

IMPERIAL PHILANTHROPY, INTELLECTUAL AGGRESSION AND THE MEDIA: MANUFACTURING OF THE CONSENT FOR INTRUSION IN THE MUSLIM WORLD

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ABSTRACT

Since the fall of the Communist bloc, Islam has become a major foreign policy devil for the Europe as a whole and particularly that of the US. In demonizing Islam, intellectual aggression carried through powerful media, has become a potent weapon. Western civilization is projected as a beleaguered one besieged by an alien force –Islam, hence an inevitable clash of civilizations. Islam, however, does not believe in the clash of civilizations, rather, holds dialogue among the civilizations as a basic principle for peace and prosperity. Allah says in the Quran, Chapter 3, Verse 64, Say: O people of the Scripture! Come to an agreement between us and you: that we shall worship none but Allah, and that we shall ascribe no partner unto Him, and none of us shall take others for lords besides Allah. And if they turn away, then say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him).

Islam is a global Din addressing the whole humanity. Globalization has rendered a good deal of service for Islam to accomplish its goals. Islamic concept of Ummah, cosmopolitan citizenship and global governance (Khilafat) can only be accomplished in a truly globalized world; in this regard globalization and Islam go hand in hand. But Islam, on the other hand, is keen to eliminate the evils that have erupted due to the global neo-liberal culture. Islamic economic system has thus a profound future in removing the evils of market economy –unrestricted and uncontrolled. Islamic banking has gained the currency but what is needed is an intellectual resilience for making the human minds receptive for Islamic system. A lot needs to be done in this regard.

Simply stating the paper has three important claims to make: Firstly, Intellectual aggression is used across the Muslim World to clear the ground for state intervention. Secondly, the interconnectedness in the world can be beneficial for Islamic ideals to materialize, and finally intellectual resilience is the only way out to counter the US hegemony.

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1. MANUFACTURING CONSENT THROUGH INTELLECTUAL AGGRESSION:

What is Justice is the prominent theme of the debate of Plato's Republic. The most realistic answer is provided by Thrasymachus that *Justice is the interest of the stronger*.³ This definition seems to be the most appropriate definition when analyzed in the context of the present day world order. Thrasymachus has an immense influence and contribution in determining the present global system. The fulfillment of these interests requires, on part of the stronger, some paradigms to shape the public opinion so as to justify the means to acquire the ends. A grand strategy is thus formulated to make ruler's ideas the ruling ideas. In the contemporary version of this grand strategy the principle that is used as a frame of reference is "America is a historical vanguard" and the US hegemony is the realization of history's purpose, and what it achieves is for the common good, the merest truism and just.⁴ Justice is what keeps the hegemony intact.

The US imperial policy in the guise of altruism has resulted in making America a rouge superpower. Shielded by both military and economic power, America's quest for being at the apex of the world system has put the world peace at high alert. The *Preventive War* doctrine of the United States, announced in September 2002 under the shield of *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, implies that the United States will rule the world by force, and if there is any challenge to its domination-whether it is perceived in the distance, invented, imagined, or whatever- then the United States will have the right to destroy that challenge before it becomes a threat.⁵

Another theory that was now being articulated was "Humanitarian Intervention". This Trojan horse gave a kind of license to the West to intervene in the borders of any sovereign state.⁶ The Muslim world became a soft target. A consensus was build around the principle of the 'responsibility to protect' (R2P). This principle insists that states have primary responsibility for protecting their own citizens. However, if they are unwilling or unable to do so, the responsibility to protect is shifted to the wider international community. (5)The R2P was adopted by the UN General Assembly in a formal declaration at 2005 UN World Summit.⁷ Reverend Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann, president of the UN general Assembly, called R2P "redecorated colonialism" and said that a more accurate name would be the right to intervene. But one fails to understand that why R2P is not invoked when

³. Plato, *The Republic* (2007), Penguin Classics, p, 18.

⁴. Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival: America's quest for global dominance*, Australia: Allen and Unwin, 2007, p, 43.

⁵. White House, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, released 17 September 2002, online at <http://www.whitehouse.gov/nsc/nss.html>.

⁶. John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patrica Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics*, Fifth Ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p, 512.

⁷. *Ibid*, p, 523.

Palestinians are bombarded ruthlessly by Israel in Operation Cast Lead (2008-09), after which a UN report found a prima facie evidence of war crimes.⁸

The fall of the Second World (USSR) was projected as the 'End of History'. The US system was presented as the model to be followed worldwide for all times to come. It became the final stop of the human imagination beyond which there was no need to trespass. The finality of this system was proved by the fact that this system has triumphed over all other systems man has been trying since ages.⁹ Absurdity and fantasy is to dream of any other system that parallels the US system. So resistance is nothing but futility. But when resistance came from the Muslim world, a dire need for inventing new labels was felt. Justifying attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq, Tony Blair (the then Prime Minister of the United Kingdom) said that they could have chosen security as the battleground but they did no. instead they choose values, for they know, they will not win the battle against, what they call, global extremism unless they win it at the level of values as much as that of force. He asserted that they can win only by showing that their values are stronger, better and more just than the alternative – a battle for global values indeed.¹⁰

Terrorism thus became a new Paradigm for the 21st century world order. Terrorism has done for the US what barbarianism for the British and Race for Hitler. Everyone who resists direct aggression is labeled a terrorist – sometimes South Vietnamese become terrorists other time it is Afghans and Iraqis who are labeled so. Hate is the lone slogan to dominate the world. The mantra that was loudly articulated in the media was “every Muslim is not a terrorist but every terrorist is a Muslim”. Islam and terrorism were made synonymous so was a Muslim and a terrorist. The West wanted an enemy because the end of the cold war left the West particularly enemy less and thus, more or less, issue less. Fascism and Nazism were defeated in the Second World War so was Communism in 1990's. Now the finger was pointed towards Islam and Islam became a ferocious enemy that needs to be demonized, tamed and cut to size.

In demonizing Islam the West uses its, what is generally labeled as, scientific research and intellectuals who possess a deep prejudice against Islam and whose purpose is to project Islam as a major threat. Once this objective is attained an implicit course of action against it is proposed. In this sense intellectual aggression in the

⁸ . Vijay Prasad, The Right to Intervene, *The Hindu*, May 31, 2016.

⁹ . See Francis Fukuyama's *The End of History and the Last Man*, 1992.

¹⁰ . Tony Blair, A Battle for Global Values, *Foreign Affairs*, Vol., 86, No., 1, p, 79.

guise of scientific research is vehemently applied before direct violence.¹¹ In such a context both science and direct violence are forms of aggression against Islam.

These propagandistic intellectuals with the help of immense media coverage present Islam and the Islamic world in such a fashion as to make that world vulnerable to military aggression. This mechanism provides ample reasons for hegemon to intervene, penetrate and take hold on the Muslim countries. This is what made Afghans *Mujahideens* while fighting against the USSR and most wanted terrorists later on. To meet this objective an army of intellectuals was deployed to educate the Western public about the possibility and feasibility of interventions in the Muslim world. This could never be achieved without the selective and biased media coverage and inventing new theories to change public opinion. Different sets of illusions are created and crafted in such a fashion that they act as frame of reference for a global attitude towards Islam and acknowledged ground for policymaking.

The Western identity, its culture and civilization, its democratic ethos is projected as a beleaguered one, besieged by an alien force – Islam. Islam is thus projected in such a way one gets the notion that it is invariably found in a confrontational relationship with whatever is Western. Islam becomes the most dangerous civilization for the West – thus an inevitable clash of civilizations. Islam has bloody borders, a barbarian spirit, genetically angry at modernity, a static religion with a myopic vision of humanity and development.¹² This is how fear replaces knowledge about Islam. Islam, thus, is compared with everything the West dislikes regardless of accuracy and authenticity. The media, the government, the geopolitical strategists, and the Western academic experts on Islam are all in concert: Islam is a threat to Western civilization.¹³ The present coverage of Islam has been producing a canonized version of certain notions, texts and authorities. The idea that Islam is medieval and dangerous, as well as hostile and threatening for the West, has acquired a place both in the culture and in the polity of the Western nations (particularly that of the US).¹⁴ Once it enters the cultural canon the task of changing such notions become very difficult.

The world wars had intensely kept the European powers engaged within themselves. Therefore, there was no question of demonizing Islam; neither had Islam gained the focus of domestic nor foreign policies of these nations. According to Ali A Mazrui In the first half of the 20th century relationships between American values and Islamic values were close. On such issues as sexual mores, gender roles, the death penalty and alcohol

¹¹ . Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, London: Vintage Books, 1997, p, 25.

¹² . Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1997, p, 183.

¹³ . Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, London: Vintage Books, 1997, p, 144.

¹⁴ . *Ibid*, p, 157.

consumption, American values and Islamic values converged. But in the second half of the twentieth century the US started distancing itself from the Islamic values – thus started a divergence of values between the West and the Islam.¹⁵ Till OPEC price rise in early 1974 Islam was scarcely figured in the West media and Western policies. The oil crisis made a huge impact on the psyche of a common Westerner. They were bombarded with by different consequences the policy makers and the media believed crisis would generate. They were forced to think that they would no longer drive their cars the way they used to; oil would become much more expensive; their comforts and habits would undergo a radical and most unwelcome change. All felt panic and the real issue got hoodwinked. Islam was becoming enemy now. The energy threat was changing the Western mind.¹⁶

The Iranian revolution further increased the anxieties and worries of the West-particularly the US. Ayatollah Khomeini was projected as an obdurate, powerful and deeply angry at the United States. The occupation with Iran continued in to 1990's.¹⁷ With the end of the Cold War Iran, along with it Islam has come to represent America's major foreign policy devil. Instead of making it an ideological battle in which the Islamic Justice, Equality, Liberty, vision of society, value system etc could have been made to debate on, was made irrelevant and what counted for the West was what the so called Islamists were doing. For example, how many were executed in Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Consolidation of power need creating and countering perceived threats to the society. Threats are created and solved in such a fashion that people relinquish their sovereign powers and surrender before propagandist state apparatus that virtually present herself as the guardian and protector of individual. People are made do think in the terms state wants them to think, there is no thinking beyond that, and no truth beyond the truth that is articulated by the state. Truth is what the hegemon calls truth!

1.1: Imperial Philanthropy:

The response to 9/11 attacks was furious. United States and her allies had declared forthrightly that they intended to carry out their war whether or not the UN or anyone else “catches up” and becomes relevant. Medeline Albright once said, we will behave multilaterally when we can, and unilaterally when we must.¹⁸ Under the immense pressure of “Bush Doctrine”, the New Europe {those European countries who supported the war on

¹⁵ . Dr. Ali A. Mazrui, Islam Between Clash an Concord of Civilizations: Changing Relations Between the Muslim World and the United States, *Chatham House: An Independent Thinking on International Affairs*, January 2007.

¹⁶ . Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, London: Vintage Books, 1997, p, 36.

¹⁷ . Ibid, p, 101.

¹⁸ . See Noam Chomsky, 2000, US Iraq Policy: Motives and Consequences, *Iraq Under Siege: the Deadly Impacts of Sanctions and War*, Pluto Press, London. P. 54.

Iraq} succumbed to the US. The Bush's statement 'you are either with us or against us' resulted in making the US to act like a policeman of the world, saluted by all those who went with the US in this war of imperialism.¹⁹

When Bush announced the air strikes on Afghanistan, he said, "we are a peaceful nation" and his friend Tony Blair echoed him, we are a peaceful people.²⁰ Speaking at the FBI headquarters a few days later, President Bush said, 'this is the calling of the United States of America. The most free nation in the world. A nation built on fundamental values; that rejects hate, rejects violence, rejects murderers and rejects evil. And we will not tire.'²¹

Here is a list of countries that America has been at war with- and bombed-since World War Second: China (1945-46, 1950-53), Korea (1950-53), Guatemala (1954,1967-69), Indonesia (1958), Cuba (1959-60), the Belgian Congo (1964), Peru (1965), Laos (1964-73), Vietnam (1961-73), Cambodia (1969-70), Grenada (1983), Libya (1986), El Salvador (1980's), Nicaragua (1980's), Panama (1989), Iraq (1991-99), Bosnia (1995), Sudan (1998), Yugoslavia (1999), Afghanistan (2001), Iraq (2003) and now in Libya, Syria.

Besides it the United States is an old hand at regime change.²² One may ask when security of other countries like Russia, China, France, Japan etc has never been in threat how come only United States face grave security threats from evil states? Russia faces a more volatile situation in Chechnya, Dagkistan, but how many times has Russian troops invaded other countries for posing threats to her security? It may be simply answered that the issue is not about security or Good vs Evil as it is about space, about maintaining hegemony.²³ Humanitarian intervention, war against terrorism and preventive war doctrine along with globalization are the mantras for sustaining hegemony. It is because of these activities conservative International relations specialists like Robert Jervis hold the opinion that the US policies were creating a situation in which much of the world regarded the United States as a "rogue state", a threat to their existence.²⁴ Although the US projects itself as a guardian of human values (particularly Western) –Liberty, Equality, Peace and Justice, Democracy etc., but an honest look on US policies would only generalize Thomas Jefferson's observation on the world situation of this day:

¹⁹ . Andrew Higgins, *Wall Street Journal*, 18 March 2003.

²⁰ . Bush's Remarks on US Military Strikes on Afghanistan, *New York Times*, 8 October 2001, p B6.

²¹ . Remarks by President George W. Bush at an Anti –Terrorism Event,' Washington, DC, Federal News Services, 10 October 2001.

²² . Noam Chomsky, *Imperial Ambitions: Conversations on the Post-9/11 World*, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2005, p. 42.

²³ . Arundhati Roy, *The Algebra of Infinite Justice*, London: Penguin, 2002, p.247.

²⁴ . Noam Chomsky, *Hegemony or Survival, America's quest for global dominance*, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 2007, p. 37.

*We believe no more in Bonaparte's fighting merely for the liberties of the seas, than in Great Britain's fighting for the liberation of mankind. The object is the same, to draw to themselves the power, the wealth, and the resources of other nations.*²⁵

One question that can be asked here is what freedoms does the US uphold? Arundhati Roy answers, "Within its borders, the freedoms of speech, religion, thought; of artistic expression, food habits, sexual preferences (well, to some extent) and many other exemplary, wonderful things. Outside its borders, the freedom to dominate, humiliate and subjugate –usually in the service of America's real religion, the free market. So when the US government christens a war 'Operation Infinite Justice', or 'Operation Enduring Freedom', we in third world feel more than a tremor of fear. Because we know that Infinite Justice for some means Infinite Injustice for others. And Enduring Freedom for some means Enduring Subjugation for others".²⁶

2. DOES ISLAM BELIEVE IN A CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS?

Islam is a refutes the thesis of clash of civilizations rather encourages dialogue among the civilizations to come onto terms accepted by all. Islam is the world's second largest religion and is fastest growing. There are almost 1.5 billion Muslims in the world today that constitute roughly a fifth of the world's population, spread over more than seventy countries.²⁷ Maulana Madoodi defines Islam as man's acknowledgement of God as his Lord and the sole object of his worship and devotion; of surrendering himself unreservedly to God in obedience and service. In doing so he should follow in toto the guidance communicated by God through His Messengers rather than try to devise ways of serving God according to his own lights. This mode of thought and action is known as Islam.²⁸ Islam, in fact, is an attributive title. Anyone who possesses this attribute, whatever race, community, country or group he belongs to, is a Muslim. According to the Qur'an (the Holy Book of the Muslims), among every people and in all ages there have been good and righteous people who possessed this attribute - and all of them were and are Muslims.²⁹

The clash of civilization thesis is mainly associated with Bernard Levis and Samuel P Huntington. In September of 1990 Bernard Lewis wrote in *The Atlantic Monthly*:

²⁵ . Quoted in Ibid, p, 48.

²⁶ . Arundhati Roy, *the Algebra of Infinite Justice*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 2002, pp, 244, 245.

²⁷ . Andrew Heywood, *Global Politics*, India: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p, 197.

²⁸ . Syed Abu Ala Madoodi, *Towards Understanding the Quran*, translated and edited by Zafar Ishaque Ansari, Vol. I, p, 242.

²⁹ . Syed Aby Ala Madoodi, *Towards Understanding Islam*, U.K.I.M. Dawah Centre, p. 5.

It should by now be clear that we are facing a mood and a movement far transcending the level of issues and policies and the governments that pursue them. This is no less than a clash of civilizations—the perhaps irrational but surely historic reaction of an ancient rival against our Judeo-Christian heritage, our secular present, and the worldwide expansion of both.

Bernard Levis here is clearly stating that Muslim World is an enemy of Judo-Christian heritage. In 1993 Huntington published his paper titles as “The Clash of Civilizations” which grew into a full book and was published in the year 1996 with the title “The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order”. The advocates of the “clash of civilization” theory make us to believe that globalization will lead to shrinking of distances and shrinking of space. The shrinking of space and distances will create more competition for space among different actors at the world stage. Shrinking of resources in a shrinking world will lead to what Huntington calls a ‘clash of civilizations’ especially West vs Islam.³⁰ Huntington believes that:

The underlying problem of the West is not Islamic fundamentalism. It is Islam, a different civilization, whose people are convinced of the superiority of their culture and are obsessed with the inferiority of their power. The problem for Islam is not the CIA or the US Department of Defense. It is the West, a different civilization, whose people are convinced of the universality of their culture and believe that their superior, if declining, power imposes on them the obligation to extend that culture throughout the world. These are the basic ingredients that fuel conflict between Islam and the West.³¹

Huntington’s theory portrays Islam as implacably anti-western, committed to the expulsion of western influence from the Muslim world.³² It is interesting to see that in this statement, Professor Huntington dismisses the usual claims regarding Islamic fundamentalist terrorism as the major threat to the New World Order and believes that Islam as a whole is a threat, rather a major threat to the West. Huntington’s theory can simply be refuted by arguing that there is considerable evidence that people from different cultures, religions or ethnic origins have been able to live together in peace and harmony, for example applied to Balkans during Ottoman era.³³

The writings of Lewis and Huntington unleashed a fierce debate around the world, provoking criticisms from noted public intellectuals including Edward Said, Noam Chomsky, Amartya Sen, and Paul Berman, Bilal

³⁰ . Huntington Samuel, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Penguin Books, New Delhi: 1997, p. 239.

³¹ . Ibid.

³² . Andrew Heywood, *Global Politics*, India: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p, 197.

³³ . Ibid, p, 190.

Phillip and many more. In 1998, the Islamic Republic of Iran, then under the leadership of President Hojat al-Islam wa al-Moslemeen Sayyed Mohammad Khatami, advanced at the United Nations the concept of the “dialogue among civilizations,” apparently in an attempt to provide an alternative to the Lewis-Huntington thesis.³⁴

Islam does not favor clash of civilizations; rather it puts a huge stress on dialogue among the civilizations. Allah says in the Quran, Chapter 3, Verse 64, *Say: O people of the Scripture! Come to an agreement between us and you: that we shall worship none but Allah, and that we shall ascribe no partner unto Him, and none of us shall take others for lards besides Allah. And if they turn away, then say: Bear witness that we are they who have surrendered (unto Him).* The Quran further mentions in *Sura Nahal*, Chapter 19, Verse 125, *Call unto thy way of Lord with wisdom and fair exhortation, and reason with them in the better way. Lo! Thy Lord is best aware of him who strayeth from His way. And He is best aware of those who go aright.* Islam believes in the unity of Divine faith, as well as the fact that the Truth included in the Scriptures revealed by God is also one. *Alif. Lām. Mīm. God: there is no deity save Him, the Ever-living, the Eternal Master of all. He has revealed to you this Book with the truth, confirming what was revealed before it; and He has already revealed the Torah and the Gospel before this as guidance for people.*³⁵ It is further mentioned in the Quran that, *And He has revealed the Criterion (to distinguish the true from the false)*³⁶. This newly revealed Book is a “Criterion” distinguishing the Truth embodied in the revealed Scriptures from all sorts of deviation and confused ideas which have found their way into the Scriptures whether by way of personal prejudices, intellectual trends or political considerations.³⁷

It must be, however, noted that the clash of civilizations theory is not only a derivation of realism eager to construct a world of conflict, but also a discourse that stemmed from a political agenda to maintain existing patterns of community, culture, and exclusion. Islam is against creating mischief in the land, hence desires to establish a single human community –inclusive and not exclusive.

3. INTELLECTUAL RESILIENCE: THE NEED OF THE HOUR:

Ideas gain currency and acceptance only when backed by some hegemonic power - a kind of Foucault’s power that produces reality, domains of objects and rituals of truth. Hegemony makes ideas relevant and meaningful, so as to prove that ruler’s ideas are indeed the ruling ideas. Theories require power to be applied, so do theorists for theorizing. The theory of “Clash of Civilizations” is to be backed to prove its intellectual worth; thus enemies

³⁴ . Austin Dacey, *Is there a Clash of Civilizations? The Failure of the United Nations response*, p.7.

³⁵ . Al Quran, Chapter 3, Verses 1-4.

³⁶ . Al Quran, Chapter 3, Verse, 4.

³⁷ . Syed Qutub, *In the Shade of the Quran*, Vol, II, p, 22.

have to be created, conflicts manufactured, hyperbolic situations crafted, facts distorted, as theories are always for someone and for some purpose. Authenticity is debatable but truth demands authenticity. In our part of the world truth is produced by knowledge backed by power.

When the Europe was in Dark Ages Muslims were the producers of all knowledge –science, art, philosophy etc. Roger Bacon acknowledged it by stating that philosophy is drawn from the Muslims.³⁸ Muslim Ummah has produced scholars like Mohammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizimi, who compiled the first ever algebraic textbook, *The Compendious Book on Calculation by Completion and Balancing* around 820, Abu Ali al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Haytham, a first truly experimental scientist, who compiled *Book of Optics* in seven volumes around 1039 CE.³⁹ Ibn Khaldun –the first philosopher historian of Islam, Jabber bin Hayyan, the father of Chemistry and the like. How can we forget the names of intellectuals like Imam Bukhari, Imam Muslim, Imam Abu Hanifa, Ibn Taymiya –one of the most indefatigable writers and preachers of Islam, who was born in 1263, five years after the destruction of Baghdad. Ibn Seena, al Gazali, Syed Qutub, Allama Iqbal, Maulana Madoodi, Alama Hameed u Din Farahi, Abu Kalam Azad, Dr. Israr Ahmad, Mohammad Ali Mazrui, Naqeeb Al Atas, just to name a few. Let Muslims be not among those who are conjuring up visions of beautiful roses, but preparing no soil for the rose trees.

But once Enlightenment and Renaissance dawned for West, the Muslim Ummah could not catch the speed with which the West progressed. Ossification of the intellect and lose of dynamism in Muslim thought were to produce a kind of a canopy beyond which Muslims minds were hesitant to pipe. It must be admitted, as mentioned by Gharam E. Fuller,⁴⁰ that the death of intellectual vigor and curiosity –an exhaustion of civilizational élan without dramatic new intellectual input –led to the decline of creative thinking in Islamic theology, philosophy, science and technology. Ritual and narrow legalism came to triumph over thought and inquiry in what passed for the study of Islam. Thinking ossified, inhibiting even the kind of historical scrutiny of Islam’s own texts and sources of authority that was possible in earlier centuries. The atrophy of Muslim intellectual vigor was well demonstrated in the collapse of Muslim science and, possibly more damaging, in a general passivity towards later scientific and technological development in the West –until that same technology landed on the Muslim doorsteps and overwhelmed it. A same kind of analysis is propounded by Niall Ferguson is his

³⁸ . Quoted in Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The Six Killer Apps of Western Power*, London: Penguin Books, 2011, p, 52.

³⁹ . Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The Six Killer Apps of Western Power*, London: Penguin Books, 2011, p, 51.

⁴⁰ . Gharam E. Fuller, *A World without Islam*, New York: Back Bay Books, 2012, p, 280.

Civilization: The Six Killer Apps of Western Power. He is of the opinion the Muslims lagged behind in science and technology since the 16th century.⁴¹

4. FUTURE OF ISLAM IN A GLOBALISED WORLD:

Globalization has produced many opportunities for Islam to accomplish its divine task. The most important is to constitute a Muslim Ummah –the collective international community of Muslims, across the sovereign national borders. Islam demands death of distances so do globalization. Islam believes in universalism rather than nationalism and globalization has a capacity to tear down the borders erected and maintained by the nation-states.⁴² Thus the Islamic concept of *Ummah* can be realized through the mechanism and opportunity the globalization provides. Modern technology in transport and communication has promoted an unprecedented degree of interaction between Muslims across the world, especially those belonging to the middle and upper classes, forging new links in scholarship, trade, commerce and welfare programs. This network of relationships has naturally given fresh impetus to the trans-national nationalism of the Muslim *Ummah*, with a leadership drawn mainly from the ranks of the middle class. Its energies are targeted against western cultural imperialism. Globalization, thus, has resulted in fueling Islamization of identity as well as ideologized Islam across Muslim world.⁴³ The Muslim world today, besides it all odds, presents a greater degree of self conscious solidarity than it probably has before in history. Indeed, Western policies (particularly of the US) over time have probably done more to forge a common minded Ummah than any other factor since the time of the prophet Mohammad.⁴⁴

Western intrusion into Muslim world in their attempt to create a world of their liking they have rendered the whole humanity wordless, resulting on a very high premium on sheer survival. The extreme axioms like perfect social and political institutions made perfect people have been granted a good currency. Democracy (of American standards) is lured high where it favours the West, and in its name every intrusion, regime change is justified. Western democracy is under scanner as fascism is replacing democratic norms as a result democracy is losing against its own mentors. This is the backdrop that has cultivated the concept of what is called as political Islam (Khilafat), to be a true emancipating force for the humankind under the present turmoil, chaos and anarchy. The idea is dubbed utopian in purview of the current circumstances. The diversity and pluralism in the world

⁴¹ . Niall Ferguson, *Civilization: The Six Killer Apps of Western Power*, London: Penguin Books, 2011, p, 61.

⁴² . Mark Levine, Muslim Response to Globalization, *ISIM Newsletter (International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World)*, July 2012, p, 40.

⁴³ . Al Amin Mazuri, *Globalization and the Muslim world: Sub-Saharan Africa in a Comparative Context*, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, p.13.

⁴⁴ . Gharam E. Fuller, *A World without Islam*, New York: Back Bay Books, 2012, pp, 9, 166.

systems (social and political) suggest that there is no single master idea and that there are many conceptions of good institutions for good life and a good society, and the goods seem to be incommensurable and incompatible.

Critiques usually refute the concept of Khilafat by arguing that it was a workable idea when the Empire of Islam was intact. Since the break-up of this empire independent political units have arisen. The idea has, thus, ceased to be operative and cannot work as a living factor in the organization of modern Islam. They further claim that far from serving any useful purpose the concept of Khilafat has really stood in the way of reunion of independent Muslim States. The doctrinal differences regarding the Khilafat, has kept Muslim States highly divided on the issue.⁴⁵

The Islamic concept of political system (Khilafat) is been granted a sufficient amount of attention by the most popular movements of the 21st century as well as by independent writers. Two prominent Islamic organizations have made the establishment of Khilafat as the ultimate motive of their existence. These are: Muslim Brotherhood in the Arab World and Jamaat-e-Islami in the South Asian continent. Besides them many other Islamist groups have increasingly called for the resurrection of the *Khilafat*, arguing that the institution of Caliph, heading the worldwide Muslim Ummah, and abolished by Kemal Attaturk's secularist government in Turkey in 1924, should be re-established so that God's blueprint for the world has an earthly structure which can oversee its implementation. They see this as a key step in their overall goal of strengthening Islam's place in the world and, in effect, empowering a process of Islamic political globalization.⁴⁶ Commenting on the ubiquitous nation state structure, Jamaat-e- Islami Pakistan states in its documentation:

We can accept the nation-state as a starting point, although it is not the Muslim ideal. It constitutes the present day reality and we do not want to dismantle political systems in an arbitrary manner. We want to bring about a greater sense of unity in the Islamic Ummah, greater cooperation and increasing integration between the different Muslim states. Under Islamic idealism, every nation-state would gradually become an ideological state and these would go to make up the commonwealth of Islam.

However, it must be stated that the concept of Khilafat being articulated by the ISIL (Islamic State of Iraq and Levant) has been called un-Islamic by most prominent of the Islamic scholars.

There is the growth of Islamic banking in the 'Western' world. In its current form, Islamic banking traces its roots to the Mit Ghamr Saving Bank in Egypt, which created the principles of Islamic banking in the early

⁴⁵ . Sir Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2012, p, 130.

⁴⁶ . Islam and the New World Order, *Worldview*, Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, <http://www.jamaat.org/world/worldorder.html>.

19603. This bank was a culmination of untiring efforts of an Islamic scholar Dr. Ahmad Najar, who entirely devoted himself for this noble cause. But the origins of the Islamic banking can be traced long ago in Hyderabad Decan India (undivided India). In Pakistan a step was also taken in the establishment of Islamic banks during 1950.⁴⁷ However, the concepts only really began to gain traction in the early 1970s when banks in Jeddah, the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain began to trade seriously in Islamic financial instruments. The decade of 1970s was truly a launching decade for Islamic banking. During 1992 more than 55 banks were operating in various parts of the world.⁴⁸ Today, more than 75 countries operate Islamic banks in an industry worth over \$230 billion and growing by more than 15% per annum. As a result, many Western banks have started to look at this area as a future growth opportunity.⁴⁹ In particular, the Western interest in Islamic Banking as a growth market is a new phenomenon, but is one that will become significant in those markets over the next decade.⁵⁰

Malaysia is at the very forefront of innovations in Islamic banking principles and practice. In the two decades following the establishment of the country's first Islamic Bank, Bank Islam Malaysia Berhad, in 1983, Malaysia's Islamic financial institutions increased many folds and this Malaysian experiment with the Islamic Banking is regarded as a model by other South East Asian countries for the future.⁵¹ The Malaysian experience of Islamic banking has had a tremendous impact on neighboring countries. Indonesia established its first Islamic bank in 1992, followed by Brunei Darussalam in 1993.⁵² Thailand has also made a breakthrough by establishing Islamic Banks in the country. India too announced to create an Islamic Bank in Kerala. The Islamic banks across the world did better than their counterparts during the financial crisis of 2008. The crisis was driven due to the banking failure in the US. Lehman Brothers, the 158 year-old investment bank, succumbed to bankruptcy; the insurance giant AIG was only saved by a \$85 billion government rescue package; while Wachova, the fourth largest UK bank, was brought by Citigroup, absorbing \$42 billion debt.⁵³

Zakat (the Islamic Charity) has a tremendous practical value. The world is inhabited by rich and the poor; and the gap between the two classes is widening at a faster speed. The rich constitute a small fraction of the world population but control and consume almost all the resources of the planet. Globalization, pregnant with neo-liberal ideology has provided an easy access to the global resources for the rich. Globalization has produced both

⁴⁷ . Dr. Mahmood Ahmad Gazi, *Mahazirat Mayeeshat we Tigarat*, NewDelhi, Areeb Publications, 2011, p.375.

⁴⁸ . Ibid, p, 376.

⁴⁹ . Chris Skinner, *The Future of Banking in a Globalized World*, England: John Wiley & Sons Ltd., 2007, p, 31.

⁵⁰ . Ibid, p, 33.

⁵¹ . Joni T. Borhan, "Islamic banking in Malaysia: Past, Present and Future", *Studia Islamika: Indonesian Journal for Islamic Studies*, February 10, 2003, pp 31-74.

⁵² . Quoted in Peter G. Riddell, *Globalization, Western and Islamic, into 21 Century: Asian Christian Review*, Vol, 2, No. 2 &3, 2008.

⁵³ . Andrew Heywood, *Global Politics*, India: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, p, 108.

winners as well as losers. The winners are invariably identified as multinational corporations and industrially advanced states, the losers, in contrast, are in the developing world. These transnational corporations now account for between 25 and 33 per cent of world output, 70 percent of the world trade, and 80 percent of international investment, while oversea production by these firms exceeds considerably the level of world exports, making them key players in the global economy controlling the location and distribution of economic and technological resources.⁵⁴ Globalization harps on the master concept of 'development' which surely has undermined social protections. The recent global financial meltdown has silenced all pro-capitalist scholars and statesmen. The rising unemployment, from 190 million in 2008 to 240 million in 2009 along with food crisis, low economic growth and vulnerability of more than 46 million people in the developing world, who will be driven into poverty in 2009 according to a World Bank estimate.⁵⁵ Although the crisis erupted in the US because of banking system collapse, its consequences are seen all over the globe. The severity of the crisis was vehemently felt after the fall of Lehman Brothers.⁵⁶

Islamic economic system seems to be a viable alternative, but a lot is to be done to make an applied discipline. Scholars of Islamic economy and finance have to shield the responsibility of making the field applied keeping the contemporary global situation in mind. Islamic banking has clicked and is making great inroads across the globe, now the point is to design laws and principles under which whole Islamic economic system can easily be made applicable for the eradication of contemporary evils that have erupted in the world economic system.

CONCLUSION:

Dominance is of two types, so is subjugation –intellectual and moral dominance and second political and economic. The first kind of dominance is achieved when a nation or a civilization acquires great heights in their intellectual advancements, and because of their achievements other people, civilizations or nations willingly accept its superiority. Once this intellectual and moral dominance is accepted hegemonic culture becomes global culture, values are but hegemonic values, knowledge become what hegemon produces, research is what hegemon describes is research –parameters are fixed, laws are made, consensus is manufactured, science and non-science is distinguished, values are fixed and above all civilizational boundaries fixed. This intellectual and moral dominance is generally followed by political and economic dominance.

⁵⁴ . John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, *Globalization of World Politics*, p.21

⁵⁵ . V. Sridhar, "The spectra of protectionism; *The Hindu*, March 23, 2009.

⁵⁶ . T.T. Ram Mohan, "The Impact of the Crisis on the Indian Economy," *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol. XLIV, No. 13, March 28, 2009, p. 87.

In the battle of truths that version supersedes and dominates which is akin to the mindset created by the power. Knowledge is power but the irony is that whole of the Muslim Ummah has little contribution in the production of knowledge. In the consumption of knowledge also, Muslims are very feeble. It seems that the Muslim Ummah is fishing in troubled waters, waves after waves and currents after currents are approaching with tremendous velocity to detract it from its goal. A sort of Dark Age has dawned over the Ummah and the Muslims have surrendered intellectually; as if all knowledge has been explored and there remains nothing new to be left out for Muslims to do. To come out of this baffling scenario and to get counted intellectual resilience is the need of the hour. Muslim world is not barren of intellectuals and human resource, but what is required is that efforts be systematized, accumulated and brought together so as to gain weight and power. Let Muslims efforts be directed to produce a knowledge culture in which intellect will grow, nourish and reign. Let us remember the Quranic Message in this regard:

*Indeed, Allah will not change the condition of a people until they change what is in themselves.*⁵⁷

Rust has taken away the shine from the Muslim intellect and thought. The only alternative, open under such conditions, then, is to tear off from Islam the hard crust which has immobilized an essentially dynamic outlook on life, and to rediscover the original virtues of freedom, equality and solidarity with a view to rebuild Islamic moral, social and political ideals out of their original simplicity and universality.⁵⁸ The need is that Muslims reevaluate their intellectual inheritance so as to get the power and energy that is required to Islamize modernity and to modernize Islam. Islamization of modernity will require, on part of the Muslim scholars, that they master the skills of applying the Islamic laws and values, to a dynamic world. But the problem that Muslims across the globe confront is that while the people are moving the law remains stationary.⁵⁹ On the other hand modernization of Islam will not only require reinterpretation of Islamic laws and values according to the changing times but also the use of new means made available by the advancement in the science and technology. It must always kept in mind that dominance is manifestation of power and subjugation of powerlessness. The nations that explore their intellect not only reap techno-economic benefits but also are bestowed with the leadership of the world. Knowledge is that power which if based on *Ijtihad* and research can rebuild the Muslim Ummah and can bring it back the lost glory. Production of knowledge is the only means to counter the hegemony of the hegemon.

⁵⁷ . Al Quran, Chapter 13, Verse, 11.

⁵⁸ . Sir Sheikh Mohammad Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2012, p, 129.

⁵⁹ . Ibid, 140.