know that struggle through awareness is the best way to understand Islam but still are confused regarding Jihad bil Saif. They all agree, on one side, that Jihad bil Saif is permissible only against oppression or in self defence but, on the other side, few favour its use for spreading Islam. A minority indeed, though it is alarming in the sense that the percentage may be higher among illiterate Muslims. (The questionnaire may be redeployed to include illiterate sections of the societies in future research projects because we may find very different answers from a population educated at madrassahs or totally dependent on the Molvis' guidance, who could possibly be quacks or radicalised.).

Sr. #	Stated Questions Regarding Jihad	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.	01 = 0.67%	09 = 6%	0%	62 = 41.33	78 = 52%
2	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).	144 = 96%	06 = 4%	0%	0%	0%
3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle with sword) is a command of God permitted only for self defence and against oppression.	148 = 98.67%	02 = 1.33 %	0%	0%	0%

Accumulative Result:

Sr. #	Stated Questions Regarding Jihad	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
1	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam	10 = 6.67 %	0%	140 = 93.33 %
2	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness)	150 = 100 %	0%	0%
3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle with sword) is a command of God permitted only for self defence and against oppression.	150 = 100%	0%	0%

“Jihad is obligatory” was an instant response by an anonymous molvi with Pakistani origins, in Najaf, Iraq, to the question, “What is Jihad in Islam?” The reply baffled me, not because the statement was totally wrong or inappropriate but because my simplest question was answered without even being understood. It was like an Urdu proverb, ‘*sawal gandum, jawab chana*’

(question about wheat, response about gram). I repeated my question, clarifying for him that the question is about how he defines Jihad and not about its status as obligatory or non-obligatory. He gave a long statement explaining Jihad: when it was fought, how should it be fought, to whom it is obligatory, how Allah encourages in the Quran to fight in His way, what is the reward Allah promised, which hadiths explain it. There were two things, firstly, his explanation was revolving around only one type of Jihad in the sense of armed fighting and secondly, the answer to my question was missing. I repeated thrice but he could not define Jihad, regarding types of Jihad or *Jihad e Akbar* (greater Jihad) or *Jihad e Asghar* (minor Jihad). Then I realised that he probably did not know the definition of Jihad. A molvi who was lecturing people about Jihad has never tried to know what Jihad actually means in Islam. This was a verification of my hypothesis, that Islam is misrepresented and not all the molvis are theologically literate enough to be able to answer even the simplest question of definitions or sometimes they intentionally focus upon the cherry-picked, self-serving concepts. The molvis who are influential figures in the societies, with the authority to pronounce verdicts regarding Islam; the molvis who are consulted by the common people for guidance regarding Islam. An Islam they themselves are not aware of comprehensively or are intentionally distorting. As to the

question of why even a few people (6.67%) think so, is because of the terrorists' campaign of misinformation.

Here I would also like to share the inspirational determination of the people of Iraq against terrorism and the terrorists of ISIS. Particularly the people of Balad and Samrah, the cities which were under the control of ISIS until just a few weeks before my visit. I saw the ruined buildings all around. I heard Arabic inspirational songs with lyrics which have messages calling for all to be united against ISIS. I found them simple, humble, hospitable, cooperative and peaceful towards each other, towards foreigners but very resilient towards terrorists and terrorism. People were very respectful towards their soldiers fighting against the terrorism of ISIS. I met many women who have lost their husbands or sons or brothers in Jihad against ISIS, but were not afraid of sending remaining family members to do so; the genuine Jihad, the struggle against oppression, the struggle against terrorism, the struggle for their own peoples' security, the struggle against ISIS - the terrorists. There I was able to differentiate between the terrorists who disguise themselves as so-called jihadists and the mujahideen in its true sense of Islam. The terrorists are tyrants. The mujahideen fighting against these terrorists are saviors.

Decolonised Representation of Jihad Narrative

Nowadays, the term Jihad, contrary to its genuine concept, is known as the armed fight or war against non-Muslims to impose Islam through enforced conversion. The critics of Islam insist that Islam and Muslims are openly discriminatory and inflexible towards non-Muslim communities.³¹¹ To support their stance they call attention to the verses in the Holy Quran that urge the believers to fight against non-believers in the name of God. They further refer to the Ghazwas (the battles) fought in the early period of Islam under the command of the Holy Prophet (SAWA) and eventually, the confrontation between the Crusaders and the Saracens or Moors, and now of course the contemporary stereotype of terrorists groups such as Al-Qaeda, Tehreek e Taliban, or ISIS/ISIL. It remains true that Islam is still conceptualized as a terrifying, extremist, bigoted, fanatical, violent and bizarre religion by considerable sections of the world's mainstream media, radicalised neoliberals and radicalised Islamists. The narrative of Jihad, with its misinterpreted definition of 'fight' or 'war' to spread Islam, has been familiarized to the world in such a manner that the original definition has become unfamiliar. Known has become unknown. The theory of social misrepresentation has succeeded in 'familiarising the

³¹¹ Spencer, Robert (2007), *A Religion of Peace: Why Christianity Is and Why Islam Isn't*, Pegnery Publishing Inc. USA

unfamiliar'³¹². The most 'unfamiliar,' yet fact-based truth is that the Arabic word for war is *Al-harb* and not *Jihad*. The notion of Jihad has been appropriated by many socio-economic-geopolitical neocolonialists and religio-political fundamentalists or Islamists over the past post-postcolonial decades in a bid to legitimize the varieties of violence and to implement extremist ideologies, and so a socio-political theory of revisionism, that will be discussed later, has been introduced to the world.

To decolonise this misrepresentation, it is crucial to focus on the genuine and infinitely more popular definition of Islam, i.e. peace, to avoid any misunderstanding about Jihad in Islam and its significance in Din (religion). Contexts and circumstances of the Quranic revelation and hadith are important to understand Jihad. Islam and Muslims are being judged through the lens of an ideological jihad narrative with a negative sense that has been popularized by neoliberals as well as radicalised fundamentalists. This misrepresented concept has lured people away from the genuine concept of Jihad in Islam, selectively repressing important figures and disregarding Islam's impeccable intellectual legacy, upholding the standards of law and justice in affairs of the state.

³¹² Moscovici, Serge (2001), *Social Representations: Explorations In Social Psychology*, New York, USA, New York University Press

Jihad in Islam³¹³

Jihad is derived from Arabic, from the root word ‘*jahad*’ (verb) that means ‘to struggle, to strive, to put in effort, to endeavour’. *Jihad* is the noun of ‘*jahad*,’ thus its common meaning is an action or struggle. Shaykh Muhammad Hisham Kabbani and Shaykh Seraj Mendricks gave the same definition in these words: “Jihad in Arabic means “to strive for some objective”.”³¹⁴ They further explained the term with more clarity: “The Arabic word “jihad” is often translated as "holy war," but in a purely linguistic sense, the word “jihad” means struggling or striving..... In a religious sense, as described by the Quran and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad (SAWA), “jihad” has many meanings. It can refer to internal as well as external efforts to be a good Muslim or believer, as well as working to inform people about the faith of Islam.”³¹⁵ S. Manzar Abbas Zaidi defines Jihad in the following words: “The word *jihad* derives from the Arabic root *jhd*, signifying intense struggle or effort.”³¹⁶ In Islam, this word indicates, specifically, the struggle in the way of Almighty Allah to be a true practising Momin (believer) by being on *Sirat al Mustaqeem* (the righteous path), by

³¹³ See: Maududi, Abul A’la, English Translation by Syed Rafatullah Shah (2017), *Aljehad Fil Islam*, Independent Publication

³¹⁴ Kabbani, Shaikh Muhammad Hisham (Chairman Islamic Supreme Council of America) and Mendricks, Shaykh Seraj (head mufti, Cape Town, SA) , *Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam - What Jihad is, and is not*, The Islamic Supreme Council of America, [Official website](#)

³¹⁵ Kabbani, Shaikh Muhammad Hisham (Chairman ISCA) and Mendricks, Shaykh Seraj (head mufti, Cape Town, SA) , *Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam - What Jihad is, and is not*, The Islamic Supreme Council of America, [Official website](#)

³¹⁶ Zaidi, Syed Manzar Abbas (2009), *Eclipse of the Greater Jihad*, Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace, Vol 3 Issue 1,

inviting other humans towards the righteous path i.e. Islam through teachings and preaching, and by giving mutual assistance when oppressed. It refers to the struggle or effort for the righteous objectives against oppression, against evil, for the prevailing good in society, for justice, for equality, for peace, for prosperity, for truth, for harmony, in short for humanity and humanism. Jihad is not a declaration of war against other religions. It is significant to know how Jews and Christians are referred to in the Holy Quran. They are addressed as *Ahl Al Kitab* “the people of the book” who worship the same God as Muslims. Allah is the Arabic word for God, and is used by Christians, Jews and Muslims. They are expected to be “protected and respected”³¹⁷. All three faiths worship the same God.

There are different types of Jihad for different perspectives:

1. Jihad Bil Nafs, also known as Jihad bil Qalb: the struggle against one’s own evil instinct and desires to pursue evil deeds
2. Jihad Bil Ilm: the struggle through knowledge and awareness, which includes a) Jihad Bil Lisan: the struggle with tongue through communication, speeches and preaching), and b) Jihad Bil Qalam: the struggle through pen and writings

³¹⁷ Kabbani, Shaikh Muhammad Hisham (updated 2019), (Chairman ISCA) and Shaykh Seraj Mendricks (head mufti, Cape Town, SA) , *Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam - What Jihad is, and is not*, The Islamic Supreme Council of America, [Official website](#)

3. Jihad Bil Saif: the struggle with sword, fighting and war

Ibn Rushd divides Jihad into four kinds: “Jihad by the heart; Jihad by the tongue; Jihad by the hand; and Jihad by the sword.”³¹⁸

Jihad Bil Nafs (Struggle with Heart and Instinct)

Zaidi very accurately describes Jihad bil Nafs in the following words: “It has the connotation of a moral struggle within one’s own self, besides denoting an armed struggle. It thus carries the hermeneutical meaning of a moral endeavour directed toward one’s own improvement or self-elevation on a moral plane, which Muslim jurists of eminence have been quoted as calling *jihad-e-akbar*, or greater *jihad*.”³¹⁹ Zaidi defines Jihad by the tongue as “to commend good conduct and forbid the wrong”³²⁰, like the type of Jihad Allah ordered us to fulfill against the hypocrites in His Words, “*Ya Ayyuha alNabiyyu Jahidi alkuffara wa almunafiqeena*” Translation: “O Prophet! Strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites.”³²¹ So to fulfill this command of Allah, the Holy Prophet (SAWA) struggled in two ways: firstly, by the tongue and persuasive speeches and preaching, inviting people to do good and abandon all mischievous

³¹⁸ Ibn Rushd (known in the Western world as Averroes), *Muqaddimaat*, p. 259. Cited by Kabbani, Shaikh Muhammad Hisham (Chairman ISCA) and Mendricks, Shaykh Seraj (head mufti, Cape Town, SA), *Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam - What Jihad is, and is not*, [The Islamic Supreme Council of America](#), Official website

³¹⁹ Zaidi, Syed Manzar Abbas (2009), *Eclipse of the Greater Jihad*, Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace, Vol 3 Issue 1

³²⁰ Zaidi, Syed Manzar Abbas (2009), *Eclipse of the Greater Jihad*, Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace, Vol 3 Issue 1

³²¹ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Taubah, Verse No. 73

and evil codes of conduct that may cause oppression and unrest within the societies.

Jihad Bil Ilm (The Struggle Through Awareness)

Ilm is an Arabic word that means knowledge, awareness, consciousness or cognisance. So, *Jihad bil Ilm* (JBI) is defined as putting in efforts to spread the knowledge and awareness of Islam. It is also known as *Da'wah* (invitation); to invite people towards the messages of Islam and to follow the righteous ways of life according to the guidance of Allah Almighty and His Prophet (SAWA). This type of Jihad can be practised in two ways: by tongue or by pen. The preaching by oral speeches is recognized with the name Jihad bil Lisan and the invitation or persuasion towards Islamic ways of life by writings is named Jihad bil Qalam.

Jihad Bil Lisan (The Struggle by Preaching)

Jihad bil Lisan indicates the effort or struggle through teaching, preaching or inviting people towards righteous path. Lisan means tongue and Jihad Bil Lisan is also translated as the struggle by tongue. Literally, it refers to the actions performed by the tongue, i.e. teaching or preaching. This form of Jihad is usually overlooked nowadays by the media, whether electronic or print. Presenting the message of Islam is called *Da'wah* in Arabic. To have an idea of its significance,

it is enough to know that thirteen out of a total of twenty three years of Holy Prophet's *Ba'sat* (revelation as Prophet to *Visaal*) (passing away) are spent in this type of Jihad. God says in the Quran, "Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and good instruction, and argue with them in a way that is best. Indeed, your Lord is most knowing of who has strayed from His way, and He is most knowing of who is [rightly] guided."³²²

Inviting people to Islam and making them aware of its message and all its aspects through conversation and kind persuasion is the type of Jihad that was first practised in Islam, without any fighting, as opposed to the more popular belief that Jihad takes only the combative form. In the Holy Quran where Allah says, "So do not obey the disbelievers, and struggle against them with the Quran, a great struggle."³²³ Here the word "strive" *jaahidu*, is used to mean struggle by the tongue; using the skills of speech while preaching and persuading the non-believers towards the beliefs of Islam. Imam Nawawi, in his book *Al-Minhaj*, when defining Jihad and its different categories, said, "one of the collective duties of the community as a whole (*fard kifaya*) is to lodge a valid protest, to solve problems of religion, to have knowledge of Divine Law, to command what

³²² Holy Quran, Surah An Nahl, Verse No. 125

³²³ Holy Quran, Surah Al Furqan, Verse No. 52

is right and forbid wrong conduct”³²⁴.

Jihad Bil Qalam (The Struggle with Pen or Through Writings)

“The pen is mightier than the sword” is a famous idiom that very accurately describes Jihad Bil Qalam. People grasp the ideas by reading and pondering over the ideas themselves. Books are the best teachers ever. So if the societies need a positive change, the social workers, writers, journalists, scholars and teachers should participate in the struggle through their pen and writings. An anonymous scholar said, “Jihad bil Qalam should be done for struggling against the attempts of deformation and distortion of Islam.” He gave an example of Salman Rushdie, who wrote a book in which he presented some texts from the Quran with distortion and deformation of the original. For that the scholar recommended Jihad bil Qalam to confront the two versions.

Jihad Bil Saif (The Struggle Through Sword)

Jihad bil Saif is the “preparations and participation for defense against an armed conflict that is the consequence of foreign aggression”³²⁵. This type of

³²⁴ Al-Nawawi, See Al-Minhaaj, (the Method), p. 210. (Accessed September 2018)

³²⁵ Zaidi, Syed Manzar Abbas (2009), ‘Eclipse of the Greater Jihad, Journal of Religion’, *Conflict and Peace*, Vol 3 Issue 1, accessed online with no page numbers mentioned, <http://www.religionconflictpeace.org/volume-3-issue-1-fall-2009/eclipse-greater-jihad>

Jihad “has been known as *qitaal*, or *jihad-e-asghar*, lesser *jihad*.”³²⁶ If fundamental rights are violated through oppression, laws and treaties are broken after conception or wars are imposed, only then is this kind of Jihad, bil Saif or struggle with sword, justified. S. Ramadan Buti, a contemporary orthodox scholar from Syria, in his well-known research work on the subject ‘Jihad in Islam,’ writes: “...even before he conducted Jihad by sword against the unbelievers, there is no doubt the Prophet (SAWA) invited these unbelievers peacefully, lodged protests against their beliefs and strove to remove their misgivings about Islam. When they refused any other solution, but rather declared war against him and his message and initiated the fight, there was no alternative except to fight back.”³²⁷ Some contemporary examples of approved, combatant Jihad, as given by anonymous interviewed scholars, are Palestine and Kashmir where the Muslims are being deprived of their fundamental human rights through oppression.

Thus, the most familiar perception of Jihad - battle, fighting, hostilities, warfare, combat - is erroneous. In fact Jihad, in its technical meaning, has several branches and the “combative form of Jihad is one and the weakest of them in

³²⁶ Zaidi, Syed Manzar Abbas (2009), ‘Eclipse of the Greater Jihad, Journal of Religion’, *Conflict and Peace*, Vol 3 Issue 1, accessed online with no page numbers mentioned, <http://www.religionconflictpeace.org/volume-3-issue-1-fall-2009/eclipse-greater-jihad>

³²⁷ Al Buti, Muhammad Sa'id Ramadan (1995), *Jihad in Islam: How to Understand and Practice It*, Dar Al-Fikr Publishers.

rank or status”³²⁸. Jihad in its two concepts - violent and nonviolent - is contrasted in a familiar prophetic convention. John L. Esposito quoted Holy Prophet (SAWA)’s hadith, wherein He told his followers when returning from a battle, “We return from the lesser jihad to the greater jihad.”³²⁹ From the minor Jihad to the major Jihad meant returning from armed battle to the peaceful struggle for self-control and betterment.³³⁰ The greater Jihad is the more difficult and more important struggle against one’s ego, selfishness, greed, and evil.³³¹

However, there are critics of this concept of lesser or greater Jihad. For most of the fourteen centuries of recorded Muslim history, Jihad was most commonly interpreted to mean armed struggle for the defense or advancement of Muslim power, which is but a “distortion of the truth”³³² says Karen Armstrong, and Bernard Lewis³³³ also endorses this in his book *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror*. Karen Armstrong further writes in her book, *Muhammad*, that Prophet Muhammad (SAWA) is often imagined as a warlord who had his sword in his hand all the time, scared people and succeeded in

³²⁸ Mehdi, Syed Intezar (2017), Interview undertaken by the researcher during her fieldwork in Iran in October 2017

³²⁹ Esposito, John L. (2003), *Unholy War, Terror in the Name of Islam*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, , pg. 28 and 38

³³⁰ Kabbani, Shaikh Muhammad Hisham (Chairman ISCA) and Mendricks, Shaykh Seraj (head mufti, Cape Town, SA) , *Jihad: A Misunderstood Concept from Islam - What Jihad is, and is not*, published on the official website of [The Islamic Supreme Council of America](#)

³³¹ See also: Khomeini, Imam (11 Nov 2015), *Jihad al-Akbar, The Greatest Jihad: Combat with the Self* Paperback, CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform

³³² Armstrong, Karen (10 Sep 1993), *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, 1st Paperback edition, Harper Collins Publishes Inc., New York, pg. 164

³³³ Lewis, Bernard (25 March 2003), *The Crisis of Islam, Holy War and Unholy Terror*, Publishers: London, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, pg. 24.

imposing Islam forcefully on the world. The reality was quite different. Holy Prophet (SAWA) and His companions were struggling for their lives and survival while, secondly, they had also undertaken a mission - the mission of Islam, the mission of human equity and equality - in which violence was inevitable to protect Islam against its enemies.³³⁴ Protection of the faith can be carried out through legal, diplomatic, economic or political ways and armed struggle for this purpose comes when there is no other alternative. Moreover, harming women, children and old people is strictly forbidden, and it is recommended to immediately abandon fighting if there is some offer from the enemy to restore peace. Contrary to Jihadist ideology, only states or governments have the right to declare Jihad bil Saif with a proper cohesion to the Islamic concept of “just war,” i.e. in defence or against oppression or to help the oppressed. No individual or group can legitimately declare Jihad by hijacking its Islamic concept in favour of their politically motivated goals. The so-called jihadists of Al Qaeda, Taliban, ISIS and some other terrorist groups misuse the concept of Jihad, thus contradicting Islam. They kill women, children and the old in society, against Islamic principles. They rape women and radicalise them by

³³⁴ Armstrong, Karen (10 Sep 1993), *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, 1st Paperback edition, Harper Collins Publishes Inc., New York, pg. 164-210

force, in the name of a newly-forged concept of jihad alNikah³³⁵. They use women and children as a human shield if trapped. They rob banks, loot convoys, capture others' properties to finance their activities of terrorism. Their brutal acts of terrorism are in line with oppression, not against oppression. These actions exhibit their lust for power, lust for women, and lust for money. These non-state actors are doing exactly what is against the fundamentals of Islam, discussed in a previous chapter

How Common / Non-Political Muslims Perceive Coercion

The results displayed in the table below verify the Muslims' perceptions regarding the fundamentals of Islam. *La Ikraha fid Deen* (no coercion in religion) is the key concept of Islam, in line with its original sense as the religion of peace and protection. According to the results of collected data, common educated Muslims unanimously yet firmly stand in favour of this point of view as can be observed in the table given below which shows that 100% of participants have no doubt about this concept. 93.33% of participants rejected the extremists' ideology that advocates the use of sword with the purpose of spreading Islam.

³³⁵ Any terrorist (so-called mujahid) can come to any woman, declare her his wife and can engage in sexual intercourse, while soon after his departure another can come and repeat the same and so the practice continues. The woman cannot refuse.

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	'No coercion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.	150 = 100%	0%	0%	0%	0%
2	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.	01 = 0.67%	09 = 6%	0%	62 = 41.33	78 = 52%

Accumulative Result:

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
1	'No compulsion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.	150 = 100%	0%	0%
2	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.	10 = 6.67%	0%	140 = 93.33

But again, as we have discussed earlier, 6.67% people who favour the use of physical power and weapons to spread Islam is alarming, as well as indicating that radicalisation is gradually seeping into the roots of common Muslim societies, and there is a high probability that this figure would be larger among uneducated people whose opinion depends upon the type of religious managers they are associated with. If these managers are scholars with a genuine knowledge of religion and without any political agenda, the followers would come away with a peaceful message, but if they are quacks or radicals with certain political goals then the followers are also likely to become intolerant. Islam allows the use of the sword, weapons or force in certain contexts. The use

of force, even if with divine purpose to maintain law and order or in defence or for helping the oppressed, brings violence with it this way. And this violence goes out of bounds when the same verses and hadiths permitting violence in limited contexts are used by the extremists out of context. For example, Quranic verse number 191 of chapter 2 Al Baqarah permits killing. It begins with “And kill them wherever you find them, and drive them out from where they have driven you out, and *fitnah* (disorder) is worse than killing. And do not fight with them at the place of worship until they attack you there, but if they attack you (there) then slay them. Such is the punishment of *kafireen* (disbelievers).”³³⁶ Now, two words are focused on for the purpose of misrepresentation *fitnah* and *kafireen*, with an interpretation that only *kafireen* are the ones who cause *fitnah*, thus their killing is permitted. To validate this interpretation they simply quote the first part of the verse and when are asked who are ‘them,’ they indicate the last word of the verse i.e. *kafireen*. And while killing Muslims they present the excuse that these Muslims of other sects are causing *fitnah*. We find this verse in their literature as ‘Kill them (disbelievers), kick them out ... this (killing) is the reward of disbelievers,’ which is obviously a self-serving selection of the verse. In fact, this fighting in the way of Allah is discussed from verse number 190 to 194 explaining its full context. Verse 190 conveys the message, “Fight in the

³³⁶ Holy Quran, Surah Al Baqarah, Verse No. 191

way of Allah against those who fight against you, but do not involve in hostilities. No doubt, Allah does not like aggressors.”³³⁷ While in verse number 192 Allah urges one to restore peace immediately if the enemy abandons the fight. Another example is verse number 2 of Surah Al Ma'idah that conveys the message, “O Believers, do not profane in Allah’s monuments or [the sanctity of] the sacred month or [neglect the marking of] the sacrificial animals and garlanding [them] or [violate the safety of] those who come to the Sacred House seeking bounty and pleasure of their Lord. But when you come out of ihram, then [you may] hunt. And do not let the hatred of the people who obstructed you from *al-Masjid al-Haram* seduce you to transgress. And cooperate in righteousness and piety, but do not cooperate in sin and aggression. And fear Allah; indeed, Allah is severe in punishment.”

There are more than a hundred times when Allah permits the use of violence in certain contexts, just as above. However, extremists violate the contextual conditions and to avoid the questions raised by the common people, these politically motivated extremists declare human reasoning impermissible, announcing themselves as the ultimate authority regarding Islamic matters. They are told to follow the religious managers without any ambiguity or questioning.

³³⁷ Holy Quran, Surah Al Baqarah, Verse No. 192

This way they escape logical reasoning against their coercive ideologies, backed by forged misrepresentations. Keeping that in mind, the aspect of human reasoning is also taken into consideration for analysis through fieldwork.

Human Reasoning and Concept of *Taqleed* (Following)

Taqleed means following. In Islam, it indicates following any of the religious scholars for guidance regarding Islamic questions. There are some extremists who go beyond this and declare that once one has decided to be in *Taqleed* of a scholar, one cannot consult any other. Human reasoning is a concept that has been repeated time and again in the Quran, with an encouragement to ponder over the matters of life and the world to comprehend the logic of creation. Nothing is created by the Creator without some logical reason. There is an invitation to explore the causes of the existence of everything. It is because on the final Day of Judgment everyone will be held responsible for one's own actions and no one will be burdened for another's sins.³³⁸ The results of the survey are very interesting. The first statement that highlights the concept of *Taqleed* has found strong endorsement among the people. 39.33% of the participants of the survey have the opinion that religious scholars or clerics should not be contradicted or even questioned for their *fatwas*

³³⁸ Holy Quran, Surah Faatir, Verse No. 18

(verdicts), while 60.67% disagree with this idea of blind following. Both sides have certain arguments in favour of their stance. The people in favour of blind following argue that the religious scholars devote their lives to acquiring the knowledge of Islam so they know Islam more than we, the common people, so cannot be questioned. But the majority of the common Muslims believe in reasoning, at least the majority of the educated class. But 39.33% is not a small figure, particularly among the educated people. They have decided to leave religious matters to scholars and they are following them without any objection. Some go further and claim that questioning or human reasoning is sinful.

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.	13 = 8.67%	46 = 30.67%	0%	89 = 59.33%	2 = 1.33%
2	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	112 = 74.66%	29 = 19.33%	09 = 6%	0%	0%

Accumulative Result²

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
1	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.	59 = 39.33%	0%	91 = 60.67%
2	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	141 = 94%	09 = 6%	0%

An anonymous scholar responded to this human reasoning issue, explaining that asking questions is not at all forbidden but the answer given by

the scholars should be accepted since they have spent the whole of their lives in acquiring the knowledge of Islam. ‘If the scholars are infallible, who cannot make mistakes?’ was a follow up question to his answer during an interview. He responded, they are not infallible but they certainly have better understanding than the people associated to other professions who do not have enough knowledge of Islam. The Islamic scholars are experts in their field thus their opinion should be considered valid. Just as, he added, we go to the medical doctor if we have health issues because they are medical specialists. Similarly, the religious scholars are specialists in the study of religion so their point of view is more authoritative than others. What if they be quacks? I asked, just as there are quacks in the field of medicine whose treatment could be fatal. Upon this, he recited a famous idiom, well known all over the subcontinent,

*“Neem hakeem khatra e jaan,
neem mulla, khatra e Imaan”*

My translation:

Quacks in medicine, fatal for life

Quacks of religion, fatal for faith /soul

Half knowledge is the disease of the soul, he continued, the quacks who have lack of knowledge and understanding object to questioning and human reasoning

with the fear of being exposed. Such quack managers of religion are the real danger whom most of the interviewed scholars title as *neem mulla* (religious quacks) or *ulma e soo* (sinful scholars). The difference between *neem mulla* and *ulma e soo* is that religious quacks claim themselves to be scholars who distort religion due to lack of expertise in religion, while *ulma e soo* are the scholars who intentionally forge, fabricate and misinterpret the religion in order to distort the facts for validating their politically motivated propaganda.

Blasphemy

Blasphemy, for me, is an act that hurts others' sensitivity regarding all senses; sense of hearing, sense of seeing, feeling and so on. The twenty first century, with an advocacy in favour of freedom of speech ignores the freedom of other senses, the very freedom of speech can cause damage to. There is an undefined thin line of ethical manners where our freedom articulates with other's. Everyone has to follow that boundary very strictly. One should know where my freedom is crossing that abstract yet concrete boundary to violate another's domain of freedom. The 'live and let live' policy of Islam and liberalism does not favour an unaccountable freedom of speech. No social moral values allow anyone to abuse or misbehave with a purpose to hurt. Thus, I strongly condemn and discourage any expression that targets others with a

purpose to humiliate. Generally people, irrespective of which religion they belong to, are more touchy about their faith than any other thing. So is the case with Muslims. We are too touchy about our faith, Islam, our Prophet, Muhammad (SAWA) and Allah Almighty. So, we feel humiliation when someone, using the excuse of freedom of speech, attacks our faith just as anyone from any other religion will. Liberty of living peacefully is for all and not only for a few. That is why all the states of the world should legislate regarding freedom of speech with a certain definition where an individual's freedom ends and others begins – many states already do, of course. There should not be any room for blasphemy if we really want to live in peace. However, evil cannot be responded to with evil. Only good should be used against evil to curb it. Similarly, the evil of blasphemy cannot be tackled by coercive reactions by individuals. Considering the sensitivity of this issue and its current horrific consequence, blasphemy was one of the five topics selected to examine through my survey. And the most shocking results of the survey are regarding the issues of blasphemy. According to expectations, the statement explaining the Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s tolerance and patience towards blasphemers received an unopposed agreement by 100% of the participants. He was so humble to them that He used to pray for the ones who committed an act of profanity against Him.

Having an understanding of the significance of tolerance, the result of the other, inverse statement regarding reaction towards the act of profanity should be 100% in disagreement. But it was not so. The opinion was not even divided by a close margin. It was very clear. There were only a few ticks in the column of disagreement, only 10%. And 9.33% preferred to avoid giving their opinion while a large number of participants, 80.67% of the total, favoured zero tolerance for blasphemers. The results help in determining the acute love of the Muslims for their Allah, their Prophet (SAWA), their Quran, and their religion Islam. Although it is their love that has taken them to this stance, they can go so far as to violate Sunnah commanding them to be tolerant but they cannot tolerate any act of blasphemy against Allah, the last Prophet (SAWA) and Quran. But the role of misrepresentation regarding a consensus in favour of zero tolerance for blasphemers cannot be ignored.

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	Blasphemy law (with blasphemer's death penalty) is exactly according to Islam. Zero tolerance for blasphemers!	85 = 56.67%	36 = 24%	14 = 9.33%	15 = 10%	0%
2	Holy Prophet (peace be upon Him) used to forgive and pray for God's mercy upon His blasphemers. He never even allowed His companions to react harshly against them.	150 = 100%	0%	0%	0%	0%

Accumulative Result:

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree
1	Blasphemy law (with blasphemer's death penalty) is exactly according to Islam. Zero tolerance for blasphemers!	135 = 90%	15 = 10%	0%
2	Holy Prophet (peace be upon Him) used to forgive and pray for God's mercy upon His blasphemers. He never even allowed His companions to react harshly against them.	150 = 100%	0%	0%

The year 2011 witnessed Salman Taseer's, a governor of the Punjab province in Pakistan, assassination, shot dead by his own security guard named Mumtaz Qadri for supporting a Christian woman named Asia who was convicted by civil court first and then the high court sustained the conviction, on a charge of blasphemy. The murderer's statement in the court relates that he heard the announcement in the Mosque by a molvi that Taseer had committed blasphemy by supporting a blasphemer thus was deserving of death and upon hearing this, he shot the governor in a fit of situational influence, without verification of the charge. The molvi mentioned by Qadri, however, denied any announcement of such a kind. Although Qadri was hanged for his extra judicial killing he was, and still is, "hailed as a hero"³³⁹ by the extremists.

Qadri's elevation to the status of hero on one side, led other extremists to

³³⁹ (29 Feb 2016), *Salman Taseer murder: Pakistan hangs Mumtaz Qadri*, Reported by [BBC New](#)

be more violent towards charges of blasphemy and on the other side, it provided the opportunity to the people to kill their social or political rivals by simply alleging them as blasphemers. On 13 April 2017, a student at Mardan Campus, Mashal Khan's savage lynching is an example of such a personal dispute and argument with some fellow students upon which they gathered a mob and lynched him, shouting *gustakh* (blasphemer) and *murtad* (deviant). And the extremist molvis refused to lead his funeral prayer. No evidence of blasphemy found against him during the investigation; indeed, it seems that his Facebook and Twitter accounts were hacked and someone else posted the allegedly blasphemous messages on social media.³⁴⁰ 'I love Allah, I love Prophet (SAWA)' were his last uttered words. Extremism and misrepresentations won the day while peace, humanity and Islam were the losers. Such examples have produced an environment such that even the ordinary people and scholars with moderate mindsets are scared to express leniency towards blasphemers or blasphemy. In this regard, when I argued with a molvi "Isn't it an act of blasphemy when someone usurps Allah's authority of judgments before the Day of Judgment, punishing someone for which Allah is the sole authority?" A scholar narrated an event regarding blasphemy during the Prophet (SAWA)'s

³⁴⁰ Al Jazeera (21 March 2019), 'Pakistan convicts two over Mashal Khan blasphemy lynching case', Al Jazeera News, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/03/pakistan-convicts-mashal-khan-blasphemy-lynching-case-190321110355206.html>

life. Paraphrasing his narration, there was a poet from Banu Quraish who used to write poetry based upon apostasy against Holy Prophet (SAWA) and Islam. Once upon a time, the Muslims saw him when he was passing by Madinah travelling to Syria. They captured him and presented him in front of the Holy Prophet (SAWA), demanding severe punishment for him. The Holy Prophet (SAWA) smiled and commanded Ali (as) to remove his blasphemous tongue. The companions who captured him requested to be permitted to do so but the Holy Prophet (SAWA) insisted for Ali (as) to carry out this punishment. Ali (as) took the poet out of the city, untied him, gifted him a camel to travel with 200 dirhams as travel expenses and told him to go. They thought it might be a trap for some surprise punishment. Anyway, he departed and watching all this, the companions who captured him rushed back to the Prophet (SAWA) narrating how Ali (as) disobeyed the Prophet (SAWA) by releasing the blasphemer with gifts instead of punishing him according to the Prophet (SAWA)'s verdict. Listening to their complaint, the Holy Prophet (SAWA) smiled and said that Ali understood accurately what I meant and did what I wanted him to do. The companions dispersed, confused at 'how can cutting the blasphemous tongue be equal to releasing along with gifts'. Next morning, the same poet came back with a piece of poetry applauding Prophet (SAWA) and His humbleness. In addition,

he embraced Islam. Then the Holy Prophet (SAWA) turned to the companions and asked if they saw how Ali (as) removed the blasphemous tongue of the Poet, by converting him to Islam and reorienting his poetry in praise of the Prophet (SAWA) instead of apostasy. This example leaves no question about how tolerant one should be for all matters of life, according to Islam. So, the notion of zero tolerance for blasphemers is simply exploited by the extremists and has been misrepresented to the common Muslims in such a way that no one dares to contradict this extremist stance, and anyone who does is punished like Salman Taseer.

Conclusion

Why is it that intolerance in Muslim societies seems to be more pronounced than in non-Muslim societies, particularly in the West? The scholar replied that the problem arises with power. The Holy Prophet Esa Ibn Maryam (AS), also known in the West as Jesus Christ the son of Mary (AS), was rejected by His nation. When He was crucified, only 10 or 12 disciples had accepted His preachings. After Him, these disciples went to Rome and started preaching the message of peace conveyed by Prophet Esa (AS) and succeeded in convincing

the emperor of Rome to embrace Islam³⁴¹ and he declared Christianity as the religion of the state. This way, the message of Christianity spread under the supervision of the Roman State. Later on it became influential enough that the Church, under the command of the Pope, became the most powerful authority of all the states following Christianity. And the maintenance of power always means a violation of boundaries and that violation introduces coercion. When coercion, brutality and inhumanity exceed limits, it invites revolutions against that power. The same happened in Europe when coercion exceeded the limits in the domains of the Church, the people started finding solutions to overcome this unbalanced and unjust exercise of power. The Renaissance movement with a liberal concept to establish a balance of power between the Church and the political institutions changed history with social reformations, scientific revolutions and industrial reforms. Consequently, the current western, comparatively tolerant societies are the success case of these reforms. In contrast to Christianity, Islam came into political power within the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad (SAWA) and power politics began soon after His demise, as has been discussed earlier in this chapter, just as being in power has overwhelmed the western sense of balance of power with which liberalism was initiated,

³⁴¹ The scholar used this word during interview and explained later that all prophets of God preached the same religion with a message of peace, and peace means Islam. Christians named their religion after Jesus Christ (AS) while Jews named their religion according to their tribe.

leading towards colonialism and now another step toward neocolonialism. Thus, before knowledgeable Muslim philosophers and thinkers would start working for the reforms against such misrepresentations favouring power politics, the fall of the Muslims' rule worldwide started transferring their status of the rulers to the ruled that caused mistrust towards the West; the colonisers. The colonised nations cannot bring reforms after falling. The physically colonised nations are naturally perturbed. And violence becomes more attractive than the moral values of the religions for traumatized mentalities hoping to regain the lost throne. The game of thrones begins yet again. Forgeries are introduced to win support. Misrepresentations blur the view. Humanity suffers, leaving violence behind, laughing at defeated peace.

Section B

Post-postcolonial Neocolonialism

Chapter 6

Reflections of Neo-Global-Colonization in Ahmed's *Aab-e-Hayat*: Traces of Neocolonial Facts in Fiction

This section will introduce the theme of neo-global-colonization and American imperialism in the twenty-first century. This will discuss the circumstantial geo-political goals that allowed the US to take more bold steps for implementing its ideal New World Order that not only includes the change of imperial regimes in the Middle East but also introduces the possible change in geographical boundaries that may force the new local governments to be more submissive. These goals favor the particular interests of global colonisers to maintain power and exploit economic resources of the under-developed nations, rich in natural resources but deprived of modern economic development. The argument is constructed comparatively, by connecting the literary and political conspiracy theories reflected in contemporary Pakistani literature with picturesque realism; facts through fiction. In this context, the section will analyse Umaira Ahmed's indictments of the US, in her novel *Aab e Hayat* (2017), for using all fair and foul means to exploit natural resources of the Congo through the collaborative role of the World Bank and other "charity" organizations, in

light of Noam Chomsky's neocolonial theory presented in his book *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants* (2011) and Arundhati Roy's literary theory of Facts in Fiction presented during her Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, entitled *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it.*

The US dream of becoming a global coloniser began with the end of World War II. The policy makers had started their planning during the war, "how to shape the postwar world,"³⁴² which could easily be seen in an open society. The think tanks of the United States of America were on the same page that "the dominance of the United States had to be maintained."³⁴³ For maintaining US dominance, and to weaken the Soviet Union, a US-Nazi alliance, a "secret army"³⁴⁴ was not only formed in collaboration with Hitler, but also kept working inside the Soviet Union into the early 1950s. They preferred supporting regimes which were subservient to them than the elected governments, especially if they tilted towards communism. That means the US has to consider its own interest as primary by following the Monroe Doctrine.

³⁴² Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 10, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992

³⁴³ Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 10, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992

³⁴⁴ Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 11, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992

The post 9/11 social misrepresentations from contemporary Pakistani literature highlight the rationale of Post-postcolonial revisionism introduced by the US as neo-global-coloniser. Focusing on the fundamentals, there are four aspects which highlight the theory of the American neocolonial dream of ruling the world: 1) US hegemony in the form of Revisionism through social misrepresentations and exploitation 2) The recurrence of nuclear power and American domination that alludes to the evolving ‘great game’ in Afghanistan, 3) Imperialism disguised as Welfare: American influence on the internal policies of the developing countries in the guise of welfare projects through the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Health Organization, and 4) The relationship between the US (neocoloniser) and Pakistan (neo colonised) in the aftermath of 9/11.

The US possesses 25% of the World’s wealth but only 4.27%³⁴⁵ of its population. How has the US gathered that wealth? And what is it going to do with it? According to Chomsky, to strengthen the American economy, the US needed to dominate a “Grand Area”³⁴⁶ that could include the Far East, the Middle East with its incomparable energy resources, the third world, the western

³⁴⁵ Worldometers (2019), <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/us-population/>

³⁴⁶ Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 13, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992.

hemisphere, in other words, nearly the “entire globe”³⁴⁷. To examine the transition from British colonization to American imperialism, we need to analyse American neocolonialism in light of Arundhati Roy’s indictment against the United States for introducing nuclear technology to the world, as well as Umaira Ahmed’s denunciation for exploiting the economic resources of third-world countries, leaving poverty, chaos and instability behind for the natives, not to mention the humiliated sovereignty of the developing nations through drone attacks; generally speaking, the Americans’ obsession that they can transform the world as they like and portray themselves as liberators.

Kwame Nkrumah, the first elected prime minister of Ghana, took neocolonialism as a step in the ideology of imperialism in his book *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of Imperialism*. He said,

“In place of colonialism, as the main instrument of imperialism, we have today neocolonialism . . . [which] like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries. The temporary success of this policy can be seen in the ever widening gap between the richer and the poorer nations of the world. But the internal contradictions and conflicts of

³⁴⁷Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 13, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992

neocolonialism make it certain that it cannot endure as a permanent world policy.”³⁴⁸

According to Nkrumah, the result of neocolonialism is that foreign capital is used for exploitation rather than for the development of the less-developed parts of the world. Under neocolonialism, investment increases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world. That was why he believed that the struggle against neocolonialism is to prevent the financial power of the developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less-developed countries, rather than excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less-developed areas for mutual benefit.

Facts in Fiction

Literature sets a relationship between an author’s world of imagination and the characteristics of real life, “the relationship between the aesthetic and the political”³⁴⁹ — violence, injustice, exploitation, corruption, power politics — to exploit literary sensitivity and to relieve the conscience of the author. The most common yet implicit way of distributing the literature is with the concept that

³⁴⁸ Nkrumah, Kwame (1965), *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism*, 1st Published by Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London, (Published in the USA by International Publishers Co., Inc., 1966), pg. 5, <https://politicalanthro.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/nkrumah.pdf>

³⁴⁹ Roy, Arundhati (2018), *Evil Empire: How To Think About Empire*, an interview with Avni Sejjal, published in Boston Review Fall Issue, accessed website & updated (2019) link: bostonreview.net

“the fiction [i]s not political and the essays [a]re not literary.”³⁵⁰ While for me just like Roy, literature is spacious because its place “is built by the writers and readers”³⁵¹ and that is neither limited nor measured. The writers are “incorporating real-life figures and events into [their] writing, melding fact and fiction together”³⁵². A writer can present, and a reader can conceive, political facts in literary form of fiction, or a writer may produce and a reader may perceive political prose or an essay or an article as fictitious pieces of writing. We may observe Roy’s liking for “the idea of literature that is needed”³⁵³, and not that which is produced just for the sake of production and consumption, because it is literature, according to her, “that provides shelter”³⁵⁴ of all types. Literature covers all forms of writings produced and created for need-based creative activity; creativity which responds to the needs of the people, creativity needed in a certain time and place, a certain historical context. However, it cannot be determined accurately at its earliest whether what is being produced is needed or not. Some authors write and leave it to the reader to decide whether it is needed or not, and if needed, by whom? Readers might buy the idea and

³⁵⁰ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁵¹ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁵² Shaharyar, Anam (19 May 2019), *Fiction: New Beginnings, Unexpected Endings*, [DAWN News](#)

³⁵³ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁵⁴ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

others just overlook it. There are authors who write purposefully. They weigh demanding issues to discuss through their creative activity and then opt to write facts either through fiction or nonfiction. However, there are times or situations when writers write their hearts out, listening to the echoes of their conscience, it quenches their thirst, they produce what they need for their soul's satisfaction. Still, literature is providing shelter to its writers. The true call comes from the need. The need finds shelter in literature, no matter what form of literature; poetry, fiction, or nonfiction "literature ... provides shelter"³⁵⁵. Roy has no doubt in her mind regarding her take on facts in fiction or fiction with facts because she is certain, and me too, that "Fact and fiction are not converse. One is not necessarily truer than the other, more factual than the other, or more real than the other. Or even, ... more widely read than the other."³⁵⁶ We may safely say that a writer feels the difference in his/her body, mind and soul when s/he is writing. And this very difference is the shelter. An author's "fiction and nonfiction - they walk ... around the world like ... two legs."³⁵⁷, as John Berger's take on two forms of literature, quoted by Roy.

The US Role in Breeding Extremist Fundamentalism:

³⁵⁵ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁵⁶ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁵⁷ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

The “Great Game”³⁵⁸ of US imperialism works with no clearly defined moral limits to establish its friendship or enmity for or against its agents. Who are the agents of the American Empire? Well, the liberals - particularly the neoconservative economic liberals - in the first place; the West receives their undying support of course, but not only the liberals. Yes, the fundamentalists as well. The US utilises both fundamentalists and liberals as tools for establishing its imperialism, replacing one with the other according to the needs of the time and place. The choices are made depending on the situation. Who is to be manipulated, when and where? The needs of the Empire decide. Friends of yesterday can be foes today and vice versa. Who can be manipulated with better results in a specific situation and who can be slaughtered in a changed scenario? No agent is sacred. Anyone could be disposed of as per the requirements of neocolonial imperialism. The CIA “created”³⁵⁹ Bin Laden. The Afghan mujahideen against Soviet occupation were lauded as “freedom fighters”³⁶⁰ by President Reagan. President John F. Kennedy “orchestrated a regime change”³⁶¹ in Iraq to bring Saddam Hussein to power. In Pakistan, the Zia regime -- extremist, fundamentalist, dictator all in one -- was a darling of the US when his help was needed to defeat the Russians in Afghanistan. Many other examples

³⁵⁸ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 217

³⁵⁹ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 219

³⁶⁰ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 227

³⁶¹ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 297

could be given, but focusing on the arguments of the thesis, we are going to highlight the US's role in breeding extremist fundamentalism for its own imperialism in the twentieth century; the very same extremist fundamentalism the US has been fighting the so-called 'war on terror' against in the twenty-first century. Because these agents were/are no longer needed. They are kicked out, thrown away or slaughtered instead. Because imperialism needs more blood through another wave of 'regime change'. This is how the game of thrones in favour of US imperialism goes on, using fundamentalists as its agents to "put in"³⁶² its puppet-like individuals, groups, governments or regimes to root out the unwanted individuals, groups, governments or regimes, all around the globe. This is what I refer to as neo-global-colonization. This is what America presents to the world in the garb of 'liberation'. This is what the West relishes as democracy.

Economic colonization explained by Marence Bart Williams:

African countries are enriched with an 'abundance of minerals' and blessed with 'infinite beauty,' producing the most exquisite agricultural products like harvests of "coffee, coco, fruits, vegetable" and the best of a breathtaking 'culture'.³⁶³ Williams reminds us that the West only 'names' the natural

³⁶² Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 225

³⁶³ William, Marence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)

resources but the Africans 'have' all of them; the real treasures of the world. Africa has the best diamonds and huge reserves of gold along with many other precious minerals, huge petroleum reserves, platinum, uranium to make titanium, crude oil, coal deposits (3rd largest in the world), tantalite, zinc, copper, coal, nickel, salt, granite, potassium, timber, mahogany and tea. African soil "is golden literally, naturally" with a "strong cultural heritage"³⁶⁴ as well. In the field of academics, Sahara University is the first ever University in the World, according to Williams. The West is desperate to exploit the resources of Africa to power computers, airplanes, cell phones and engines; the status symbol to establish their power and "to give value to their currencies".³⁶⁵

Ahmed's fictional revolutionary character Ibaka is as baffled as Williams, a factual researcher. Both want to know, "Why is it that 5000 units of our currency is worth 1 unit of your currency while we are the ones with actual gold reserves?"³⁶⁶ It is evident that the aid is, in fact, not coming from the West to Africa but from Africa to the western world. Western development depends on African resources to keep flourishing. The imperial currencies (dollar, euro, pound) are worthless if African resources would be subtracted from the capitalists' economies. They are practising a barter system. Exchanging gold

³⁶⁴ William, Marence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)

³⁶⁵ William, Marence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)

³⁶⁶ Williams, Marence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)

and diamonds for so-called charity. If Africa would instead sell its resources at world market prices, western economies would destabilize and weaken because they are established on postcolonial systems, systems that benefits none but its settlers.



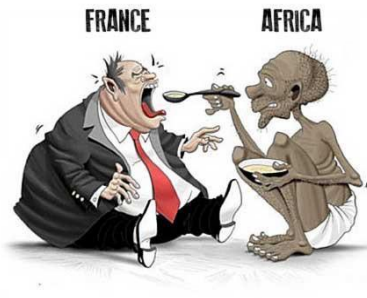
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Last year, the IMF reported that six out of ten of the fastest growing economies of the world are African, measured by GDP growth. The French treasury is collecting about “500 billion dollars foreign exchange reserves” from African countries which “still pay a ‘colonial tax’ to France in the form of forced deposits”³⁶⁸. Former French President Jacques Chirac said, “We have to be honest, and acknowledge that a big part of the money in our banks comes precisely from the exploitation of the African continent,” and back in 2008 he said, “Without Africa, France will slide down into the rank of a third [world]

³⁶⁷ Image Credit: [A Medium Corporation](#)

³⁶⁸ The Pan-African Alliance (5 Dec 2017), *Ghana’s President Just Put France In Its Place—But He Missed The Mark On These 3 Points*, Published by [A Medium Corporation](#) (US)

power.”³⁶⁹ Former French President François Mitterrand also has admitted that “Without Africa, France will have no history in the 21st century.”³⁷⁰



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African nations’ access to their own money deposited as foreign reserves in the Western banks is limited to 15%. In case they withdraw more than that, they have to borrow their own money by paying a fee. And even then, the nations are held at 20% of their public revenue from the past year. Ironically, the West in general, just like France, gives a small percentage of the same money they hold hostage back to African nations in the form of ‘aid’. All this confusion is created with a purpose; a financial scam and colonial tax are meant to keep the West powerful, and Africans dependent.³⁷² To do that, Africans play a recurring role by becoming the agents of this monopoly. Africa could not progress because

³⁶⁹ The Pan-African Alliance (5 Dec 2017), *Ghana’s President Just Put France In Its Place—But He Missed The Mark On These 3 Points*, Published by [A Medium Corporation](#) (US)

³⁷⁰ The Pan-African Alliance (5 Dec 2017), *Ghana’s President Just Put France In Its Place—But He Missed The Mark On These 3 Points*, Published by [A Medium Corporation](#) (US)

³⁷¹ Image Credit: [A Medium Corporation](#)

³⁷² The Pan-African Alliance (5 Dec 2017), *Ghana’s President Just Put France In Its Place—But He Missed The Mark On These 3 Points*, Published by [A Medium Corporation](#) (US)

of their manipulation or corruption that benefit the West. One would assume that in evolution the fittest survives. However, in nature, any species that over hunts, over-exploiting the resources they depend on, would sooner or later die out. Because it maintains the balance.³⁷³

The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence and Roy's Critique of the US

Similarly, the US has taken bolder steps for implementing its ideal New World Order to change the imperial regimes in the Middle East, Africa and the Far East, with a proposed plan of a possible change in geographic boundaries to make the local governments more submissive. "Nuclear weapons are about peace, not war,"³⁷⁴ but advocacy in favour of nuclear proliferation ignores some "fundamental flaws"³⁷⁵ which the Theory of Deterrence is based on. First of all, deterrence is based on certain assumptions regarding the psychology of the enemy. Roy explains this assumption in the following words: "[Theory] assumes that what deters you (the fear of annihilation) will deter [the enemy]. What about those who are not deterred by that? The suicide-bomber-psyche — the "We'll take you with us" school — is that an outlandish thought?"³⁷⁶ The second flaw of this theory, Roy says, is that "deterrence is premised on fear. But fear is

³⁷³ Williams, Marence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes.: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)

³⁷⁴ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 47

³⁷⁵ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 48

³⁷⁶ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 48

premised on knowledge.”³⁷⁷ As soon as one gets a clearer understanding of the situation, fear disappears. Thus in the presence of nuclear weapons, living has become more frightening than death. And Roy credits this “altering the very meaning of life”³⁷⁸ to the Neo-Global-coloniser by introducing nuclear weapons to the world in order to be “The Masters of the Universe... the United States of America!... the ultimate coloniser.”³⁷⁹ Thus Roy urges humankind, irrespective of their credentials, to raise voices against oppression, to “stand up and say something. Never mind if it’s been said before. Speak up on your own behalf. Take it personally.”³⁸⁰

US Neo-Global Colonization

Ahmed portrays the same kind of use and abuse of the individuals, the organizations, the states, the governments by the imperialist colonial system in her novel *Aab e Hayat*. She acknowledges that the invaluable “*Insaniyat* (Humanity)” is equivalent to “*kuch bhi nahi* (nothing)” when it comes in the way of “*mada parasti* (capitalism)”; the very capitalism the West admires as the symbol of “*taraqqi* (development and progress).”³⁸¹ Thinking about human rights prior to imperial interests is in fact unthinkable in the capitalistic approach to

³⁷⁷ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 48

³⁷⁸ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 49

³⁷⁹ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 49-50

³⁸⁰ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 50

³⁸¹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 312

imperialism. Salar, as the regional director of the World Bank in Congo, recommends that the head office abandon its projects in the forests of the Congo. The projects are depriving pygmies of their human rights. His recommendations were based on his own research and observation which he conducted after meeting Ibaka, a Howard graduate activist leader of pygmies, who exposed to Salar the human rights violations on his land, with his people, through the World Bank projects. His recommendations were in favour of human rights, but were perceived as a violation of the charter of the World Bank; the charter of capitalism, that demands its employees to perform their tasks as agents of capitalism. Human suffering should not matter to them. Ahmed also highlights the factual tactics of capitalism using fiction. Everyone and everything has a price and is purchasable, according to this logic. Not only concrete material but also abstractions like: Honesty. Faith. Conscience. Intelligence. Compassion. Loyalty. Patriotism. Health. Price can be dollars or luxuries. Position or promotion. Need or greed. Consented or threatened. Fair or foul. Deal or deception. By hook or by crook. Imperialists use all of these, one by one, to trap Salar, to make him ignore the call of his conscience crying out “*Insaniyat ki tazleel* (humiliation of humanity)”³⁸². Persuasion fails. Offers of promotion fail. Fear of ruining a career fails. Capitalistic imperialism still has something in its

³⁸² Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 303

pocket for Salar to buy him, his family and identity. His family, his beloved wife and dear kids. The family he cannot imagine living without. And his identity, his travelling documents without which he cannot join and protect his family. Trapped, Salar tastes the very humility he is raising his voice against, for the people of the Congo. And “*zillat* (humility)”³⁸³ rarely succeeds in turning people submissive, Ahmed believes. Contrary to submission, it teaches “*muntaqim al mizaji* (vengefulness)”³⁸⁴. Maybe they are strangers to the invincible power of humanity, selflessness and justice of nature. Abstract in thinking. Solid in practice. Reflected in Chomsky, Roy, Williams and Ahmed’s fictional characters; Salar and Ibaka. Chomsky, as an American, never hesitates while exposing its Imperial New World Order and neocolonial ‘great game’. Roy, as a representative of an ex-colonial subcontinent, is fearlessly confident in condemning the neocolonial plans of neoliberals. Williams, in agony about humiliation and exploitation of her Africa and Africans, is resilient enough to mirror the ugly face of neo-global-colonization to its inventors. Salar, as a practicing Muslim, is a “*maddah* (fan)” of the West but he could not become its “*matee* (subservient)”³⁸⁵. And Ibaka is the symbol of determination for the revolutionaries of the future. They all are different in their religion, colour,

³⁸³ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 313

³⁸⁴ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 313

³⁸⁵ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 312

creed, origin. Yet they are one with their compassion for humanity, for justice, for equality, for freedom. They all are one against oppression. They all are one against exploitation. They all are one against capitalism. They all are one. They are humanists.

Seventeen years have passed since the US invasion of Afghanistan. Afghanistan has been bombed back into the “stone age”³⁸⁶. The sole purpose was to topple the Taliban. But after returning it to the ‘stone age’, the American government is back in negotiations with the very same Taliban, showing that the Taliban has been conceded to as “*ba zaabta taqat* (a disciplined stakeholder)”³⁸⁷ instead of “*dehshat gard groh* (a terrorist group)”. The World has observed the first episode of the post cold war New World Order. In the meantime, it has destroyed Iraq, Libya and Syria, and now, employing the same old scare gambit, the same weary misrepresentations and the same old fake news about nuclear weapons, “it is gearing up to bomb Iran”³⁸⁸. In this age of “fake-news coups”³⁸⁹ everyone is already in a race and the race “looks like a race toward

³⁸⁶ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁸⁷ Mufti, Amna (2 June 2019), *Afghan Jihad Mein Humne Kya Khoya Kya Paya?* (What is lost and gained in Afghan Jihad?), [BBC News: Urdu](#)

³⁸⁸ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁸⁹ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

extinction”³⁹⁰. Hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians have lost their lives to war and sanctions with the ‘justification’ “When a big tree falls, the ground shakes”³⁹¹. Its thirst for blood is not quenched. A whole region has plummeted into chaos. Ancient cities have been transformed into mud. And worst of all, the satanic monstrosity of ISIS has been introduced to the world amidst the rubble and the desolation. It has spread across the world, indiscriminately killing common people who certainly had nothing to do with the US’ wars. Roy rightly indicts America for fitting itself within the definition of a rogue state. She says, “Over these last few years, given the wars it has waged, and the international treaties it has arbitrarily reneged on, the US government perfectly fits its own definition of a rogue state.”³⁹² The “irony of ironies”³⁹³ is that the US and the West claim to be the saviour. The colonists of yesterday are being sold to us as the liberators of today. Hypocrisy, as serious business, is clever. It fogs up the mirrors, blurring the view. Roy highlights this predatory system, masked as welfare, “Once again, the Global North, the creators of the problem, will see to it that they profit from the solution that they propose. A solution whose genius

³⁹⁰ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁹¹ Gandhi, Rajiv (2016), Quoted by Arundhati Roy in *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 10

³⁹² Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁹³ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

will, no doubt, lie deep in the heart of the 'Market' and involve more selling and buying, more consuming, and more profiteering by fewer and fewer people. In other words, more capitalism."³⁹⁴

Usury or Interest

Ahmed is very clear in her mind about Islam, its forged fractions and the causes of that forgery. Her criticism of capitalism is because of her staunch faith in, and reasonable comprehension of, Islam. She believes that "*Sood Islam ki bunyad kay kilaaf hey. (Interest is against the foundation of Islam)*"³⁹⁵. She believes in the reasoning by which usury is declared impermissible. It is because Islam is based upon the principle of human compassion and relief. Contrary to this founding idea of Islam, interest generates lust for money and capital that tangles up humankind in money-making traps, and as a result compassion for human relief loses worth. Ahmed's critique on western financial systems is established on the very idea that the western financial system is based on interest, the interest that weakens the poor to strengthen the rich. This capitalist system is exploitative and favours imperialist "*taqatwar aur pesay wala, (powerful and wealthy)*".³⁹⁶ The status difference between the rich and the poor

³⁹⁴ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

³⁹⁵ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 350

³⁹⁶ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 353

establishes a vast gap and the gap causes an imbalance within and between societies. “*Chotay bank afrad ka istemal krtay hein, World Bank qaumon ka,* (Small banks exploit individuals while the World Bank exploits nations.)”³⁹⁷ This exploitative system makes the poor poorer at the same speed as the rich get richer. Unbalanced societies lose their sense of moral values and human compassion. Poverty breeds greed. Greed mates with dishonesty. Dishonesty propagates deception. Deception produces lies.

Holy Prophet (SAWA)’s Last Hajj Sermon

The theme of *Aab e Hayat* is based upon the Holy Prophet’s (SAWA) last Hajj sermon that, according to Ahmed, is for the benefit of all humankind with its universal message of peace, harmony, tolerance and compassion for humanity and human rights with social equilibrium. The main points of the Holy Prophet’s (SAWA) final Hajj sermon, as discussed by Ahmed, are:

1. Beware of God’s anger regarding women’s rights. Treat your women well and be kind to them, for they are your partners and committed helpers. It is true that you [males] have certain rights with regard to your women, but they also have rights over you.

³⁹⁷ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 340

2. Regard the life and property of every human as a sacred trust just as you regard this month [zil hajj], this day [arfa], this city [Makkah] sacred. “*Meray baad gumrah na ho jana keh phir ek dusray ki gardanain marnay lago*”³⁹⁸ Do not be misguided after Him (Holy Prophet) that begin to cut each others’ throats.
3. Stay away from “*jahiliyat* (ignorance)” and “*farsooda rasm o riwaj* (conservative traditions)”³⁹⁹ forever.
4. Forgive others’ evil actions because forgiveness is better than revenge.
5. Beware of Satan’s seduction that causes “*fitna o fasad* (disputes and mistrust)”⁴⁰⁰ among people.
6. Develop “*bhai chara* (brotherhood)” and “*hurmat* (respect)”⁴⁰¹ for each other.
7. Do not oppress or harm anyone; neither your own “*nafs* (self)”⁴⁰² nor to others.
8. All human beings are the offspring of Adam and Eve and thus are equal. An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab, nor does a non-Arab have any superiority over an Arab; a white has no superiority over a black, nor

³⁹⁸ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 261

³⁹⁹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 261

⁴⁰⁰ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 261

⁴⁰¹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 261

⁴⁰² Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 261

does a black have any superiority over a white; no one has any priority over another except “*bartari hey tou sirf taqwa ki* (the only priority is of piety and good action.)”⁴⁰³

9. Take care of servants as one takes care of oneself.

10. Usury or Interest is “*haram* (forbidden)”⁴⁰⁴ so do not take it from the ones who are in need of loans for fighting against poverty.

The message of Allah’s Messenger is very lucid and clear in each and every piece of advice he gave to the people, without any ambiguity or doubt. The message is to be careful regarding the weaker ones, either physically or financially. The message is of equity as well as equality. The message is of sharing and caring for the needy and poor in hard times. The message is to be helpful, hospitable and kind to other people instead of being a tyrant, oppressor or persecutor. The message is to construct a peaceful and balanced society, equally supportive for all, without any discrimination.

Sharing and Bearing Interest-Free Trade vs Neocolonial Capitalism

To get rid of an interest-based capitalist financial system, Ahmed suggests developing and strengthening an interest-free Islamic financial system parallel to

⁴⁰³ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 261

⁴⁰⁴ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 135

the current capitalistic system. The Islamic financial system encourages trade for human welfare and equality with an idea to share both profit and loss. The system that would equally be beneficial to the poor and the rich without any discrimination for the maintenance of social equilibrium. The current system is made by the welfare states and in spite of its being exploitative in favour of the rich, it is successful. The reason for its success is because this financial system offers welfare to the poor of these societies. Its guise is attractive apart from the fact that this system serves neocolonial ideology, just as a monster under the cover of a fairy. One may challenge individuals but cannot challenge the states, individually. So, Ahmed urges those states which are victims of neocolonial exploitation, in the guise of welfare, to unite and establish a strong parallel financial system with welfare for the societies and not for the welfare of the neocolonisers; the US and the West in general.

Ahmed's critique of the World Bank and World Health Organization is a reflection of Williams' indictment of OXFAM International, UNICEF, the Red Cross, Life Aid and many more. As was mentioned earlier, according to Chomsky, in order to strengthen the American economy the US needed to dominate a "Grand Area"⁴⁰⁵ that could include the Far East, the Middle East with

⁴⁰⁵ Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How The World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 13, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992.

its incomparable energy resources, the third world, the western hemisphere, in other words, the “entire globe”⁴⁰⁶. Williams answers her own question, “How does the west ensure that the free aid keeps coming? By systematically destabilizing the wealthiest African nations and their systems and all that backed by huge PR campaigns, leaving the entire world under the impression that Africa is poor, and dying, and barely surviving on the mercy of the West.”⁴⁰⁷. The charity organizations mentioned above are utilising huge funds, paid by innocent people under the impression of helping with their donation, to advertise charity, sustaining the image of Africa worldwide. However, what happens during charity campaigns is, according to Williams, “One hand gives under the flashing lights of the cameras and the other takes in shadows.”⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How The World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 13, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992.

⁴⁰⁷ Williams, Marence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes.: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)

⁴⁰⁸ Williams, Marence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes.: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)



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Ahmed chose fiction, while Williams nonfiction, two parallel mediums of literature, to expose the bitter facts of neo-global-colonization.

Internal Peace and Discontent

The twenty-first century is observing the peak of discontent and disillusionment. “*Sakoon kahin nahi hey*, (Peace is nowhere).”⁴¹⁰ Many are becoming victims of displacement while trying to escape from civil unrest for their survival. Others are afraid of terrorism. The terrorism of extremists. The terrorism of both ideologies, fundamentalism and neoliberalism. The terrorism of both Islamists and neocolonialists. Both lust for power. To rule the world. To impose their ideologies. To dictate their laws to humanity. One terrorises people in the name of Islam and the other in the name of progress.

⁴⁰⁹ Image Credit: screenshot taken from Williams, Mallece Bart’s presentation (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes.: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](https://www.tedxberlinsalon.com/)

⁴¹⁰ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 272

People are wandering around “*Sakoon ke liye*, (in search of peace)⁴¹¹ but are unable to find any. Ahmed tries to untie the complicated knots of disillusionment, ruffling human minds through a conversation between Imama and an old woman:

Imama: “*Sakoon kahin nahi hey*, (Peace is nowhere)”

Old woman: “*Tou jo cheez duniya main hey he nahi osay duniya main kya dhoondna?* (Why look for something that does not exist?)”

Imama: “*Phir banda rahe kyun duniya main agar be sakoon rehna hey?* (Then why live in this world with unrest?)”

Old woman: “*Tou phir kahan rahe?* (Then where to live?)”⁴¹²

There is no option but to struggle against the disillusionment, Ahmed concludes. It is better to look for and then eradicate the reasons of discontent instead of wasting energies on finding something non-existent. Along with external unrest caused by terrorism, societies are victims of an internal unrest too. An unrest and discontent that is caused by the conscience, the self accountability or non gratification of “*hasil* (haves)”⁴¹³ in longing of *la-hasil* (have-nots). “*Naimatain beshumar theen magar sakoon e qalb nahi tha* (Bestowed with innumerable

⁴¹¹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 272

⁴¹² Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 272

⁴¹³ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 274

blessings but no peace of [mind and] heart.)”⁴¹⁴ There are two causes, positive and negative, of this internal *be sakooni* (discontent). The positive is concerned with human sufferings or self accountability of the conscience, while the negative is concerned with greed. Imama’s discontent is caused by being rejected by the one she loves most, although she is blessed with a life partner who loves her. Ahmed tries to explore the cause of such unrest of mind and heart when Imama decides to separate from her husband Salar for a while. The old woman wants to know why she left her husband, thus she asks, “*Tujh se pyar nahi karta tha?* (Didn’t he love you?)” She replies, “*krta tha* (He did.)”

“*Khayal nahi rakhta tha* (Didn’t he take care of you?)”

“*rakhta tha*, (He did.)”

“*Roti kapda nahi deta tha* (Didn’t he provide provisions of life like food and clothes?)”

“*Deta tha* (He did.)”⁴¹⁵

But still she is unhappy, with the excuse “*Be sakooni thee wahan*, (There was no peace),”⁴¹⁶ that made old woman realise she may be in love with someone else.

So the direction of her query changes:

⁴¹⁴ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 303

⁴¹⁵ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 273

“*Kabhi pyar kiya hey?* (Have you ever been in love?)”

“*Kiya tha* (I did.)”

Old woman: “*Phir kya hua?* (What happened then?)”

“*Nahi mila* (Didn’t get.)”

Mila nahi ya os ne chor diya? (Didn’t get or he left you?)”

“*Os ne chor diya* (He left me.)”

“*Pyar nahi karta hoga?* (Maybe, he would not love you?)”

“*Piyar krta tha, magar intezar nahi kar skta tha* (Loved but could not wait.)”

“*Jo piyar karta hey woh intezar karta hey* (Who loves, he waits.)”⁴¹⁷

This conversation is needed for every discontented soul to explore the cause of one’s own discontent because one cannot overcome one’s regrets until one knows the real reason. Life is not as simple as two plus two equals four. But it is not as complicated as we make it by tangling ourselves in misperceptions. A state of denial never allows the remedy to cure the wounds. This state of denial is very common in South Asia. This conversation helps Imama to rejoin her

⁴¹⁶ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 274

⁴¹⁷ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 273-274

husband to whom she was “invaluable”. The acceptance of the fact that a person has moved on, not because of some compulsions but because one wanted to, help decrease the pain and anxiety.

Ahmed’s Human Compassion for the People of the Congo

Umaira Ahmed’s compassion for humanity is reflected in Salar’s speech in the Congo during Ibaka’s funeral procession. The speech was delivered to the people of Congo who were enraged at the World Bank for their rebellious leader Ibaka’s assassination, and voices Ahmed’s compassionate-relationship⁴¹⁸ with the people of Congo who are considered “*kamtar* (inferior)”⁴¹⁹, who are deprived of their “*haqooq* (rights)”⁴²⁰ and “*wasail aur asas[ay]* (resources and heritage)”⁴²¹. These are the same resources and heritage from the colonial system through which, according to Frantz Fanon, “The colonist derives his validity, i.e., his wealth”⁴²². Ahmed attempts to register, according to Fanon’s view for decolonised souls, the “discover[ed]...humanity”⁴²³ of the people of Congo through a character of a Howard graduate Pigmy rebellion leader, named Ibaka, as their liberator, savior and thus decoloniser. Since “[t]he decolonization is

⁴¹⁸ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 367

⁴¹⁹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 368

⁴²⁰ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 368

⁴²¹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 368

⁴²² Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 2, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁴²³ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 8, Grove Press, New York, USA

always a violent event.”⁴²⁴, according to Fanon, Ahmed manifests that violence in her novel set in Congo, when the newly decolonised humans not only “begin to sharpen their weapons”⁴²⁵ after the assassination of their leader / liberator, but also use them against the neocoloniser's representative bodies in the region, the World Bank and World Health Organization. Although Ibaka is a humanist, his campaign is disciplined, his protests remain peaceful⁴²⁶ throughout his struggle for pygmies’ rights, but his last message to his people before assassination provokes them toward “Jihad”⁴²⁷ (Perhaps Ibaka could not find any word more appropriate than Jihad to be used for a revolution against injustice and oppression), to snatch back what is being stolen away by “*gidh an dakoo* (vulture and robber)”⁴²⁸, to use violence, to compel the World Bank to quit the country, and in case the World Bank turns a deaf ear to their righteous demand of abandoning their projects in the forests which are going to deprive half a million pygmies of their revenue, affecting thirty five million people of Congo from their only source of income, the forests by the banks of the Congo river. Ahmed’s fiction, in line with Fanon’s theory of decolonization and Williams’ indictments of the West to be ruthlessly exploitative and imperial, is based on realism.

⁴²⁴ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 1, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁴²⁵ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 8, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁴²⁶ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 369

⁴²⁷ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 325

⁴²⁸ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 325

Reflections on Religious Coercion

Ahmed sketches the peaceful Islamic school of thought through her characters, representing ideals of society with a comparative portrayal of both practising Muslims and extremist fundamentalists. Dr. Sibte Ali, a practising Muslim character in her novel *Aab e Hayat* (Water of Eternity), portrays the true spirit of Islam that forbids the practice of “coercion”⁴²⁹. He says that if Allah gives humans a lifetime’s chance to learn, to seek, to repent, to confess and then to mend their ways after doing wrong, we are no one to judge. If His doors are always open for forgiveness we have no right to criticise or abandon or punish. Allah has the powers of judgment and decides forgiveness or punishment, we are not authorised to practise those powers.⁴³⁰

Contrary to practising Muslims with a compassion for humanity and refutation of coercion, extremist fundamentalists use coercion without any concern for human compassion. Their assumption of being more observant and religious gives them license to humiliate other humans. Saad and his family represent this kind of extremist. Ahmed depicts such fanatics and exposes their hypocrisy and double standards with a hidden lust for worldly gains in the guise of simplicity, religiosity, self righteousness and being God fearing. Allah

⁴²⁹ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Baqarah, Verse No. 256

⁴³⁰ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 349

condemns this dualism and hypocrisy in the Holy Quran even if they are offering prayers. Allah's "*vayiiulun lilMusalleen* (woe upon those who pray)"⁴³¹ expresses His condemnation and dislike for those Muslims who tell "*Kazzib* (lie)"⁴³² when talking, do not take care of but rather drives away "*yateem* (orphans)"⁴³³, do not encourage to "*ta'ami almiskeen* (feed poor)"⁴³⁴ but "*yora'uun* (to show off)"⁴³⁵ offer "*saahoon* (heedless)"⁴³⁶ prayers. Saad and his family are living examples of this hypocrisy Allah denounces. Saad is Salar's university fellow who is known and respected as a God-fearing Muslim with regularity in five times a day prayers, referencing the Quran and Hadith in every matter, showing off his flawless knowledge about Islam, refraining from bad habits of adultery, drinking, dancing and condemning others for doing such evil practices. But his hypocritical chattering of religious values is exposed when Salar sees him enjoying the same evil practices, drinking and adultery, in his apartment. The only difference is that others do not lie regarding their immodesty and he does. He is a hypocrite while others are not. Such extremists claim to be staunch believers and self appointed guides whose "*rehnumai* (guidance)"⁴³⁷ is needed for spiritual and moral education. However, these self-appointed spiritual leaders

⁴³¹ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma'un, Verse No. 4

⁴³² Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma'un, Verse No. 1

⁴³³ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma'un, Verse No. 2

⁴³⁴ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma'un, Verse No. 3

⁴³⁵ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma'un, Verse No. 6

⁴³⁶ Holy Quran, Surah Al-Ma'un, Verse No. 5

⁴³⁷ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 396

never miss a chance of humiliating others with their judgments, sarcasm and coercive behaviour that expose their acute ignorance of Islamic precepts which forbid taunting, backbiting and sarcastic teasing. These fanatics' assumptions of self righteousness, hiding their lust for money and wealth, declares their so-called "[mazhabi] *rang* (religious disguise)"⁴³⁸ dominant of all colours of the world. Ahmed's depiction of Abu Jahls⁴³⁹ and their religious misrepresentations is flawless.

The phenomenal theory of twofold misrepresentations is well depicted by Ahmed to highlight misrepresentations of fundamentalism as one side of the coin and misrepresentations of neocolonialism as the other. Criticism through the western media on Salar's speech at Ibaka's funeral, positioned him as a "*bunyad parast* (fundamentalist)"⁴⁴⁰ for mentioning the doctrine of Islam told by the Holy Prophet (SAWA). The doctrine of Islam is founded on human compassion and relief, as has been discussed earlier under the topic of Islamic Concept of Humanity and Misrepresentations. Ahmed indicates the misrepresentations plotted and propagated by neoliberals or, more accurately, neo-global-colonisers, using available-for-sale-factions of the western media to exploit fake allegations

⁴³⁸ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 393

⁴³⁹ The plural of Abu Jahl that means the father of ignorance, it was the name of an enemy of Islam in the Holy Prophet's time and is used to refer to acute ignorance metaphorically

⁴⁴⁰ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 405

of “*mazhabi Inteha pasandi* (religious extremism)”⁴⁴¹ for the sake of defamation. Although Salar discusses the doctrine of Islam in favour of humanity and human rights, with Islam and the Holy Prophet’s (SAWA) being referenced, it is objectionable, even unacceptable, to neoliberals and neocolonisers. However, he would have been applauded, quite probably, if he had referred to the same compassion for humanity and human rights as an idea borrowed from secularism or liberalism; the guises of imperialism and colonialism. The variant perceptions of Salar’s character depicted by Ahmed are: “*Woh libral tha*, (He was a liberal)”⁴⁴² as well as a God-fearing, practicing Muslim for the writer, a humanist, a liberator and a saviour for the Africans. But still, an extremist fundamentalist for the neocolonists.

Ahmed as a Liberal-Fundamentalist

Ahmed’s connection to her religious school of thought is very strong. She is very clear in her focus on Islamic fundamentals with a staunch faith in Islam that is reflected in her writings. She criticises the reluctance of conservatism overwhelmed by inferiority complexes of being religious or being poor or being more affiliated to one’s own culture rather than to western culture. She highlights the colonial inferiority complexes of the elite classes of society who acclaim

⁴⁴¹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 378

⁴⁴² Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 467

themselves as liberal by following the western style of life, considering their own cultural norms conservative and inferior. She sounds fundamentalist when she declares the elite class of Pakistan as “*gumrah tareen* (the most misguided)”⁴⁴³ class of society for their activities more in line with liberalism than Islamic culture. For example, short dresses, drinking in parties, familiarity between males and females in combined gathering are “*qabl e etraz* (indecent)”⁴⁴⁴ and signs of immodesty for her. However, her fundamentalism is as modern as Islam. She balances her dislike with human objectivity and impartiality regarding freedom of living. “*Tum ne woh pehna jo tumhain acha laga aur unhon nay woh pehna jo unhain pasans tha* (You dressed up as you liked to, and they dressed up as they liked).”⁴⁴⁵ So that is none of anyone’s business, she affirms, to judge what others are doing and what not, who is doing good and who is bad, who is right and who is wrong, who will go to “*Jannat* (heaven)” and who to “*dozakh* (hell)”.⁴⁴⁶ Ahmed recalls her fundamentalist shade in the character of Imama, that we humans are not authorised to make a judgment about others’ actions since we are answerable only about our own actions, thus we need to focus on correcting our own selves rather than poking our noses in others’ affairs. And this reminder is from another character, Salar,

⁴⁴³ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 123

⁴⁴⁴ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 123

⁴⁴⁵ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 126

⁴⁴⁶ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 127

another shade of the author; at one and the same time a liberal to extremist fundamentalists and a fundamentalist to liberals. A true Muslim. A humanist. Salar believes that “*sabar, bardasht aur ata’at e Khudawandi* (patience, tolerance and obedience to God)”⁴⁴⁷ are more important for humanity and peace than finding fault with others’ actions.

Salar and Imama are the two main characters of the novel *Aab e Hayat*. Imama embraces Islam through her own understanding in her adulthood while Salar is a born Muslim, but his spiritual shift from sinful to a practising Muslim takes place when he develops his understanding about Islam. Both husband and wife reflect Ahmed’s concept of an ideal Muslim couple. If one is wrong at times, the other corrects. If one makes a mistake, other makes it right. Ahmed’s ideal couple goes side by side with each other instead of male domination. Both can claim rights from the other. The relation is friendly and not of owner / subservient. Ahmed advocates equality in a relationship, the value of relationships, gratification from relationships. Ahmed explains Islamic values that oblige husbands to be responsible for all provisions to wives because it is their “*istehqaq* (right)”⁴⁴⁸ and not an *ehsaan* (favour). “*Yeh os ki zindgi hey, os*

⁴⁴⁷ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 127

⁴⁴⁸ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 140

ka fesla hai, tum apni khwahish os pr impose (lagoo) nahi kr sakti (This is his life. His decision. You cannot impose your longing upon him.)”⁴⁴⁹

In contrast to fanatically fundamentalist characters like Saad and his family, Salar, Imama and their family are presented by Ahmed as balanced and sane Muslims. A comparative analysis of both families, their behaviours and their actions, clarifies that self-appointed righteous fundamentalists, lacking compassion and respect for humanity and human rights, are not representing the true message of Islam.

Managerial Business of Fear and Misrepresentations

The story of *PK* (drunk), an Indian Movie, is plotted on the managerial religious misrepresentation engineered by the fundamentalists - to whom Hirani and Joshi, - who have made religion their business, “the business of fear (*dar ka business*)”⁴⁵⁰. ‘The business of fear’ does not need any monetary investment. The only investment the fundamentalists have to make is to create the fear of religion, heighten it and then exploit that fear as much as possible. Since faith in God gives hope to the people, the same hope is converted into fear of His anger and punishment. Sow fear, and reap wealth in the form of funds and power

⁴⁴⁹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 243

⁴⁵⁰ Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

through followers' support. What the managers of this business have to do is to keep increasing the sense of fear. Hirani and Joshi endorse the idea that "the faith in God gifts hope to the people. It strengthens and encourages people to fight with hardships of life in bad times."⁴⁵¹ The writers of *PK*, contrary to the fundamentalists' accusations of apostasy and atheism, clarify their theism with a strong faith in the existence of God, the Creator of every living and non-living creature including humankind, the universe, planets, stars, heaven and hell. However, they strongly disagree with the managerial denial of human reasoning, advocating "*dharam ke mamle main sawal nahi uthaatay*, (In matters of religion, we should not raise questions or ask for reasoning)"⁴⁵² because "*yeh vishwaas ki baat hey*, (It is a matter of faith)"⁴⁵³. A journalist named Jaggu, the heroine of the film, responds logically to this managerial denial against human reasoning in these words, "*Agar bhagwan chahtay k hum sawal na uthaien tou woh humain sawal krnay ki shakti na detay* (If God wants us not to question, he would not have bestowed us, humans, with reasoning ability)"⁴⁵⁴. The living creatures of God are of three kinds: angels, animals and humans. Angels have wisdom and

⁴⁵¹ Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

⁴⁵² Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

⁴⁵³ Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

⁴⁵⁴ Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

flawless obedience to God with no instinctive desires, thus need no reasoning. Animals have instinctive desires but no wisdom of what is right and wrong. Humankind possesses both wisdom and instinctive desire, thus human reasoning; the characteristic that distinguishes humans from animals as well as from angels. Hirani and Joshi termed the managerial engineering in religion as “Wrong Number”⁴⁵⁵ and Misrepresentations as the managers’ “*phirki*”⁴⁵⁶ (twist or spin) for exploiting people’s faith. “*Kono phirki le riya* (someone is twisting the facts)”⁴⁵⁷. And this ‘someone’ is none other than ‘the manager of the religion’; mufti, pandit, priest, monk, the fundamentalists, in short. This ‘*phirki*’ helps to increase fear. The fear helps their business to flourish; the business of religion. Common people cannot dare to reason because of fear of God, generated by the managers, so Joshi and Hirani introduce the blunt character of an alien named PK to raise logical questions to the ‘managers’ as well as ‘salesmen’ and give reasonable answers to their illogical fabrications regarding religion. The name PK is given to the alien for his blunt logical reasoning that is taken as idiocy. “*PK hey kya? (Are you drunk?)*” reveals the common false perception for human reasoning that only a drunk may be blunt enough to question religion, the

⁴⁵⁵ Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

⁴⁵⁶ Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

⁴⁵⁷ Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd

ignored fact is that what is questioned is the fabrications introduced by the managers, and not the religions. They refer to the top three religions in India; Hinduism, Islam and Christianity without any discrimination, with full respect, that shows no religion is targeted, instead their target is the manufactured misrepresentations of the managers. PK's astonishment on hearing a salesman's claim of making *bhagwan* (God) delineates the astonishment of everyone with an ability to reason "*Ap bhagwan ko banaya k bhagwan apko? (You created God or God created you?)*," and the whispered reply was truth revealing, "*Dhandha band krwaiey ga kya? (Are you going to fail our business?)*" while the reply in public "*Ap hmaray bhagwan ko hath lgaien gy aur hum khamosh rahain gy? Humein apnay bhagwan ki rakhsha krna aata hai, (Do you think that you target our God and we will stay silent? We know how to safeguard our God)*", was an attempt by Tapasvi, one of the self-appointed 'managers' of the religion, to hide the truth through emotional exploitation. But PK's reasoning turns his attempt into ashes through a more logical statement when he says, "*tum karay ga bhagwan ki rakhsha? Bhagwan jono ess pura duniya ka banaya, jono to ka banaya (You will safeguard God? God who created you and this universe?)*". These self- appointed guardians have actually defamed the religions. They do it for their business, for making money, for acquiring power.

***Chanday ka Dhandha* (Charity as a Business)**

Ahmed narrates this process of revisionism; the journey from point A to point B, from morality to immorality, by introducing two minor characters named Molvi and Ghulam Farid, the victims of poverty and also of immorality. Molvi, the Imam in the Masjid (Mosque), invests the charity funds, donated for the construction of Masjid by the villagers, in an interest-based business with fixed profits to fight poverty, overlooking the command of Islam against interest. While Ghulam Farid, noticing Molvi's dishonesty and corruption, is corrupted by both greed and poverty, and demands "*masjid kay hadiye main se apna hissa* (his fair share from the charity funds for Masjid)"⁴⁵⁸ as a ransom for keeping Molvi's "*chanday ka dhandha* (business of charity)"⁴⁵⁹ a secret. Molvi refuses, accusing him of being "*dozakhi insan*, (a man of Hell)"⁴⁶⁰ who has no fear of God. The same business of charity that is being done by the neocolonial system through charity organizations will be discussed later in this chapter.

Ahmed and Roy's Optimistic Activism to Make the World Peaceful

Ahmed shares the fierceness, anger, originality and clarity with which Roy loves humanity. We may hear Ahmed and Roy echoing each other's calls of

⁴⁵⁸ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 387

⁴⁵⁹ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 387

⁴⁶⁰ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 387

social equilibrium for humanity and an end to imperialism. Roy urges humankind, irrespective of credentials, to raise voices against oppression, to “stand up and say something. Never mind if it’s been said before. Speak up on your own behalf. Take it personally.”⁴⁶¹ The same message of motivation the reader receives from Ahmed’s call to be more than ‘a reader’; ‘a rider’, “*kal ki behtri kay liye aaj koshish karna ho gi*, (We would have to struggle today for a better tomorrow).”⁴⁶²

Conclusion

The Third World countries have everything but there is no political will to correct the wrong. The leaders are thieves. The governments are corrupt. And the neocolonisers know very well how to exploit and benefit from their corruption. Like Old Imperialism, New Imperialism too depends for its success on a network of agents; corrupt local elites who are available to service empire.⁴⁶³ In case, they could not buy their loyalty or patriotism and rise for armed struggle against such monopolising forces, they are defamed; “the nationalists are referred to as rebels, terrorists, or frequently ‘communist terrorists!’”⁴⁶⁴ Ahmed says optimistically, “We cannot change our miserable yesterday, but the fate of tomorrow is in our

⁴⁶¹ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 50

⁴⁶² Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 432

⁴⁶³ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 313

⁴⁶⁴ Nkrumah, Kwame (1965), *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism*, 1st Published by Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London, (Published in the USA by International Publishers Co., Inc., 1966)

hands.”⁴⁶⁵ Roy’s hope of seeing an end to American imperialism is very clear. She believes that the American style of life based on capitalism is not going to sustain itself forever, just as the Soviet lifestyle based on communism could not, because of its being flawed. The reason for the failure is its denial to acknowledge that there is a world beyond America, and the West in general. The capitalist lifestyle is built by human intelligence and undone by human nature. But the “time has come, the Walrus said. Perhaps, things will become worse and then better.” Roy’s prophetic optimism predicts, “Another world is not only possible, she’s on her way. Maybe many of us won’t be here to greet her, but on a quiet day, if I listen very carefully, I can hear her breathing.”⁴⁶⁶ Earth is for human beings. Africa is for the Africans just as Europe is for Europeans. Congo is for the people of Congo. Kashmir for Kashmiris and Palestine for Palestinians.

Ahmed is aware of the influential status of the powerful in this world of capitalism. No system, whether economic or political, can succeed without power. Acknowledging that “*sikka taqatwar ka chalta hey*, (power rules the world)”⁴⁶⁷, and that power comes with knowledge, learning, acquisition, practice and development, and the neocolonists own that power. She puts stress on focusing on the fundamentals, just as Hamid does, to regain the lost powers.

⁴⁶⁵ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 369

⁴⁶⁶ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 252

⁴⁶⁷ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 431

“Dehshat gard duniya pr hakmiyat qaim nahi kr sktay, (Terrorists cannot rule the world).” For that Muslims need to be united because “*Muqabla afrad nahi qaumain krti hein*, (Nations compete, not individuals).”⁴⁶⁸ To live for oneself and die for oneself cannot bring change. Terrorism is brutal, savage and “dehumanising” for both the predators as well as the prey. So is war. The difference is that the terrorists, as “free marketers of wars,” are not ready to let the State monopolise wars as the “legitimate use of violence.”⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁸ Ahmed, Umaira (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore, pg. 431-432

⁴⁶⁹ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 340-41

Chapter 7

Displaced Identities and Construction of Borders

This chapter focuses on the universal phenomenon of migration and construction of borders by reviewing the psychological conflicts of the migrants in post-postcolonial comparative literature. By using deductive methodology with a qualitative approach, the chapter traces out the inner and outer conflicts and challenges immigrants struggle with in order to survive. The fictional migrant characters of Mohsin Hamid's novel *Exit West* and Shoaib Mansoor's film *Khuda kay liye (In The Name of God)* are analysed in light of Malala Yousafzai's position as presented in her nonfiction work *We Are Displaced*. The chapter also attempts to link Adam and Eve, symbolically representing the first couple on earth and in a larger sense representing our ancestors in general, with the representatives of a more contemporary age from the novel, Nadia & Saeed, as migrants seen from a universal perspective. This will hopefully highlight the inner and outer struggles for the immigrants' survival, immigrants who have always been victims of displacement. Who is native to a place? How can that be determined? To whom does the term immigrant refer? Who may be exempted? The chapter also critiques Donald Trump's Travel Ban and Britain's Brexit policies, and their effects upon immigrants, which may also be helpful to answer

another question: Whether the initiators of the Travel Ban and Brexit, for example, are also – whether they realise it or not – immigrants?



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“The story of humankind is the story of migration.”⁴⁷¹ A glimpse of history reflects that migration is a shared experience by every one of us. This experiment begins with Adam and Eve, symbolically representing the first couple on earth and more generally representing our ancestors, who left Paradise to inhabit Earth, and since then humankind had been constantly in a state of migration. Migration is the norm rather than the exception. This is historically persistent. Evolutionary migration is a shift from one state of existence to another, a physical shift from one place to another, from one region to another or from one country to another. This can be a mental shift, too, through imaginative

⁴⁷⁰ Image Credit: [Reimagining Migration Organization](#) (Accessed 15 May 2018)

⁴⁷¹ Strom, Adam (2018), *Immigration In Full Frame: Adam's Interview*, [Reimagining Migration Organization](#)

processes or perhaps a psychological shift from one time to another i.e. from present to past or from present to future through non-physical time travel, or even a spiritual shift from one school of thought to another, from ignorance to awareness. Mohsin Hamid very accurately describes this phenomenon: “everyone migrates, even if we stay in the same houses our whole lives”⁴⁷². It means some of us migrate by crossing geographical boundaries physically while some migrate mentally by crossing the virtual boundaries of time and space, perhaps by going into the utopian world of our imaginations or thinking about the past, or dreaming and planning about the future, and some migrate spiritually by raising their souls from unconsciousness to consciousness.

Types of Migration

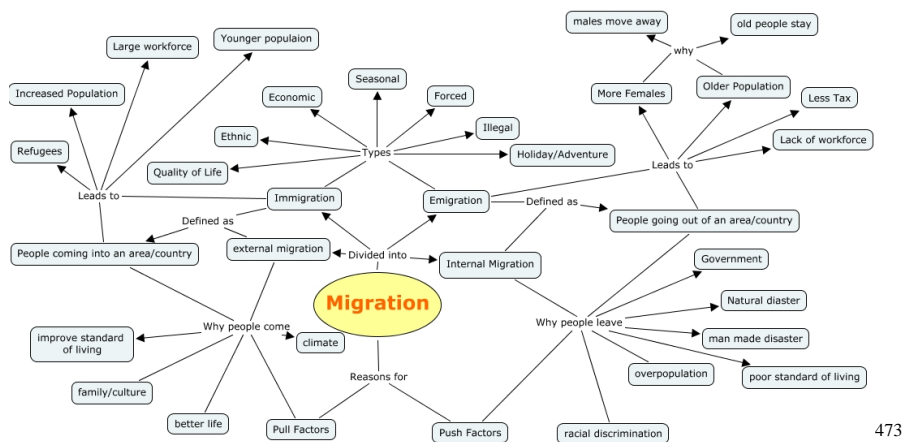
Migration is divided into external migration and internal migration, caused by both push and pull factors.

Emigration: People emigrate under the pressure of push factors or by the attraction of pull factors such as better opportunities, improved standards of living and better climates. Push factors include racial discrimination, poor standards of living, overpopulation, natural disasters like climate changes, earthquakes, floods or landslides, political accountability or exploitation, victimisation by the government or man-made disasters like wars. Emigration on

⁴⁷² Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 209, Penguin Random House UK

a large scale leads to lack of workforce and a brain drain, less tax revenue, and females and older populations often increase proportionally because they stay behind while young males are more likely to emigrate.

Immigration: Pull factors attract people to immigrate to an area with better opportunities, with improved standards of living and better climate. Immigration leads to larger workforces thus a competitive environment, an increased but younger population, and of course refugees.



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Taking push and pull factors into consideration, migration can be subdivided accordingly. Tourism, illegal migration, seasonal migration, economic migration, ethnic migration and of course forced migration. We are

⁴⁷³ Image Credit: [C.Map Public](#)

going to address forced migration and refugees' displaced identities more in detail here.

Physical migration: Moving from one place to another by crossing geographical borders, looking for refuge from hostile circumstances in the country of origin, is called physical migration. There are multiple reasons why people choose to flee. People migrate to seek better opportunities regarding education, employment or quality of life in general. They also migrate in search of a better climate and to escape from natural as well as political disasters and calamities in the region of their origin. It happens because people's hopes, dreams and expectations drive them to keep moving. Moving from renting an apartment to owning a house. Living with family as dependants to make it themselves as independents. Residing in suburbs to move to big cities for better job opportunities. Taking a bus for travelling to having a motorbike or car. People take their humanity for granted. They keep believing that they are human until a catastrophe approaches and makes them homeless. Their homes, towns or cities are in ruin. Then they try to make it to the borders. Only then, hoping to leave, or making it across the border, do they understand that those who live on the other side do not see them as human at all. Nadia and Saeed, the two main characters of Mohsin Hamid's novel *Exit West*, Mansoor his uncle Hussain Shah

and his cousin Mary, the main characters of Shoaib Mansoor's movie *Khuda kay liye* (In The Name Of God), and Changez and an unnamed American, the main characters of Hamid's novel *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* are good examples of physical migration in the contemporary era.

People sometimes migrate intentionally and consciously but there are times when they do it unintentionally and subconsciously. Non-physical migration, for instance, is most of the time without any intention or pre-planning with an exception of spiritual migration that could possibly be attempted intentionally. For example, Maulana Wali's intentional shift from being a pacifist, saintly religious scholar with an initial refusal to appear in court to help judges make a decision according to Islamic Shariah, to come up with a loud and clear logical statement to null and void the Taliban's ideology, the ideology that I refer as extremist fundamentalism or Islamism in my entire document.

Non-Physical Migration: Contrary to physical migration, sometimes people travel but never move and yet it seems the world had moved, as when people move from one state of mind to another without moving physically. It has nothing to do with the body. Mind, soul and spirit travel. From presence to absence. From ignorance to awareness. From present to past or future. From the real world to the world of imagination. From the world full of desires to the

world of nothingness. Non-physical migration may be explained further in three ways: intellectual, psychological and spiritual.

Intellectual: Moving from one school of thought to another by crossing the barriers of rigidity, adapting to new logical reasoning. It can take place in the form of mental growth through education. One is born an innocent child and matures through learning processes in which one learns from parents, the surrounding environment, school and so on. This is a natural migration from immaturity to maturity. Then the process that succeeds in resetting a mature learner's mindset through motivation or brainwashing, positively or negatively, plays a recurring role in mental migration from one philosophy of life to another. Sarmad's, Mansoor's younger brother in *Khuda kay liye* (In The Name Of God), mental shift from being a moderate, liberal Muslim to a staunch fundamentalist through radicalisation is a good example. The first of his shifts is from being a singer to a *muazzin* (the person who calls *azaan* five times a day to invite people for prayers in the mosque), being an artist to becoming a jihadist, being soft spoken to becoming outspoken and rude, being a loving human to becoming a violent husband and so on. This shift takes place under a systematic process of gradual radicalisation through illogical reasoning and brainwashing. Then his second mental shift, from coercive Islamism introduced by the extremist

fundamentalists, back to Islam with its original moderate approach. The shift begins when he observes the extremist's brutal violence that justifies killings of human beings for political power. He finds it savage when he was forced to kill another Muslim for reasons he does not understand. He finds it contrary to Islam, the religion of peace. "Yeh kis qisam ka jihad hey? (What sort of Jihad is it?)"⁴⁷⁴, he cries with tears in his eyes, "mein kisi ko maar nahi sakta (I cannot kill any human being.)"⁴⁷⁵ He is baffled. He asks his fellow: "hum apnay he musalman bhaiyon ko kiyun maar rahay? (Why are we killing our own Muslim brothers?)"⁴⁷⁶. He is not satisfied with the illogical justification given by his radical mentor of the Tehreek e Taliban, Maulana Tahiri, who ensures him that the friend of an enemy is also an enemy even if he is Muslim. That logic may be applicable in a war for political power, but how can that be categorised as jihad, he wonders. Then he finds answers from a religious scholar, a mystic character named Maulana Wali who rectifies his radicalised brainwashing by highlighting the genuine peaceful teachings of Islam regarding enforced marriage, music, coercion and peace (which are discussed in more detail in the chapter on religious misrepresentations).

⁴⁷⁴ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda kay liye (In The Name Of God)*, Pakistani Movie by Shoaib Mansoor Productions

⁴⁷⁵ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda kay liye (In The Name Of God)*, Pakistani Movie by Shoaib Mansoor Productions

⁴⁷⁶ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, Pakistani Movie by Shoaib Mansoor Productions

Psychological: Psychological migration takes place when people move from one time to another (time travel into the past or future) or from one place to another in their imagination or thought process. It happens with almost everyone. One is present at a place and in a time but is psychologically absent. This psychological movement can be observed in Changez when he mentions time and again that the Muslims “were”⁴⁷⁷ the kings in past. He decides to quit his job and his bright future in the US because of his psychological “focus on the [his basic] fundamentals”⁴⁷⁸. His shift is from a non-practising liberal Muslim and his “love of America”⁴⁷⁹ to a reluctant fundamentalist with an “anti-American”⁴⁸⁰ label who even initiates a mission of “disengagement”⁴⁸¹ to dissociate his country from all involvement with America. Likewise, David Waterman takes Osama Siddique’s debut novel, *Snuffing Out the Moon* (2017), as “a migration through time”⁴⁸² that is likened to the Buddha “travelling through multiple lives on the road”⁴⁸³.

⁴⁷⁷ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, Pakistani Movie by Shoaib Mansoor Productions

⁴⁷⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 98

⁴⁷⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 1

⁴⁸⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 179

⁴⁸¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 179

⁴⁸² Waterman, David (2019), *Snuffing Out the Moon: Kino / Bio Politics, Movement and the State of Exception*, Unpublished Paper, La Rochelle University

⁴⁸³ Siddique, Osama (2017), *Snuffing Out the Moon*, Publishers Hamish Hamilton, Cited in an unpublished paper written by Waterman, David (2019), *Snuffing Out the Moon: Kino / Bio Politics, Movement and the State of Exception*, Unpublished Paper, La Rochelle University

Spiritual: Moving from one spiritual world to another either by being reborn from a state of non-existence to existence or by dying and hence going back into the state of non-existence; from the world of nothingness to the world of desire and then back to the world of nothingness is termed spiritual migration. This spiritual migration also includes spiritual shifts of saints and prophets from a state of mental existence to mental non-existence while remaining in physical existence, from presence to absence while being in state of physical presence. Erica's mental condition in *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* is an example of this spiritual shift; living in the past in her soul/spirit while living physically in the present. We may also observe the spiritual shift of Mary in *Khuda kay liye* from being a non-practising Muslim girl with no understanding of Islam to a girl who decides to dedicate her life to the education of young girls from backward areas where she was held hostage through an enforced marriage for more than a year by her radicalised cousin Sarmad. And then this spiritual shift can also be seen in Maulana Wali's character as well, who prefers to avoid any involvement in conflicts and refuses to help Mary by coming to the court to present the genuine teachings of Islam regarding forced marriages. But later on, he decides to appear and gives a comprehensive sermon answering all the illogical objections advanced by the extremist fundamentalists to justify their coercive ideology in

the name of Islamic preaching. Maulana Wali's decision to break the silence of pessimism to speak out for prevailing truth is of course an intentional and spiritual move.

Multiple perspectives of Migration

Migration, with its different forms, has multiple perspectives and accordingly multiple effects on society. The contemporary challenges of inclusion and exclusion of the people have created different perspectives about migration, many of which are misrepresentations. The most common misconception of immigrants begins with a foundational failure to recognize immigrants as humans, exactly like other existing humans and their previous generations, with similar desires, similar hopes, similar dreams. Digital space is being used to convey a prejudiced point of view about migrants. A large number of people, in this age of Travel Ban and Brexit, are not impartially free to understand that "refugees are ordinary people"⁴⁸⁴. They are neither aliens nor ghosts. We all are migrants in different ways and different manners, differing only in minor details from each other. People have been migrating from one place to another in the past and the same practice is continuing to this day. Hamid's novel *Exit West* describes this perfectly normal phenomenon of migration when he says: "the whole planet was on the move, much of the global

⁴⁸⁴ Yousafzai, Malala (2019), *We Are Displaced*, Publishers: Little, Brown and Company, pg. Xi, 1st edition, the USA

South headed to the global North, but also Southerners moving to other Southern places and Northerners moving to other Northern places.”⁴⁸⁵ The story of migration is the story not only of the past or the present but also of the future, where migration will still be the norm. Because when everyone is moving, “then mobility becomes normal rather than disturbing.”⁴⁸⁶

However, the migrants of the contemporary age are struggling more than ever before in the history of migration. They are struggling to survive in this world, the world with constructed borders; the borders which had been constructed in the past to avoid wars, are being reconstructed now to avoid refugees; the victims of predatory wars. The US President’s Travel Ban and Britain’s Brexit policies have legalised the construction of borders to close the doors to refugees while these same human beings are in desperate need of being welcomed with open doors. Why are doors closed to refugees, when anyone “might become refugees one day?”⁴⁸⁷, Hamid suggests opening the doors in order to deconstruct “the border through which death was possibly most likely to come,”⁴⁸⁸. Thus the struggle of twenty-first century migrants is the struggle for their survival, the struggle for their existence, and not only the struggle to

⁴⁸⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 169, Penguin Random House UK

⁴⁸⁶ Nguyen, Viet Thanh (2017), *March’s Book Club Pick: ‘Exit West,’ by Mohsin Hamid*, Book Reviews, [The New York Times](#)

⁴⁸⁷ Nguyen, Viet Thanh (2017), *March’s Book Club Pick: ‘Exit West,’ by Mohsin Hamid*, Book Reviews, [The New York Times](#)

⁴⁸⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 68, Penguin Random House UK

preserve their identities. They are displaced with the problem of being “present without presence”⁴⁸⁹, especially since being displaced is not always their choice. We may observe more closely the struggle of migrants and their internal and external conflicts, presented by Mohsin Hamid and Shoaib Mansoor in their literary works regarding migration: *Exit West* by Hamid and *Khuda kay liye* (In The Name of God) by Mansoor.

***Exit West* as a Story of Migration**

Tarah Jennings very rightly termed Hamid’s *Exit West* as the “story of migration”⁴⁹⁰ and love of all kinds of people while also being “a lesson on empathy for people robbed of their basic rights and needs.”⁴⁹¹ Luisa Smith pays tribute to Hamid for his realistic approach towards day to day problems. She says: “Hamid writes eloquently of the beauty found in our struggle to survive.”⁴⁹² Hamid’s novel tells the story of two twenty-first century refugees who struggle with the problem of being “present without presence”⁴⁹³. The last sentence of *Exit West* expresses the migrants’ uncertain status in society. It says: “... they rose and embraced and parted and did not know, then, if that evening [when Nadia and Saeed are supposed to meet after many years] would ever come.”⁴⁹⁴ The migrants are supposed to be elevated from a situation of chaotic displacement from their native lands to the west for a better future, where the “unimaginable”⁴⁹⁵ is no longer unimaginable because the doors are opening up⁴⁹⁶, or so he hopes. They welcome that change with the hope of getting rid of the uncertainty while striving for a more carefree environment and thus move on

⁴⁸⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 229, Penguin Random House UK

⁴⁹⁰ Jennings, Tarah (2018), Mitzi’s Books, Rapid City, SD, Summer 2018 Reading Group Indie Next List, [Politics and Prose Bookstore website](#)

⁴⁹¹ Jennings, Tarah (2018), Mitzi’s Books, Rapid City, SD, Summer 2018 Reading Group Indie Next List, [Politics and Prose Bookstore website](#)

⁴⁹² Smith, Luisa (2017), Book Passage, Corte Madera, CA, Summer 2017 Reading Group Indie Next List [Politics and Prose Bookstore website](#)

⁴⁹³ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 229, Penguin Random House UK

⁴⁹⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 229, Penguin Random House UK

⁴⁹⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 216, Penguin Random House UK

⁴⁹⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 215, Penguin Random House UK

to a more secure future. They were “slipping away”⁴⁹⁷ not only from where they had been, a place that now has turned into murderous battlefields, but also from other people, the people they loved, the people they could never imagine living without, the people they never wanted to part from. They are now separated from their love, their passion, their connectivity, their identity without knowing if they will ever return. The familiar and the unfamiliar, the known and the unknown, hell and heaven, all have become dubious to them. Everything “was familiar but also unfamiliar”⁴⁹⁸. Native identity for everyone is much like “a small plant in a small patch of soil held between the rocks of a dry and windy place”, where the blessing is that one may not be ‘wanted’ by the world, but one is “at least known” and “tolerated”.⁴⁹⁹ They come to seek peace and pleasure and freedom, the very freedom the West promises; the social freedom from gender discrimination, the political freedom from tyrant dictators, the economic freedom from neocoloniser’s capitalistic exploitation, the psychological freedom from all emotional attachments and spiritual connectivities in such a way that “they grew less worried each for the other, less worried that the other would need them to be happy, and eventually a month went by without any contact, and then a year, and then a lifetime.”⁵⁰⁰ In simple words, they gain peace in the foreign land, far from the persistent violence of their homeland, they gain political freedom from a dictator and chaos, instability and restless civil war (see chapters regarding Neoliberalism, Recolonization and neocolonialism which highlight this phenomenon of our contemporary new world) in the land of their birth, they gain freedom from gender discrimination at the cost of lost love and an evolution, a displacement, of their identities. The deal is done. The migrants have to pay the price for their displacement, and as is often the case the deal includes more losses than gains across the board.

⁴⁹⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 211, Penguin Random House UK

⁴⁹⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 227, Penguin Random House UK

⁴⁹⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 223, Penguin Random House UK

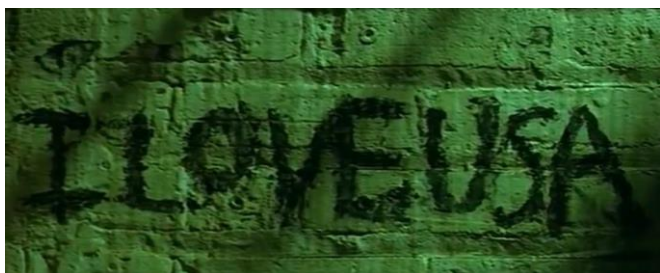
⁵⁰⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 222, Penguin Random House UK

***Khuda kay liye* and Challenges of Immigrants**

Shoaib Mansoor's Film '*Khuda kay liye*' (In The Name of God) is based on the phenomenon of a twofold conflict of immigrants. The film was directed by Pakistan's legendary TV producer Shoaib Mansoor who examined certain extremist / fundamentalists' false beliefs regarding Islam and the state of Muslims in the contemporary era, particularly the predicaments of Muslim immigrants living abroad. This section presents the case study of the four immigrant characters of the film: Mansoor and Sarmad (two brothers), their uncle Hussain Shah and his daughter Maryam, known as Mary, and their internal and external conflicts with which they are struggling. The film highlights the phenomena of radicalisation by the fundamentalists as well as the polarisation of the neoliberals and the sufferings of these four characters as 'prey' of the 'predators'; the radical fundamentalists and the Islamophobe neoliberals. All of them suffer, but in different ways:

1) **Mansoor's physical** as well as mental sufferings are emblematic of many Muslims in the US after September 11, 2001. Being a Muslim immigrant who is a musician-cum-singer and migrated to Chicago to attend music classes, he falls in love with an American fellow singer named Jenny, gets married to her and then is detained after 9/11. His only crime is his being Pakistani and Muslim.

The detention is followed by brutal torture and humiliation to elicit a confession of his role in the 9/11 massacre, terrorism and his connection with Osama Bin Laden. Mansoor is proud to be “an artist”. “Your [Americans] progress is the only thing they [the Muslims] respect you for,”⁵⁰¹ Mansoor tells the FBI investigation officer. He loves and respects the US for its extensive development and advanced technologies, like many other Muslims do. But he is accused without any evidence and during his court trial he says “I love America”⁵⁰² and writes “I LOVE USA,” also adding an ‘MA’ to transform it into “I LOVE USAMA”⁵⁰³. “I didn’t know him [Osama Bin Laden]. I didn’t know I love him. But you are not letting me hate him.” he shouts after his traumatic experience at the hands of the American investigators. “America is an ex love,”⁵⁰⁴ he cries out.



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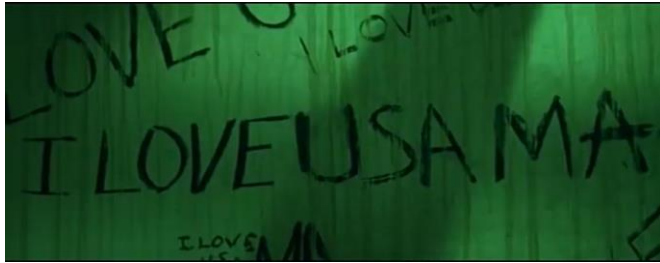
⁵⁰¹ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a character named Mansoor Hassan Khan

⁵⁰² Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a character named Mansoor Hassan Khan

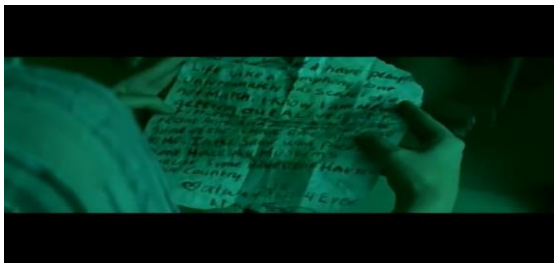
⁵⁰³ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a character named Mansoor Hassan Khan

⁵⁰⁴ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a character named Mansoor Hassan Khan

⁵⁰⁵ Screenshot taken from Movie scene: *Khuda Kay Liye*



When an FBI investigation officer asks why he stopped calling him ‘sir’, Mansoor responds that he no longer respects him because “you don’t deserve it”⁵⁰⁷. However, his last letter to Jenny before losing his senses reveals that his love for America was alive and well until his senses were damaged by his humiliating treatment. Jenny finds that torn letter, written with charcoal, when she finally succeeds in meeting him in the Mental Rehabilitation Facility Center. The letter has a message, not only for Jenny but for all Americans and indeed all humankind.



⁵⁰⁶ Screenshot taken from Movie Scene: *Khuda Kay Liye*

⁵⁰⁷ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a character named Mansoor Hassan Khan

⁵⁰⁸ Image Credit: Screenshot taken from the Scene of the Movie, *Khuda Kay Liye*

It says, “I know I’m not gonna get out of here [FBI Custody] ever alive. But I still don’t hate America. I can’t hate all Americans because some of them have done injustice to me. In the same way, please, don’t hate all Muslims because some of them harm to your country [sic].”⁵⁰⁹ Mansoor’s character presents a perfect example of the Islamophobia faced by migrants.

2) Sarmad’s spiritual immigration, from a liberal singer to an extremist fundamentalist, exposes the systematic process of radicalisation generating religious fanatics. When Maulana Tahiti fails to respond to his objections he is told by Mansoor, his elder brother, a radical bigot fundamentalist Tahiri who convinces Sarmad to stay away from his brother and not to get into logical debate for following the illogical so-called ‘path of God’ fabricated by Tahiri types of *Talibans*. “*Daleel main mut paro, dil ki suno, dimagh ki nahi*. (do not argue, just listen to your heart and not the mind)”⁵¹⁰. Sarmad’s spiritual immigration, as has been discussed above, from a liberal singer to an extremist fundamentalist, exposes the concept of radicalisation. Then his spiritual shift back to a moderate approach to Islam, with the help of his own observations about how Islam was being misused in their quest for power in the name of jihad. He is enlightened further when Maulana Wali, a genuine Islamic Scholar

⁵⁰⁹ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a character named Mansoor Hassan Khan

⁵¹⁰ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Maulana Tahiri

rather than a fundamentalist or Islamist, explains how Islam is being misinterpreted for political ends. Maulana Wali's statement in the courtroom scene has also been discussed in the chapter on religious misrepresentations.

3) Hussain Shah Khan's double standards, regarding his immoral lifestyle in London while simultaneously worrying about the western habits of his daughter Mary, highlight a certain dualism of morality of such liberal immigrants who are not liberal enough regarding the rights of their daughters. His advice "*mein ne agar zindgi main kuch ghaltiyan kr lee hein tou zaruri naahi k tum bhe wohe karo*, (If I have made some mistakes in life, you should not repeat the same)"⁵¹¹ sounds absurd because of the continuity of his sinful practices without any regret. His advice might have had an effect if he would have abandoned all the immoral activities he is advising his daughter to avoid. The contrariety between his actions and words weakens his stance. There is no sign of his repentance or regret for his own immoral conduct throughout the film, and more generally throughout the lives of the migrants. However, they do possess a gendered understanding of 'morality,' subjective discriminatory understanding that looks the other way regarding men's practices but looks more critically at women for the same. Therefore, Hussain Shah wants to exercise his

⁵¹¹ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Hussain Shah Khan

parental right to decide his daughter's life partnership, the very parental rights he himself deprived his parents to use. "She is a Pakistani Muslim girl. She can't marry a white boy,"⁵¹² shows his illogical justification in contrast with his own status of being a Pakistani Muslim boy with more than one relationship with white girls. What is right for him, how can that be wrong for his daughter? He is not ready to think equitably regarding his moral stance. His elder brother tries to make him feel guilty: "*Hussain, tum zara nahi badlay.* (Hussain, you didn't change at all.)", yet Hussain is not ashamed of his actions toward his own beloved daughter, in the name of Islam (the status of women in Islam and gender discrimination imposed by radical fundamentalists have been discussed earlier in the chapter entitled Religious Misrepresentations), to which he is a stranger in his daily practices. "You lied to me?"⁵¹³, his daughter is baffled. "How could you do this to your own daughter?"⁵¹⁴, his white mistress is perplexed. "*Tum ne apni beti ko dhoka diya?* (You cheated your daughter?)"⁵¹⁵, his elder brother is dismayed. But he is not vexed punishing his daughter for his sins: "*Mein manta hoon kay ghaltiyan aur gunah sub meray hein, magar unfortunately saza sirf*

⁵¹² Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Hussain Shah Khan

⁵¹³ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Maryam

⁵¹⁴ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character of Hussain Shah Khan's mistress

⁵¹⁵ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character Hussain Shah Khan's unnamed elder brother

tumhain mil sakti hey. (I confess that all mistakes and sins are mine but, unfortunately, the punishment is only for you.”)⁵¹⁶ He is disillusioned, thinking that this act could make Allah forgive his evil deeds committed throughout his life. He does this in the name of God (*Khuda Kay Liye*), he claims. He has, quite probably, forgotten that he does not know God. Maryam reminds him by bashing his repetitive excuse ‘*Khuda k Liye*’ for his false action, “*Khuda! Khuda! Khuda! Don’t take that name! You don’t know Him.*”⁵¹⁷ Shoaib Mansoor is well aware of such types of migrants’ fundamentalist perspectives that is built more for a Pakistani community than for Islam. He deceives his daughter to avoid becoming “the laughing stock in the Pakistani community”⁵¹⁸ that exposes him as a hollow man with lost dignity, and thus identity (in the sense of how others perceive him), and not a man of his word. He could not stay more than one day in a backward village of Waziristan,⁵¹⁹ while leaving his daughter, born and brought up in London, there forever in the company of radical, illiterate bigots.

4) Mary or Maryam, who is not taught the ABCs of Islam yet is expected to strictly follow its precepts, is struggling to trace out some moral values in these

⁵¹⁶ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Hussain Shah Khan

⁵¹⁷ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Maryam

⁵¹⁸ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Hussain Shah Khan

⁵¹⁹ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character named Hussain Shah Khan

self-styled Islamists who lie, cheat, kill, coerce women and terrorize in the name of Islam. She comes to Pakistan for the first time with her father who promises her, deceptively, to allow her marriage to a white Christian boy whom she loves, if she travels to Pakistan just once. She is a willing migrant to the land of her father's birth. But she gets displaced, too. Her displacement is, intentionally, caused by her own liberal fundamentalist father. She is deceived by her liberal-but-not-liberal-enough father, then later mistreated by her fundamentalist husband-but-not-husband (as the enforced marriage is declared null and void by the court in light of Islamic verdicts, presented by Maulana Wali, which clearly forbid such enforced marriages without a woman's consent), and humiliated by the radical Islamists who ridicule her for trying to teach their girls, "*tum hmara aurat ko bhe apnay jesa besharam bnana chahta hey*, (You want to make our women shameless like you?)"⁵²⁰. The very shame that she never observed in her father's character throughout her life. She is perplexed to be surrounded by people who are humans, or at least look like humans, but she is unable to find any notion of humanity in them. They seem unaware of the word, humanity, itself. Or most probably, they have been made "unfamiliar"⁵²¹ to the idea of

⁵²⁰ Mansoor, Shoaib (2007), *Khuda Kay Liye (In The Name Of God)*, A Pakistani Film, Shoman Productions, Geo Films, dialogue spoken by a radical fundamentalist character

⁵²¹ Moscovici, Serge (2001), *Social Representations: Explorations In Social Psychology*, New York, USA, New York University Press

humanity through religious misrepresentations, as has been discussed in the first section of the thesis regarding fundamentalism.

The film demonstrates the twofold catastrophe the world is currently facing. On one side, the way the US and the West are dealing with the problem of terrorism by “trying to kill and suppress those Muslims who are being labeled as terrorists”⁵²² is erroneous while on the other side, the extremist fundamentalists who are yoking innocent people by radicalising them for war and terror in the name of Islam, and Shoaib Mansoor, as writer, director and producer of the film, has succeeded in exposing this misrepresentation.

Do People Choose to be Displaced?

Waterman explains the reasoning which forces many people to move, saying “exclusions of those who are seen as a threat to national identities and national economies because they fall outside the social orders which seem to guarantee the disciplined bodies and minds which are the basis of biopolitics”⁵²³. He further quotes Thomas Nail, who says more generally, “Whether on the level of an individual or of an entire society, “the social compulsion to move produces certain expulsions for all migrants” (Thomas Nail, *The Figure of the Migrant*,

⁵²² Schifrin, Nick (8 April 2008). "Lollywood' Hits Bollywood". ABC News. Retrieved 6 April 2016 (Shoaib Mansoor during an interview for the film).

⁵²³ Waterman, David (2019), *Snuffing Out the Moon: Kino / Bio Politics, Movement and the State of Exception*, Unpublished Paper, La Rochelle University

2)''⁵²⁴. Whether displacement is chosen or unchosen, the conditions of their migration are certainly not of their choice. The number of international migrants worldwide has continued to grow rapidly in recent years, reaching 258 million in 2017, up from 220 million in 2010 and 173 million in 2000. According to the United Nations International Migration Report 2017, 3.4% of the world population consists of migrants. The report says that the share of migrants in the total population increased from 2.8 in 2000 to 3.4 per cent in 2017.⁵²⁵ Hoping to leave suffering behind by making it across the border, migrants do not understand that those who live on the other side do not see them as human at all. "Hamid envisions an interconnected world in which East and West inevitably meet as a consequence of complicated histories of colonisation and globalisation,"⁵²⁶ yet he also highlights the fact that "interconnected" does not mean living in harmony.

"Capitalism's gratuitous wars and sanctioned greed have jeopardized the planet and filled it with refugees."⁵²⁷, says Arundhati Roy, and she is right. The West, as a developed part of the globe, is demonstrating its politically radicalised

⁵²⁴ Waterman, David (2019), *Snuffing Out the Moon: Kino / Bio Politics, Movement and the State of Exception*, Unpublished Paper, La Rochelle University

⁵²⁵ United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2017a). Trends in International Migrant Stock: The 2017 revision (United Nations database, POP/DB/MIG/Stock/Rev.2017)

⁵²⁶ Nguyen, Viet Thanh (2017), 'March's Book Club Pick: *'Exit West'* by Mohsin Hamid', Book Reviews, [The New York Times](#).

⁵²⁷ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*

- and populist - policies by shutting itself off gradually from the refugees. The construction of borders is breeding supremacist neoliberalism that wants to stay at a distance from the displaced people, presenting them in general while particularly framing Muslims as dangerous. The neoliberal ideology of Brexit and Trump's Travel Ban are black and white examples of self-isolation by the West.

Although the term BrExit is being used within the context of construction of borders and displacement of identities but since it is being used thus it gets essential to introduce it briefly. Brexit is used as a shorthand way of saying that Britain is leaving the European Union. The word is derived by merging two words, Britain and exit to have a new word Brexit, similar to the way a possible Greek exit from the Euro zone was termed Grexit⁵²⁸ in the past. The supporters of Brexit have the view that Britain is being held back by the European Union economically so it needs to make all of its own laws again, rather than shared decision-making with other European Union nations. One of the main principles of European Union membership is "free movement"⁵²⁹, which means you don't need a visa to travel, work and live in another European Union country. Migration is considered a big issue for Brexit supporters. They want Britain to

⁵²⁸ Moseley, Tom (25 Dec. 2016), 'The rise of the word Brexit', [BBC News](#)

⁵²⁹ European Commission, *Free Movement-EU Nationals*, Policies, Information And Services, [the European Union](#)

take back full control of its borders and reduce the number of people coming here to live and/or work. Tom Simpson argues in favour of immigration control because “capping numbers is basic for sovereignty”⁵³⁰ thus is important for democracy. Crime is regularly seen as a problem related to migration, overlooking what the facts and figures really say. “Though crime rates have fallen in the years immigration has risen, there are still concerns that migrants are disproportionately responsible.”⁵³¹ Prime Minister Theresa May said one of the main messages she took away from the Leave vote was that the British people wanted to see a reduced level of immigration.⁵³² Considering immigrants as a threat to the security of the country, the coloniser in the past does not try to ponder over “who was a threat and who was threatened”⁵³³ in the history of the world during British colonialism. The focus of Brexit negotiations is a commitment to get net migration (the difference between the numbers entering and leaving the country) down to a “sustainable level”⁵³⁴. Nicola White, head of migration stats at the Office for National Statistics, has the view that “Brexit could well be a factor in people's decision to move to or from the UK, but

⁵³⁰ Simpson, Tom (6 Sep 2016), *Controlling immigration is good for democracy*, Standpoint Magazine, accessed from the official site of the [University of Oxford](#)

⁵³¹ Giles, Chris (Sep. 18 2018), *The effects of EU migration on Britain in 5 charts*, [Financial Times](#)

⁵³² Jessica Elgot and Jamie Grierson (2 Oct 2018), *May says EU immigrants will lose priority status after Brexit*, [The Guardian](#).

⁵³³ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 214, Penguin Random House UK

⁵³⁴ Schofield, Kevin (4 June 2018), *Theresa May insists net migration will be reduced to tens of thousands but it will 'take time'*, [PoliticsHome](#).

people's decision to migrate is complicated and can be influenced by lots of different reasons”⁵³⁵.

Trump’s Travel Ban Policy

“Making America Safe is my number one priority. We will not admit those into our country we cannot safely vet,”⁵³⁶ thus tweeted Trump as an argument in favour of the “Travel Ban”⁵³⁷ also known as Trump’s “Muslim ban”⁵³⁸. The Trump Travel Ban is the informal name for executive actions taken by Donald Trump as President of the United States in 2017. The actions comprise two executive orders for putting restrictions on citizens of seven (in a first executive order, reduced to six in a revised second executive order) Muslim countries. A third action, by presidential proclamation, restricts entry to the U.S. by citizens of eight countries; six of these countries are predominantly Muslim, while including two non-Muslim countries was an intentional effort to refute its being “effectively a ban on Muslims”⁵³⁹ as “potential travellers to the United States from those two countries are insignificant”⁵⁴⁰. Anthony Romero, executive

⁵³⁵ Kedem, Shoshana (2018), *UK exodus of EU migrants continues following the Brexit vote*, [Politics and Policy](#),

⁵³⁶ Trump, Donald (2017), [twitter.com](#).

⁵³⁷ Trump, Donald (2017), *Full text of Trump's executive order on 7-nation ban, refugee suspension*, CNN, <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/28/politics/text-of-trump-executive-order-nation-ban-refugees/index.html>

⁵³⁸ See timeline for detailed information: American Civil Liberties Union of Washington, US <https://www.aclu-wa.org/pages/timeline-muslim-ban>

⁵³⁹ Gladstone, Rick and Sugiyama, Satoshi (2018), *Trump's Travel Ban: How It Works and Who Is Affected*, The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/world/americas/travel-ban-trump-how-it-works.html>

⁵⁴⁰ Gladstone, Rick & Sugiyama, Satoshi (2018), *Trump's Travel Ban: How It Works and Who Is Affected*, The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/01/world/americas/travel-ban-trump-how-it-works.html>

director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said adding North Korea and Venezuela to the administration's list does not fix the main problem of the travel ban. "President Trump's original sin of targeting Muslims," he said, "cannot be cured by throwing other countries onto his enemies list."⁵⁴¹ The number of people who are going to suffer under the travel ban is estimated at more than 135 million, as reported by the *New York Times* according to immigrant advocacy groups. The majority are in the five Muslim-majority nations, led by Iran, with a population of more than 80 million.⁵⁴² The Travel Ban does not remain limited to banning all immigration and travellers from several Muslim-majority countries but also includes slashing⁵⁴³ the refugee program and imposing⁵⁴⁴ new burdens on all visa applicants as part of "extreme vetting"⁵⁴⁵ initiatives. Regarding the Supreme Court's decision that upheld Trump's Muslim ban, Omar Jadwat, director of the American Civil Liberties Union of Washington regarding the Immigrants' Rights Project, declared this ruling to be one of the Supreme Court's great failures, identifying the mistake as a repetition of those of the *Korematsu* decision upholding Japanese-American imprisonment during World War II. He called the people of the United States to stand for the most basic

⁵⁴¹ Barrett, Devlin (2017), *White House expands travel ban, restricting visitors from eight countries*, [The Washington Post](#)

⁵⁴² Gladstone, Rick & Sugiyama, Satoshi (2018), *Trump's Travel Ban: How It Works and Who Is Affected*, [The New York Times](#)

⁵⁴³ Zapotosky, Matt & Morello, Carol (2017), *U.S. plans to cap refugees at 45,000 in coming fiscal year, according to State Department report*, [The Washington Post](#)

⁵⁴⁴ Bier, David (2017), *The Trump administration's stealth attack on legal immigration*, [The Washington Post](#)

⁵⁴⁵ See for details: Brennan Center for Justice, 'ICE Extreme Vetting Initiative: A Resource Page', (2017, [updated 2018](#))

principles of freedom and equality, saying “It is ultimately the people of this country who will determine its character and future. The court failed today, and so the public is needed more than ever.”⁵⁴⁶ He recommended the people of the United States to make it crystal clear to their elected representatives: “If you are not taking actions to rescind and dismantle Trump’s Muslim ban, you are not upholding this country’s most basic principles of freedom and equality.”⁵⁴⁷



Religious leaders and activists from the Church World Service hold up a door symbolically closed to refugees during a protest urging Congress to pressure President Trump to allow more refugees to enter.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁶ See timeline (26 June 2018) regarding Muslim Ban for detailed information: [American Civil Liberties Union of Washington, US](#)

⁵⁴⁷ See timeline (26 June 2018) regarding Muslim Ban for detailed information: [American Civil Liberties Union of Washington, US](#)

⁵⁴⁸ Image Credits: [Andrew Caballero-Reynolds/AFP/Getty Images](#).

How Can Nativity Be Determined?

Who is native to which area and how can this be determined? I am a Pakistani. Am I native to Pakistan? Yes, because I was born in Pakistan. But my parents migrated from India to Pakistan after partition of the subcontinent. So, am I, or are my parents, Indian? But my forefathers emigrated from Bukhara (a city in Uzbekistan) to reside in India. So am I an Uzbek? Hold on, the ancestors of those forefathers belonged to Kufa, Iraq. So am I an Iraqi? Their ancestors were from Madina and theirs from Makkah and theirs from ... and the list continues that confirms 'we all are migrants' as well as native to this world. Christopher Columbus was an Italian, the ancestors of David Waterman were Irish and German. Australians are called aboriginals in Australia while European migrants are considered natives. Had European colonialists installed settler colonies in Asia, the Asians might also be called aboriginals and Europeans would be Asians, too.

The Doors Are Closing

Naureen Shah, campaign director for the U.S. branch of Amnesty International, calls it "a devastating blow to the U.S. refugee admissions program and this country's sense of self and history of compassion in welcoming refugees." She finds the ban "a sharp betrayal, pouring gas on the fire that is

engulfing the world,”⁵⁴⁹ and she is right because evidently ordinary human beings are being treated very badly and the Trump ‘extreme vetting’ policies are in line with this devastating phenomenon. Melanie Nezer, an official with the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, known as HIAS, one of the nine agencies working with the government to acclimate and resettle refugees, finds this situation “really troubling.”⁵⁵⁰

Bill Frelick, director of the refugee program at Human Rights Watch, said the criterion of extreme vetting was “completely irrelevant,”⁵⁵¹ and he too is right as refugees are already victims of spiritual/psychological disconnectedness. They are physically displaced, and they are also suffering from various forms of psychological trauma. Thus, they cannot be good candidates for such extreme vetting processes of immigration. They need to be treated better, unlike “those other entities for which some humans were not human enough to exercise suffrage”⁵⁵². Such disconnectedness is presented by Hamid in a dialogue between Saeed and Nadia as mouthpieces of the refugees’ disengagement towards the people from their homeland:

⁵⁴⁹ Zaposky, Matt & Morello, Carol (27 Sep 2017), *U.S. plans to cap refugees at 45,000 in coming fiscal year, according to State Department report*, [The Washington Post](#)

⁵⁵⁰ Zaposky, Matt & Morello, Carol (27 Sep 2017), *U.S. plans to cap refugees at 45,000 in coming fiscal year, according to State Department report*, [The Washington Post](#)

⁵⁵¹ Zaposky, Matt & Morello, Carol (27 Sep 2017), *U.S. plans to cap refugees at 45,000 in coming fiscal year, according to State Department report*, [The Washington Post](#)

⁵⁵² Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 219, Penguin Random House UK

“‘Why would we want to move?’ she said.

‘To be among our own kind,’ Saeed answered.

‘What makes them our kind?’

‘They’re from our country.’

‘From the country we used to be from.’

‘Yes.’ Saeed tried not to sound annoyed.

‘We’ve left that place.’

That doesn’t mean we have no connection.’

‘They’re not like me.’

‘You haven’t met them.’

‘I don’t need to.’ she released a long, taut breath. ‘Here we have our own room,’ she said, softening her tone. ‘Just the two of us. It’s a big luxury.

Why would we give that up to sleep apart? Among dozens of strangers?’”

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Nadia represents those who do not want to look back at what they have left behind that recalls nothing but ruins. They find contentment in the little space of their ‘own’ that is a ‘big luxury’ for them to be free. The people of their ‘kind’ are no longer of their kind, rather they are ‘strangers’. Saeed, on the other hand, represents those who are still struggling to maintain their native identities,

⁵⁵³ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 149-150, Penguin Random House UK

nostalgic for the country he left behind. He wants to remain in ‘connection’ with his origins. This desired connection also reveals that the displacement is not a genuine choice, not in the case of refugees or forced migration caused by push factors, at least. Hamid’s intriguing strategy is to display the humanity of the refugees through these young people, whose dignity, tendency toward romance, inclination to seek a better future with a natural connectedness to the past marks them as ‘normal’ relative to the ‘native’ people who are, of course, western. Meanwhile, this quite normal relation need not displace their individuality, originality or identities. And among migrants “it was not quite true to say there were almost no natives, nativeness being a relative matter, and many others considered themselves native”⁵⁵⁴ to the countries they are residents of.

Neoliberal Polarisation vs Displaced Identities

What Hamid means by natives, in a postcolonial reverse, are the dwellers of the host countries. The natives who had been ruled over. The colonisers who migrated to the homelands of the refugees of the time to trade. They traded. They traded occupation. They traded colonisation. They exported⁵⁵⁵ local prosperity, wealth, heritage, arts and even pride of freedom as slaves to their homelands

⁵⁵⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 196, Penguin Random House UK

⁵⁵⁵ Maclean, Ruth (2018), *France urged to change heritage law and return looted art to Africa*, [The Guardian](#)

while importing⁵⁵⁶ poverty, restrictions, controversies, unemployment, divisions by exhibiting their ‘divide and rule’ policies to demoralise and destabilise the natives. The colonisers’ history could potentially be a cause of their reluctance to open the doors for the migrants. There is an evident fear of the migrants - the colonised in the past- to be a threat for the safety of the West - the colonisers of the past. They are afraid that history will repeat itself. They are afraid of the justice of nature in which every rise has a corresponding fall. It is through this fear that the ‘natives’ have introduced Brexit and the Trump Travel Ban as precautionary movements with a visible resemblance to the Quit India Movement by the colonised against the colonisers. The Quit India Movement began with the demand of “the immediate ending of British rule in India”⁵⁵⁷ on 8th August 1942. Mahatma Gandhi, as the leader of the Quit India Movement, delivered a speech that is well-known, declaring a “do or die”⁵⁵⁸ situation. But can the western neocolonisers be categorised as threatened? The migrants have at least the potential to turn into a threat for the powerful West with their displaced identities and psychological traumas.

⁵⁵⁶ William, Mallence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes.: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)

⁵⁵⁷ Gandhi, Mohandas (1997). Gandhi's ‘Quit India’ speech, 1942. In A. Parel (Ed.), *Gandhi: ‘Hind Swaraj’ and Other Writings* (Cambridge Texts in Modern Politics, pp. 181-187). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/CBO9780511558696.039

⁵⁵⁸ Tennyson, Alfred Lord (1854), *The Charge of the Light Brigade*, [Poets.org](#), and [youtube.com](#)

The world needs to understand that the refugees need refuge. They need open doors. They need a warm welcome in the land where they take refuge in times of catastrophe, hoping to find a better and more peaceful future. Migration is not one of many choices for them; it is, in fact, the only choice. History has shown that over time, many newcomers become very “productive members of society”⁵⁵⁹ with their resilience and hard work.

Conclusion

Hamid highlights the fact that the US doesn't do anything for anyone without considering its self-interest. Even in return for the financial aid that is provided to foreign students along with visas and invitations to the high ranks of the meritocracy, the migrants are expected to contribute their talent and skills to American society, the society they join. And for the most part, they happily do so, “at least at first”⁵⁶⁰ just like Changez did. This give-and-take helps both, the migrants as well as the societies they join, but the equation becomes unbalanced when the exploited talents and skills of the migrants are overlooked while introducing Travel Bans and Brexit policies, making migrants' lives miserable. They are suspected of being a threat for America and the development of the West, ignoring the fact that their talent and skills, their sweat and blood has

⁵⁵⁹ Zaposky, Matt & Morello, Carol (27 Sep 2017), *U.S. plans to cap refugees at 45,000 in coming fiscal year, according to State Department report*, [The Washington Post](#)

⁵⁶⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 4

contributed a fair share in making America great and the West developed. As a reward, what they want is to be free, “free of doubts and limits”⁵⁶¹ of Travel Bans and Brexit, free to focus on nothing but flourishing and utilising their talents and skills, not only for themselves but also for the societies they have joined.

Whatever the contribution of the West in the lives of the migrants, it can’t make them forget their homelands, or the love for their home country. They would be in trouble if the two countries would find themselves in conflict, the homeland and the country they migrated to. A sense of emotional connection to the land of birth is something beyond description and shouldn’t be questioned. Mansoor’s expression “I LOVE USA”⁵⁶² in *Khuda kay liye* and Changez’s “I am a lover of America”⁵⁶³ both reflect the love for the country that is always imagined with the Statue of Liberty as its symbol, the symbol of freedom and equality.

Migration causes unrest on the part of the “natives” though, but the dream to settle down ultimately is peaceful. Peaceful settlement is possible by discovering the fact that both natives and refugees are likely to get along in spite of the fact that, initially, they are strangers to each other. From this measured,

⁵⁶¹ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 12

⁵⁶² Mansoor, Shoaib (2010), *Khuda kay liye (In The Name Of God)*, Pakistani Movie

⁵⁶³ Hamid, Mohsin (2007), *The Reluctant Fundamentalist*, Harcourt Inc. Publishers, USA, 1st edition, pg. 1

cautious recognition of mutual humanity, and acceptance of the fact that “We are all migrants through time,”⁵⁶⁴ the natives and strangers attempt to build a new society. The society that is built after losing family connections. The society that is built to provide space to those who have lost, at least in part, their previous identities. The society that recognises the fact that the people who gave them birth have passed away and the same is going to happen in the future, sooner or later, naturally or catastrophically. This submission to the universal truth of existence and ultimately nonexistence unites humanity. Hamid has explained this phenomenon: “We lost our parents ... and we too will all be lost by those who come after us and love us, and this loss unites humanity, unites every human being, the temporary nature of our being-ness, and our shared sorrow, the heartache we each carry and yet too often refuse to acknowledge in one another,”⁵⁶⁵.

We need to determine who is a threat and who is threatened. Who is prey and who is predator. When we will be able to identify and name the real predators, it will become easier for humanity to decide who must be curbed to bring peace. Humanity was threatened by colonialism in the past. It remained in danger during the Cold War in the postcolonial era. And it is still under the threat

⁵⁶⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 209, Penguin Random House UK

⁵⁶⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 202, Penguin Random House UK

of neocolonial constructions of borders and other Cold Wars known as, for example, Trade Wars in this post-post colonial 21st century. So we will try to expose neocolonialism as the real danger to a more peaceful humanity in the next chapter of the thesis. However, one thing is clear, that the displaced identities of the migrants are under threat. They were never a threat to peace or humanity. I find the possibility that Hamid, through his *Exit West*, made me believe in “humanity’s potential for building a better world”⁵⁶⁶.

⁵⁶⁶ Hamid, Mohsin (2017), *Exit West*, pg. 202, Penguin Random House UK

Chapter 8

Recolonization in a New Garb of Globalization Breeds Violence

This chapter highlights the significance of globalization as subservient to American hegemony through its variant definitions. It focuses on globalization as a form of 're-colonization in a new garb' in third world countries that is increasing deprivation instead of promised economic stability. Deprivation, consequently, breeds violence. It gives an argumentative analysis of globalized violence. American hegemony and its terrorizing consequences have introduced new ideologies that include Islamophobia, xenophobia, Islamization, radicalisation, Zionism to the world. Emergence of these ideologies is playing extreme havoc, not only in the Middle East and central Asian countries, but a wave has hit the West as well. The chapter discusses the aspects in which the people whose identities are threatened react and it is difficult to estimate the boundaries of that reaction. Double standards of America and the West that favor the state terrorism of Israel and India against Palestinians and Kashmiris for their freedom fights, by confusing it with acts of terrorism while providing full-fledged support to intensify similar uprisings in Egypt, Libya and Syria that have almost brought Egypt and Libya into the status of no-existence-at-all and in Syria, there is a state of anarchy, chaos, instability, and violence. This chapter

argues that inhumane a radical movement in the form of ISIS has emerged and spread terror throughout the Muslim World, is the outcome of planned destabilization in the area by the US, to fit the world into the frame of its global New World Order. In addition, it also highlights the powerful role of 'socialistan' (social media) in breeding violence that provides a platform to the radicals to spread their inhumane school of thought worldwide without much effort.

Globalization is not a single concept that can be described and comprehended within the limits of a short-term time frame. It also cannot be taken as a process that can be defined clearly with a beginning, middle and end. So, it cannot be elaborated with certainty to make it applicable collectively to the people of all nations and in all situations. We know that it deals with economic integration of the nations; the transfer of policies across the political borders; the transfer and fusion of worldwide awareness and knowledge; stability and mutual bonding of civilizations and cultures; discourses of power. Moreover, it is a global process, a concept, a revolution, and “an establishment of the global market free from sociopolitical control.”⁵⁶⁷ Globalization covers all of these things and more. This concept has been debated and described variously over the

⁵⁶⁷ Al-Rodhan, Nayef R.F. (19 June 2006), Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition, Geneva Centre for Security Policy (GCSP), Program on the Geopolitical Implications of Globalization and Transnational Security, Official Document
Note: Dr. Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan; Senior Scholar in Geostrategy and Director of the Program on the Geopolitical Implications of Globalization and Transnational Security Geneva Centre for Security Policy Ambassador Gérard Stoudmann Director

past several years, with some definitions referring to progress, development and social stability, consolidation and mutual harmony, and others referring to colonialism, fixation and statistical regression that definitely leads to destabilization of the weaker and strengthening of the powerful. Despite these challenges, the aspect of multidimensional hidden agendas following globalization cannot be ignored. So, an individual's political concepts, geographic location, social standards, cultural perspectives, and ethnic and religious affiliations provide the background that determines how globalization is interpreted.

Perspective and Significance of Globalization

Globalization emerged with the positive message of expansion of mutual cooperation among the nations at a worldwide level to reduce the economic problems of the people suffering in developing or under developing countries, under the umbrella of developed countries. This concept was favoured with the argument that as developed countries have gone through that phase of national journey from underdeveloped to developed, so they can assist the economies of the developing countries to cope with existing problems and how to rise by overcoming them. For the sake of humanity, the developed nations would also be helping underdeveloped countries of the third world through investments.

Apparently, this concept of economic globalization seems very productive for poor countries which have limited resources to strengthen their economies. It implies the opening of local and national interests to a vast scenario of interconnectedness by depending on each other with the free transfer of capital, goods, and services across national boundaries.

Globalization Introduces Deprivation

A psychological analysis of globalization also shows the deep wounds which are being inflicted by its 'lopsidedness', and the irrational reactions that can arise from people experiencing threatened identities and what they see as the possible extinction of their way of life. Fathali Moghaddam points out the threat to traditional identities by globalization in the following words: “Globalization presents [sic] real threat to their [non western countries] traditional identities and ways of life,”⁵⁶⁸ particularly for the Muslim world. For example, the Muslim woman’s Islamic veil is seen as oppression and taboo by the international community (and advertising) that advocates a ‘liberated’ image of the ideal woman. Thus, many western countries have legislated banning the Islamic scarf and veil. The concept of a ‘liberated’ image of the ideal woman is depriving the Muslim woman of her liberty to dress as she wants to, and is in fact limiting the

⁵⁶⁸ Moghaddam, Fathali M. (2008), *How Globalization Spurs Terrorism: The Lopsided Benefits of One World and Why That Fuels Violence*, Praeger Security International, London, pg 6

very concept of liberty and liberalism. Richard Wagner termed this aspect of globalization fractured globalization, “where an emerging global community is countered by a retreat to ethnocentrism and fundamentalism as socio-cultural and religious groups struggle to protect their social identities.”⁵⁶⁹

Deprivation breeds Violence

Consequently, the reaction of these ethnocentric enclaves and to a certain degree these fundamentalists, with the objective of preserving their identity, has turned from bad to worse and from worse to even worse with extremes of violence after September 11, 2001. When the extremists succeed in gathering people of the same vision through electronic, print or social media, they get better organized. It is a day-to-day fact that such extremist movements are being planned, planted, promoted and practised successfully with the help of the media, directly or indirectly, intentionally or rarely, unintentionally. There is no system of checks and balances for the terrorising messages which are being spread all over the world through audios, videos, pamphlets, brochures, magazines and so on.

This evidently indicates that globalization has introduced another form of violence that is presented and propagated by the media as a tool of propaganda,

⁵⁶⁹ Wagner, Richard A. & Spotow, Susan (20 Apr 2011), *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, 'Politically Motivated Violence: Interdisciplinary Studies', Vol. 17, Issue 2, pg. 107-109, Publishers Taylor & Francis Group LLC, DOI: [10.1080/10781919.2011.562121](https://doi.org/10.1080/10781919.2011.562121)

exploited by the interests of the rich and powerful, under the control of neocolonisers working as a tool exploited by the interests of the rich and powerful all over the world. Media, with all its capacity and its long-lasting influence, whether it is in print, electronic or social, is playing a vital role in increasing the violence Which of course is the opposite of what was promised with social networks, as a tool of genuine participative democracy. The Media Violence Commission of the International Society for Research on Aggression (ISRA), in its report on media violence said, “Over the past 50 years, a large number of studies conducted around the world have shown that watching violent television, watching violent films, or playing violent video games increases the likelihood for aggressive behavior.”⁵⁷⁰ (Although the first studies on TV violence and its effects on children’s behaviour were done in the 1950s.) In this regard, the US Secret Service and the US Department of Education, after examining 37 incidents of targeted school shootings and school attacks from 1974 to 2000 in the country, reported in 2002 that “over half of the attackers demonstrated some interest in violence through movies, video games, books, and other media.”⁵⁷¹

⁵⁷⁰ Kaplan, Arline (5 Oct 2012), *Violence in the Media: What Effects on Behavior?*, Psychiatric Times, [Modern Media Network](#)

⁵⁷¹ Kaplan, Arline (5 Oct 2012), *Violence in the Media: What Effects on Behaviour?*, Psychiatric Times, [Modern Media Network](#)

That proves that globalization of the media is somehow or other influential for breeding violence.

Violence

Here it is important to know how the term violence has been described and debated in different perspectives in contemporary society. Violence is the behaviour involving physical force intended to hurt, damage, or kill someone or something. This includes violence during protest marches; domestic violence against women; the fear of physical violence; screen violence. Violence includes those acts that result from a power relationship, including threats to frighten or to be ignored. Such non-physical violence has a broad range of outcomes, including mental and psychological harm, deprivation and poor development. Violence introduces terror in all terms of its definitions and terrified minds breed nothing else but terrorism; terrorism is the result of fear.

To understand the phenomenon of actionary and reactionary violence in the perspective of neocolonialism, Frantz Fanon's take on violence can be analysed as it highlights the complexities of the colonised world. According to Fanon, "The colonised world is a world divided in two,"⁵⁷² the coloniser and the colonised. Fanon describes colonization as a historical process where two contradicting powers meet each other face to face; the coloniser and the

⁵⁷² Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 3, Grove Press, New York, USA

colonised. The coloniser for Fanon is the one who brings violence to the homes and into the minds of the native. In *On Violence*, Fanon undertakes to analyse the specificity of violence in the context of decolonization. He tries to answer the following questions: What are the negative and positive aspects of violence? Fanon himself was born and raised as a colonial subject under the rule of France in the archipelago of islands. His relationship with the powers of colonization is therefore acutely felt and extremely personal. In fact, Fanon thinks that the violence is the defining characteristic or the natural state of colonial rule. Such violence is not always physical, it often manifests itself as formal cultural discriminations of the native subject. Fanon says, “The violence which governed the ordering of the colonial world, which tirelessly punctuated the destruction of the indigenous social fabric, and demolished unchecked the systems of reference of the country’s economy, lifestyles and modes of dress, this same violence will be vindicated and appropriated when taking history into their own hands, the colonised swarm into the forbidden cities.”⁵⁷³ For Fanon, there is no reason why the violence destroying the indigenous fabric should not result in vindication and appropriation of such violence when the colonised finally ‘swarm into the

⁵⁷³ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 5-6, Grove Press, New York, USA

forbidden cities⁵⁷⁴. The very psyche of the colonised subject ‘you are different’ or “Your culture is inferior! You act and think like animals!”⁵⁷⁵ is successfully fabricated by the coloniser who tries to shape ‘an animal’ out of the colonised. Correspondingly, when the colonised subject is rendered non-human, colonisers are left in their effort to control the non-human with a single option; constant physical violence. For Fanon therefore, the process of colonization really is about the creation of ‘new men’. By their active participation in the colonization, native people can bring about a new generation of people with a new language and a new humanity. But how does violence fit into all this? He has mentioned that the violence is the natural state of the colonisers’ rule, therefore, in order to liberate themselves, native people have to find their own light to find their path, in which the force that is accumulated in the form of coloniser’s aggression can be released. This is what Fanon calls “collective self-criticism”⁵⁷⁶ or catharsis which describes native people’s experience of violently obliterating colonial rule. As soon as the colonised succeed to “discover their humanity”⁵⁷⁷ and that “they are not animals”⁵⁷⁸, at that very moment “they begin to sharpen their

⁵⁷⁴ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 6, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁵⁷⁵ Tadas Vinokur (2018), *Three Minute Thought: Frantz Fanon On Violence*, [Tadas Vinokur Youtube Channel](#)

⁵⁷⁶ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 12, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁵⁷⁷ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 8, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁵⁷⁸ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg.

weapons to secure its victory.”⁵⁷⁹ By virtue of this decolonizing violence, the colonised subject can then reclaim the new generation of people, a new language and a new humanity. The humanity that once had been denied to the colonised subject by “you’re non human!” can be regained according to Fanon by engaging in revolution. Vinokur quotes Fanon: “Violence frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair and inaction. It makes him fearless and restores his self-respect.”⁵⁸⁰ Most importantly, by engaging in liberation, the colonised subject discovers that his life, his breathing, and his heart beats are the same as the colonists; the colonised subject discovers that the skin colour of the colonist is not more valuable than the natives’. Fanon clarifies, however, that the violence can never be pursued without a clear political goal. Violence which may bring about liberation may also leave behind untreatable physical and mental problems. Revolutionary violence may, in fact, leave native people ruthless and stateless. Fanon is determined to describe violence as equally harmful for both the coloniser and the colonised. “Between colonial violence and the insidious violence in which the modern world is steeped, there is a kind of complicit

8, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁵⁷⁹ Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg.

8, Grove Press, New York, USA

⁵⁸⁰ Vinokur, Tadas (2018), *Three Minute Thought: Frantz Fanon On Violence*, [Tadas Vinokur Youtube Channel](#)

correlation, a homogeneity.”⁵⁸¹

That is why the most hotly-debated perspective on violence, during the post 9/11 period, has been none other than the violence provoked and promoted through the ideology of neocolonisation in the disguise of globalization. Whether geographical or political, economic or social, globalization destabilizes the weaker and strengthens the powerful, might proves it right, whether it is or not. The nature of political violence has radically changed under globalization, while the launching of a 'war on terror' has generated important ethical and human rights issues.

One thing is very clear, that the powerful always have the upper hand over the weaker and its demands according to its own interests. Smaller countries with weaker economies definitely have their own structure, civilization, priorities, traditional values and such, which can be different from that of the developed countries. That is why global economic interconnections are not considered equally beneficial for both sides as they are not a single set of processes and do not lead in a single direction. They produce solidarities in some places and violate them in others. They have quite different consequences on one side of the world from the other. In other words, it is a completely contradictory,

⁵⁸¹ Frantz Fanon (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, pg. 40, Grove Press, New York, USA

unequal process in which the rising tide of globalization does not lift all boats.

Some people have the opinion that globalization has a direct impact on the expansion of western social norms across the world through the replacement of the basic cultural values of the 'other'. It is internally connected with capitalist progress. However, it does not mean that every corner of the world must become westernized and capitalist but rather that every set of social arrangements must establish its position in relation to the capitalist West - to use Robertson's term as quoted by Malcolm Waters: "it must relativize itself."⁵⁸²

Realising this fact, Martin Khor, President of the Third World Network 2 in Malaysia in 1995, referred to globalization as colonization in these words: "Globalization is what we in the Third World have for several centuries called colonization."⁵⁸³ Colonization takes place whenever there is a large-scale migration of one or more groups of people to a colonial area. The migrants, who can also be called colonisers, keep "strong links" with their previous country, and thus obtain privileges over other people living in the area being colonised.⁵⁸⁴ That was seconded by Jain Neeraj in his work 'Globalization or Recolonisation'

⁵⁸² Waters, Malcolm (2001), *Globalization: A World of Difference*, 2nd edition, Published by Taylor & Francis e Library, pg. 6

See also: Definitions of Globalization: A Comprehensive Overview and a Proposed Definition Dr. Nayef R.F. Al-Rodhan Senior Scholar in Geostrategy and Director of the Program on the Geopolitical Implications of Globalization and Transnational Security Geneva Centre for Security Policy Ambassador Gérard Stoudmann Director Geneva Centre for Security Policy

⁵⁸³ Khor, Martin (1995), as cited in J. A. Scholte, *The Globalization of World Politics*, in J. Baylis and S. Smith (eds.), *The Globalization of World Politics, An Introduction to International Relations* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 15.

⁵⁸⁴ Howe, Stephen (2002). *Empire: A Very Short Introduction*. United States: Oxford University Press. pp. 21–31.

in the following words: "...it is nothing but 'recolonisation' in a new garb."⁵⁸⁵ It is due to the fact that the degree of interdependence and integration between the two economies can only be acceptable if it would be established on the basis of equality and not between one in the role of boss and the other in a 'yes sir' status all the time. E.M. Forster very rightly ended his novel *A Passage To India* with a declaration that the relationship between the ruling class and the ruled ones during existing imperialism can never succeed over the long term. Dr Aziz, the main character of the novel, declares: "No, not here, No, not yet!"⁵⁸⁶

Here it is important to analyse the purpose of globalization in developing or under-developing countries. Evidently, no clue of any prosperity, progress or economic solidarity is visible in most of the developing countries (with some exceptions, like Singapore, Malaysia and Korea, for example) which are involved in interdependent economic ties with powerful, developed countries. Rather they are victims of exploitation in many ways. Mightier nations get a hold on weaker nations' policies, either domestic or foreign, financial or educational, judicial or national security, war against terrorism or nuclear energy programs. They are to follow the commands of their global 'lords,' which is certainly a violation of human rights of a nation or at least of its sovereignty. And violation

⁵⁸⁵ Neeraj, Jain (2001), 'Globalisation or Recolonisation', Pune: Elgar, pp. 6-7, see http://www.globalizacija.com/doc_en/e0013glo.htm

⁵⁸⁶ Forster, E.M. (1969), *A Passage To India*, Haskell House Publishers Ltd, New York

brings nothing but violent reactions, including terrorism.

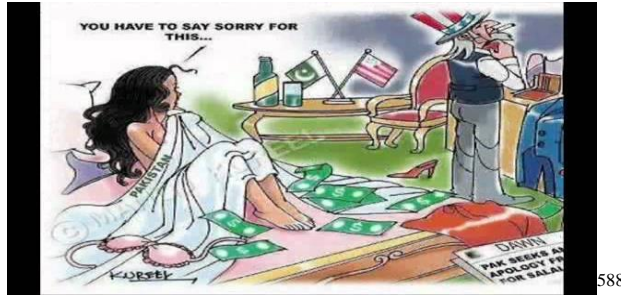
It is an undeniable fact that weaker nations cannot question an act of terror or support of an act of terror by the mightier nation as 'any act of the powerful can never be a security risk for humanity'. There are always several reasons and logics behind that act that a weaker need not know or understand, because it won't be able to understand. It doesn't matter if that act would be the explosion of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki during World War II, or in 1946, provision of chemical weapons of mass destruction to Israel which were used by Israel during the Arab-Israeli War in the 1960s, or provision of chemical and nuclear weapons of mass destruction to Saddam Hussein for using against Iran during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. Certainly there is no threat to humanity with such practices of the mightier nations, as the hundreds of thousands of lives lost by these acts in the past were not those of human beings, apparently. On the other hand, developing nuclear programs by weaker nations, even if done peacefully for controlling energy crises and possession of such weapons even if for defensive security purposes, is undoubtedly a severe security risk for humanity as these developing or underdeveloped nations are not yet civilized enough to differentiate between what is harmful for humanity and what is not. The double standard is obvious. In the verse of an Urdu poet, Akbar Allah

Abadi, this is as follows:

Hum Aah bhe krtay hein tou ho jaatay hein badnaam

*Woh qatal bhe krtay hein tou shikwa nahi hota*⁵⁸⁷

That means “If we protest against unjust, we are blamed to be sinful criminals, while they are overlooked even if they murder or kill whole humanity.” A cartoonist describe the Pak-US relationships with the same message:



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Similarly, George Galloway, ex-member of Parliament of the UK, sounds very logical and objective in his analysis regarding extremism, saying that if the world wants to uproot violence and terrorism from the world with a desire to make it a violence-free planet, it needs to implement policies of equality by abandoning the extremist behaviours based upon religions, races, creeds or

⁵⁸⁷ AllahAbadi, Akbar, a 19th century Urdu poet, accessed via Rekhta.Org

⁵⁸⁸ Photo Courtesy siasat.pk (2015), <https://www.siasat.pk/forums/threads/hum-aah-bhi-karte-hain-to-ho-jate-hain-badnaam.389306/post-3574752>

colours. A similar formula should be adapted for all because if some acts of violence from superpowers would be justified by illogical reasoning, the same would be protecting the other's violent acts against them. "One man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter."⁵⁸⁹ This type of unbalanced relation causes weaker nations to become victims of disillusionment. The relation was supposed to improve its condition, but instead practically overpowered it and did nothing regarding its development. The sense of deprivation of basic necessities of life along with 'fair or foul' demands of superpowers stress people's minds, individually as well as nationwide and this suppression is even more dangerous, especially for those nations where there is a large number of people subject to unemployment. It is said that an unoccupied mind is the home of the devil and it is observable in the current crisis of world affairs. So Ulrich Beck sounds right when he says: "Globalization - however the word is understood - implies the weakening of state sovereignty and state structures."⁵⁹⁰

Let's have a bird's eye view of the historical facts of the recent past couple of decades to clarify whether the above-mentioned perceptions are just perceptions or are based on some ground realities. After the USSR's fall as a

⁵⁸⁹ Galloway, George (10 Dec 2006), 'George Galloway Sky News one man terrorist is another man [freedom fighter]', during an interview on Sky News by Anna, via Youtube.com, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fkCaZn5C84c>

⁵⁹⁰ Beck, Ulrich (January/March 2000) 'The Cosmopolitan Perspective: Sociology of the Second Age of Modernity', *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 51, Issue No. 1 pp. 79-105, p. 86

superpower during the 1990's, America became the sole superpower of the world and it introduced the concept of a New World Order that was actually an ideology to fit the entire world into the frame of America's plan. For achieving this objective, the US needed to have a hold on the trade of the most important emerging economies in the Middle East, and tackle its existing and emerging rivals. To have free access to the oil of rich Arab countries, the US involved itself in the 1991 Gulf War against Iraq, while previously it was a great supporter of Iraq during the Iraq/Iran War in the 1980's. It was the US that provided weapons of mass destruction to Saddam Hussein, the president of Iraq at that time, for use against Iran and he did in fact use them. Then what was the reason to launch a war against the same person just after the end of the Iraq/Iran war?

Everyone knows the history of Al Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden: who trained him? When was he trained? Where was he trained? And WHY? Gilles Kepel summarised it clearly in this statement: "Arab funds, abundant American weaponry, and trade in heroin were the mainstays of camp life, which was heavily infiltrated by the Pakistani Inter-Service Intelligence agency (ISI) and the American CIA, as well as by the leading organizations of Pakistani Islamism, notably Maududi's Jamaat-e-Islami and the Deobandi Madrassas."⁵⁹¹ What must

⁵⁹¹ Kepel, Gilles, Translated by Anthony F. Roberts, (2006), *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, pg. 137, Publishers: I.B. Tauris, UK, 4th edition (repeated on pg. 363, 441, 453)

be considered is the undeniable situational dilemma that if you incite someone to be violent against your enemy, afterwards you can't control the monster that you have created. If one can suck the blood of your enemies, s/he can do the same against you any time as you have created the monster. The same thing happened and Al Qaeda and Tehreek e Taliban didn't allow the US to hold on to Afghanistan after the USSR army left. Even further, “the United States viewed a number of Islamist figures with favor ... in the wake of the CIA’s massive support of the Afghan jihad”⁵⁹² till 1995, claims Kepel. But what followed was the twin towers massacre; the collapse of the World Trade Centre on 9/11 2001. Thus the ‘war on terror’ against Afghanistan and the same Islamists the US had been supporting. That was followed by the invasion of Iraq in 2003 with an allegation of having Weapons of Mass Destruction despite the lack of evidence,⁵⁹³ similar to that of attacking Afghanistan yet having no clue whether 9/11 was carried out by Al Qaeda or whether it was part of the US’s ‘New World Order,’ as there are still some unanswered questions regarding this unsolved mystery as “we still haven’t gotten to the bottom of what happened on 9/11”.⁵⁹⁴

The most interesting thing is the apologies of the masterminds, including

⁵⁹² Kepel, Gilles, Translated by Anthony F. Roberts, (2006), *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, pg. 366, Publishers: I.B. Tauris, UK, 4th edition

⁵⁹³ Chilcot, Sir John (2016), *The Iraq Inquiry: ‘Sir John Chilcot’s public statement, 6 July 2016*, <http://www.iraqinquiry.org.uk/the-inquiry/sir-john-chilcots-public-statement/>

⁵⁹⁴ Shenon, Phillip (12 May 2016), *Saudi officials were ‘supporting’ 9/11 hijackers, commission member says*, *The Guardian*, <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2016/may/12/911-commission-saudi-arabia-hijackers>

the CIA chief of that time whose name was George J. Tenet, Colin Powell, the American Secretary State and Tony Blair's apology and excuse for invading Muslim countries.^{595,596} The real goal, and accordingly the result, was the implementation of the 'New World Order' that did nothing but leave chaos in its wake in the Middle East in the form of ISIS/ISIL.

Now, a more recent violent extremist group with the name of ISIS, also known as DA'ISH or Daulat e Islamia has emerged. An interesting hearsay is about the history and background of ISIS's top leadership, On August 4, 2014, a report in a French newspaper was published, quoting three different sources who claimed that 'Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi, the so-called 'Caliph' the head of ISIL Islamic State in Iraq and the Levant is, according to sources reputed to originate from Edward Snowden, an actor named Elliot Shimon, a Mossad trained operative.' (By GPD on August 4, 2014, no more available on the website)⁵⁹⁷ claiming Simon Elliot, aka Al-Baghdadi, son of Jewish parents, and a Mossad agent.

Apart from above mentioned admittedly 'suspicious and doubtful' reports, most of the ISIS jihad is in fact carried out against Muslims and Islam.

⁵⁹⁵ Tenet, George J. & Harlow, Bill (20 Apr 2007), *At the Center of the Storm*, Harper Collins, USA

⁵⁹⁶ Shane, Scott and Mazzetti, Mark (27 Apr 2007), *Ex-C.I.A. Chief, in Book, Assails Cheney on Iraq*, The New York Times, <https://www.nytimes.com/2007/04/27/washington/27intel.html>

⁵⁹⁷ (By GPD on August 4, 2014) <http://www.veteranstoday.com/author/admin/>

According to ISIS leader Abu Baker Baghdadi's *Fatwa*, Jihad against Israel and defending the fundamental rights of Palestinian Muslims is non-obligatory, the same point of view it expresses against Indian state oppression⁵⁹⁸ against Kashmiri Muslims. ISIS-Jihad, for the most part, creates victims among Muslims and so is being practised in Iraq, Syria and Afghanistan by slaughtering and chopping off the heads of innocent Muslims; men, women and children. If ISIS represents a true Islamic extremist terrorist group, then why is it taking a bath with the blood of Muslims?

It is also very important to mention some of ISIS's actions against a non-Muslim community, namely of the Paris attacks on 13 November 2015, a first at that level that left 129 dead bodies behind along with 300 injured, and the whole world in general and the West in particular, terrified. It was undoubtedly inhuman, condemnable and unjustified. But even so, it seems very tiny if it is compared to the direct deaths in the war zone during the Afghan and Iraq wars (in Afghanistan: 147,000, 65,000 in Pakistan from Oct. 2001 – Oct. 2018, while 268,000 to 295,000 in Iraq from March 2003 – Oct. 2018) as per an incomplete estimate of the toll of human killings.⁵⁹⁹ And then ISIS's brutality against hundreds of Muslims every day must be added as well. And the consequences of

⁵⁹⁸ OIC Summit Declaration 2019

⁵⁹⁹ Crawford, Neta C. (Nov 2018), 'Costs of War; Human Cost of the Post-9/11 Wars: Lethality and the Need for Transparency', [Watson Institute International and Public Affairs, Brown University](#)

the Paris attacks actually distorted not only the image of Islam but also turned the lives of the Muslim communities in the West upside down. While the whole world condemned extremism and terrorism spread by ISIS after the Paris attacks, the USA's strategic approval for selling weapons to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is revealing its global game. "The U.S. State Department has approved the sale of \$1.29 billion in smart bombs to Saudi Arabia to help replenish supplies used in its battle against insurgents in Yemen and air strikes against the Islamic State in Syria, the Pentagon said on Monday."⁶⁰⁰ Keeping in mind the fact that Saudi Arabia "was the home to 15 of the 19 hijackers on 9/11."⁶⁰¹

Saudi Arabia is evidently a first-hand supporter and supplier of resources not only to ISIS but also to extremist terrorist groups and that fact has been admitted by Hillary Clinton in a confidential memo, in these words: "donors in Saudi Arabia constitute the most significant source of funding to Sunni terrorist groups worldwide."⁶⁰² But still the US sells weapons to Saudi Arabia for fighting against terrorism. It seems a joke 'to sell bombs to terrorists' (ISIS) supporters and suppliers (Saudi Arabian Govt officials) to strike ISIS. This is basically the settlement made in February 1945 between the USA and KSA; President Franklin Roosevelt had had a meeting with Saudi Arabia's founding king

⁶⁰⁰ Reporting by Andrea Shalal; Editing by Ted Kerr. (16 November 2015), [Reuters](#)

⁶⁰¹ Shenon, Phillip (12 May 2016), *Saudi officials were 'supporting' 9/11 hijackers, commission member says*, [The Guardian](#).

⁶⁰² Clinton, Hillary, (30 December 2009), Confidential Memo To: Department of the Treasury | Kuwait Kuwait City | Pakistan Islamabad | Qatar Doha | Saudi Arabia Riyadh | United Arab Emirates Abu Dhabi, [Public Library of US Diplomacy](#).

Abdulaziz, on board the USS Quincy in the Suez Canal⁶⁰³.



The need for democracy in the Gulf was not on Roosevelt's mind then, and it still is not on Trump's mind now. On behalf of the United States, Roosevelt struck a Faustian bargain with one of the world's most repressive countries: We would provide them with security; they would provide us with oil. A question in every sensible mind is whether the US is really serious about crushing ISIS, or is it just playing a global game of bluff by shaking hands with the right, to slap with the left? Apparently, a globalized world is getting involved in the 'War on Terror' to reduce violence and terrorism, yet one could argue that the 'War for Terror' has other goals. The US's campaign against the Syrian

⁶⁰³ Taylor, Adam (2015), *The first time a U.S. president met a Saudi King*, [The Washington Post](#), accessed on 13/02/2019

⁶⁰⁴ Image credit: AP Photo/File [The Washington Post](#)

government and ISIS became bogged down because of its bipolar strategy. Simultaneously, attacking both ISIS and the only forces capable of actually defeating it in combat would not put an end to chaos, anarchy and violence. That indicates that globalization, under the umbrella of the US's dual global policies, is breeding violence in many forms.

Vladimir Putin, in the Russian President's speech at the G20 Summit held in Turkey on 15 November 2015, exposed this bluff with evidence.⁶⁰⁵ He shared Russian intelligence data on Islamic State financing with his G20 colleagues: the terrorists appear to be financed from 40 countries, including some G20 member states. Putin told journalists that during the summit, "I provided examples based on our data on the financing of different Islamic State (IS, formerly ISIS/ISIL) units by private individuals. This money, as we have established, comes from 40 countries and, there are some of the G20 members among them,..."⁶⁰⁶

⁶⁰⁵ Putin, Vladimir, (16 Nov 2015), 'ISIS financed from 40 countries, incl G20 members – Putin (FULL SPEECH)', RT news channel, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=96k_8ywt22g

⁶⁰⁶ Putin, Vladimir (16 Nov 2015), 'Responses to journalists' questions following the G20 summit', <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/50704>



Russian President Vladimir Putin poses for a group photo at the G20 summit with the participation of representatives of guest countries and international organizations in Antalya, Turkey, November 15, 2015. © Mihail Metzler / RIA Novosti

Putin also spoke of the urgent need to curb the illegal oil trade by ISIS. He showed his audience at the summit, the photos taken from space and from aircraft which clearly demonstrate the scale of the illegal trade in oil and petroleum products. He said, “The motorcade of refueling vehicles stretched for dozens of kilometers, so that from a height of 4,000 to 5,000 meters they stretch beyond the horizon,” Putin added, comparing the convoy to gas and oil pipeline systems.⁶⁰⁷ He highlighted very important clues by providing the pictures taken from satellite cameras that show the long rows of vehicles for transferring oil reserves from Daulat e Islamia occupied areas to other areas. Which countries

⁶⁰⁷ Putin, Vladimir (16 Nov 2015), ‘Responses to journalists’ questions following the G20 summit’, <http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/50704>

are the customers of this terrorist state for oil? Which countries are supplying them weapons and other basic necessities of life? How did terrorists access the packets of edible goods with Pentagon packaging? How come the US is unaware of KSA's unconditional support and supplies to ISIS? Or it is, intentionally, overlooked for the sake of economic interests?

Conclusion

The significance and productivity of globalization for the development of this planet cannot be denied, rather it is an essential requirement of the times but, despite its many benefits, it has proven to harbor a good deal of violence. This is not only a matter of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction inaugurated by the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, for example, but includes many other forms of direct or indirect or structural violence resulting from the routines of economic and political institutions on a global scale. And if globalisation would be implemented and practised with honesty, and for the sake of humanity? Unfortunately, empirical observations are more pessimistic; political and economic instability in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Pakistan and Palestine are contemporary examples. Some burning issues, such as whether globalization intentionally targets primarily Muslim countries? Whether globalization still follows the policy of 'divide and rule' introduced by

colonialism in the past? If globalization is fueling the fire of sectarianism for its larger interests? Unfortunately, all these questions can be answered YES. If not, what else is responsible for spreading violence and terrorism if not globalization? Can't it be taken as a new form of the Crusades, in weaker nations whose blood is considered cheaper than the valuable blood of the mightier nations?

To conclude the discussion, it can be said that globalization can become the source of worldwide peace and contentment only if developed nations get ready to say goodbye to the neocolonial lust for power, wanting to rule the world by hook or by crook. Global dictatorship can never lead the world to peace because where there is no justice, no peace can ever be expected. Let humanity and humanism rule for the sake of peace.

Section C

**Social Misrepresentations and
Pakistan**

Chapter 9

Life, Art and Politics: On Social Misrepresentations

This chapter critically analyses how Mohsin Hamid in 'Discontent and Its Civilizations' delineates the ruptures prompted by a decade and a half of tectonic change, from the "war on terror" to the struggles of individuals to maintain humanity in the inflexible physiognomy of repressive ideology, or the apathetic face of globalization. Whether he is discussing ritual love affairs or pop culture, drones or the pattern of day-to-day life in an extended family, he carries us beyond the doomsayer headlines of a perturbed West and a turbulent East and helps to bring a dazzling manifold world within spiritual and intellectual reach. The classifications under which the essays are congregated: 'Life', 'Art', and 'Politics' may be considered universal, as the themes of these segments are wide-ranging. Hamid's nonfiction pieces of writings are deep-rooted in the shifting nature of his homeland. He talks about the way in which Pakistan "plays a recurring role as villain in the horror sub-industry within the news business". He believes that in Pakistan, Islam has been a binding force for developing unity and strengthening nationhood. Although, he admits, Pakistan, "a test bed for pluralism on a globalising planet", is still struggling for "more pluralism". American drone attacks have had a deeply detrimental effect by refusing the

sovereignty of Pakistan and Pakistani society, and by demanding that Pakistan ‘do more’ to address the problem of extremists who tyrannize Pakistanis/Muslims or non-Pakistanis/non-Muslims in the same way. Such social misrepresentations, for self interest, not only shatter the image of a nation, but also play a vital role in the transformation of the nation. Pakistan and Islam both need to be reviewed without any ‘makeup and plastic fangs’ or else future generations will look back at our era and think of us with the same perplexity that we think of those who lived in societies that legalized slavery.

“To exist, it requires the presence of more than one point of view”⁶⁰⁸. This difference of opinion establishes healthy societies. There are points of apprehension and fragmentation within a culture and it is around these rupture lines in the representational system of a culture that new social representations evolve. These points of cleavage indicate that there is a lack of meaning, a point where the unfamiliar appears. So, just as nature abhors a vacuum, culture abhors an absence of meaning, and sets in motion a kind of representational work to ‘familiarize the unfamiliar’⁶⁰⁹ to re-establish a sense of solidity and stability. But if the same representational system approaches the unfamiliar with

⁶⁰⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. xix

⁶⁰⁹ Moscovici, Serge (2001), *Social Representations: Explorations In Social Psychology*, New York, USA, New York University Press

discriminative social misrepresentations, the originality of the unfamiliar evanesces with the passage of time and its misshapen, disproportionate familiarity ensues as psychological reality or reification.

Islam, Muslims and Pakistan have been obsessively discussed in the mainstream media and academic conferences in the past decade and a half. This current obsession is varnished negatively with the global media's predominantly discriminative representation of all three, portraying Islam as a religion of coercion and terrorism, Muslims generally as barbaric, extremists, intolerant, narrow-minded, frenzied terrorists while Pakistan is depicted as an epicentre of terrorism, a state that 'sponsors terrorism'⁶¹⁰, a state of extremist fundamentalists that 'promote the export of terror'⁶¹¹.

Islam has been consistently represented by the western media as a violence-prone religion that is utterly averse to the West. The theme of 'Islam and the West' has been a hotly debated issue on academic forums over the past fifteen years. It has also been the theme of investigative writings, reports, and publications. It would not be wrong to say that this topic has become a trend that signifies the importance of the topic, with its variety of illustrations and inclinations, by the western media. And the topic definitely has a certain

⁶¹⁰ Byman, Daniel (2005), *Deadly Connections: States That Sponsor Terrorism*, Cambridge University Press

⁶¹¹ Cameron, David (28 Jul 2010), *UK PM Cautions Pakistan Over Terror Exports*, BBC.com

importance for other countries in Asia and Africa where Muslims are in the majority.

Fear of Islam and Muslims in the form of Islamophobia has intensified with the 9/11 incident at the World Trade Center in New York, the Taliban's fundamentalist proscriptions and restrictions in Afghanistan, the series of terror attacks in France, the emergence of the self-proclaimed, Islamic State group ISIS/ISIL, which shows videos of the beheadings of the Muslims who don't follow 'their version of Islam' as well as the journalists who dare to publish something critical of them. Consequently, "Muslim identity and the concerns of Muslims are increasingly being defined in terms of an oppositional dialectic that pits Islam and Muslims against the rest of the world"⁶¹² F.A. Noor's argument seems correct as Islamophobia has become the mainstream media conversation "where images of Muslims as murderous fanatics abound in movies, videos and computer games"⁶¹³.

Similarly, in the shifting soils of our homeland Pakistan, we may fantasise about having the freedom 'to invent ourselves'⁶¹⁴ in Hamid's words, for

⁶¹² Noor, F. A. (2007), 'Mediating the mediated image of Islam: Multiple audiences, differentiated constituencies in the global age', in Abdul Rashid Moten and Noraini M. Noor, Eds. *Terrorism, Democracy, The West & The Muslim World*, Published by Thomson Learning, Malaysia, pg. 261

⁶¹³ Noor, F. A. (2007), 'Mediating the mediated image of Islam: Multiple audiences, differentiated constituencies in the global age', in Abdul Rashid Moten and Noraini M. Noor, Eds. *Terrorism, Democracy, The West & The Muslim World*, Published by Thomson Learning, Malaysia, pg. 267

⁶¹⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. xi

becoming a different person, even a different kind of human but the transnationalism of we Pakistanis is informed by a globally de-centred Pakistani perspective and, additionally, a growing interest in post-national collectivities and the utility of our country's Asian inter-connectedness. The country or the community that does not template itself to fit into the western democratic framework is presented as 'problematic'. Pakistan was and is the most 'problematic state' for the global revisionists in the current scenario for many reasons. The most important reason is its being the only Islamic state with a status of one of the seven countries possessing nuclear weapons. Along with nuclear potential, it is recognised by the neoliberal revisionists as the supporter of the extremist fundamentalists that are undermining the peace process in the region, particularly in Afghanistan (although Pakistan has been fighting as an ally of the US in its so-called war on terror in Afghanistan) and Kashmir while being located in an area of immense strategic importance, not to mention Pakistan's poor record regarding human rights abuses⁶¹⁵ concerning blasphemy laws, children's and women's abuse, humiliation of minorities and intolerance against freedom of speech. Pakistan's durable friendship with China, a communist state, is another concern for the capitalist West that does not want any communist country to have easy access to the markets of the Middle East, as

⁶¹⁵ Human Rights Watch, (2018), World Report 2018, <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018/country-chapters/pakistan>

such access can make it more difficult for the West to sustain global power, since China is now an economic superpower. This is why the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor, also known as CPEC, is being taken as China's strong appearance in the scenario of neo-global-colonialism and thus is like a red robe for the mighty bull (Uncle Sam and his allies). The New Cold War has begun and will be discussed as an epilogue of the thesis. Coming back towards the causes why Pakistan is a target, last but not least the cause is its intelligence agency, the ISI, is one of the world's most extensive top secret agencies and as such does not take lightly any threat against Pakistan or its interests, as per its slogan, Pakistan First. So, it is necessary to have a bird's eye view of the current political scenario to understand the goals of contemporary global power politics in the region.

Power Politics and Its Goals

The fall of the USSR led the world to the end of the Cold War. The US emerged as solo superpower on the global map and that ushered in a new world order that not only includes the change of imperial regimes in the Middle East but also introduces the possible change in geographical boundaries, Christine Fair expressed this notion of Americans in these words: "We love this idea that

..... we can transform a problematic state”.⁶¹⁶ Mike Pompeo, the Secretary of State for the USA, called it “America’s innate goodness”⁶¹⁷ with claims that the United States was “a force for good in the Middle East”⁶¹⁸ . The West in general and the Americans in particular are obsessed with this idea that they can transform countries. They believe that there would be no problem if the world would be transformed to fit into the Western ideological framework, ignoring the natural phenomenon of social psychology that varies from region to region, country to country, religion to religion, culture to culture and so on. These political goals of the global powers are rooted in clear notions; 1) to sustain power, 2) to get control over petroleum supplies⁶¹⁹, 3) to empower Israel by obliterating all who can ever possibly be a threat for Israel.⁶²⁰ It is an open secret that US interventions across the world in general, and in the Middle East in particular, have a geopolitical impact in the postcolonial era in the past six decades. Although U.S. presidents have known this ugly truth, they have worked hard to hide it from the public — both in the United States and across the world.

⁶¹⁶ Fair, Christine (2014), *Fighting To The End: Pakistan Army's Way of War*, Her Lecture on her book at [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com) (19 min: 30 sec - 20 min)

⁶¹⁷ Pompeo, Mike (10 January 2019), *A Force for Good: America Reinvigorated in the Middle East* Speech at The American University in Cairo, Cairo, Egypt, published on the official site of the US Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2019/01/288410.htm> Accessed on 15 January 2019

⁶¹⁸ Pompeo, Mike (10 January 2019), *A Force for Good: America Reinvigorated in the Middle East* Speech at The American University in Cairo, Cairo, Egypt, published on the official site of the US Department of State, <https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2019/01/288410.htm> Accessed on 15 January 2019

⁶¹⁹ Eisenhower, Dwight (1958), 139. *Memorandum of a Conversation Between the President and the Vice President (Nixon)*, White House, Washington, July 15, 1958, 9 a.m. published on the official website for the Office of The Historian, <https://history.state.gov/historicaldocuments/frus1958-60v11/d139#fnref:1.5.6.2.10.218.12.2>

⁶²⁰ Clinton, Hillary (24 Apr 2008), Position of Hillary Clinton on Iran, during an Interview to France 24 English, youtube.com, <https://youtu.be/YtjJqng9jv8>

These types of dictatorial interventions - Vietnam, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya, Syria for example - are never welcomed, neither by the government nor by the public, which is why there is “a campaign of hatred”⁶²¹ against the US, not only by the governments “but by the people”⁶²². So to gain popularity among the public to justify their interference, they add ‘spin,’ as presented by Richard Nixon (then Vice President) during a dialogue with President Eisenhower in 1958 explaining how the case should be put to the public and the press:

“For the United States, the argument has to be tied to Mid East oil; for world opinion you cannot allow it to appear that the Mid East countries are simply a pawn in the big power contest for their resources. What is required, the Vice President said, was an historical announcement of when a civil war becomes the type of action in which outside intervention by the United States is justified. When is a civil war not a civil war? Any nation ought to have the right to revolution. We recognize the right of revolution. We also say that every person has the right of self-determination—that right of self-determination is one that carries with it the right not to have outside interference that stimulates it. We go into Lebanon because we

⁶²¹ Eisenhower, Dwight (1958), 139. *Memorandum of Conversation Between the President and the Vice President (Nixon)*, White House, Washington, July 15, 1958, 9 a.m. published on the official website for [the Office of The Historian](#)

⁶²² Eisenhower, Dwight (1958), 139. *Memorandum of Conversation Between the President and the Vice President (Nixon)*, White House, Washington, July 15, 1958, 9 a.m. published on the official website for [the Office of The Historian](#)

were invited in and because here is a man, Chamoun, who was freely elected leader in his country who finds his country infiltrated by corruption, subversion and bribery. In the larger sense the President could say we have to find a way to deal with civil⁶²³ war—if we do not, we will lose the world. The Communists have developed the device of foreign-inspired revolution to create a civil war (a classic case was Czechoslovakia). What we are doing here is saying that finally the West has reached a conclusion. We will not stand by to allow civil war to deliver a country even to Nasser.”⁶²⁴

And the same theory was repeated later to topple many unwelcome regimes⁶²⁵ in the Middle East over the past six decades, since 1958. Some of the obvious fundamentals on which imperial civilizations were founded are:

1. Might makes right;
2. Self-interest and competition;
3. My race and nation are superior;

⁶²³ Nixon, Richard (1958), 140. *Memorandum of a Conference With the President White House, Washington, July 15, 1958, 11:25 am*, published on the official website for [the Office of The Historian](#)

⁶²⁴ Richard Nixon, (1958), 139. *Memorandum of Conversation Between the President and the Vice President (Nixon), White House, Washington, July 15, 1958, 9 a.m.* published on the official website for [the Office of The Historian](#)

⁶²⁵ Hasan, Mehdi (11 January 2019), *Mike Pompeo Lied About the U.S. and the Middle East. Here's the Truth.* [The Intercept](#). Last accessed on 16 Jan 2019

4. I have a right to whatever I want⁶²⁶

It means that whoever has power may claim to be right because might is always right. No matter what fairness demands, might's preference for self-interest is justifiable. Being in a position of dominant power, one may claim to be more civilized even if it means the illegal invasion of a country, conducting carpet-bombing, attacking with drones and violating another country's sovereignty, fueling the fire of civil wars for so-called freedom fighting against unwelcome regimes, and then pulling out, leaving behind anarchy, chaos and instability. All is well and you are still civilized because you are powerful. So, for the continuation of power politics, the global game changers try to prevail in the art of inventive misrepresentation through their geopolitical strategic ideology⁶²⁷ not only through blame games but also by creating the circumstances in which assumption becomes truth. Revisionism takes place in any case.

Art of Social MisRepresentations

As a matter of fact, the Muslims are antagonists to the West in their theocentric way of life while the West is signified by the disconnection of the church and state that is tilted in favour of secularism. To change social psychological perceptions for transforming ideas into practice, the art of social

⁶²⁶ Michel, T., S.J. (2005). *Said Nursi's Views on Muslim-Christian Understanding*, Istanbul, Turkey, Nesil Printing.

⁶²⁷ Chilcot, Sir John (6 July 2016), *The Iraq Inquiry: Chilcot Report: Finding At-A-Glance*, via [BBC News](#)

misrepresentation is used. These are shocking facts, when more than half of the British Public acquires knowledge about Islam and Pakistan through the western media, which mostly portrays them negatively. Allah says in Quran “If somebody innovates something which is not present in our religion (of Islamic Monotheism), then that thing will be rejected.”⁶²⁸

Ek akhbar hoon aukaat hé kya meri, magar

*Shehr main aag lganay k liye kaafi hoon*⁶²⁹

My Translation: Although I am merely an unworthy piece called newspaper, I am enough to light a fire to burn the cities into ashes. This feeding of incorrect, fabricated information unsurprisingly creates a cynical opinion in a large number of people, regarding the beliefs of a religion that has nothing to do with any of the above-mentioned notions. In a study by the University of Birmingham, Muslims, Islam and the Media: Headline research findings (2001 & 2012) reveal that:

1. The role and impact of the media is ‘contentious and debatable’
2. 74% of the British public claim that they know ‘nothing or next to nothing

⁶²⁸ Al Bukhari, Imam Abi Abdullah Muhammad ibn Ismail(194-256 A.H) , (810-870 A.D) , Translated by: Khan, Muhammad Muhsin (2013), *The Translation of the Meanings of Sahih Al Bukhari: Arabic-English*, 3rd Edition, Darussalam Publishers and Distributers, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, Vol. 3, pg. 505, Hadith No. 2697

⁶²⁹ Indori, Dr Rahat (2012), *Rahat Indori - Hamari Association Mushaira - Dubai 2012*, Next TV, via Youtube.com <https://youtu.be/eUWepBwa26k>

about Islam’

3. 64% of the British Public claim that what they do know about Islam is ‘acquired through the media’
4. 91% of the coverage was deemed negative
5. 84% of press coverage represented Islam and Muslims either as ‘likely to cause damage or danger’ or as ‘operating in a time of intense difficulty or danger’.⁶³⁰

Consequently, this type of media reporting breeds mistrust which then increases a sense of insecurity while causing reluctance, suspicion and anxiety amongst non-Muslims. This mistrust reduces the chances of successful preventive measures against extremism. Such misrepresentations increase hate crimes and discriminative social behaviours towards Muslims and Islam. This negative portrayal distances the communities by expanding communication gaps.

Media opinion is fashioned through forged intelligence reports, fabricated media briefings and escalated leaks revelations. The chairman of The Iraq Inquiry committee, Sir John Chilcot, published the committee’s findings which rightly declared that military action against Iraq at that time was not a last resort

⁶³⁰ Allen, Chris (24 Oct 2012), ‘Muslim, Islam and the British Media’ Research Findings in 2001 & 2012’, A review of the evidence relating to the representation of Muslims and Islam in the British media, Written evidence submitted to the All Party Parliamentary Group on Islamophobia, University of Birmingham, <https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/Documents/college-social-sciences/social-policy/IASS/news-events/MEDIA-ChrisAllen-APPGEvidence-Oct2012.pdf>

before the exhaustion of all peaceful options for disarmament.⁶³¹ There is no justification for the aggressive judgments regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction, inadequate planning and preparation for the aftermath and the failure to achieve the stated objectives. It is hard to believe that these conclusions were not heeded, rather it appears as undeniable evidence of the political move through social misrepresentation by the global game changers; the US and its blind followers among certain European countries; France, notably, refused to come on board. The public endorsement for this dirty political game is achieved through media representations. The Western media analyses Islam, Muslims and Pakistan with their discriminative standards, a biased liberal lens and neocolonial mindset. After the ‘successful’ transformation of the most problematic states of Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and Syria, the next targets of this revisionist ideology are Iran and Pakistan.⁶³²

Hamid talks about the way in which Pakistan “plays a recurring role as villain in the horror sub-industry within the news business”⁶³³. In Pakistan, Islam has been a binding force for developing unity and strengthening nationhood, although Pakistan, “a test bed for pluralism on a globalising planet”⁶³⁴, is still

⁶³¹ Chilcot, Sir John (2016), *The Iraq Inquiry; Chilcot Report: Finding At-A-Glance*, via BBC News, 6 July 2016

⁶³² Scheuer, Michael (last viewed 15 January 2019), CIA intelligence officer’s interview on TV Channel, [youtube.com](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=...)

⁶³³ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. xiv

⁶³⁴ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. xiv

struggling for “more pluralism.”⁶³⁵ American drone attacks have had a deeply detrimental effect by refusing the sovereignty of Pakistan and Pakistani society, and by demanding that Pakistan ‘do more’ to address the problem of extremists who tyrannize Pakistanis/Muslims or non-Pakistanis/ non-Muslims in the same way. But still Pakistan is blamed for supporting terrorists. Pakistan has been fighting the global ‘war on terror’ and as a result making terrorists Pakistan’s enemy. 9/11 happened once in 2001. But Pakistan’s efforts and the US’s repetition of ‘do more’ have led Pakistan to face innumerable 9/11’s. Pakistan has been sandwiched between the US’s ‘do more’ and the terrorists’ revenge attacks. Tens of thousands dead, and still Pakistan is the victim of misrepresentation.

No matter what the representations are, political or social, cultural or religious, these are the settings for revisionism. Whether representation of the Kashmir Conflict between Pakistan and India, Pakistani media censorship, language controversies in Pakistan, gender discrimination or radicalised fundamentalism, every single aspect is radicalised with misrepresentational revisionist ideology. A detailed analysis about some of the misrepresentations will be presented in the following chapters. Some of the misrepresentations are discussed below.

⁶³⁵ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. xiv

Political Representation of the Kashmir Conflict

The intentional effort to sabotage Pakistan's stance regarding the plebiscite in Kashmir can be observed in Fair's erroneous representation⁶³⁶ about UN resolution 1948 in which it is declared that the first three steps of the resolutions were sequential and conditional, and Pakistan failed to follow them, but conveniently overlooked fact is: firstly, these steps were not mandatory directives but were instead based on recommendations as this resolution was passed by the UN Security Council under chapter 6 and not under chapter 7 of the UN charter that allows the intervention of NATO forces to solve the issue while in the case of Kashmir, no external intervention is permitted by the UN considering the legal right of Kashmiris to self determination; secondly, the ceasefire and line of control were established accordingly but when the UN commission came to the subcontinent to implement the terms of the resolutions for the plebiscite in February 1949, India refused to cooperate, adding an extra condition that Pakistan abandon the 'Azad Forces'⁶³⁷. Azad Forces were made up of the demobilised soldiers of the British Indian Army, belonging to the Poonch and Mirpur districts, who rose in revolt against the Maharaja of Jammu and

⁶³⁶ Fair, Christine (2014), *Fighting To The End: Pakistan Army's Way of War*, her lecture on her book at youtube.com <https://youtu.be/JMgijhexkqE> (19 min:30 sec-20 min)

⁶³⁷ Korbel, Josef (1966, originally published in 1954), *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton University Press

Kashmir, so it was India (not Pakistan) that refused to follow the UN resolution because Pakistani forces or nationals were to be evacuated, and not the Kashmiri freedom fighters. Pakistan does have legal and moral grounds to claim Kashmir because, contrary to Fair's legal or moral standards with the purpose of social misrepresentation, Pakistan was neither considered as aggressor, nor was Kashmir's accession to India considered legal because the Kashmir resolution was and still is under chapter 6. The Kashmir conflict and its misrepresentations will be discussed later in chapter 10 of this thesis.

Cultural Representation of Language Problems in Pakistan

Another example of misrepresentation is of Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. National language policy is used as a tool for instigating unrest among people by suggesting that the importance of their mother tongue is being ignored and Urdu is being imposed upon them, being the mother tongue of only 7.59%. To hype the language controversy, a BBC columnist, M. Ilyas Khan, found a tweet worthy enough to quote in his column that says: "Urdu is not the language of majority, still it is the national language of Pakistan. Even in linguistics, minority is imposed on majority"⁶³⁸. It is simply an indication of attempts at creating ethnic controversy, because provincial legislative assemblies have the

⁶³⁸ Khan, M. Ilyas (2015), *Uncommon Tongue: Pakistan's Confusing Move to Urdu*, BBC News, Islamabad, 12 Sep.

right to establish their own local/ regional/ provincial languages according to the Language policy in Pakistan. As a matter of fact, Urdu is just like the first language of all Pakistanis along with one of the local languages which include Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, Balochi, Saraiki for example, and was chosen as the national language because it evolved on the subcontinent as a necessary means of communication among soldiers from all over the subcontinent, ie. greater India. It is not only understood all over Pakistan but also all over India. That is why “it is considered an emblem of unity that helps to display the unified identity of Pakistanis.

The rationale behind this privilege to Urdu, as given by the government of Pakistan⁶³⁹, is that Urdu is so extensively widespread that it is almost like the first language of all Pakistanis. Moreover, since Urdu is a requirement for most jobs, it is necessary for everyone to have near-native proficiency. Moreover, it is considered an emblem of unity that helps to display the unified identity of Pakistanis. In this emblematic role, it serves the political intention to combat provincial or regional ethnicity, which otherwise would break the federation. However, as for the provision that other Pakistani languages may be used, it is explained that the state, being democratic and sensitive to the rights of the

⁶³⁹ Rahman, Tariq (January 10, 2015), *Language policy, multilingualism and language vitality in Pakistan*, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, Pakistan

federating units, allows the use of provincial languages if desired. Rahman indicates that Urdu was known as Hindi, Hindavi or Dehlvi before it was named Urdu, from the 13th century.⁶⁴⁰ It developed in the subcontinent with the necessity of communication in the camps of the Mughal Army that consisted of soldiers with a variety of linguistic backgrounds. It didn't have any script until the early 19th century. At the end of the 18th century, Urdu had taken the place of Persian as the language of Muslim culture in India.⁶⁴¹ So Perso-Arabic script was adapted for it by the Muslims of India while the Hindu community preferred to use Sanskrit script.^{642, 643} It had become a lingua franca that was understood and could be used for communication all over the subcontinent by almost all communities. For that reason, the British rulers used it as the language of administration to replace the pre-colonial Persian language to counter the influence of Persian.⁶⁴⁴

During the campaign for an independent Muslim country, Urdu was associated with the Muslims of India while Hindi was considered the language of Hindus. This is also one of the reasons that Urdu was declared the national language of Pakistan. The reason for Pakistan's nationalistic approach to

⁶⁴⁰ Rahman, Tariq (2011), *From Hindi to Urdu: A Social and Political History*, Karachi, Oxford University Press

⁶⁴¹ Abu Bakar, Muhammad (March 9, 2014), *Multilingual Culture Of Pakistan*, [Slideshare](#), Slide No. 7

⁶⁴² Rahman, Tariq (2011), *From Hindi to Urdu: A Social and Political History*, Karachi, Oxford University Press

⁶⁴³ Rahman, Tariq (2014), *Pakistani English* (PDF), Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, pg. 9

⁶⁴⁴ Rahman, Tariq (2000), *The Teaching of Urdu in British India* (PDF), *The Annual of Urdu Studies* 15-55.

language policy is that Pakistan is not ethnically or linguistically a homogeneous country. The early policy-makers wanted to create a nation on the basis of ‘one language, one religion, one nation’.

As a matter of fact, almost every Pakistani is bilingual with native proficiency in both mother/regional language as well as Urdu, especially in urban areas. Urban parents prefer to communicate with their kids in Urdu, considering it a more civilised language, while the mother tongue or regional language of the surrounding environment is learned simply by exposure. A small number of elite urban parents speak both English and Urdu with their kids. In the rural areas, where there is a lower literacy rate and a majority of parents have never gone to school, Urdu is learnt as a second language, complementing native competence in local languages. “Many high-school and college educated Pakistanis are trilingual, being able to speak English and Urdu as well as their own regional language with varying fluency.”⁶⁴⁵ For detailed understanding of the misrepresentations regarding the Urdu language in Pakistan, link to author's published paper titled ‘Urdu Imperialism in Pakistan: Reality or Myth?’⁶⁴⁶ is given in the footnote.

⁶⁴⁵ Kia (November 21, 2015), *The World's Most Multilingual Countries – Ranked*, Published In Atlas & Boots

⁶⁴⁶ Naqvi, Syeda Sughra (31 Aug 2017), ‘Urdu Imperialism in Pakistan: Reality or Myth?’, *International E-Journal of Advances in Social Sciences*, Vol. 3, Issue 8, pg. 387 - 390, <http://ijasos.ocerintjournals.org/en/issue/31049/336558#author678878>, PDF

Representations of Gender Discrimination

When we look at places like Pakistan or the Middle East, different political agendas are involved which often use Islam as the force to gain popularity and to implement a fanatical form of Islam, such as ISIS has been trying to do in the Middle East, while the Taliban had been practising the same in Afghanistan or in Pakistan where the ancient cultures of the subcontinent have not only permeated but also suffused their local specificities into the social practices and have changed many Islamic traditions. For example, women's education and working outside the home. Islam as a religion has no issue with a woman working or seeking education. She has the freedom of choice to take her own decisions. Patriarchy has no value in Islam so no man has the right to dictate to a woman. The Prophet Muhammad (SAWA)'s first wife Khadija (AS) was a business woman for whom the Prophet was a worker and he never objected to this. So, when we see in Pakistan the intentions of some radicalised fundamentalists forcing the women to stay at home, this is not Islamic but cultural, and the same applies to education which is obligatory for every man and woman in Islam. It is the culture of the subcontinent that obstructs women from getting an education or working outside the home. Gender discrimination is practised, no doubt, but either by religious fanatics or by the ignorants who

confuse subcontinental culture with Islam.

Transformations of Life: Radicalisation and Islamophobia

As a consequence of such social misrepresentations, revisionism is taking place, that is an undeniable fact. Global revisionist ideology imposed by global dictators is causing a transformation. However, this twofold transformation, contrary to the targeted goals, is introducing twofold revisionism to the world:

a) radicalisation is increasing day by day and consequently terrorism through indoctrinated revisionism, contrary to the peaceful values and principles of Islam

b) Islamophobia has shaken up the liberal/secular approach in the West and consequently harmonious human connectivity is in trouble. The results of BrExit and the US elections in 2016 are evidence of this psychological revisionism. And unfortunately, both of the transformations have disastrous effects on the common person's life all over the world. *Discontent and Its Civilizations*⁶⁴⁷ appears to foreground Hamid's discontent in relation to the general state of affairs of contemporary geopolitics; it is not a treatise, though many of his essays point to ongoing concerns, such as a malicious bureaucracy confronted by even the well-dressed Pakistani trying to secure a tourist visa to enter the closely guarded gates of Europe. Dressed in his 'white shirt, blue tie, brown face, brown eyes', his

⁶⁴⁷ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group

documents all in order, Hamid is both tormented by an uneasy awareness of the deceitful sign of an apparently ‘fundamentalist stubble’ which he failed to shave from his chin, and ashamed that his deference to such sartorial norms ‘tacitly acknowledged an accusation [that he] would have liked proudly to ignore’. Here, his sentiments echo those of other contemporary writers who, on account of their affiliation with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, have been called upon, in the decade after the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre, to apologise in some measure for their guilt by association with a Muslim nation deemed prone to poverty and violence and thwarted by the phantom of Islamic terrorism.

Conclusion

A reasonable number of Muslims and Pakistanis (if not all) are angry towards the West, particularly towards America, due to the latter’s neo-imperialist actions such as its unjust invasion of Iraq, its war in Afghanistan, its drone attacks at its ally in war on terror, Pakistan, its backing of Israeli intrusions into Palestinian camps, its backing of civil wars in Libya and Syria and its spread of global capitalist values throughout the world. Its next target is to attack Iran and to drive Pakistan toward a status of failed state, as mentioned before.

I believe that just as the religions are perfect, the believers are not, similarly there might be some policies of Pakistan to work toward its own

national interests instead of the US,' which is done by most of the sovereign states, but Pakistan must resist being made the victim of such social misrepresentation that distorts and shatters its image. Islam and Pakistan both need to be reviewed without any "makeup and plastic fangs"⁶⁴⁸ or else we will not be able to seek forgiveness from future generations for breeding neocolonial slavery through this art of social misrepresentation. Hamid reinforces this point by warning that: "Civilisations are illusions, but these illusions are pervasive, dangerous and powerful. They contribute to globalisation's brutality"⁶⁴⁹. According to Hamid, the reality of these 'advanced' sociocultural systems can be disputed. But the significance of their apparitions, in providing a justification for violence or an excuse for confrontation, in curbing self-invention, and in denying the possibility of holding hybrid identities, cannot be dismissed.

Cutting the limb is not the solution; instead, feeling the pulse may help towards the correct diagnosis and then the healing remedy. The predominantly negative media portrayals of Islam, Pakistan, Muslims and Pakistanis needs a revised image through widespread knowledge of peace-loving Muslims and Pakistanis who sincerely pursue the path of holiness to attain love, peace and harmony. I strongly endorse Hamid when he says: "The world will not fail if

⁶⁴⁸ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. 41

⁶⁴⁹ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. xvi

Pakistan fails, but the world will be healthier if Pakistan is healthy”⁶⁵⁰.

In T. Michel’s opinion⁶⁵¹, Said Nursi rightly saw that Christians and Muslims need to unite in a common mission to bear witness to the divine values in the midst of modern civilization for the sake of peace and harmony. Belinda F. Espiritu, an associate professor of communication and Coordinator of the Mass Communication Program of the University of the Philippines Cebu 31, did research and presented her results in these words: “there are really deep commonalities in Islamic spirituality and Christian spirituality, and it is on the level of spirituality that these two major religions can find their unity and convergence”⁶⁵². Omar Alnatour quoted Martin Luther King Jr. who once said, “Hate cannot drive out hate, only love can do that”.⁶⁵³ We cannot allow the polarity in media coverage to blind us from the facts and turn us into hateful people, we need to be more practical than that.

Chapter 10

Decolonised Representation of Kashmir Conflict

⁶⁵⁰ Hamid, Mohsin (2014), *Discontent and Its Civilizations*, Haryana, India, Penguin Group, pg. xiv

⁶⁵¹ Michel, T., S.J. (2005). *Said Nursi’s Views on Muslim-Christian Understanding*, Istanbul Turkey, Nesil Printing

⁶⁵² Belinda F. Espiritu (2015/2016), *Islamophobia and the “Negative Media Portrayal of Muslims” An Exposition of Sufism, A Critique of the Alleged “Clash of Civilizations”*, Global Research, February 29, 2016, Originally published on Global Research in April 2015

⁶⁵³ King Jr, Martin Luther cited from Alnatour, Omar (2015, updated 2016), *Muslims Are Not Terrorists: A Factual Look at Terrorism and Islam*, Huffpost.com

This chapter highlights the decolonised representation of the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan, contrary to its colonised version. It includes the historical and geopolitical perspectives of this conflict in relation to the UN resolutions, the UN Commission for Kashmir and its helplessness in Josef Korbel's view⁶⁵⁴, Pakistani and Indian stances on Kashmir and different phases of freedom movements. The chapter argues against Fair's representation of Pakistan's "legal and moral stand"⁶⁵⁵ regarding the plebiscite in Kashmir by analysing her erroneous claims about UN Resolution 47, 1948 in which she declares that the first three steps of the resolutions were sequential and conditional and Pakistan didn't fulfill the first step that could then be followed by the second and third sequential steps for resolving the dispute. This section also highlights the differences and connections among fighting for freedom, jihad narrative and state terrorism. Through the analytical findings of this section, we may be able to conclude who (India or Pakistan or Kashmiris themselves as an independent state) has the legal and moral grounds to claim Kashmir in light of the UN resolutions, reports of the UN commission to India and Pakistan (UNCIP) and of other mediators.

⁶⁵⁴ Korbel, Josef (1966, Originally published in 1954), *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton University Press, pg. 155

⁶⁵⁵ Fair, Christine, A presentation about her book *Fighting To The End: Pak Army's Way of War*, on the forum of The Heritage Foundation <https://youtu.be/sjnrETPDuls> (1:11)

“The purpose of all representations is to make something unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar”⁶⁵⁶. This has been done with the Kashmir Conflict and its representations in the post-partition period since 1947. Many different representations and misrepresentations have been introduced by people from diverse geopolitical schools of thought -- Indian and Pakistani -- as well as more neutral commentators with the goal of familiarizing us with a version, they believed, was unfamiliar to the world. Mine is another attempt to make the reader familiar with the decolonised representation of this issue, as yet unresolved because of its colonised representations, I believe, with the intention of making the unfamiliar familiar, albeit from a certain perspective. What is the significance of keeping this conflict alive, rehashing again and again its existence, a conflict maintained by two entities: one is of the mosque and the other is the army camps and of course the State behind the Army that are confronting each other without any intermediary since 1947. The people of Kashmir have been suffering inhumane treatment, torment and misery and are still deprived of justice and peace that they have the right to, just like any other human being. The United Nations needs to help them in their struggle for living free of fear by resolving the issue. Reports of violence by Human Rights Watch,

⁶⁵⁶ Moscovici, Serge (2001, first Published in 2000), *Social Representations: Explorations In Social Psychology*, p. 37, Blackwell publishers Ltd, UK

Amnesty International, the US State Department report 2010, international journalists, organized surveys and such need to be consulted and collated in order to resolve the dispute instead of turning a deaf ear by filing reports, which are often then archived and hence can never be helpful for the resolution of any problem.

The Causes of the Conflict

The seeds of conflict were being observed by historians, Abdul Gafoor Noorani, for example and in the historical fiction of Mirza Waheed⁶⁵⁷, from 1946 onward: a) with the rapid rise in Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh's support and activity in Kashmir, also known as RSS, a Hindu right-wing party with extremist Hindutva ideology; b) the arrival of Sikh evacuees joined by armed groups from Patiala, Faridkot and Nabha States fanned the flames of unrest further; c) Mountbatten, the viceroy of India at the time of Partition, advised the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir to keep announcement of accession on hold till the Partition, to give Jinnah, the president of All India Muslim League and first Governor General of Pakistan after Partition, a shock, d) meanwhile, communal violence "orchestrated by the state police and Dogra armed forces"⁶⁵⁸ fuelled the

⁶⁵⁷ See Noorani, A. G. (2013), *The Kashmir Dispute: 1947-2012*, Tulika Publishers, and Waheed, Mirza (2011), *The Collaborator*, Penguin Books

⁶⁵⁸ Talbot, Ian (2003), *Pakistan A Modern History*, pg. 116, Paperback version Oxford University Press

fire by killing thousands of Muslims⁶⁵⁹, forcing tens of thousands to take refuge in west Punjab; e) against this ‘ethnic-cleansing-policy’ the demobilised soldiers of the British Indian Army belonging to the Poonch and Mirpur districts rose in revolt against the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and Sikh evacuees, f) joined by the Pashtun invaders who found themselves obliged to help their Kashmiri brothers of Islam against, at least as defined by Pashtuns, state terrorism. Although this ill-organized invasion turned into “indiscriminate plunder and violence”⁶⁶⁰ later, and g) that this ill-organized Pashtun invasion provided the Maharaja an excuse as well as an opportunity to announce Kashmir’s accession to India that was declared ‘fraudulent’ by Pakistan and led Indian armed troops to occupy the valley. Consequently, war erupted (1948) between India and Pakistan.

The Accession to India

The Prime Minister of Kashmir, Pandit Ram Chandra Kak, had already recommended Kashmir’s accession to Pakistan while the Muslim Conference had been split in two: a pro-Congress National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah and pro-All India Muslim League, Muslim Conference under the leadership of Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas. Both of the Kashmiri leaders were under

⁶⁵⁹ Government of Pakistan, *Kashmir Before Accession*, (Lahore, 1948), p. 34

⁶⁶⁰ Talbot, Ian (2003), *Pakistan A Modern History*, pg. 116, Paperback version Oxford University Press

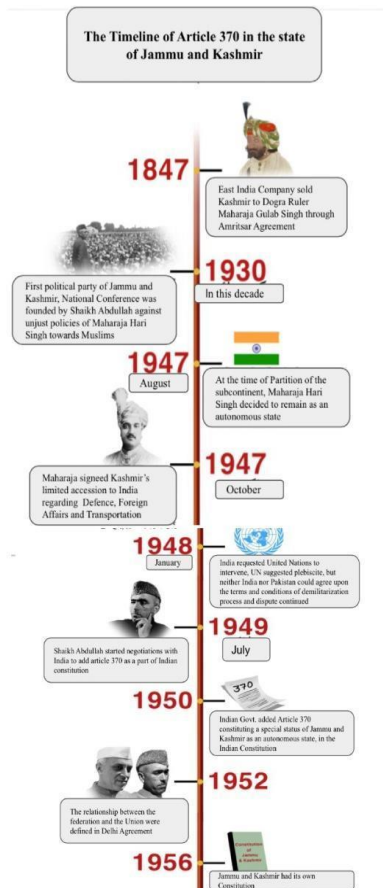
arrest at the time. Advised by Nehru, the Maharaja released Shaikh Abdullah, appointing him as prime minister, to legalise the accession with the support of Kashmiri leadership to avoid any international pressure. However, this instrument of accession was presented to the UN as temporary and contingent, subject to be validated by the will of the people through a plebiscite. Therefore, if Kashmiris would vote against accession to India, then any instrument of accession would have no value and thus 'become null and void'⁶⁶¹. The accession of Kashmir to India was denied by Pakistan immediately after the announcement on the same grounds, that the people of Jammu and Kashmir had the right to make the decision of accession and not the Maharaja.

Historical Perspective of Article 370

In 1847, the East India Company decided to sell the state of Jammu and Kashmir to Dogra Ruler Maharaja Gulab Singh through the Amritsar Agreement. The Muslim population was in the majority but they did not have any representative in mainstream politics who could protest unjust policies of Maharaja Hari Singh towards Muslims until the 1930s. Realising the communication gap between the Muslim population and the political administration, Shaikh Abdullah founded the first political party of Jammu and

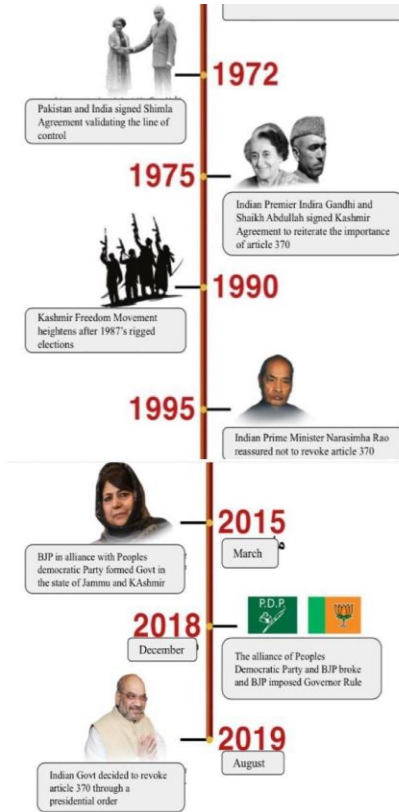
⁶⁶¹ Lamb, Alastair (1994), 'The Indian claim to Jammu and Kashmir: Conditional accession, plebiscites and the reference to the United Nations', *Contemporary South Asia*, p. 67–72

Kashmir, the National Conference. At the time of Partition of the subcontinent in 1947, Maharaja Hari Singh, who being Hindu intended accession to India, decided to remain as an autonomous state to avoid any agitation from the Muslim population who wanted the state's accession to Pakistan. However, he could neither stop nor control the threefold agitation from Azad Forces comprised of local Kashmiris, the rebellion Muslim soldiers of Maharaja's Army (who quit army to join the freedom struggle) and the Pashtun tribes. So, he signed Kashmir's limited accession to India regarding Defence, Foreign Affairs and Transportation to handle the out of control situation in favour of the Azad forces supported by Pashtun tribes. Having limited but documented accession, India landed its troops in Kashmir. Pakistan could not hold back, declaring the accession to India by Maharaja unjust and an action of back stabbing regarding the Muslim population. Thus, the first war between India and Pakistan began. India appealed to the United Nations to intervene, the UN suggested an immediate end to the war, retrieving their troops and conducting a plebiscite through which the people of the valley could decide through a vote either to accede to Pakistan or to India. The war stopped but neither India nor Pakistan could agree upon the terms and conditions of the demilitarization process that could lead to the proper organisation of a plebiscite, and disputes continued.



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662 BBC Urdu (5 Aug 2019), 'Article 370 Tha Kya aur iss kay Khatmay se Kya Badlay Ga? (What Was Article 370 and What Will Be Changed by Its Removal)', <https://www.bbc.com/urdu/regional-49208728>



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Meanwhile, Shaikh Abdullah started negotiations with India to add article 370 as part of the Indian constitution, recognizing the special status of the state. Negotiations succeeded and the Indian Government added Article 370, conferring a special status to Jammu and Kashmir as an autonomous state in 1950, followed by the Delhi Agreement of 1952 in which the relationship

⁶⁶³ BBC Urdu (5 Aug 2019), 'Article 370 Tha Kya aur iss kay Khatmay se Kya Badlay Ga? (What Was Article 370 and What Will Be Changed by Its Removal)', <https://www.bbc.com/urdu/regional-49208728>

between the federation and the Union were defined. Jammu and Kashmir had its own Constitution in 1956. India constantly kept reiterating the importance of article 370, encouraging Kashmiri political mainstream leaders never to revoke it.

The Kashmir Freedom Movement heightened after the 1987 rigged elections, but 9/11 changed the whole concept of the struggle of freedom. India started calling it terrorism while the western notion of democracy under its leading superpower, the US, was realigned for the sake of their financial interests, turning a deaf ear to the human rights violations by India in the Kashmir valley. The world's silence against Indian oppression led the BJP to impose Governor Rule in December 2018 and to revoke article 370 through a presidential order in August 2019, cutting the valley off from the world, blocking all sources of communication, a blockage that continues till the date of this thesis submission.

Geopolitical Significance of Kashmir

Since 1947, the Kashmir conflict has involved Pakistan and India in two wars (1948, 1965) along with 'sporadic'⁶⁶⁴ fighting on the Siachen glacier in 1984 to the present and Kargil in 1998 with escalations of nuclear threats to each other. In spite of the fact that the distrust provoked by the Kashmir conflict has

⁶⁶⁴ Talbot, Ian (2003), *Pakistan A Modern History*, pg. 114, Paperback version Oxford University Press

marginalized both of the countries in the world of trade relative to each other, neither is ready to move an inch from its stand on Kashmir.

Kashmir as a Composite of Secular India

The Indian stance on the disputed land of Jammu and Kashmir is traditional as regards accession to India. India did not accept the well known Two Nation Theory for partition of the subcontinent into two states. Instead, the All Indian National Congress advocated for “the ideals of a ‘secular’ composite Indian nationalism”⁶⁶⁵ and for the sake of keeping the economy of the newborn state of Pakistan in control by taking charge of all five rivers which irrigate its land. In theory, Pakistan could later be compelled to merge back into ‘secular composite India’. So, Nehru found it appropriate to bear long-term political unrest; a) for this policy and b) for pleasing the non-Kashmiri public opinion as suggested by Jayaprakash Narayan in his letter to him on May 1, 1956: “From all the information I have, 95 per cent of Kashmir Muslims do not wish to be or remain Indian citizens. I doubt therefore the wisdom of trying to keep people by force where they do not wish to stay. This cannot but have serious long-term political consequences, though immediately it may suit policy and please public opinion”⁶⁶⁶. The biggest democracy of the world overlooked the democratic

⁶⁶⁵ Talbot, Ian (2003), *Pakistan A Modern History*, pg. 114, Paperback version Oxford University Press

⁶⁶⁶ Prasad, Bimal (Ed.), *Selected Works of Jayaprakash Narayan*; Vol. 7; Manohar; page 115, the quote cited in A. G.

rights of the people of Kashmir, who were supposed to decide for themselves through plebiscite. For this reason, perhaps, A. G. Noorani declared “Jawaharlal Nehru to be the villain of the piece”⁶⁶⁷ for the torment of Kashmiri people due to his being “absolutely dishonest”⁶⁶⁸ regarding the promised plebiscite to settle the Kashmir issue.⁶⁶⁹

Kashmir as the ‘K’ of Pakistan

On the other side, Kashmir is/was K; one of its integral units - P represents Punjab, TAN is derived from Balochistan, S stands for Sindh and Sarhad, now known as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and K for Kashmir - for Pakistan’s existential two-nation theory: first, Muslims were in the majority, and second, Kashmir is the origin of three rivers which irrigate most of the agricultural land of Pakistan, and third, its strategically significant border access to China and Tibet, as well as a short distance to (then Soviet Union) Russia. Moreover, Indian oppression and violation of human rights in the valley is stated as one of the main causes for the support, either active or passive, of the Kashmiri freedom movement⁶⁷⁰. Contrary to the Indian claim of Pakistan’s aggression and military action in Kashmir, historical facts reveal that the acting commander-in-chief of Pakistan, General

Noorani, The Dixon Plan, Frontline, 12 October 2002

⁶⁶⁷ Siddiqi, Muhammad Ali (2014), *COVER STORY: The Kashmir Dispute: 1947-2012* by A.G. Noorani, DAWN.com, published on June 15, <https://www.dawn.com/news/1112700>

⁶⁶⁸ Menon, V.P. (1964), In a taped interview to his predecessor as Reforms Commissioner, H.V. Hodson, cited in *PLEBISCITE IN KASHMIR: Stillborn or Killed? - Part 1*, by A.G. Noorani published on January 7, 2017, in Greater Kashmir

⁶⁶⁹ Noorani, Abdul Gafoor Abdul Majeed (2014), *The Kashmir Dispute: 1947-2012*, Oxford University Press

⁶⁷⁰ See a detailed historical fictional representation in Mirza Waheed’s book, *The Collaborator*

Douglas Gracey, contacted the Supreme Commander Sir Claude Auchinleck instead of carrying out Quaid e Azam's order of sending troops into Kashmir. Sir Claude told Quaid that the "British officers would not participate in the fighting if there was a military conflict"⁶⁷¹. Pakistan was helplessly watching the war between the well-equipped Indian Army and ill-disciplined tribesmen or ill-organized Kashmiri freedom fighters, who did not have sufficient resources as well as trained officers who could command the Pakistani nationals to fight effectively in Kashmir. However, this shortcoming was addressed as a priority by the founding leaders, and that is the reason, perhaps, that the Pakistan Army now stands among the top ten armies of the World.

⁶⁷¹ Afzal, M. Rafique (ed.2007), *Pakistan: History and Politics, 1947-1971*, p. 27, Oxford Pakistan Paperback

United Nations to Kashmir Conflict

War in 1948 led India to knock at the door of the United Nations seeking a resolution on the issue, alleging Pakistan as an aggressor and the war in Kashmir as an invasion of Indian territory. In this regard, the UN General Assembly referred the case to the UN Security Council, accepting India's case and listening to both concerned parties, India and Pakistan, and finally the UNSC passed a Resolution known by the number 47, on April 21, 1948.

UNSC Resolution 47, 1948

The very beginning of the resolution declares UNSC's observation that:

“Being strongly of the opinion that the early restoration of peace and order in Jammu and Kashmir is essential and that India and Pakistan should do their utmost to bring about a cessation of all fighting,

Noting with satisfaction that both India and Pakistan desire that the question of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite,”⁶⁷²

This clearly indicates the twofold focus of United Nations Security Council for resolving the Kashmir conflict:

1. Immediate cessation of all fighting to restore peace and order in Jammu

⁶⁷² *UN Resolution 47(1948)*, Resolution of 21 April 1948, S/726) *The Security Council*
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and Kashmir

2. A free and impartial plebiscite through the democratic method

To reestablish peace and order, a ceasefire was to be executed at once. Then there were three sequential recommendations to be enacted according to the truce agreement: a) withdrawal of tribesmen as well as Pakistani soldiers or anyone other than Kashmiri people by handing over the charge to “local forces”⁶⁷³; b) withdrawal of the Indian forces, leaving a minimum contingent of soldiers necessary for maintaining law and order under the control of the government of Kashmir; c) making arrangements for conducting a plebiscite.

For implementation of the Resolution, the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, consisting of five members and chaired by Josef Korbel, came to the Indian subcontinent. This commission succeeded in enacting a cease fire and establishing the line of control to partially restore peace and order in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, but the Commission failed to conduct a plebiscite because of a) its limitations in terms of action as the resolution was passed under Chapter 6 of the UN charter that suggests peaceful settlement of the political disputes through negotiation ; and b) point of no-agreement for both concerned entities,

⁶⁷³*UNCIP Truce Agreement* (13 Aug 1948), Resolution adopted by the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, (Document No.1100, Para. 75, dated the 9th November, 1948), [PeaceKeeping.UN.Org](#) and [Mofa.Gov.Pk](#)

India and Pakistan, on the matter of the evacuation of ‘Azad Forces’⁶⁷⁴ while the UN Commission had given assurances to Pakistan that territories evacuated by Pakistani forces would be administered by “local authorities”⁶⁷⁵ monitored by the Commission and Indian forces would not be permitted to enter these areas. The proposal of arbitration by the Commission was also rejected by India.

UNSC Resolution 80, 1950

Following the Commission’s proposal of appointing a mediator for reviewing the terms and conditions regarding demilitarization of the forces in Jammu and Kashmir, a UN appointed Canadian delegate, General McNaughton, consulted India and Pakistan informally and came up with a proposal that both Pakistani and Indian forces ought to be reduced to a minimum level, while both the Azad Forces and the State forces should be abandoned in the follow-up prior to plebiscite. India rejected this proposal as well, but in spite of Indian objections, this proposal was adopted in UNSC Resolution 80, passed on March 10, 1950 and Owen Dixon was sent to the Indian Subcontinent as mediator. Observing the circumstances and consulting both India and Pakistan through a five day summit, Dixon came up with an observation that a statewide plebiscite was not necessary because there was a clear indication that the people of Jammu

⁶⁷⁴ Korbelt, Josef (1966, Originally published in 1954), *Danger in Kashmir*, Princeton University Press, pg. 155

⁶⁷⁵ Guha, Ramachandra & Macmillan, Pan (2008), *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, p. 654, Ecco Publishers; Reprint edition

and Ladakh were in favour of accession to India while people of Azad Kashmir and Northern Areas of Gilgit Baltistan were satisfied with being part of Pakistan. So the plebiscite could only be conducted in the Kashmir Valley according to Nehru's suggestion of partition-cum-plebiscite proposal. This partition-cum-plebiscite proposal suggested the affiliation of Jammu with India without plebiscite because of its population of a Hindu majority who were (and still are) satisfied with its integration to India, while the areas under control of Pakistan could be conceded to Pakistan with its Muslim population. Left were the District Sri Nagar and surrounding villages and small cities where there were Muslims in majority but under control of Indian forces so it was suggested to conduct a plebiscite only in this area, called the Kashmir Valley which was (and still is) the centre of agitation for freedom movements. The Dixon Plan ended in failure.

Main Causes of the Failure of UNSC Efforts for Resolving the Conflict

All the efforts of the United Nations Security Council for the solution of the Kashmir conflict failed. Why? There were many hurdles raised by Pakistan and India to implementing the resolutions, but the most important were the flaws that left some critical points overlooked and thus unaddressed by the UNSC while passing the resolutions. First of all, there was no clear stance taken by the UNSC as the resolutions were passed under chapter 6 of the UN charter that

address the political conflict through bilateral negotiation by the two concerned parties. No country, Pakistan or India, was declared wrong -- neither was Pakistan charged as an aggressor, nor was Kashmir's accession to India considered legal. This uncertainty and ambiguity made it complicated for the UNCIP to bring both countries to a certain point of agreement. If Pakistan agreed to demilitarise Kashmir for a plebiscite, India added an essential condition of disbanding local Azad (an Urdu word for free, here it indicates the forces without any official supervision or command) forces. If India proposed a reasonable partition-cum-plebiscite option, Pakistan proposed the idea to Dixon of adding a condition of disbanding of the Abdullah government during the plebiscite process.

Decolonised Representation of Misinterpretations

There have been different presentations as well as representations of the UN resolutions demonstrated by different, partial or impartial, political schools of thought. Here, it is necessary to decolonise a couple of these representations.

Representation of Christine Fair's Argument on Pakistan's Stance on Kashmir

The most recent representation made by Christine Fair, in which she declares that the first three steps of the resolutions were sequential and conditional and that Pakistan didn't fulfill the first step⁶⁷⁶ that could then be followed by the second and third sequential steps for resolving the dispute, hence Pakistan has no legal or moral claims on Kashmir. The focal points which are, intentionally or not, overlooked by Fair, have been mentioned before in chapter 9. To recall the argument briefly, the UN Security Council decided to deal with the issue under Chapter 6 of the UN charter, instead of Chapter 7. The difference is that if the claim of one of the two disputing sides is more legitimate than that of the other, the issues are dealt with under Chapter 7 of the UN charter in which the use of NATO forces is permitted to resolve the issue through interventions or mandatory instructions against the illegitimate claimant while under Chapter 6, the UN do not allow the use of NATO forces, considering equally legitimate the claims of both sides. Since the stance of neither side was perceived as falsified regarding the Kashmir conflict, recommendations of the resolution were based upon directive steps with a certain sequence to resolve the issue -- which Fair

⁶⁷⁶ Fair, Christine (2014), A presentation about her book *Fighting To The End: Pak Army's Way of War*, on the forum of The Heritage Foundation <https://youtu.be/sjnrETPDuls> (1:11)

falsely declared as mandatory. Following the recommendations, a ceasefire and line of control were established but when the UN commission came to the subcontinent in February 1949, to make arrangements for plebiscite by setting terms and conditions acceptable for both sides, the first “jolt” to the UN commission was Indian refusal to cooperate with a condition to remove the “Azad Forces” from the land of Kashmir. Azad Forces consisted of the demobilised soldiers of the British Indian Army, belonging to the Poonch and Mirpur districts of Kashmir, who rose in revolt against the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir even prior to the tribal invasion. So, it was India -- not Pakistan -- that refused to follow the UN resolution because tribesmen, Pakistani soldiers or nationals were to be evacuated from Kashmir territory by handing over control to the Kashmiri local forces. Contrary to Fair’s claim that ‘Pakistan has no legal or moral claim on Kashmir’⁶⁷⁷, clearly a misrepresentation, neither was Pakistan declared as an aggressor, nor was Kashmir’s accession to India considered legal for the simple reason that the Kashmir resolution was and still is under chapter 6 of the UN charter, meaning, according to the UN, that Kashmir is still considered a disputed area between India and Pakistan and its legal accession to one side or the other (or a third, independent option) is yet to be decided according to the

⁶⁷⁷ Fair, Christine (2014), A presentation about her book *Fighting To The End: Pak Army's Way of War*, on the forum of The Heritage Foundation <https://youtu.be/sjnrETPDuls> (1:11)

will of Kashmiris through plebiscite.

Freedom Fight/Jihad vs Jihad Narrative/Terrorism

To understand the Kashmir Conflict, the most important concept is distinguishing a freedom fight from Jihad Narratives of the post 9/11 era. Freedom fighters are those who struggle for liberating oppressed people by revolting against the oppressor while having the moral and social support of the majority of the local, oppressed population as well as recognition of the international community. Jihad means struggle. The struggle against oppression and for liberation is the real concept of Jihad in Islam, along with many other forms, as we have said: Jihad for Awareness, Jihad against deadly instinctive desires, Jihad through communication, Jihad through writing and so on. Contrary to this concept of a fight for freedom or Jihad is terrorism, or the so-called Jihad Narrative that is shaped by terrorist organizations like Tehreek e Taliban Pakistan, Al-Qaeda, Islamic State of Iraq and Levant also known as Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Kashmiris are fighting for their freedom to be rid of State oppression. They are struggling for their liberty and so cannot be confused with terrorists or their acts with terrorism. "...the mosque and the army camps"⁶⁷⁸ are the two entities confronting each other

⁶⁷⁸ Guha, Ramachandra & Macmillan, Pan (2008), *India After Gandhi: The History of the World's Largest Democracy*, p. 654, Ecco Publishers; Reprint edition

without any intermediary and a majority of the Kashmiris belong to ‘the mosque’ who are struggling for their freedom against the oppression and occupation of Indian army camps. The mosque here indicates the centre of the freedom movements because the movements are being run by the Muslims of Kashmir, some actively violent and the others passively supportive.

‘Real Danger in Kashmir’

The hurdles raised either by Pakistan or India, intentionally or unintentionally, have been playing a recurring role in keeping this issue alive, keeping the Kashmir valley endangered.⁶⁷⁹ Both countries are stubborn on some points with zero level of compromise. For instance, India claims Kashmir as an integral part of its territory, claiming to be the biggest democracy but it has failed to address the evident oppression and violation of fundamental human rights against the general norms of democratic practices in the valley of Kashmir. A 2010 report by the US State Department cited extrajudicial killings by Indian forces in areas of conflict such as Kashmir as a major human rights problem in India.⁶⁸⁰ Another report said: “Indian authorities use the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (AFSPA) to avoid holding its security forces responsible for the

⁶⁷⁹ UN Commission Letter to Pakistan in September 1948 in compliance with 13th August UN Resolution 1948, Part II Clause 3 (A), ‘The India-Pakistan Question’, UN.Org https://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/52-55/Chapter%208/52-55_08-2-The%20India-Pakistan%20question.pdf

⁶⁸⁰ (Jan 2009 - Jan 2017), ‘2010 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices: India’, U.S. Department of State: Diplomacy in Action, Official site, State.gov, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/160058.pdf>

deaths of civilians in Jammu and Kashmir”⁶⁸¹. The British parliament expressed its sadness and regret over the discovery of over 6,000 unmarked graves in Kashmir. Christof Heyns, special rapporteur on extrajudicial executions, has warned India that “all of these draconian laws had no place in a functioning democracy and should be scrapped.”⁶⁸² The year 2016-17 witnessed a long period of curfews, killings and pelleting the protesters that caught the world’s attention, that the valley is still struggling for its freedom.⁶⁸³ Balagopal saw the ‘Jammu and Kashmir question’ as a “litmus test of Indian democracy, not only for the political establishment, but for the democratic public opinion too. To think and speak democratically about Kashmir is, for an Indian, to question all the ingredients of established Indian nationalism, not merely of the saffron variety but the progressive/secular variety, too.”⁶⁸⁴

On the other side, Pakistan claims Kashmir to be its ‘jugular vein’ but is not ready to back out of her demand of a plebiscite knowing that this “jugular vein”⁶⁸⁵ may stop the bleeding caused by Indian state terrorism, the bleeding that is cocooning Kashmiris for their freedom fight against Indian colonization, the

⁶⁸¹ India uses AFSPA to obscure civilian killings in Kashmir: US Report (15 April 2016), www.greaterkashmir.com

⁶⁸² Scott-Clark, Cathy (9 July 2012). ‘The mass graves of Kashmir’, *The Guardian*. London

⁶⁸³ Scott-Clark, Cathy (9 July 2012). ‘The mass graves of Kashmir’, *The Guardian*. London

⁶⁸⁴ ‘Day 85 Toll 92: Hit by pellets on Sep 15, Budgam youth succumbs at SKIMS’ *Greater Kashmir*. (October 1, 2016), Retrieved 27 January 2017

⁶⁸⁵ Balagopal (2007), *Will the Pain Never End?*, quoted in an article titled ‘Professor Balgopal statement on kashmir issue’ (16 July 2016), [The Siasat Daily](http://TheSiasatDaily)

bleeding that is leading it to death bit by bit. This bloody game of political colonization in the name of accession may end if the Kashmiris would stop fighting for their fundamental right of freedom against the nature of humankind that always go behind the free will. Kashmiri freedom fighters keep fighting with the hope of practical support from Pakistan, while Pakistan plays the political string of its moral and legal stand for the plebiscite. It is the need of the time to look beyond traditional positions and evaluate the contours of a solution grounded in today's realities.

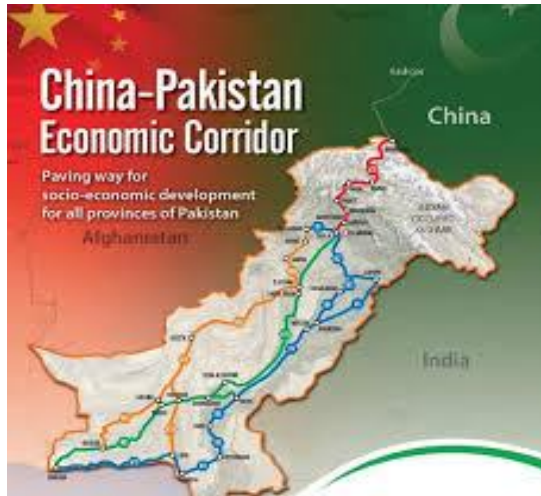
A humanist, K. Balagopal, sounds very logical when he endorses the distinctive sense of religious identity for the Kashmiris because they have a strong spiritual connection with Islam. So in light of the above-mentioned facts and figures and the study of the results of the surveys, it may categorically be claimed that if both India and Pakistan can guarantee the continuing existence and peaceful development, then most Kashmiris would prefer independent Kashmir. But if both cannot, and most probably they will not, guarantee the existence and peaceful development of an independent Kashmir, the Kashmiris would prefer their accession to Pakistan because of religious affinity and social and economic links.⁶⁸⁶

⁶⁸⁶ Balagopal, K. (1996), 'Kashmir: Self-Determination, Communalism and Democratic Rights', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 31, no. 44, pp. 2916–2917. www.jstor.org/stable/4404738

Chapter 11

NeoColonialism, Misrepresentations and China-Pak Economic Corridor

In this chapter we will attempt to highlight the new developments of neocolonialism in the contemporary scenario which indicates that the New Cold War has begun between the reigning superpower, the USA, and the upcoming competitor, China; the two most powerful economies of the twenty first century. The chapter provides a critical analysis of the role of China's debt trap in the development of its economy and its implementing of other neocolonial strategies. In comparison, the analysis of how the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor is seen as a red rag to the mighty bull, Uncle Sam, and will highlight the aspects in which the US's role in neocolonialism takes the China Pak Economic Corridor as a threat to its sole superpower status. Between both of these neocolonial powers, Pakistan is again a punching bag for both because of its strategically important geography, but with a twofold, debt-trapped, enfeebled economy. Thus, misrepresentations are playing a recurring role to break up the Pak China nexus and to support India as a competitive power against China in the region.



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South Asia is a region that has acquired a significant status in global geopolitics due to its geostrategic location and natural wealth. Some believe that geopolitical gravity centers are shifting towards the East because of the two big, rapidly developing economies of the area: China and India. The role of South Asia in the process, being the region that is home to a number of countries with a huge population and fast changing demographics - India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh - arouses worldwide interest. China, as a country with aspirations of global leadership and the largest pools of human resources in the world, is also located in the neighbourhood. However, Robert Kaplan believes that South

⁶⁸⁷Image Credit: Global Village Space, <https://www.globalvillagespace.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/cpec-pakistans-economic-development-or-chinas-imperialism.jpg>

Asia's current political configuration is the product of British actions and we cannot "assume that this particular British paradigm will last forever."⁶⁸⁸ His article, entitled "Rearranging the Subcontinent", focuses on the geographical change of borders in the long run that Kaplan terms unnatural. This is something that seconds the Indian ideology of a United India in the future that is part of its dream of becoming a superpower in the region by surpassing China.⁶⁸⁹ This might be more difficult, given the presence of the two independent Islamic States, Bangladesh and Pakistan, one of which is constantly in conflict with India.

Graham P. Chapman, in his book *The Geopolitics of South Asia*,⁶⁹⁰ shows how geological movements moulded the land of this unique cradle and how they still impact it. His discussions cover the three major forces of integration: 'identitive' forces -- bonds of language, ethnicity, religion or ideology; 'utilitarian' forces -- bonds of common material interest, and 'coercion' -- the institutional use or threat of physical violence. By studying these forces, Professor Chapman shows how the organization of territory has been central to the region's historic, cultural, linguistic and economic development.

⁶⁸⁸ Kaplan, Robert D. (25 Dec 2014), 'Rearranging the Subcontinent', [Stratfor](#). Article reprinted as a chapter in *Asia's Cauldron: The South China Sea and the End of a Stable Pacific* (2015), Random House

⁶⁸⁹ See also: Kaplan, Robert D. (10 Sep 2013), originally published in 2012, *The Revenge Of Geography*, Random House Trade Paperback

⁶⁹⁰ Chapman, Graham P. (19 Mar 2009), *The Geopolitics of South Asia*, Routledge, 3rd edition, CAS, Norwegian Academy of Science and Letters, Norway and Lancaster University, UK

Pakistan-China Axis in a Geopolitical Perspective

Geopolitics in Asia, placing the Pak-China Axis in a central role, from India's rise to the prospects for a post-American Afghanistan, from the threat of nuclear terrorism to the continent's new development projects related to ports, mines and pipelines. Pakistan's economic hopes are based upon its friendly relations with China that is also its most trusted military partner.⁶⁹¹

The Pak-China relationship is not that of 'a fair weather friend' but far more. This relationship has been going on for decades, succeeding in spite of all the most dramatic developments that cover closely guarded secrets, some ramifications of Sino-Pak ties for the West, for India, for Afghanistan, and for Asia as a whole and some other sensitive aspects that include China's unconditional support and assistance for Pakistan's Nuclear Program, deals with the Taliban or mutual military cooperation during any type of crisis in Pakistan. From China's involvement in South Asia's wars to President Obama's efforts to build up better relations with China for securing its cooperation for stability in the region, it traces the dilemmas Beijing increasingly faces between pursuing its strategic conflict with India and the United States, and most crucially to address a terrorist threat that has become one of the serious dangers to China's internal stability. This situation leads one to ask, why is China ready to risk its stability in

⁶⁹¹ Lieven, Anatol (16 Nov 2015), 'The China-Pakistan Corridor: The Fate changer?', [AlJazeera](#)

order to see this project succeed?

China Pakistan Economic Corridor

What is the China-Pak Economic Corridor? It is a mega project with an estimated 62 billion US dollars of investment in Pakistan which aims to connect Gwadar Port in the southwest of Pakistan to the important autonomous region of Xinjiang in northwest China. To achieve this objective, a network of highways, railways and pipelines would be developed to transport oil and gas. This economic corridor is considered the most significant for further developments in China–Pakistan relations and will run about 3,000 kms from Gwadar to Kashgar.⁶⁹²

The scope of the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor has been magnified by including social sector development programs along with energy, infrastructure and transport. It is expected that this project will help to raise the social standards of the underdeveloped areas of the country, including Balochistan and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in general and Gwadar in particular, rightly considered as a gateway to China. It would not only help in achieving China's growth momentum but will also accelerate Pakistan's growth rate, resulting in peace, harmony and progress as the fruit of a generation-long

⁶⁹² Hussain, Ishrat (2018), *CPEC and Pakistani Economy_An Appraisal*, Published by the Centre of Excellence China Pak Economic Corridor, Government of Pakistan

friendship. Pakistan's hopes, like those of many developing countries depend on foreign investment for the improvement of their economies, and this project is a journey towards economic regionalization in the globalized world. It is the hope of a better region of the future with peace, development and economic growth.⁶⁹³

Initial estimation of the construction cost of the multiple projects was over \$46 billion, but has been expanded up to \$62 billion. Some of the projects have already been completed, however, several more years would be required to complete the whole project. The Corridor is an extension of China's proposed 21st century Silk Road initiative, according to a Firstpost report.⁶⁹⁴ An agreement was signed between Gwadar Port Authority (GPA) and Concession Holding Company (CHC), a subsidiary of the Port of Singapore Authority (PSA), on 05 Feb 2007. Salient features⁶⁹⁵ of the agreement are as follows:

1. 40-year lease agreement for operating and managing Gwadar Port.
2. PSA will invest US \$550 million during the next 5 years for Port Development. The areas where the concession agreement is to be

⁶⁹³ CPEC: China Pak Economic Corridor, About CPEC, Introduction given on Official Website of [CPEC](#) last accessed on 15 July 2019

⁶⁹⁴ Sharma, Ranjeev, (21 Apr 2015), 'Here's why Indian strategists should worry about China's \$46 billion funding to Pakistan', Firstpost, <http://www.firstpost.com/world/heres-why-indian-strategists-should-worry-about-chinas-46-billion-offering-to-pakistan-2205216.html>

⁶⁹⁵ Gwadar Port: Gwadar Port Authority, Government of Pakistan, Official Website, <http://www.gwadarport.gov.pk/home.aspx>

implemented are Terminal and Cargo operations, marine services and Free Zone development.

3. GPA will receive the following fixed share of revenues: 9% from Cargo operations and Marine services. 15% from Gwadar Free Zone business.
4. No duty would be imposed on the machinery and equipment to be imported for development work in this area and for port operations, for 40 years.
5. CHC (the port operator) will have complete exemption from corporate tax for 20 years.
6. Duty exemption for shipping lines and bunker oil for Gwadar port for 40 years.
7. CHC will have complete exemption from all local and provincial taxes for 20 years.
8. CHC will take over the marketing and operations of the current terminal area which provides 602 metres of berthing and will invest and expand berthing space as demand grows during the concession period up to a total maximum of 14 berths in an area of 4.2 km.
9. Marine services to be operated by CHC will consist of pilotage, towing, mooring, vessel traffic control, anchorage management and bunkering.

10. GPA will be responsible for dredging of the approach channel and harbour to maintain the required depth. All conservancy, security and firefighting services will be provided by GPA.

This is the biggest overseas investment by China announced yet and the corridor is expected to be operational within three years and will be a strategic game changer in the region, which would go a long way in making Pakistan a richer and stronger entity than ever before.⁶⁹⁶ Many of the short term set targets have been achieved, a number of projects are already in functioning status, according to the plan.

Other than transport infrastructure, the economic corridor will advance Pakistan with telecommunications and energy infrastructure. The project also aims to improve intelligence sharing between the countries. China and Pakistan hope the huge investment plan will transform Pakistan into a regional economic axis as well as further uplift the growing ties between Pakistan and China. The Pakistani media and government called the investments a game and “fate changer”⁶⁹⁷ for the region. According to Jon Boone, “The Chinese are not just offering to build much-needed infrastructure but also make Pakistan a key

⁶⁹⁶ Lieven, Anatol (16 Nov 2015), ‘The China-Pakistan Corridor: The Fate changer?’, [AlJazeera](#)

⁶⁹⁷ Lieven, Anatol (16 Nov 2015), ‘The China-Pakistan Corridor: The Fate changer?’, [AlJazeera](#)

partner in its grand economic and strategic ambitions.”⁶⁹⁸ It is prophesied by Indian economic analysts that “Once completed, the CPEC project would enlarge China’s strategic footprints in the Indian Ocean and would change the regional power matrix forever.”⁶⁹⁹ The project will also open trade routes for Western China and provide China direct access to the resource-rich Middle East region via the Arabian Sea, bypassing the longer logistical routes through the Strait of Malacca that China is currently using for transportation of its products.

Gwadar Port and Its Strategic Importance

Gwadar Port is being developed as a leading smart port city of the region. Handing over 600 acres of land for Gwadar Free Zone is considered a major milestone towards the implementation of CPEC. It is not only a bilateral project between Pakistan and China, but will also be changing the destiny of this region as well as of other regions and the world, including the Middle East, Europe and Western countries.

Pakistan identified Gwadar as a port site in 1954. Till then Gwadar was still under the rule of Oman. Pakistan's interest in Gwadar started when, in 1954, it engaged the United States Geological Survey (USGS) to conduct a survey of

⁶⁹⁸ Boone, Jon (20 Apr 2015), 'China president arrives in Pakistan to sign £30bn 'land corridor' agreement', [The Guardian](#)

⁶⁹⁹ Sharma, Ranjeev, (21 Apr 2015), 'Here's why Indian strategists should worry about China's \$46 billion funding to Pakistan', Firstpost, <http://www.firstpost.com/world/heres-why-indian-strategists-should-worry-about-chinas-46-billion-offering-to-pakistan-2205216.html>

its coastline. Worth Condrick, the USGS appointed surveyor, declared that Gwadar was a suitable site for a seaport. After four years of negotiations, Oman agreed to hand over the Gwadar enclave to Pakistan for \$3 million on 8 September 1958 and after 200 years of Omani rule, Gwadar officially became part of Pakistan on 8 December 1958. At that time, Gwadar was a small and underdeveloped fishing village with a population of a few thousand. Gwadar is located on the shores of the Arabian Sea and is in Pakistan's western province of Balochistan. It is about 533 km from Karachi and 120 km from the Iranian border and 380 km (240 miles) northeast of the nearest point in Oman across the Arabian Sea. Gwadar Port is located at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, just outside the Strait of Hormuz, near the key shipping routes in and out of the Persian Gulf. It is situated on the eastern bay of a natural hammerhead-shaped Peninsula protruding into the Arabian Sea from the coastline.⁷⁰⁰

The surrounding region is home to around two-thirds of the world's oil reserves. It is also the nearest warm-water seaport to the landlocked but energy rich Central Asian Republics and landlocked Afghanistan. Gwadar is strategically located on the western end of the Balochistan coast on the opposite end of the Gulf of Oman, which is an important route for oil tankers bound for

⁷⁰⁰Gwadar Port: Gwadar Port Authority Reports, Government of Pakistan, Official Website, <http://www.gwadarport.gov.pk/home.aspx>

Japan and western countries out of the Gulf. Since the outflow of goods from western China and Central Asia reaching Gwadar will pass through this overland trade route, Pakistan could earn millions of dollars a year in terms of port and cargo handling charges and also as freight charges for import cargoes and export goods. According to Arthur D. Little (Malaysia), the main consultant firm of the Gwadar development phases, low-cost land and labour are available, there is proximity to oil and gas resources and Gulf countries, there are some agricultural and mineral resources, while there could be tax-free status for investments and trade. The Gwadar Port is expected to generate billions of dollars in revenues and create at least two million jobs.

Gwadar has the potential to acquire the status of a centerpiece as a gateway to the Strait of Hormuz; it can compete with the United Arab Emirates ports by improving the existing links to the Caspian Region, thus providing a better trade route to the landlocked Caspian Region. Gwadar has the potential to be developed into a full-fledged regional hub and transshipment port in the future.

Pakistan lies at the heart of China's geostrategic ambitions, from its take-off as a global naval power to its grand plans for a new Silk Road connecting the energy fields of the Middle East and the markets of Europe to the mega-cities of

East Asia.⁷⁰¹ However, the potential risks connected to this project cannot be ignored, risks that pose a militant threat by non-state actors as well as undermining of Pakistan's sovereignty.

Potential Risks, Neocolonial Representations and Misrepresentations

The main criticism of CPEC as a neocolonial project of China is the following argument, that it is based on China's neocolonial debt trap instead of improving Pakistan's economy because "most of this investment will be extended in the form of loans—with a high interest rate of up to 7 percent"⁷⁰². In favour of this argument, the critics give the example of a Sri Lankan deal of 'debt-for-equity swap' with China in which Sri Lanka had to hand over the control of its strategically valuable port of Hambantota (and 15,000 acres of surrounding land) for ninety-nine years because it failed in paying Chinese debts in due time.⁷⁰³ Similarly African media reported in December 2018 that Kenya may soon be forced to relinquish control of its largest and most lucrative port in Mombasa to Chinese control because of its failure in repaying the large amount of Chinese loans.⁷⁰⁴ Secondly, through One Belt One Road vision, China wants

⁷⁰¹ Small, Andrew (15 Jan 2015), *The China-Pakistan Axis: Asia's New Geopolitics*, Oxford University Press

⁷⁰² Aslam, Wali & Thayer, Bradley A. (21 Jul 2019), 'Why Pakistan Should End Its Alliance with China', [The National Interest](#)

⁷⁰³ Aslam, Wali & Thayer, Bradley A. (21 Jul 2019), 'Why Pakistan Should End Its Alliance with China', [The National Interest](#)

⁷⁰⁴ DeAethe, Duncan (27 Dec 2018), 'China's African debt-trap: Beijing prepares to seize Kenya's port of Mombasa: Nairobi fails to repay massive debts on shady loan for underperforming railway, Kenyan infrastructure ripe for the taking: reports', [Taiwan News](#)

to strengthen its status as a global player competing with the USA. Pakistan is criticised by the western democracies for making ‘high cost’ alliances with China since it serves China’s ambition of neocolonialism, more than an equality-based two nation alliance. The Sino-Pakistani partnership is viewed by western critics as ‘a profound mistake’ or ‘a strategic blunder’ because, according to their perceptions, Beijing is exploiting Pakistan’s weak situation and trapping it in its famous debt trap through manipulation.⁷⁰⁵ The global observers argue that CPEC is causing Pakistan to be isolated by the democratic world, and particularly the US, its long term ally in the past, is not happy with its increasing dependence on China. Wali Aslam and Bradley Thayer say that the rise of China has had an intense impact on Pakistan’s strategic evaluations because China rarely treats its allies as equal partners, rather it treats them as subordinates while setting its own geostrategic policies and aims. Cambodia, Iran, Myanmar, and North Korea are China’s most loyal allies, for example, but have never been respected as equal states, according to the critics; Wali Aslam, Bradley Thayer, Jon Boone and Kiyya Baloch as representative of these critics. Although China itself was subservient to Soviet Union in the early 1950’s after its independence, their alliance split by the late 1950’s. Beijing’s relationship with Moscow undermines

⁷⁰⁵ Aslam, Wali & Thayer, Bradley A. (21 Jul 2019), ‘Why Pakistan Should End Its Alliance with China’, [The National Interest](#)

the autocratic character of its typical alliance relationships, since China's behavior as an alliance partner is often "boorish, exploitative, and Machiavellian"⁷⁰⁶. Thirdly, the presence of the Chinese Army is a threat for Pakistan as a sovereign state because, being trapped in Chinese debt, Pakistan would not be able to restrict or control the movements of the Chinese Army. Fourthly, Pakistan as a Muslim State is unable to condemn China openly for human rights violence in its detention camps - which China calls 're-education centre[s]' - for Uighur Muslims who are being suppressed and deprived of their fundamental human rights including practising their religion freely. Moreover, the terms and conditions are more favourable for China than Pakistan with more jobs for imported Chinese workers than for Pakistani local labour. On the other side, poor security conditions in Pakistan, with the presence of terrorist militant groups and the Balochistan separatist insurgency, put China at risk as a target.

Analysing the potential critical points mentioned above respectively, China's total investment surpasses the huge figure of US \$60 billion but the whole of the investment does not consist of loans. According to Dr. Ishrat Hussain, 20% of the total investment is being provided in the form of loans and

⁷⁰⁶ Aslam, Wali & Thayer, Bradley A. (21 Jul 2019), 'Why Pakistan Should End Its Alliance with China', [The National Interest](#)

that is for infrastructure projects with an interest rate of 2%⁷⁰⁷ (while according to another source the rate was reduced to 1.6%⁷⁰⁸) - contrary to Aslam and Thayer's claim of a 7% high interest rate - while "more than 80 per cent of the projects are funded via different financial modalities according to international rules."⁷⁰⁹ Thus, Yasir Masood, the deputy director of media and publication at the CPEC Centre of Excellence Islamabad, termed the CPEC project as a "debt reliever"⁷¹⁰ instead of 'debt trap' as it will be causing a growth of GDP that may help boost revenue, resulting in Pakistan being able to repay its debts with the passage of time. However, (although it is too early to say) since that time, the situation of Pakistan's economy has compelled it to solicit yet another IMF programme, further deepening the trench of foreign debt. Yasir Masood argues against this concern by arguing that \$5.9 billion of the CPEC loan is barely 6% of Pakistan's total external debt while liabilities are of \$99.1 billion, so it should not be termed a debt trap. He further said, "As part of a "hybrid war", it is obvious that some global observers along with a few Pakistanis are calling the CPEC a "debt trap" to fulfill their ulterior motives. The loans from the

⁷⁰⁷ Hussain, Ishrat (2018), *CPEC and Pakistani Economy_An Appraisal*, Published by the Centre of Excellence China Pak Economic Corridor, Government of Pakistan, http://cpec.gov.pk/brain/public/uploads/documents/CPEC-and-Pakistani-Economy_An-Appraisal.pdf

⁷⁰⁸ Butt, Naveed (3 September 2015), 'Economic corridor: China to extend assistance at 1.6 percent interest rate', [Business Recorder](#)

⁷⁰⁹ Butt, Naveed (3 September 2015), 'Economic corridor: China to extend assistance at 1.6 percent interest rate', [Business Recorder](#)

⁷¹⁰ Masood, Yasir (23 Apr 2019), 'China economic corridor is debt reliever for Pakistan', [The Telegraph](#)

International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank and other international lending institutions form a major part of Pakistan's total external debt and liabilities. Yet no one calls them a "debt trap"?"⁷¹¹ Regarding more jobs for Chinese nationals than Pakistanis observation, by 2015, the project has already generated about 70,000 jobs, while 60,000 local people have been employed in these jobs.⁷¹² But one point that is not highlighted by these types of officials is that the high-ranking jobs with good benefits packages mostly go to Chinese nationals while labour or low-rank jobs are given to Pakistanis.

Regarding the point of China's planned presence in Pakistan as its neocolonial strategy is concerned, we observed earlier that neocolonialism is a new form of colonialism in which powerful nations exploit the weaker nations by having a hold on their economies that later brings the weaker nations to their knees as subservient to the mightier ones. So, according to this definition of neocolonial formation, China's presence in Pakistan along with its military, large investments, long-term lease of Pakistani assets (like Gwadar Port and surrounding land) and loans is alarming and fits into our definition of neocolonialism. Once Pakistan is entrapped completely, it will have nothing to say to China regarding its military movements, or any other demand. Pakistan

⁷¹¹ Masood, Yasir (16 Apr 2019), 'CPEC a debt reliever, not a 'debt trap' for Pakistan', [China Daily](#)

⁷¹² Masood, Yasir (23 Apr 2019), 'China economic corridor is debt reliever for Pakistan', [The Telegraph](#)

would have to be subservient as a neocolonised state, not to forget the recent history of the American neocolonial ‘with-us-or-against-us’ option regarding its war in Afghanistan and ‘do more’ dictatorial behaviour towards Pakistan with a follow-up of drone attacks, humiliating Pakistan’s sovereignty as an independent state. The US never cares about the fact that Pakistan is an ally who was fighting its so-called ‘war on terror’ while the US was cutting ties and aid support to Pakistan, alleging it to be a supporter of terrorist groups in Afghanistan. Secondly, “Alignment with China only ensures opposition to Pakistani interests in Washington.”⁷¹³ That situation is suitable for both India, its archrival, because the distance between Islamabad and Washington helps New Delhi to get closer to Washington, and China because China desires some degree of tension between India and Pakistan as this increases its leverage in Islamabad.

As far as the issues of security are concerned, in this regard the Pakistan Army reassured China regarding the improvement of security in the region. For that assurance, the Pak Army planned to launch military operations against terrorist groups as well as Indian-backed political militant insurgencies for the betterment of security by reducing the terror threats gradually. The operations,

⁷¹³ Aslam, Wali & Thayer, Bradley A. (21 Jul 2019), ‘Why Pakistan Should End Its Alliance with China’, The National Interest, <https://nationalinterest.org/feature/why-pakistan-should-end-its-alliance-china-68062>

named Operation Zarb e Azb⁷¹⁴ and Operation Radd al Fasad⁷¹⁵, have partially succeeded in eliminating the elements of terrorism causing security threats. The arrest of Indian spy Kalbhoshan Jadev, who was involved in propagating the ‘Balochistan insurgency’⁷¹⁶, is leading the situation in Pakistan towards something better, apparently. At the same time, Balochistan Freedom Slogan leaders were taken into consideration by Pakistan’s Government and positive dialogue and negotiations are in progress. However, according to some analysts, the future course of the Baloch insurgency⁷¹⁷ will depend on the outcome of peace talks in Afghanistan. “If Taliban demands are implemented, then the capability of the BLA to shelter in Afghanistan will be further diminished.”⁷¹⁸

Keeping in mind Pakistan’s experience with the US as neocoloniser and Pakistan as neocolonised, it cannot be assumed with certainty that China will not be turning towards Pakistan in dictatorial fashion, as the US has done. In fact, this may lead Pakistan to be squeezed by twofold neocolonialism; the US, a friend in the 1980’s but more neocolonist than friend in the twenty-first century; and China, now a friend but potentially more neocolonist than a friendly state. This may be why Pakistan is unable to openly and freely condemn Chinese

⁷¹⁴ Details are given in the Endnotes

⁷¹⁵ Details are given in the Endnotes

⁷¹⁶ Aamir, Adnan (15 Feb 2019), ‘The Balochistan Insurgency and the Threat to Chinese Interests in Pakistan’, *China Brief*, Vol 19, Issue 4, accessed via [The Jamestown Foundation](#): Global Research & Analysis

⁷¹⁷ Details are given in the Endnotes

⁷¹⁸ Aamir, Adnan (15 Feb 2019), ‘The Balochistan Insurgency and the Threat to Chinese Interests in Pakistan’, *China Brief*, Vol 19, Issue 4, accessed via [The Jamestown Foundation](#): Global Research & Analysis

detention centres for Uighur Muslims. The critical dilemma of the situation lies with its desperate economic situation and the dire need of foreign investment, so Pakistan has no option but to put all its eggs in either the Chinese or the US neocolonial basket; or alternatively, to share its eggs between both of its masters as can be observed in the current scenario. This point also strengthens my hypothesis that Cold War II has already begun.

China's Interests in Pakistan's Geopolitics

Pakistani policy makers have the view that a strong relationship with China may help Pakistan come out of the long-term subordinate dependence on the US that has gifted Pakistan a fully-funded Jihad and Mujahideen narrative in the 1990s and then drone attacks against a 'state that supports terrorism' in the twenty-first century based on allegations of supporting the same Taliban and Al Qaeda they themselves created, in alliance with the Pak Army and ISI, as has been discussed earlier. This humiliation has led Pakistan to look for other options to improve its weak economy.

The stability of the region is very important for developing any project there. Everyone is aware of the circumstances in Pakistan, especially in the areas where the China-Pak Economic Corridor is being launched. Security issues always lead multinational companies to think twice or thrice before making such

a huge investment in the area. So the question comes to mind, why would China, being aware of the poor security conditions in the area, be ready to invest its capital? There is no doubt that China has some vital interests to develop in this area through this project, as has already been mentioned.

“For China, CPEC is an integral component of its 21st-century OBOR initiative promoting economic expansion and regional connectivity while reinforcing its status as a global player in international affairs. CPEC’s motivations can be explained through the prism of realist and liberal internationalist theories of geopolitics, as there are elements of both competition and cooperation driving state behavior.”⁷¹⁹

China wants to have access to the warm waters of the Arabian Sea for rapid transportation of its products to the Middle East and the central Asian countries. It wants to avoid the long route, time consuming as well as expensive, so this will cut its expenses and time for easy, fast and cheaper access to the Middle East and Central Asia. China’s motivations for this investment in Pakistan, according to some analysts’ views, “are based upon prospects for economic cooperation in conjunction with security interests. These include nullifying its security concerns through development and outsourcing its industrial capacity as

⁷¹⁹ Rifaat, Hamzah & Maini, Tridivesh Singh (2016), ‘The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Strategic Rationale, External Perspectives, and Challenges to Effective Implementation’, The Stimson Center

part of the OBOR initiative.”⁷²⁰

Along with a popular narrative of helping Pakistan and addressing Pakistan’s immediate economic woes, China has also expressed its keen interest in constructing a naval base at Jiwani in southwest Pakistan, about 80km to the west of Gwadar Port. Jiwani is 15 miles away from the Pak-Iran border, near the Iranian port of Chabahar, a joint trilateral venture by Iran, India and Afghanistan. Once built, the Jiwani base will enable the Chinese navy to access the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean with its fleets.

For Pakistan’s stability, China always plays a vital role and so its importance and influence in Pakistani politics and its economy cannot be overstated. Both of the countries go side by side for each and every policy that is established, planned or projected for the development of the countries. Both countries rely on each other to form foreign policies as well, with China playing a key role in the formation of Pakistan’s Foreign Policy plans.

US-Indian Concerns

Apart from its very positive and productive outcome for Pakistan, China and the countries of the Middle East and Central Asia, it is clear that this project is worrying all those countries that are against a self reliant, strong economy in

⁷²⁰ Rifaat, Hamzah & Maini, Tridivesh Singh (2016), ‘The China-Pakistan Economic Corridor: Strategic Rationale, External Perspectives, and Challenges to Effective Implementation’, The Stimson Center

Pakistan. India has revealed its mindset regarding this project. Indian Foreign Affairs Minister Sushma Swaraj said that Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi “very strongly” raised the issue regarding the China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) during his recent visit to Beijing, and termed the project “unacceptable”.⁷²¹ Meanwhile, Chinese authorities have cautioned local authorities of a possible terror attack by the Research and Analysis Wing (India’s intelligence service) with an aim to turn the project into a failure. A senior Pakistani security official told *The Express Tribune*: “many foreign hostile intelligence agencies could also extend their support to the militants to sabotage some key projects particularly on the eastern alignment -- Gwadar to Quetta -- where work has already started.”⁷²²

The US wants to see Pakistan in a subordinate position, similar to the one call, one moment, one answer YES by Musharraf after 9/11. But in the case where a strong economy would take Pakistan out of the status of semi-colony of the US, that type of enslaved YES response would not be possible. Pakistan would be more free in its decision, being the centre of strategic trade routes. The US also doesn’t want China to increase its economic power that the successful completion of this project would facilitate. It is a challenge to the US’s dominant

⁷²¹ Swaraj, Sushma (1 June 2015). Reported by Express Tribune Pakistan, <http://tribune.com.pk/>

⁷²² Reported by Express Tribune Pakistan on 22 May 2015 <http://tribune.com.pk/>

position so it is trying its best to support India secretly for the failure of this project while pressuring Pakistan not be entrapped by Chinese neocolonial plans.

Conclusion

The China Pak Economic Corridor is going to set a new pattern for the world order, contrary to the US dream to continue the status of supremacy and Indian dreams to be dominant in the economy of the region. The positive efforts for this plan's success are also helping the region with improved and reliable security plans to tackle terrorist and militant groups. Consistent efforts of this kind present this region as peaceful. India, as Pakistan's traditional rival, is against this project firstly because "This is the biggest overseas investment by China announced yet ... and will be a strategic game changer in the region, which would go a long way in making Pakistan a richer and stronger entity than ever before."⁷²³ And a strong Pakistan is not acceptable to India which dreams of being the power centre of the region by surpassing China. And secondly, through the success of this project, China will be able to have a stronghold on the economy of this region; South Asia, Central Asia, the Middle and Far East. Similar concerns are heard from the US and European countries, the neo-global-coloniser and backup team. It is causing the rapid increase of pulse counts of the

⁷²³ Sharma, Ranjeev, (21 Apr 2015), 'Here's why Indian strategists should worry about China's \$46 billion funding to Pakistan', [Firstpost](#)

neocolonists who, firstly, never want any of their dependant, developing countries to elevate their economies to a point which can take them out of the neocolonial New World Order, that new form of colonization that does not require occupying the lands to exploit weaker nations, instead the occupation of economies is enough to serve their capitalist interests to form a capitalist Empire, and secondly, just as a colonist cannot stand to see another colonist more powerful than it is, a neocolonist also cannot allow another neocolonist to have a better stronghold. So China's increasing economic hold in the region is annoying for the US. As an encounter, America wants India to rise as its ally in the region to check China's power. Pakistan is merely a sandwiched neocolony between two neocolonists. However, it cannot bear to see India as the regional power so it has no option but to split its eggs, half in the basket of its existing neocoloniser and the other half in the basket of its future neocoloniser.

Chapter 12

Conclusion

The research study, developed over the past three years confirms the hypothesis that this global game, either of war on terror or war for terror, has nothing to do with religion or democracy or humanity or peace in the world. Instead, it is merely a political game of thrones that is being played by both Islamists and neocolonialists. Both are using the same tools of fabrication, misquotations, misinterpretations and misrepresentations to wage war against each other. The radicalized Islamists are radicalizing innocent humans by promoting extremism through hand-picked quotations, hiding the contextual references, while neocolonialists are polarizing societies through racism and islamophobia by validating the radicalized, extremist image of Islamists and overlooking the peace-loving majority of the Muslim community. What is common in both ideologies is the bloody war of power politics.

Fundamentalism or Islamism and neocolonialism have built walls of social misrepresentation to blur a clearer view of the common people. That is why Mohsin Hamid has to say, Pakistan needs to be reviewed “without makeup and fangs”. These social misrepresentations serve the ideology of revisionism through which global neo-colonizers want to transform the world as has been

discussed in chapter 9. It is what I call Post-postcolonial colonization. This game of power politics benefits the players and leaves the rest of humanity with darkness and destruction.

We observed that Chapter 2 helped in confirming the initial hypothesis that the element of reluctance causes mistrust between two schools of thought and the mistrust is the main reason that is preventing the people belonging to two different schools of thought from getting closer. The mistrust and reluctance increase the binary indifferences, not letting mutual harmony prevail with genuine humaneness. The findings of the initial hypothesis led the research to an evolved hypothesis that social misrepresentations play a recurring role in breeding violence in the societies. Thus, in chapter 3, we tried to locate the traces of fundamentalism in Pakistan and reached the conclusion that the current form of fundamentalism in Pakistan, as an extremist ideology and violent Jihad narrative, was sown and bred during the Cold War between the two superpowers of the time, the USA and the USSR, in the 1980's. The Russian invasion and occupation of Afghanistan led the US exploit the religious attachment of the fundamentalists in Pakistan, motivating them to help in liberating Afghan neighbours by fighting Jihad against Russia's occupying forces. This unconditional support from the US brought the fundamentalists into the limelight

Commenté [1]: not clear to me.

Commenté [2]: findings of initial hypothesis are told in previous sentence so not repeated here

on the political scenario of the region as a powerful entity. Their political importance led the fundamentalists to dream about the ultimate stakeholders in the power politics of the region. This transformation from unknown to known turned the fundamentalists into bigot Islamists of Al Qaeda and Tehreek e Taliban. They later began to dream of gaining power, threatening the sole superpower of the world, the US. To gain the support of the masses, they started radicalising the common believers of Islam, familiarising them with a misrepresented violent ideology that we may call Islamism.

Hence, it was important to present a comparative analysis of the original fundamentals of Islam and the extremist ideology of Islamism, which was done in chapters 4 and 5. In chapter 4, we elaborated the basic fundamentals of Islam in light of the only irrefutable source for all Muslims, the Holy Quran and the Hadith, and findings helped us determine that Islam, just like any other religion, is founded on the concept of peace for humanity with a theory of *'la ikrahu fil deen'*. Chapter 5 exposed the current, familiarised ideologies obtained through the survey and interviews conducted during the fieldwork in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. The comparative study of Islam in chapter 4 and Islamism in chapter 5 succeeded to determine that it is not Islam that preaches violence, instead it is the radicalised ideology of Islamism that has been familiarised in the connection of

Islam for the sake of political power. Conducting fieldwork helped in providing an original analysis based on nuanced information.

After addressing religious misrepresentations in perspective of fundamentalism in the first section, we moved towards the second section in which we targeted the ideologies of neoliberalism and neocolonialism and their role in breeding violence in the third world countries. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 are aimed at presenting an analysis of globalisation as a neo-colonial project promoting the neoliberal idea of “laissez faire markets,” creating the tide that helps raise the boats of the rich with the help of IMF and the World Bank. Globalisation is what Jane Niraj called ‘recolonisation in a new garb’. The critical analysis presented in these chapters exposed neo-colonial power politics, economic misrepresentations and the ways of exploitation of the resources belonging to third world countries. The analytical study of neo-global-colonisation also provided a comparison of the neo-global-colonialists’ ways of breeding violence in the name of the so-called war on terror with the religious managers’ exploitation of the religious emotions of the common, ordinary believers of Islam.

Social misrepresentations regarding Pakistan are highlighted in the third section through Hamid’s nonfiction *Discontent and Its Civilizations* to review

Pakistan “without makeup and fangs”. The social misrepresentations and contemporary neocolonial waves are elaborated in chapters 10 and 11. Geopolitical misrepresentations regarding the Kashmir Conflict and China Pakistan Economic Corridor throw light on the neocolonial links which are active to ‘familiarise the unfamiliar’ with an attempt to bring a nonexisting concept into existence. Where there is the US-Indian critique of CPEC to suggest that Cold War II might have begun, China’s role as the emerging neocolonizer in the future is also alarming. Thus chapter 11, regarding CPEC, is presented as an epilogue with an indication of the neocolonial future of parts of the world.

Reluctance causes mistrust and lack of trust causes distance and misunderstanding. Misunderstandings are harmful for pluralism and unity of human societies. Today, we need to be united against ‘divide and rule’ power politics to resume peace for humanity. We examined fundamentals of Islam in chapter 4 and came to know that Islam is founded on the philosophy of *la ikraha fid Deen* in all spheres of life with an advocacy for tolerance and against aggression to set up a peaceful society. Jihad in Islam refers to the struggle against oppression and, when necessary, self defence. Humanity is the core idea upon which Islam is based. Human reasoning is also not contrary to Islam, instead it is in line with Islamic persuasions to ponder over, to explore the new

horizons hidden in nature. Islam considers blasphemy as a condemnable act, but the Muslims are commanded to be tolerant and patient instead of being aggressively reactive. However, Islam is not a pacifist religion, thus it allows violence in certain limited contexts of self defence, against oppression, for resuming peace or maintaining rule of law. This permissibility is misused by politically-motivated extremists who misinterpret such quotes, hiding contextual references to better serve their political game of thrones. The results of the fieldwork conducted in Iraq, Iran and Pakistan also helped to understand the extremist ideologies of violence.

The name of Islam is being misused by Muslim terrorists to justify their terrorism, calling it Jihad. As a result, non-Muslim extremists exploit this opportunity to label all Muslims as terrorists. They do not make any effort to see the more realistic, more holistic picture in which they can also see the non-Muslim terrorists. Islamophobia and white supremacy serve the interests of a certain capitalist political class that is propagating neo-imperial agendas in the name of democracy.

Terrorism is an act of violence executed by the people sharing one religion, the religion of terrorism, while the mainstream religions which have nothing to do with terrorism are blamed just because the terrorists are born

Muslims or Christians or Hindus or Jews or Buddhists or any other religion. Terrorists who happened to be Muslims or non-Muslims hide behind their religious beliefs to claim legitimacy for the violence and terrorism that they commit on thousands of innocents in attempts to forward particular interests, whether political, social or religious. Those who do not comprehend the fundamentals of Islam accurately and those who have an interest in distorting the truth about Islam have been attempting to make terrorism synonymous with Islam. Thus, such fanatics, supremacists, zionists, in short extremists, are not true representatives of any religion. Novjot Singh Sidhu, a famous Indian cricketer, Member of Parliament, social worker and a humanitarian, says: “*dehshat gardi ka koi mulk nahi hota. Shiddat pasandon ka koi mazhab nahi hota, na hé koi zaat hoti hey.*” Translation: Terrorism does not have any country. Extremists have neither religion, nor caste.”⁷²⁴ Attacks on civilians around the world by such groups are not justified by any religion. It is strongly condemned in all religions, including Islam, as has been clarified earlier. Freedom of speech, limited with due respect of others’ feelings and freedom of living, is encouraged by the religions.

⁷²⁴ Sidhu, Novjot Singh (16 Feb 2019), *Pulwama Hamla: ‘Dehshat Gardi ka Koi Mulik Nahi Hota’*, [BBC Urdu](#)

Islam stands for peace, harmony and understanding. It does not preach hatred or condone acts of violence. Unfortunately the message of Islam has been distorted by the enemies of Islam, both the bigot fundamentalists and the neocolonists. Peace needs the support of humankind to defeat terrorism. “A Muslim needs more non-Muslim allies”⁷²⁵ to defeat Islamophobia. Colonised and slaves need more free people and allies to raise voices for their freedom from neocolonialism or neo-imperialism. Social activists need more peaceful pessimists to unite with, to increase their strength of resistance against oppression. And the oppressed need to be tolerant enough to resist radicalisation. Fundamentalism serves politically-motivated games of thrones and not Islam.

On the other hand, Neoliberals are neocolonising the world disguised as democracy. Roy says, “Democracy has become the Empire's euphemism for neoliberal capitalism.”⁷²⁶ Democracy is no longer democracy in its real sense. It has become subservient to the so-called free world.⁷²⁷ Neoliberals find the agents to work for their neocolonial agenda to strengthen the empirical system that is taking human societies to a monstrous place where extremism rules under the influence of supremacist racism, radicalisation, islamophobia, Islamist fundamentalism, radicalisation, zionism, hindutva types of violent ideologies

⁷²⁵ Ahmed, Rizwan (20 April 2019), *Muslims Need More non-Muslim allies*, Says Riz Ahmed, DAWN News, images.dawn.com

⁷²⁶ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 304

⁷²⁷ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 33

which are working as tools to serve imperialism; imperialism in the form of non-democratic fundamentalist regimes or neo-global colonization of economies in favour of neocolonial empire. Misrepresentations introduced by both Neocolonialism and fundamentalism are breeding violence and extremism thus, humanity is suffering.

We need to expose and wipe out the “agents of the neoliberal project”⁷²⁸ worldwide to save humanity. History teaches us a lesson and has shown a glimpse of darkness shadowing the world as a result of such extremist ideologies. It is time, as Rizwan Ahmed - the actor who played the role of Changez in the film version of *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* - rightly insists to “Make a stand on the right side of history.”⁷²⁹ There is no choice of ‘will’. It has to be now. This is the time to be united actively against this monstrosity of power politics or it will never let humanity rest in peace. The struggle of ‘to be, or not to be’ is not a matter of choice anymore but of necessity. Everyone is struggling ‘to be’ this way or that, even if one is still in a state that may end up ‘not to be’. Moreover, it depends upon one’s strength and vulnerability, too. Some enjoy their ‘beingness’ in ‘nothingness’ while others keep struggling in discontentment for ‘being’ more than they already are. Some are content in

⁷²⁸ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 33

⁷²⁹ Ahmed, Rizwan (20 April 2019), *Muslims Need More non-Muslim allies, Says Riz Ahmed*, DAWN News, [images.dawn.com](https://www.dawn.com)

‘being a reader’ while others are disillusioned even ‘being riders’. Thus, contentment of beingness or discontentment of nothingness has more to do with our limitless desire than of our gains.

In the USA, no fly lists and presidential incitement to violence lead to skyrocketing hate crimes. In China, mass detention camps. In India and Myanmar, state sponsored lynching. Rizwan Ahmed raises his voice for all humans, “[sic] I’m all these places what’s at stake isn’t just the fate of Muslims, what’s at stake is much more fundamental and affects us all -- a civilised world where we are all considered equally human.”⁷³⁰ He urges us “to speak out against the incitement of violence against us as a group and against individuals like Ilhan Omar, against travel bans and illegal detention, against the apologist politicians and media who make excuses for right wing terrorists who murder us at prayer.”⁷³¹

Western civilization is suitable for the West, undoubtedly, but it will be destructive for the subcontinent, the Middle East or Africa, if we impose a copy-paste venture, attempting to reproduce it there. This does not mean we should not acquire inspirational, positive aspects from the West. Similarly, the West also

⁷³⁰ Ahmed, Rizwan (20 April 2019), *Muslims Need More non-Muslim allies, Says Riz Ahmed*, DAWN News, [images.dawn.com](https://www.dawn.com)

⁷³¹ Ahmed, Rizwan (20 April 2019), *Muslims Need More non-Muslim allies, Says Riz Ahmed*, DAWN News, [images.dawn.com](https://www.dawn.com)

needs “to part with whatever evil might have crept into it.”⁷³² We need to realise that “nobody else can protect our culture for us. We have to protect it ourselves and can destroy it by our folly.”⁷³³

Roy suggests to American citizens to be a great people, “History is giving you a chance. Seize the time.”⁷³⁴ The world was disillusioned in the period between the two World Wars and remained disillusioned until they found the solution to brutality and dictatorship in democracy and liberty. For that they needed to unite to fight against national barriers, greed, and hate, and intolerance, slavery to make life free, tolerant and peaceful. The world had a view that “the people had the power; the power to create machines, the power to create happiness, the power to make this life free and beautiful, to make this life a wonderful adventure.”⁷³⁵ But in the name of democracy, a Cold War began against communism after the Second World War and to win the Cold War, so-called democrats kept exploiting the natural resources of the third world African and Asian countries. The game of power continued until the fall of the competitive communist bloc, the USSR in the early 1990s. And the imperialists

⁷³² Gandhi, Mahatma (1931) Compiled & Edited by: R. K. Prabhu & U. R. Rao (1960), *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi: Western Culture*, (Encyclopedia of Gandhi's Thoughts) Compiled & Edited by: R. K. Prabhu & U. R. Rao (1960), pg. 33, Printed and Published by : Jitendra T. Desai, Navajivan Mudranalaya, Ahmedabad-380014 India, ISBN 81-7229-149-3, <https://www.mkgandhi.org/momgandhi/chap90.htm>

⁷³³ Gandhi, Mahatma (1947), Compiled & Edited by: R. K. Prabhu & U. R. Rao (1960), *Mind of Mahatma Gandhi: Cultural Domination Of The West*, (Encyclopedia of Gandhi's Thoughts) Compiled & Edited by: R. K. Prabhu & U. R. Rao (1960), pg. 166, Printed and Published by : Jitendra T. Desai, Navajivan Mudranalaya, Ahmedabad-380014 India, ISBN 81-7229-149-3, <https://www.mkgandhi.org/momgandhi/chap90.htm>

⁷³⁴ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 310

⁷³⁵ Chaplin, Charlie (1940), *The Great Dictator*, Charlie Chaplin Films

in the guise of democracy, who arose as the sole superpower yet forgot to empower humanity, instead they started dreaming of a New Empire with a New World Order under the supervision of the sole superpower, the Neo-Global-coloniser, the United States of America. The lust for power is limitless. The promises are the same; liberty, social welfare, a bright future, equality, fraternity and peace for humanity. The goals are the same; neo-imperialism has replaced imperialism, colonialism is back as neocolonialism and extremism in the guise of religions is struggling to regain the lost paradise of dictatorship; in short, their shared objective is enslaving humankind, human minds, human reasoning, to treat us like cattle, to use as human shields, to dictate to us what we should do, what we should think, what we should feel, like robots with a remote control in the hands of these brutes.

The melting glaciers, warming oceans and tides of water are ripping through the delicate web of social cooperation and interdependence that maintains human life on this planet. Our intellect leads us to violate the boundaries between humans and machines. Technology is replacing art with algorithms and in the near future most human beings may not be needed to take part in economic activity. At the time we are facing many challenges to our survival, we have the steady hands of white supremacists in the White House,

new imperialists in China, neo-Nazis once again massing on the streets of Europe, Hindu nationalists in India, and a host of butcher-princes and lesser dictators in other countries to lead us into the Unknown.⁷³⁶ To demand justice and survival, “we must consider ourselves at war.”⁷³⁷ We are already at war, indeed. If we all are against this brand of imperialism, of so-called democracy as project of neoliberalism and dictatorship, of the Madrassah or the Temple or the Synagogue or the Church as a project of fundamentalism and terrorism, then we have to become “the global resistance to the occupation.”⁷³⁸ We have to formulate a strategy not only to confront Neo-Global-Colonialism and dictatorial fundamentalism but also place blockades around ourselves. The purpose is, according to Roy,

“To deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art, our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness - and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we’re being brainwashed to believe.”⁷³⁹

There is hope. The hope to survive. The hope to fight the terror of neo-global-colonialism as well as extremist fundamentalism. The hope for the revival

⁷³⁶ Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in The Guardian

⁷³⁷ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 318

⁷³⁸ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 317

⁷³⁹ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 281-282

of humanity. “We be many and they be few. They need us more than we need them.”⁷⁴⁰ We need not despair. We need not give up. Let us unite to defeat the lust of power politics. To spread a light of hope. To bring back our lost peace. To live. The last two stanzas of Emily Bronte’s famous poem ‘Lines’ may help awaken the hope to recollect the energies to fight the ‘unnatural men’ with no compassion for humanity

“But yet faint not, mournful man;

Leagues on leagues are left behind

Since your endless course began;

Then go on, to toil resigned.

If you still despair, control,

Hush its whispers in your breast;

You shall reach the final goal,

You shall win the land of rest”⁷⁴¹

The thesis, which perhaps raised more questions than it answers, hopefully provides the groundwork for further research to highlight the role of fundamentalism in the conversion of Islam into Islamism and the role of

⁷⁴⁰ Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 282

⁷⁴¹ Bronte, Emily (1906, poem written in 1837), *Poems of Emily Bronte: LXX: Lines*, London William Heinemann

neoliberalism in the conversion of democracy into *DemoKursi* (the demonstration of power) to answer the question,

Why don't we acquire the lessons of what we learn, teach or preach?

Endnotes

Operation Zarb e Azb:⁷⁴² The North Waziristan operation, launched on June 15, 2014, after it became clear to the government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif that the peace talks with the TTP were nowhere close to fruition, and that despite the talks, the TTP had been conducting attacks in Pakistani cities. The Pakistani Army was also getting edgy as more and more military installations had been targeted by the TTP; in one particular strike, Lieutenant General Sanaullah Niazi, a three-star general involved in previous military operations against the TTP, had been assassinated by the group in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province near the Afghan border (September 16, 2013). Another key event that triggered the military was the TTP's beheading of 23 captured soldiers from Pakistan's Frontier Corps in February 2014. The TTP further provoked the military by using Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) members to conduct an attack at the Jinnah International Terminal of Karachi Airport, which resulted in the killing of 28 airport security personnel. Following the government's decision to take the offensive, the military launched airstrikes, and 30,000 troops marched into North Waziristan, where operations have since continued up to the present day.⁷⁴³ In addition to the official figures, it seems that the operation has brought comparative peace and tranquility to Pakistani cities, which were previously under an intense militant threat, particularly in FATA. For instance, the total number of fatalities in FATA stood at 2,863 during the year 2014, whereas the fatalities from the first three months of 2015 stood at 411, a pro rata reduction of around a third. As far as the operation's financial costs, Pakistani Minister of Finance Ishaq Dar has said the operation may cost around \$1.3 billion (, February 19).⁷⁴⁴ Operation Zarb-e-Azb was long overdue, not least because North Waziristan's existence as a safe haven for militants constantly impeded the success of other military operations during the period 2002-2014. Indeed, militants' ability⁷⁴⁵ to rapidly find refuge in North Waziristan to regroup and regain their lost momentum was a major hurdle in the success of Pakistan's failed operations to achieve their set targets over the last decade. The present operation has so far managed to bring considerable calm to Pakistani cities.

Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad: DAWN's Report titled 'Pakistan Army launches 'Operation Radd-ul-Fasaad' across the country' can be accessed for detailed information on the following link: <https://www.dawn.com/news/1316332/pakistan-army-launches-operation-radd-ul-fasaad-across-the-country>

Decline of Balochistan Insurgency: Overshadowed by the deadlier Taliban insurgency, the Baloch resistance did not draw enough attention in the national media but it was certainly a matter of deep concern for the past three consecutive governments. The Baloch agitators had attacked almost all prime installations of the Pakistani government, including the military

⁷⁴² Zahid, Farhan (10 Jul 2015), 'The Successes and Failures of Pakistan's Operation Zarb-e-Azb', *Terrorism Monitor*, Vol 13, Issue 14, accessed via [The Jamestown Foundation](#), Global Research & Analysis

⁷⁴³ Kakakhel, Sohail & Gul, Pazeer (18 Feb 2014), 'TTP tries to justify ruthless killing of 23 FC soldiers', [Dawn](#)

⁷⁴⁴ [Geo News](#), Reported via AFP (19 Feb 2015)'Operation Zarb-e-Azb may cost over \$1.3 billion: Dar'

⁷⁴⁵ Kakakhel, Sohail & Gul, Pazeer (18 Feb 2014), 'TTP tries to justify ruthless killing of 23 FC soldiers', [Dawn](#)

cantonment in Quetta, Balochistan's capital, important government buildings and killed senior government officials.

While the state-sponsored killing of a top Baloch tribal leader, Nawab Akbar Bugti in August 2006, had escalated the insurgency, the natural death of another doyen nationalist leader, Nawab Khair Bakhsh Marri in June 2014 has caused the dramatic decline of the Baloch separatist movement. After one year of continued fighting, the Baloch insurgents appear frustrated with the lack of international support for their movement. A decade later, not even a single country supports the free Balochistan movement. The Baloch fighters seem satiated with how moderate political parties, such as the ruling National Party of Dr. Malik Baloch, the chief minister of Balochistan, capitalize on their hard work and gain political power. Islamabad's counterinsurgency policy can hardly be credited for pushing the Baloch rebellions to this level. Frustration, suspicion, in fighting and division are the common features of the end of a 'guerrilla' fight. Perhaps that time has come in Balochistan.⁷⁴⁶ This was a business and few business groups are fighting for their share of the market. Consequently, the rebellion leaders who are living in the US and UK under political asylum are not coming into the mainstream for having a positive dialogue, stepping back from the point of no return with a demand for a separate state of Balochistan. This is a positive sign for the success of the China Pak Corridor.

⁷⁴⁶ Akbar, Malik Siraj (4 Nov 2014), 'The End Of Pakistan's Baloch Insurgency', Official Website of [Pakistan Defence](#)

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Annex

Results of Survey

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	'No religion is above humanity'.	19 = 12.67 %	83 = 55.3 3%	42 = 28%	05 = 3.33%	01 = 0.67%
2	Blasphemy law (with blasphemer's death penalty) is exactly according to Islam. Zero tolerance for blasphemers!	85 = 56.67 %	36 = 24%	14 = 9.33%	15 = 10%	0%
3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.	01 = 0.67%	09 = 6%	0%	62 = 41.33	78= 52%
4	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.	13 = 8.67%	46 = 30.6 7%	0%	89 = 59.33 %	2 = 1.33%
5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	112 = 74.66 %	29= 19.3 3%	09 = 6%	0%	0%
6	Islam is a religion of humanity.	149 = 99.33 %		1 = 0.67%		
7	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).	144= 96%	06 = 4%			
8	'No compulsion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.	150 = 100%				
9	Holy Prophet (peace be upon Him) used to forgive and pray for God's mercy upon His blasphemers. He never even allowed His companions to react harshly against them.	150= 100%				
10	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle with sword) is a command of God permitted only for self defence and against oppression.	148 = 98.67 %	02= 1.33 %			

Participants feedback:

Questionnaire

Name: _____ Signature _____

Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	'No religion is above humanity'.					x
2	Blasphemy law (with blasphemer's death penalty) is exactly according to Islam. Zero tolerance for blasphemers!	x				
3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.	x				
4	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.	x				
5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	x				
6	Islam is a religion of humanity.	x				
7	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).	x				
8	'No compulsion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.	x				
9	Holy Prophet (peace be upon Him) used to forgive and pray for God's mercy upon His blasphemers. He never even allowed His companions to react harshly against them.	x				
10	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle with sword) is a command of God permitted only for self defence and against oppression.	x				

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Sr. #	Stated Questions	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
	'No religion is above humanity'.				x	
2	Blasphemy law (with blasphemer's death penalty) is exactly according to Islam. Zero tolerance for blasphemers!	x				
3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.		x			
4	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.	x				
5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	x				
6	Islam is a religion of humanity.			x		
7	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).	x				
8	'No compulsion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.	x				
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5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	x				
6	Islam is a religion of humanity.	x				
7	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).		x			
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3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.		x			
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5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	x				
6	Islam is a religion of humanity.	x				
7	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).		x			
8	'No compulsion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.	x				
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3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.		x			
4	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.		x			
5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.			x		
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3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.					x
4	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.	x				
5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	x				
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	'No religion is above humanity'.	x				
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3	Jihad Bil-Saif (struggle through sword) is a command of God to spread Islam.					x
4	The common Muslims must not question or contradict the scholars/clerics' declarations.					x
5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	x				
6	Islam is a religion of humanity.	x				
7	To spread Islam, Holy Prophet (SAWA)'s preaching of Islam through awareness is called Jihad Bil-Ilm (struggle through spreading knowledge and awareness).	x				
8	'No compulsion in religion' indicates that any coercive act to spread Islam or to practice Islam is forbidden in Islam.	x				
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5	There is an answer to every question for those who ponder in search of truth.	x				
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Allama Muhammad Bashir Najafi
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Key Words:

Reluctance
Fundamentalism
Neoliberalism, Neocolonialism
Social Misrepresentations
Migration
Radicalisation
Violence
Humanity
Peace
Post-Postcolonial Contemporary Pakistani
Literature (Urdu & English),
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Debt Trap
Neocolonialism
Misrepresentations

Abstract in English

Islam, Muslims and Pakistan have been obsessively under discussion, particularly with negative portrayals, in the mainstream media and scholastic colloquy in the post 9/11 period. This research project is an attempt to represent some of the misrepresentations which are familiarized along with political lines for making an unknown a known. The decolonised representation of such misrepresentations is needed to understand this phenomenon and the ideologies working behind the scenes for popularizing these unfamiliar representations of/by fundamentalism and fundamentalists in comparison with misrepresentations of/by liberalism and liberals. Thus, the thesis is divided into three sections; a) Fundamentals of Islam and Fundamentalism, b) Neoliberalism and Neo-global colonialism, and c) Social Misrepresentations which are breeding psychological trauma for humanity in the post 9/11 era.

This project highlights the variant aspects of the reluctance of fundamentalism in post-postcolonial contemporary Pakistani literature, both in English and Urdu, analysing comparatively the similarities and variances, both exclusive and inclusive, of its extensive canvas. The contemporary world of English Literature in Pakistan and the different approaches provide material for examining who is who and what is what, in order to determine the underlying motives at work behind the scenes, especially the schools of thought encouraging extremism of all kinds, working against peace and harmony in favor of violence and terrorism. Literature, in this context, is a mouthpiece of the Age. We will be analysing the social misrepresentations using Moscovici's theories of social representations which are used to familiarise the unfamiliar or defamiliarize the familiar. Similarly, Roy's theory of facts in fiction is utilised for analysing contemporary Pakistani literature (examples are taken from Mohsin Hamid's and Umaira Ahmed's contributions) as a mouthpiece of the twenty-first century while examining Chomskian views of neocolonialism. Meanwhile, fundamentalism or Islamism will be inspected under the theoretical lens of *la ikraha fid Deen*, presented in the Holy Quran and Hadith. Hopefully, the research would be able to provide a comprehensive, productive groundwork that will be helpful to spread a peaceful message with a moderate approach to life, against extremism.

Key Words: Reluctance, Fundamentalism, Neoliberalism, Neocolonialism, Social Misrepresentations, Migration, Radicalisation, Violence, Humanity and Peace.

Résumé en français

L'Islam, les Musulmans et le Pakistan ont fait l'objet de discussions obsessionnelles ; des points de vue négatifs ayant été majoritairement adoptés dans les principaux médias et les colloques au lendemain du 11 septembre. La présente recherche est une tentative de représentation de certaines des fausses déclarations qui sont popularisées par les différentes lignes politiques dont le but est de faire d'un inconnu, un connu. La représentation décolonisée des fausses représentations est nécessaire pour comprendre ce phénomène et les idéologies qui sous-tendent les voies de la vulgarisation de ces représentations peu familières de / par le fondamentalisme et les fondamentalistes par rapport aux fausses représentations du / par le libéralisme et les libéraux. La thèse est divisée en trois sections : a) Fondements de l'Islam et fondamentalisme, b) Néolibéralisme et néocolonialisme mondialisé, c) Représentations sociales engendrant un traumatisme psychologique pour l'humanité après le 11 septembre.

Ce projet met en évidence les divers aspects de la réticence du fondamentalisme dans la littérature pakistanaise contemporaine post-postcoloniale, en anglais et en ourdou, analysant comparativement les similitudes et les différences, à la fois exclusives et inclusives, de ses nombreuses ramifications. Le monde contemporain de la littérature anglaise au Pakistan et les différentes approches utilisées fournissent de la matière permettant d'élucider des variables, afin de déterminer les motivations sous-jacentes à l'œuvre dans les coulisses, plus particulièrement les écoles de pensée qui encouragent l'extrémisme de toutes sortes, et œuvrent contre la paix et l'harmonie mais favorisent la violence et le terrorisme. La littérature, dans ce contexte, est un porte-parole de l'époque. Nous analyserons les fausses représentations sociales en ayant recours aux théories de Moscovici à propos des représentations sociales, qui sont utilisées pour rendre l'inconnu familier ou bien rendre inconnu ce qui est familier. De la même manière, la théorie de Roy sur les faits dans la fiction pourrait être utilisée pour analyser la littérature pakistanaise contemporaine (des exemples sont tirés des contributions de Mohsin Hamid, Umera Ahmed et Shoaib Mansoor) en tant que porte-parole du 21^{ème} siècle lors de l'examen de la théorie chomskienne du néocolonialisme. Pendant ce temps, le fondamentalisme ou l'islamisme sera examiné dans l'optique théorique de *la ikraha fid Deen*, présentée dans le Coran et les hadiths. Espérons que cette recherche soit en mesure de fournir un travail de base complet et productif qui sera utile pour diffuser un message pacifique, celui d'une approche modérée de la vie en opposition à l'extrémisme.

Mots clés: réticence, fondamentalisme, néolibéralisme, néocolonialisme, représentations sociales déformées, migration, radicalisation, polarisation, violence, humanité et paix

