CHAPTER I

Islamic Resurgence: An Overview

The Religion-Politics Syndrome Revisited

There exists a broad consensus among scholars and statesmen the world over about the 'perniciousness' of religion-politics mix particularly in the context of traditional and transitional societies of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Of late, since the dawn of 1970s, this notion of perniciousness has been further reinforced, thanks to the reactivation of the Islamic forces in the Muslim World on the one hand and the many forms of religious upsurge on the other. A realisation has dawned among the

1. There are increasing endeavours by scholars to reevaluate sociological theorem about religion-politics interaction not only in the context of the Third World but also in the context of "secular" Western societies as well, as reflected in the political clout being exercised by some "Christian Democratic" parties in countries such as Italy and Germany. The Ideology of liberation theology (a syncretistic tendency of clubbing Marxian ideas with the ameliorative aspects of the Bible as interpreted by the Christian clergy) in the Latin American states, is a case in point. Typical of such remodeling endeavours are those of Robert Wuthnow, Lamin Sanneh, Edward Mortimer and Richard Falk, to name only four. For details, see:


columnists and academic intelligentsia that the study of Islam as a force affecting people's total behaviour especially in the Muslim World can no longer be neglected by the West. The Enlightenment thesis that developmental processes, resulting from the

3. The phenomenon is variously designated by analysts as "Renaissance", "Resurgence", "Reaction", "Revitalization", "Revival", "Reassertion", "Fundamentalism", and the like. "Fundamentalism" in particular, has a specific association with Christian history, especially in its Protestant form, during the early decades of the Twentieth century in the United States of America. Most of the expressions, however, betray one's ideological predilections and biases. Such jargon, as the ones used above, are objected to by some scholars, notably among whom is Mona Abul Fadl. The latter has a serious reservation to what is called 'Islamic revival'. According to her, 'Islamic Revival is more contrived than real' because Islam, given its nature, message, source and a historical context, subsumes basic recurrent elements within which the Muslim historical consciousness interacts and periodically remodulates. See her, Islam and the Middle East: The Aesthetics of a Political Enquiry (Research Monograph, No.2) (Herndon, Virginia: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1990), p.38.

Further, Abul-Fadl's viewpoint is buttressed by John O. Voll and Eric Davis who consider that the impetus to "Revival" is inherent in Muslim history and that the drive to self-renewal is intrinsic to historical Islam. For a perceptive insight on the subject, see, John O. Voll, 'Renewal and Reform in Islamic History', in John L. Esposito, ed., Voices of Resurgent Islam (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp.32-47. Esposito, besides buttressing the Voll viewpoint, also cites other grounds for rejecting "fundamentalism", as the latter is culture-specific (for its association with Protestant Christianity), erroneously implies a monolithic Islamic threat, and draws into its vortex all stereotypes and images being propagated by Western media about Islam and Muslims. In view of these reasons, he settles down for a "less value laden" and "more fitting general terms" such as "Islamic revivalism" and/or "Islamic activism". See John L. Esposito, Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality? (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 8. and also see Eric Davis, 'The Concept of Revival and the Study of Islam and Politics', in Barbara Stowasser, ed., The Islamic Impulse (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 37-58.

Among all these loaded phrases, "Islamic Fundamentalism" is a favourite among media analysts which has percolated into academic analyses. As a Japanese Economist Ryoji Tateyama perceives: "the expression [Islamic Fundamentalism] is often associated with cliched images meant to invoke certain preconceived ideas....Islamic fundamentalism is a much more complex set of beliefs than the media would have us imagine - it seems, unfortunately, to be irretrievably linked in the minds of many to images of terrorism and extremists". It may be likened to a rainbow socialism, unlike the monolithic picture depicted in the media.

impact of science and technology on society, will lead to secularization of human relations seems to have been fairly belied by developments taking place in the Islamic world. On the contrary, with specific reference to technology and communications, it may be noted that they have been successfully employed for the cause of Islam, a technique radicalised by the late Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in the 70s, and is being followed dutifully elsewhere in the Muslim world by the Islamic forces.

While secularization of state institutions was ushered within many third world countries at the behest of a minuscule minority of westernized ruling elites, it did not pave the way for secularization of minds and cultures of the masses. While the elite accepted and implemented a Western secular worldview the majority of most Muslim populations did not internalize a secular outlook and values.4 Looking into the existing state of secularization process ushered in modern "secular" states with a predominantly Muslim population like Algeria, Egypt, Turkey, etc., and juxtaposing it within the increasing tide of Islamic activism there, it is quite feasible to assert that the state-sponsored secularization had not found favour with the broad sections of the Muslim populace. To consider the case of Turkey, Mustafa Kamal Pasha, during the second decade of the present century, ushered in a comprehensive programme of modernization (Westernization) of the Turkish society in all walks of life in order to make Turkey a part of Europe. Domestically, such a wholesale imitation of the West

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gave birth to contradictions while, on the international plane, the European
Community could not accept it as its full-fledged member. Part of the explanation may
lie with the subterranean consciousness that resides among its European members that
Turkey does not belong to the Christian civilisational heritage to which they are the
rightful legatees. In view of the far-reaching effects which these developments may
imply, the need has arisen for a closer look at the social science formulations and
historiography of the phenomenon, as articulated by Wayne A. Wilcox, besides
others,\(^5\) because many of the models developed within Western epistemology have
not adequately explained processes in non-Western societies. Hitherto, the

\(^5\) Confining his attention to the Pakistani case in which Islam plays a
not-insignificant role in public policy, Wayne A. Wilcox recognizes the urgent
need for such a deviation from the accepted wisdom on the subject. See 'The
well springs of Pakistan', in Lawrence Ziring, \textit{et al.}, eds., \textit{Pakistan: The

In this context, it is important to note that the social science disciplines have
belatedly admitted the relevance of Islamic dimension in their paradigmatic
analyses of Muslim collectivities. Also, Mona Fadl underscores the need for
evolving a theoretical framework which takes into account the Islamic dimension
in order to obtain a better understanding of those societies, and to forestall the
pitfalls under which social scientists may descend, if they resort to the concepts
indiscriminately, as contained in the preceding footnote.

Elaborating this aspect further, Mona Fadl sees a convergence of sorts between
the theoretical premises held by modern social sciences and those of orientalism.
She argues that the social science perspectives on the Middle East have
remained embedded in obsolete orientalism, and that despite different strategies,
the premises of both genres have more in common than is commonly supposed.
See \textit{ibid.}, n.2, p. 45.

Tamara Sonn also considers that any analysis of Muslim societies need to
address itself to their self-image without which Muslims' responses to external
influences become incomprehensible. See Tamara Sonn, 'The Islamic
Alternative: Cause or Effect?' \textit{International Journal} (Toronto), \textit{Vol.XLVI,

Fazlur Rahman sums up the argument thus: "the survival of the Islamic World
as Islamic is conditioned not only on activist ferment, but on patient and
complex intellectual labour which must produce the necessary Islamic vision".
[Emphasis added]. See his "Roots of Islamic Neo-Fundamentalism", in Philip
H. Stoddard, David C. Cuthell and Margaret N. Sullivan, eds., \textit{Changes and
sociological perspective on religion has been informed by the ethos of enlightenment
with the concomitant compartmentalization of spiritual and mundane aspects of human
life. It considered religion as only a sum total of archaic traditions, ritualistic
practices, and superstitious beliefs which, by themselves, do not shape public affairs
or policy. It underestimated the ebb and flow of religion, foreclosing its resilience in
social dynamics. Viewing the phenomenon from this angle, positivist Western
intellectual thought and its counterpart in the non-Western world categorized, studied
and judged religion and its traditions in terms of modern, post-Enlightenment, secular
and rationalist criteria, with its separation of religion and state as an accepted axiom.
Moreover, the roots of enlightenment lie in its emphasis on scepticism, iconoclasm,
and eclecticism, whereas faith, tradition, and purity respectively inform the
perspective of Islam. Theoretically speaking, Islam, a creed whose cardinal principles
are contained in the Holy Quran and the Hadith, does not recognize the
politics-religion dichotomy, even though, at an empirical level, since the times of the
Damascus-based Ummayad dynasty, the de facto separation of religion and politics in
Islam has been in vogue. Such a phenomenon ran parallel to the emergence of
monarchy as a specific political model with early Muslims' interaction with Sassanid
and Byzantine political cultures and institutions. The subsequent Muslim dynastic

6. Traditions and Sayings as attributed to Prophet Mohammad. The former are
considered as one of the authentic sources of Islamic Jurisprudence (Fiqh).

7. Amir Said Arjomand, "The Emergence of Islamic Political Ideologies", in James A.
Beckford and Thomas Luckmann, eds., The Changing Face of Religion (New Delhi:

Also see Sami Zubaida, Islam, the People and the State: Essays in Political Ideas and

Maulana Abul Ala Mawdudi goes to the extent of dismissing this controversy as
irrelevant".....the relationship between religion and politics, faith and power, is not an
Islamic issue at all. There is nothing in the Quran and Sunnah to warrant it. The very words
'religion', 'power', and 'politics', in the Western sense, have no
relevance to Islam. There should never have been a controversy on them among
Muslims". See Khurram Murad, ed., The Islamic Movement: Dynamics of Values,
rulers did not hesitate to seek religious legitimacy for their rule from the Ulama. However, the Madinah State created by the Prophet and the one carried forward by the Khulafa-e-Rashidun (Rightly Guided Caliphs) did not structure itself on the religion-politics dichotomy. The model of the Madinah state as provided by the Prophet continues to be a source of inspiration to all those protagonists of political Islam who want to infuse the Madinah spirit into modern politics. Hence the rationale in their demand for returning to pristine Islam that remains central to the ideology of contemporary Islamism. It is also perceived that there is a close nexus between faith and power which was manifested, during the lifetime of the early Islamic community, in the ascendance of Islam as a dominant world power and civilization. It was, in fact, the superpower of its time. As a scholar remarked:


"Right from the beginning there was a kind of symbiosis between religion and state: Mohammad himself united religious and political authority in his own person, and this was not simply a result of the circumstances in Arabia at the time but also a result of an essential conviction of Allah's concern with the whole of life’. See Hugh Goddard, 'Spheres United Under God'. The Times Higher Education Supplement (London), September 21, 1990.

9. 'It is true...that in its origins, Islam was both a religious community and a body politic, and it is natural that this should remain an ideal condition for Muslims’. See, W.M. Watt, Islamic Fundamentalism and Modernity (London: Routledge, 1988), p. 92.

Further, in the words of Asaf Hussain: 'The first true Islamic state was created during the period of the Khulafa-e-Rashidun (The Rightly Guided Caliphs) and remains the norm by which Muslims judge the state in which they live: deviations may be tolerated but not legitimized'. See his Political Terrorism and the State in the Middle East (London: Mansell Publishing Ltd., 1988), p. 15.
There is unanimity among the Muslims that the Madinah State founded by the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and later governed by the Rightly Guided Caliphs (Khulafa-e-Rashidun) was the best ideal state ever found on earth and hence provided a normative standard.  

The early Islam witnessed heady political successes in its career and they were attributed, inter alia, to Islam's integrationist perspective on religion and politics (state), unlike the Christian dictum, "give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and unto God that which is God's". Moreover, the need for "State" in Islam was never a subject of controversy as, in the first instance, the Prophet, and later, the Rightly Guided Caliphs, set the record straight by establishing and running an Islamic State in Madinah, though for a brief period, thus setting a role model for subsequent Muslim societies to emulate. Hence, the "State" in Islam was never looked down upon; on the contrary, it was perceived as "divinely ordained necessity". Besides, the notion that there is anything sinful, or even dangerous, about the State, is anathema to Islamic thought. However, the aforesaid is not intended to convey that the State in Islam entertains theocracy, as the management of the affairs of the State is not the exclusive domain of theologians (ulama) per se.

The ideology of secularism, as understood in terms of the total bifurcation of the private and public domains, is completely alien to the spirit and worldview of Islam, for the former is historically in league with forces opposed to sacerdotalism in

Europe which have been conspicuous in their absence in the Islamic lands.\footnote{To speak from the experience of Europe, the religion-politics symbiosis characterized its Medieval and Thirteenth centuries, thereby earning for it the epithet of Christendom. The reality of the bifurcation of these twin processes had got reflected in the epoch-making phenomenon designated as Reformation, a dynamic which was fundamentally shaped and preceded by Renaissance. These twin processes - Renaissance and Reformation - later paved the way for what is called the Enlightenment. The cumulative result of all these processes led the way to the denigration of faith-based organisation of human affairs (including politics) on the principles of Christianity as interpreted by the organised clergy. Moreover, the rise of bourgeoisie in Europe following the overthrow of the feudal order required, for its unfettered development, a socio-political order which recognized no ecclesiastic authority, external to it. It was this bourgeoisie, at the helm of the newly emerged nation-state order, which prescribed the rules of the game so far as politics was concerned.}

\footnote{In fact, in classical Arabic, there is no equivalent word for secularism, However, in modern Arabic, \textit{Almaniyya} conveys the spirit of secularism. Agents of modernization such as urbanisation and industrialization emanating from the impact of science and technology did not lead to the secularization of social processes in the Muslim world as they did in the case of the West. In the contemporary Muslim world, characterized by resurgent Islam, it is not uncommon that 'Secularism, Westernization, 'being like the west' or 'Gharbzadegi' (Weststruckness) as coined by an Iranian intellectual, Jalal Ali Ahmad in his work titled "Occidentosis: A Plague From The West",\footnote{Jalal Ali Ahmad, \textit{Occidentosis: A Plague From The West}, trans. R Campbell (Berkeley, California: Mizan Press, 1984).} and other}

The oppression inflicted on the believers, as recorded in History, produced its own antidote in the form of nationalised churches and the rise of nation-state system in Europe with secularism as the reigning ideology of European peoples. The two-nationalised church and the nation-state system - interacted with each other closely. It is noteworthy in this context, that such a social revolution has not been, till date, reproduced in the case of Muslim societies, even though as an intellectual response to what is currently touted as 'Islamic Fundamentalism', there has developed a corpus of intelligentsia, both among Muslim and non-Muslim scholars on Islam, which has been advocating the emulation of this European experience by the Muslim lands.

Notable among the advocates of such a viewpoint is Akeel Bilgrami. See his article, 'Rushdie and Reform of Islam', \textit{Economic and Political Weekly} (Mumbai), Vol. XXV, No. 12, March 24, 1990, pp. 605-608.
similar concepts have lost their credibility and attraction, notwithstanding the nationalist/secularist elites' penchant for them. (Besides Jalal Ahmad, Ali Shariati denounced the evils of "Gharbzadegi": "Come, friends, let us abandon Europe, let us cease this nauseating, apish imitation of Europe. Let us leave behind this Europe that always speaks of humanity, but destroys human beings wherever it finds them"). In fact, the Western colonial encounter did not result in secularization. On the contrary, Muslims' faith in Islam grew stronger than ever before. In the wars of national liberation which colonialism had spawned in the Muslim lands, Islam came to occupy a pivotal role. Under the banner of the latter, the partisans of the anti-colonial liberation wars created an overarching national identity in which the 'nation' connoted simply 'the sum of Muslims on a given territory'. Thus, the Western colonial encounter coupled with the pre-modern historical experience of crusading Christianity militated against the feasibility of Muslims adopting Western norms and values in their social fabric. Recognition of this fact made a prominent Western scholar on Islam to say that 'somehow or other, Islam is secularization-resistant'. Such a resistance was further facilitated by Muslims following a scripturalist Islam and fresh attempts at strengthening native ethos. Thus, viewing the whole argument in its historicity, it may be surmised that the original charismatic community (which was religious in its orientation) had no reason to posit itself against the state. In fact, the community was the state personified from the very beginning.

Notwithstanding this, the post-colonial elites' honeymoon with this European-tempered type of state-building had resulted in contradictions which manifest now-a-days in the form of Islamic assertion.

Implicit in this type of state-building is the much touted universal applicability of the notions/models of Western statecraft. Of late, such an a priori assumptions have lent themselves for critical evaluation in the light of growing dissatisfaction visible in Muslim societies. As John L. Esposito aptly observed:

...a major obstacle to (the) understanding of (Muslim societies) was the secular presuppositions that informed (social science) disciplines and methodologies or, ...,(the) Western Worldview. Acceptance of the "enlightened notion of separation of Church and State,...and of Western, secular models of development relegated religion to the stockpile of traditional beliefs,(valuable in understanding the past but) regarded as irrelevant or an obstacle to modern development. Neither development theory nor international relations considered religion a significant variable. Those who accept separation of religion and politics overlooked the fact that most religious traditions were established and developed in historical, political, social and economic contexts. (Countries doctrines and laws were conditioned by these contexts). This was certainly true in the history of Islam and even more so in the belief of many Muslims....The post-enlightenment tendency to define religion as a system of belief rather than a way of life has seriously hampered ability to understand the nature of Islam. It has artificially compartmentalised religion (doing violence to its nature) and reinforced a static, reified conception of religious traditions rather than their inner dynamic nature.19

Both Liberal development theory of modernization and the Neo-Marxist theory of dependency/underdevelopment (which came into vogue in the 70s to ostensibly comprehend third world non-Western societies), relegated religion and other forms of


A view similar to the one cited above is also held by Udo Steeinbach. See his 'The "Second Islamic Republic" - A Theocracy on the Road to Normality', Aussen Politik (Hamburg), Vol.41, No.1, 1990, pp.73-90.
culture to the level of epiphenomena or considered such factors as part and parcel of metaphysics. Such an approach hardly considered religion as a way of life; a living entity; and a dynamic with its own processes. Besides, western scholarship considered secularization as the *sine qua non* of modernization because their understanding of the phenomenon (with its structures and processes) was rooted in the Western experience/history; they believed that this experience could be replicated elsewhere on a unilinear pattern: a way of looking at the non-Western world in their own image. Contrary to this episteme of modernization/secularization, the religion of Islam, as viewed from the Quranic perspective, is directly concerned with the life processes; seeks to have a direct impact on life; and, seeks to provide value, meaning and direction to life.²⁰ Such an *a priori* Western understanding of the non-Western Muslim World (with all its concomitant prejudices, misperceptions, inconsistencies, etc.) is further boosted with the notion of the End of History and the Triumph of Liberalism, as articulated by Francis Fukuyama, following the collapse of communism in the erstwhile Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. As Fukuyama wrote, in this context:

> What we are witnessing is not just the end of the Cold War, or the passing of a particular period of post-War history, but the end of history as such: that is, the end point of mankind's ideological evolution and the universalization of Western Liberal democracy as the final form of human government.²¹

The Fukuyaman prognosis might be likened to Karl Marx's prophecy of the 'withering away' of the State with the setting up of a society devoid of class antagonisms or contradictions. In both the prognoses, there was an implied element of finality as far as the progress of human history was concerned. To Fukuyama, Liberal-Philosophical Order is "the end point of mankind's ideological evolution" and

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to Karl Marx, progressive development of history ceased with the attainment of a
classless society resulting in the disappearance of the State. As far as Fukuyama was
concerned, he did not envisage nor advocate the encouragement of political pluralism
(the co-existence of liberalism and non-liberal ideologies as exemplified by Islamic
resurgence, for instance). The very absence of such a pluralism and its subtle
advocacy, implicit in the thesis of Fukuyama, smacked of contradictions in the liberal
idea if it had not recognized the existence of diverse cultures and systems (including
political) inhabiting and endeavouring to shape the world. In the Fukuyaman case, the
convulsions in the Muslim world spearheaded by Islamic groups increasingly defy his
thesis, whereas in the case of Karl Marx, the demise of the Soviet system provided a
crushing blow to his ideas. As regards the potential challenge of Islam as an
ideology, Fukuyama dismisses it because he finds the Third World a Wasteland of
Ideas: he argues that the "flow of ideas has been from the West to the Third World,
and not the other way around", and also asserts that Islamic fundamentalism has
"virtually no appeal outside of communities that were not Muslims to begin with". As
regards his former viewpoint, it is historically untenable to assert because the Muslim
Andalusia (Spain) during the Middle Ages, was the centre of intellectual ferment from
whence dispersal of ideas to the rest of medieval Europe took place, resulting in
Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment. With regard to his latter stand, it may
be mentioned that in Britain, France, and the United States of America, there is an
established Muslim presence in a predominantly non-Muslim and an "unfriendly"
social milieu. The Muslims in these countries have been engaged in a difficult task of
safeguarding their cultural and civilizational identity under constitutionally proclaimed
liberal-democratic dispensation interspersed with the rise of racist political outfits.
Though few, there are a sizeable number of native Europeans who understand and are
sympathetic to the sensibilities of the Muslim immigrants. Fukuyama's dismissive
attitude towards non-Western cultures as reflected in his two view points cited above,
does smack of arrogance and a deep-rooted prejudice that blinds the West from
understanding Islam, albeit in the latter's own terms, as Islam considers life in its
organic unity as exemplified in the Quranic notion of Tawhid. Tawhid visualizes

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human life as a direct relationship between the transcendent Creator and His creation in which life is seen as a test of excellence and worth. The uniqueness and oneness of Allah, the Creator, is replicated in the Unity and equality of man (thus negating distinctions of colour, language, wealth, etc.) as embodied in his role as the Vicegerent and Custodian (Khalifah) of Allah on earth, and is required to rule in accordance with Allah's will. Tawhid, therefore, endows a Muslim with the psychological make-up and worldview to function as a citizen of the World. Thus, it is not the threat of Islamic fundamentalism per se, but the vision of the organic unity of life (emphasis supplied) it represents that antagonises the West. Such a Muslim Worldview and the Muslim movements' on-going endeavours to translate the ideal into reality do bring into sharp focus the relevance and salience of Islam for the contemporary International relations. As Suroosh Irfani writes at length:

...the Muslim ideal (life is an organic unity) reflects a counterconsciousness for the materialistically motivated ideal of Western Liberalism. In the Muslim view of history, the ideal is the reconstruction of social life in the light of mankind's common spiritual origin. Muslim ideological movements today are seeking a redefinition of the society on the basis of this transnational belief... However, Universalization of this ideal of unity would be a gradual process and depends for its growth on peoples' entry into the mainstream of World politics. in this sense, the politicisation of the Muslims, resulting from their growing awareness of being in a continual state of subordination to Western reality, is accelerating the crystallisation of an ideologically reconstructed Muslim identity. Central to this identity is the belief that the meaning and role of Islam lies in the inevitable march of history towards World unity.

Similarly, as cited in the foregoing, nationalism-multiplicity of the system of nation-states-finds its ideological and historical moorings in the soil of Europe, having


23. Ibid., p. 45.

24. Ibid., pp. 45-46.
blossomed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While colonising Islamic lands since the 19th century onwards, European colonialism tried to supplant the Weltanschauung of universal Islam with the ideological systems represented by secularism and nationalism, to cite only the two.\(^{25}\) It has an advantage in one sense in this endeavour: the physical occupation of Muslim lands enabled it to experiment with its own value systems. However, it has to be noted here that they were met with resistance of varying degrees in all occupied lands.\(^{26}\) As anti-thesis to the ideology of territorial nationalism in particular, Pan-Islamism still continues to have an emotional appeal to Islam's adherents as did Ottomanism till 1924: the year when the Grand National Assembly of Turkey formally voted to disband the institution of Caliphate on March 3. Pan-Arabism held its sway over Arabs in the heyday of Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt. Libya's Colonel Muammar Gaddafi, Syria's Hafez al Asad and Iraq's Saddam Hussein became its later-day adherents with their tales of mixed results. The balance sheet of the Arab League, an institutional expression of Pan-Arabism at governmental level, has been loaded on the liabilities side. Even though the League takes it for granted the Islamic element as part of its Arab heritage, it is nevertheless true to say that the former is subordinated to the latter in its style of functioning. Regionalism forms an essential principle in its activities, whereas it could well have organised itself on the over-arching frame of Islam which also draws into its vortex, the Arab variant of Islam in the region. Viewed retrospectively, the

\(^{25}\) They are cited here only for purposes of illustration. They do not, however, exhaust the entirety of the west's ideological/value systems. Some notable Western media persons like John Casey hold the view that the difficulties faced by the West vis-a-vis the Muslim world stem not from Islam itself, but from "Western ideas imported into the Muslim World: nationalism, socialism and secularism". See John Casey, "Why does the West Fear Islam?", The Pioneer (New Delhi), August 19, 1994.

\(^{26}\) A detailed exposition of these resistance movements falls beyond the purview of this Chapter. For an historical account of these movements, see G.H. Jansen, Militant Islam (London: Pan Books, 1979).
fate of the Al-Quds (Jerusalem) might have been quite different had it been dealt with an Islamic rather than a regional (Arab) framework. To bring this home, two contrasting styles with which the Arabs fought their two wars with the Israelis in 1967 and 1973 are worthy of note for their equally opposite results. The crushing defeat of the Arabs in the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, and the consequent loss of East Jerusalem to Israel, besides other Arab territories, created a pressing urgency for soul-searching among Arabs, both Western-oriented secular elites, as well as the more Islamically committed ones. The search led to the questioning of the relevance of Western statecraft models which were obviously rooted in the socio-cultural ethos of the Western societies. Positively, for Arabs, the quest confirmed the authenticity and relevance of the familiar, indigenously-evolved and-nurtured Islamism, thus engendering spiritual rebirth among them. The stark contrast, between the two, in terms of their efficacy to the Arab predicaments are too important to be neglected. The 1967 War was fought in the name of Nasserism (Arab Socialism) and was lost by the Arabs. The shock of defeat made Nasser to philosophise that "precaution is useless against fate" implying that defeat was predestined and realized that reliance on faith was the only road to victory. This being the case, the 1973 Ramadhan War (its code name was Badr) was fought under the banner of Islam which the Arabs won. The latter also witnessed the liberal use of idioms and symbols associated with Islam. For instance, the Egyptians named their blitzkreig against Israel as "Operation Saladin", reminding themselves of the victory scored by the Muslims against the crusading Christians during the Middle Ages. Thus, the war of 1967 led to the indictment of Arab nationalism/socialism and the War of 1973 provided a fillip to Islamic resurgence.

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In view of the afore cited scenario, it makes sense to view in perspective the ideology of Pan-Islamism as propounded and propagated by the yester-year's widely-acclaimed Jamal-al-Din Afghani. The late Ayatollah may be said to be Afghani's rightful successor, having possessed all the necessary credentials in this regard; i.e., having successfully effected an Islamic revolution and also possessing an Islamised ideological vision which might have swayed the Third World populations in general, and its Muslim segment in particular. It is, of course, necessary to view them in their respective climes and times. Afghani operated in, and his ideas were addressed to, a situation characterized by colonialism under which most of the Muslim societies were languishing then. Whereas the late Ayatollah operated in a politically sovereign international system of nation-states some of which are still subjected to neo-colonial and neo-imperialist stranglehold of the Great powers internationally and to despotic rule internally. Sayyid Ali Khameini, succeeding to the mantle of spiritual leadership of Iran after the demise of Ayatollah Khomeini, is very much cognizant of the precedents left behind by his illustrious, charismatic predecessor, and is steadfast in carrying forward the torch lit by the Ayatollah, though political stature is one of the traits which distinguishes the two from each other. Islamic history is replete with examples of Mujtadeed (renewers) who influenced, and in turn were influenced by, the destiny of their generation. They provided a direction to their generations and reminded them of the latter's forgotten obligations. The Islamic World is, thus, not without its historical antecedents and precedents for its present state of affairs for purposes of emulation and inspiration from within. Islam's salience as a propelling force in the present-day world is ably captured by Ralph Braibanti:

No other religion (save Islam) has quite so compelling a doctrinal base for global unity—neither Buddhism, Christianity, Judaism nor Hinduism. There was once a thrust for a universal Christendom and the Holy Roman Empire was its political expression. While the doctrine of Christian unity still exists, it has been eroded by sectarianism, schism, nationalism and secularism. Christianity has lost most of its moral and virtually all of its political dynamism. Islam is in a different stage of development. Its renewed sense of identity unleashed by the creation of
independent states free from colonial rule, have given it a new dynamic force. Even now, that force activates its concern for Muslim minorities living in non-Muslim States ....it is true that Muslims are separated into distinct nations often antagonistic to each other, but this arrangement does not fit comfortably in the Islamic perception of order. Hence, there is a ceaseless dialectic between maintaining national boundaries and yet transcending them.  

Further, Islam was activated by a dynamic zeal for global propagation.  

Efforts to Revive Caliphate

The demise of the Institution of Caliphate in 1924 (reference to which has already been made in the foregoing), did not dim the enthusiasm of some prominent Arab leaders and intellectuals in their endeavours towards its revival. In the late twenties and the early thirties of the century, both in Makkah and Cairo, initiatives were made to effect Caliphate's resurrection. It is also noteworthy in this context, that in August, 1994, in a meeting held in London, an Arab Islamic movement, Hizb-ul-Tehrir (Party of Liberation) mooted, inter-alia, a fresh proposal to replace the existing nation-state system in Muslim countries by a sort of Universal Caliphate. It (Hizb-ul-Tehrir) condemned the existing regimes of Muslim states as "invalid and not Islamic." In a resolution dealing with the United Nations and its financial institutions, namely the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it dubbed them as "tools in


30. For details, see The Hindu (Delhi), 9 August 1994. However, Hizb-ul-Tehrir did not define, in precise terms, the likely shape of the proposed Caliphate in the context of the present post-Cold War international relations characterized by the presence of "Unipolar Super-powerism" of the United States of America.
the hands superpowers (sic) and unacceptable in Islam", reminiscent of the similar left-rhetoric employed by the regimes of the erstwhile Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. It further denounced the on-going Arab Israeli negotiations and agreements as illegal and said that "there is no peace for the state of Israel until the State of Israel is demolished". Besides, an International Islamic Conference representing Islamic movements from 80 countries, meeting in Khartoum (Sudan) on 30 March 1995, condemned the on-going Arab-Israel reconciliation politics as "false normalisation of relations with Israel. This is a pseudonym for subjugation and we...call this so-called peace by its real name: submission".31 It also expressed its opposition to the Oslo accord of 1993 arrived at between Israel and the PLO envisaging self-rule for Palestinians in the occupied Arab territories. The upshot of all these condemnatory pronouncements is amply indicative of the disillusionment and frustration embedded among the general Muslim populace.32 Hizb-ul-Tehrir has strong adherents among Arab and non-Arab Muslim students in British Universities.

**Disillusionment With the Western Statecraft Models/Paradigms**

The disappointment and the attendant frustrations stemming from the operational/functional inefficacy of the developmental models, provided by the West had a salutary effect in so far as it paved the way for an authentic search for the indigenous roots of development and identity on the part of these states. The endeavours in this direction have not ceased to exist, and, instead, are aimed at bringing out an holistic/multi-dimensional perspective germane to their present and

31. The Hindu (Delhi), 1 April 1995.

32. Beyond these rhetorical condemnations, Hizb-ul-Tehrir has not, however, endeavoured to present any positive blueprint for organising a possible model for future international relations.
future state of affairs.\textsuperscript{33} Some of them have already expressed themselves in institutional terms: replacement of the colonial civil and criminal codes by the Islamic ones, regulations in the banking sector, notably the doing away of interest from its operational milieu and the consequent introduction of what are called profit-and-loss schemes, and Islamization of knowledge, polity and social institutions, to cite only some. Even in predominantly non-Muslim Singapore, in which Muslims constitute a mere 15.4 per cent of the country's total population of about three million, an Islamic insurance scheme that will not compromise the religious beliefs of Muslims was launched on 4 September 1995. The scheme known as the Takaful (safeguarding of interests) Fund was announced by a Singapore-based Ampro Holdings, a private sector limited firm and an economic arm of the Association of Muslim Professionals. The fund will invest in Islamically-permitted (\textit{halaal}) stocks in Singapore and in the rest of the Southeast Asian region, avoiding businesses related to such activities as gambling, alcohol-production and interest-bearing instruments barred by Islam. The fund is sought to meet Islamic insurance criteria of transparency, equitable returns and fair sharing of rewards and risks.\textsuperscript{34}

In the arena of Islamization of Knowledge, the Virginia-based International Institute of Islamic Thought has been engaged in the grand task of providing, \textit{inter alia}, an ideological base to Islamic resurgence by means of what Bryan S. Turner calls "methodology of academic Indigenisation". The Institute aims at providing an alternative to the existing Western-dominated epistemology and seeks to make it an

\textsuperscript{33} 'Given....the manifold threats and challenges confronting Islamic societies today, it is not surprising that to some at least within them, the solution to their problems is seen as being essentially religious and as lying in particular in the restoration of the traditionally close relationship between religion and state in Islam. In the near future, it is, therefore, unlikely that this view will lose its appeal for many as possible panacea for those problems in any society where Islam is a significant influence'. See Goddard Hugh, 'Spheres United Under God'. \textit{The Times Higher Education Supplement} (London), 21 September 1990.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{The Business Age} (New Delhi), 5 September 1995.
equally acceptable methodology. The trend towards indigenisation of diverse phenomena is not, however, confined only to the Muslim segment of the Third World; instead, it manifests itself in the Third World as a whole. As an indication of the growing self-assertion in the field of culture, the Algerian parliament on 26 December 1990, adopted a Bill to the effect that by 1997 "the use of Arabic in all official and work transactions as well as in schools is to be total". Disillusioned with the politico-economic model provided by the National Liberation Front (FLN) of Algeria which spearheaded the Algerian Liberation against French colonialism and which ruled the state, following Independence, for full three decades, since 1962, the Islamic salvation Front (FIS) secured 188 seats in the first round of elections conducted to the National Parliament in June 1990. In this first round, it's percentage votes polled went to 55, thus enabling the Front to become the largest Islamic party in the Arab world. Further, it gained control of every big city and 32 of Algeria's 48 provinces. FIS-run assemblies soon proceeded to put into practice their plans: in areas they controlled, they enforced bans on the sale of alcohol and the wearing of shorts and swimming costumes in the streets, tried to prevent mixed-sex schooling, and stopped Rai music (a fusion of traditional Algerian and Western rock music) festivals.

The second round of the election process which began on 16 January 1992 was cancelled with the intent to prevent the FIS from capturing power. Outside western


36. International Herald Tribune (Singapore Edition), December 28, 1990. The said bill has the support of Abbasi Madani's Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) which swept the provincial and municipal elections conducted in Algeria in June 1990.

response, particularly from France and the USA, to the cancellation of second round elections and the consequent usurpation of power by the armed forces had been positive. A lurking fear of the French government was that if the FIS was allowed the certain victory, by means of democratic elections, the alleged possibility would be that France would be inundated by Algerian refugees, who might (it was alleged) pose a threat to western ways of life.

When the Islamists appeared set to win elections by the time the second round of polls was about to start in January 1992, the state prevented their victory by raising the spectre of 'Islamic fundamentalism' and dealing with it accordingly. It was alleged that 'Islamic fundamentalism' would utilise the electoral system in order to capture power and then outlaw all secular political parties, only allowing the like-minded Islamic movements to operate. Such a process of removing the wheels from the democratic vehicle was viewed with a great sense of relief and satisfaction by the west for it thwarted the political aspirations of the ascendent FIS then. All that was followed afterwards by the west, was the logical extension of its initial moves. Guided by this logic, the west extended its support to the military-backed government under the High State Committee (HSC) which determinedly crushed the FIS during 1992. The role of the west in the Algerian crisis indicated its clear intention of making or breaking regimes as it deemed fit. Egypt and royalist Morocco were among the Arab states which welcomed the state crackdown against the Algerian Islamists lest the latter should have spillover effect on their restive populations. Be that as it may, even the response of the international human rights organisations was not above board. No such an organisation even thought it imperative to condemn the cancellation of elections nor the taking over of the reigns of power by the Army. Nor the violation of rule of law and the arbitrary arrests of suspected FIS cadres by the military regime was ever denounced. Of late, the military government took initiatives to confabulate with the Salvation Front to arrive at a negotiated political settlement. Till date, no tangible results have emerged out of these efforts. Instead, continued violence involving the security forces and the partisans of the FIS brought home the realization...
that the midway stalling of elections in 1992 by the Algerian army and the general western support extended to the former for its act, was tactically a great blunder that should have been avoided in the beginning itself. However, such post-facto rationalizations by analysts have so far no salutary effect either on the Algerian military authorities or on the French government which has been increasingly drawn into the Algerian conundrum. An explicit admittance of the electoral error may soothe the ruffled feather of the Islamic groups. An overt conclusion may, however, be drawn out of the ongoing Algerian crisis: if any government is confronted with the Islamic movements and is prepared to suppress the latter, it will have an implicit support of the West. The continued western support, implicit or explicit, for the Algerian military regime and their hesitation, on the grounds of realpolitik, to recognise the right of the Algerian peoples to elect their own government and to adopt a political system of their choice militates against the basic tenets of liberal political thought. The western perception of Islamic spectre makes it to support undemocratic, authoritarian, unrepresentative and military regimes which is very much discernible in the Algerian case. It appears that the West, clearly conscious of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, is determined not allow the replica of a Iran in Algeria or elsewhere in the Muslim world. When in this process, the people of Algeria were snatched, in the midway, their right to franchise, so be it, the west seems to think. The initial western response to the military takeover of Algeria and their politics of silence over Army's repressive measures against the suspected FIS cadres clearly demonstrate that democracy was not a desirable end in itself if it resulted in rulers unacceptable to governing elites and influential foreign governments.

The Algerian conundrum has thrown into the open certain issues of fundamental nature which are of relevance not only to political thought but also to the international community: What if the Third World peoples do not seek the road of liberal democracy towards the promised land of politically plural and open societies? What should be the response of the international community to such a situation? Would it allow its constituent members to choose unhindered social, political and
economic system of their choice which may not be to the linking of the Great Powers? The answers to these and similar other questions, do significantly determine the nature of the international community and its adherence to the principles of international law.

The Banning of AI-Arqam in Malaysia and other ASEAN Countries

Another political development which attracted significant media attention in Southeast Asia was the banning of an Islamic Dakwah (missionary) Movement, AI-Arqam, headed by a 57 year old Ashaari Mohammad. Dr. Mahathir Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, banned the said organisation on 5 August, 1994, on the ground that it was a "threat to Malaysia's public order arising out of its deviationist teachings." Consequently, Ashaari Mohammed, his wife, and six of his associates were arrested under Malaysia's Internal Security Act. Following Mahathir's action and on his prodding, other Southeast Asian nations such as Indonesia, Thailand, Singapore and Brunei have banned the Movement. The Movement was reputed to be a successful social welfare organisation, claiming to have 100,000 followers, 50 communes, 300 schools and a host of businesses, said to be worth $100 million.38 This being the case, no international human rights organisation has reacted to the situation in Malaysia, thereby adopting a politics of silence, akin to that of Algeria. A Malaysian human rights group, SUARAM, protested against Mahathir's strong-arm tactics against the Al-Arqam. Mr. Lee Siew Hwas, Coordinator of SUARAM, criticised Thailand for expelling Ashaari and his associates forcefully to Malaysia, an action which he considered was against the normal international practice of allowing persons the right to choose where to be deported.39 Malaysia's opposition groups, besides criticising the government's swift action, have also joined the critics in questioning the concept of ASEAN solidarity if

38. The Hindu (Delhi), 21 September 1994.
it meant drawing Thailand into quarrels with third parties. No Western government seemed to have, either positively or negatively, reacted to the Malaysian developments. In view of the fact that Mahathir Mohammed has, of late, assumed the self-appointed role of Third World Champion against the hegemonic "unipolar/Great power Super-powerism" of the USA, characterising the present post-Cold War international relations, their adoption of politics of silence is all the more intriguing. A hunch may be attempted in this regard since the banned organisation happens to be an Islamic Movement, any adverse comments of Western countries against Mahathir Mohammed may be construed as strengthening the said Islamic Movement. Hence, the adoption of what may be called the politics of silence.

Keeping this Malaysian development in view, it is quite instructive to make an analogy in this context. In the early years of his rule, Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser also banned an effective Islamic movement, the Ikhwan-ul-Muslimeen (The Muslim Brotherhood) when he perceived its threat potential to his leadership and also got its leader executed subsequently. In 1974, Pakistan's the late Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto got passed by National Assembly an act which declared the Ahmadiya Community a non-Muslim minority. Zia-ul-Haq further solidified the Bhutto measure through a constitutional amendment act which forbade them to call their place of worship as mosque. In the twin cases of Malaysia and Pakistan, a common feature is that both the Al-Arqam and the Ahmadiyas are said to be deviationist sects, from the teachings/beliefs of mainstream Islam. However, in the case of Al-Arqam its "deviationist teachings" have not been explicitly stated by the arresting authority, whereas in the Ahmadiya case, the followers Mirza Ghulam Ahmed consider him as a "Prophet", a clear deviation of universally-held Muslim belief in the finality of the Prophecy of Prophet Mohammad. Notwithstanding all this, the triple cases of Egypt, Pakistan and Malaysia need to be situated and understood in their respective political contexts. In the case of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the Ahmadiya Act was intended to refurbish his suspected Islamic credentials. In the case of Mahathir Mohammad, his banning of Al-Arqam and the subsequent arrest of its prominent leaders might have
been done with a view to neutralising the increasing popularity of the organization as evidenced by its successful management of social services, like health, education, business ventures, etc., and its projected political potential in the politics of Malaysia: the likely erosion of the political base of the ruling United Malay National Organisation (UMNO). However, such a perceived scenario did not occur. Instead, the UMNO, in the elections held in April 1995 to the Malaysian Parliament, got an absolute majority under the leadership of Mahathir ibn Mohammad.

The Islamic nature of the Balkan Crisis

The fast unfolding developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina with virtually muted observation by the international community (notwithstanding the series of attempted peace initiatives undertaken by the European Union and the recent talk of 'tough-arm' proposals purported to be applied against the Bosnian Serbs by the Clinton administration) has led Islamic countries (in fact all) to view the crisis entirely in civilizational terms. They rightly point out that the US-led allied forces were swift in successfully vacating Kuwait from the occupation of Iraqi armed forces, in 1990, nominally acting under the authority of the United Nations Security Council and not accountable to the latter for their actions. The Islamic states are also wont to make pointed references to the still continuing mandatory sanctions imposed against Iraq and the still continuing presence of allied "air protection" to Kurds in northern Iraq and to Shiite Muslims in Southern Iraq. Further, they also cite the case of Libya which was subjected to various types of mandatory sanctions by the Security Council for its inability to hand over the two Libyans suspected of having involved themselves in a Lockerbie aircrash off the coast of Ireland in 1984. To these two cases - Iraq and Libya - may also be added the cases of Somalia and Haiti. In the latter two cases, the Security council "empowered" the United States to unilaterally involve itself in order to effect the emergence of a state authority capable of bringing public order (Somalia) and to restore a democratically elected government and to protect human rights (Haiti), respectively. A question that arises in this context is why the Security
Council finds itself incapable of addressing itself to the on-going crisis situation of genocidal proportions in Bosnia-Herzegovina, when it had set precedents for involvement in the cases cited above. Moreover, the recognition of Bosnia's statehood by the European Community on April 6, 1992 was soon followed by the rest of the international community. Such an EC action in the twin cases of Slovenia and Croatia was unanimously done on January 15, 1992. The UN General Assembly, in a decision taken on May 22, 1992, voted to admit Bosnia to the World Body, besides Slovenia and Croatia. In the absence of any concrete action to be forthcoming from the international community with regard to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the perception of the Islamic countries that the international community has willingly shut itself off from acting upon the Balkan crisis, will exacerbate in the ensuing period to the detriment of peaceful international relations. In August 1995, Malaysia, reinforcing such a growing perception, has launched an initiative announcing that ten Muslim countries will meet in September to discuss a common strategy on the war in

40. The chain of developments in Eastern Europe that followed the demise of Soviet Union, though far-reaching by themselves, have not paved the way for the much-hoped-for stability in the post-Cold War international relations. The causes for the disintegration of the Titoist Yugoslavia into a score of "independent" states, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, need not engage attention save for their impinging on the nature of the ongoing crisis as perceived increasingly in civilizational terms. Of late, academic literature on former Yugoslavia germane to the inter-ethnic and inter-religious violence has come to the fore. A few works on the subject may be noted in this context.

g) Roy Gutnam, A Witness to Genocide (Shaftesbury: Element Books, 1993).
h) Salahi Ramadan Sonyel, The Muslims of Bosnia: Genocide of a People (Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, 1994).
Bosnia. Malaysia, like other Islamic states, wants the World Body to immediately lift its arms embargo against Bosnia and coordinate the strategy among ten Muslim countries to help the Bosnian Muslims with arms and financial aid. On its part, Malaysia has stated that it is ready to break the arms embargo imposed on Bosnia. Malaysia's Prime Minister, Dr Mahathir Ibn Mohammed, also called for the resignation of the UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros Ghali, for his inability to protect the UN-designated "safe havens" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is now the responsibility of the international community to obviate such feelings by demonstrating its political will to successfully act upon the crisis situations including in the present case of Bosnia-Herzegovina. While this being the state of affairs in relation to the Bosnian crisis, the extraordinary meeting of the foreign ministers of the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC), in its meeting held in Islamabad during 7-9 September, 1994, had voiced its concern thus, by issuing a long-winding joint-communique on 9 September, to the effect that:

If no Security Council confirmation (of the inapplicability of the Resolution 713 relating to the relevant arms embargo) is forthcoming, the OIC membership, alongwith other UN members, will come to the conclusion that members acting individually or collectively can provide the means of self-defence to the (mainly Muslim) Government of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.41

This joint communique, if read between the lines, will reveal a veiled mild threat addressed to the international community in general, and Security Council in particular, to act upon its own Resolution, i.e. to lift arms embargo imposed against the contestant parties, but in fact hindered Bosnia's ability to defend itself against Serb attacks or else, the OIC and the unidentified "other UN members" will not hesitate to come to the rescue of the Bosnia-Herzegovina government by providing "the means of self-defence" to it. The said resolution was unanimously passed on 25 September 1991 which imposed arms embargo on the warring groups. It invoked Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

41. Quoted in The Hindu (Delhi), 18 September 1994. Parentheses in original.
The aforesaid communique is a testing case (a challenge and an opportunity, as they were) both to the Security Council and the OIC: to confirm the "inapplicability of the SC Resolution (713)" or to act upon its (OIC's) own resolve, in case of the former's failure. The coming times may hopefully resolve this tangle.

The Balkan tragedy symbolises a paradigm as to how a multi-ethnic ex-Yugoslavia is increasingly transforming itself to solo ethnic states. Looking into the existing ground realities in the embattled region and the far - from successful peace initiatives undertaken by the European community and the United States, ethnocentrism seems to be a "bloody" option being chosen by the combatants, which is no less tolerated by the international community by its default. All the peace initiatives undertaken both by the Europeans and Americans did begin, ipso facto, with the premise that the prevalent ethnic divisions among the combatants should form part of the overall resolution of the tangle. "Ethnic constitutionalism"—the notion that the state belongs to a dominant ethnic group or "nation" inhabiting it - became the organising political principle as enshrined in the constitutions of Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia which they adopted in 1990, 1990 and 1991 respectively.

"THE CLASH OF CIVILIZATIONS"?

With the exit of communism as an ideological force in international politics following Soviet Union's demise, a variety of futuristic perspectives are advanced by scholars in relation to the nature of post-Cold War international system. One of such popular perspectives has considered Islam to have already filled the ideological vacuum created by the demise of communism. Such a perception reminds one of a Cold War psyche which refuses to give up the habit of manufacturing an enemy to sustain itself; a tendency to juxtapose itself - vis-a-vis the Other. Resurgent Islam is being projected as representing all those ethos that are at variance with, or said to be

in antagonistic relationship with Western civilization. The writings of Orientalists lend credence to and reinforce the existing popular stereotypes in the West about Islam. A noted orientalist scholar, Bernard Lewis stated the "spectre" attributed to Islam poignantly vis-a-vis the West:

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.43

Other orientalists are also no less emphatic than Lewis in their views. Samuel P. Huntington, a celebrated Harvard author of an article titled "The Clash of Civilizations?" 44 had given respectability to such views, and following their logic,

43. Ibid., p.60.

44. Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?", Foreign Affairs (Washington D.C.), Vol. 72, No. 3, Summer, 1993, pp. 22-48. He later converted this article into a book. For details, see the Indian Edition, The Clash of Civilisations and the Remarking of World Order (New Delhi: Viking Penguin India, 1996). After giving descriptive hypotheses of future shape of inter-state relations in civilizational terms, Huntington, at the end of his essay, looks into the implications for the West, and categorises them into "short-term advantage" and "long-term accommodation". The list, covering the twin categories, is exhaustive. After going through the whole essay, one gets an impression that the author feels enveloped by an impending danger emanating from the other side of the barricade. To be fair to the author, he is not alone in this predicament. The orientalist scholarship as a whole suffers from it. This scholarship, more often than not, comes to the aid of the powers-that-be by way of providing academic inputs to the latter: a process designated by analysts as "epistemological imperialism" of the West, implicit in the scholarly works of Edward Said, in particular, his 1993 study, Culture & Imperialism (London: Vintage, 1993). Huntington exactly did this in the closing note of his much-quoted essay.

In this context, it may be noted that Huntington was one of the theoreticians of liberal political development (modernization): a theoretical paradigm sought to study the Third World societies which attained statehood in the 60s. This paradigm hardly considered religion and other factors of culture as having any significance in public affairs. From the denial of any role for religion in modernization theory to its central location in the post-cold war international relations in the 90s, Huntington, in fact, traversed a long way.
projected that the future contests among states will be fought on civilizational lines. He went to the extent of prophecying that "the next World War, if there is one, will be a War between civilizations". He further asserted that "the clash of civilizations will dominate global politics" and that "the fault lines between civilizations will be the battle lines of the future." However, his hypothesis that "the fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic" is difficult to endorse. Under the veneer of civilizations, the salience of ideologies or worldviews cannot be obliterated. Islamic activism, for instance, is not merely "terrorism" or extremism" as the Western mass media would have us believe, but also a serious endeavour to project an alternative worldview distinct from the existing (hegemonic?) materialistic-consumeristic-hedonistic Worldview. The other name given to this worldview is democratic liberal international order. As contra-distinction to this world order is an alternative normative order based on the *Quranic* principle of *Tawhid* which looks at the universe from a holistic/comprehensive perspective combining both the elements of spirit and matter, thus constituting an organic unity. The politics of Islamic activism is, inter-alia, informed by this integrating principle of *Tawhid*. Thus, ideology may not become obsolete in the future wars as projected by Huntington. Further, it may so happen that ideology may find itself absorbed in the vortex of civilizational cleavages. In this context, it may not be out of order to say that the battle rehearsals appear to have already been started in the form of Salman Rushdie (*Satanic Verses*) and a Bangladeshi feminist writer, Taslima Nasreen (*Lajja*, Shame). In both the cases, the West has come forward in support of the beleaguered authors on the "unimpeachable", unfettered liberal right to freedom of expression/thought whereas the other side spearheaded their oppositional standpoint that the said right should not be a

licence to harm the religious feelings of the people by attacking the sacred scriptures and the holy personages associated with such scriptures. It is of interest to note that in the case of both the authors, the West came forward in giving them shelter and protection: Britain in the case of Salman Rushdie and Sweden in the case of Taslima Nasreen. Some important issues emerge from these and other controversies: Does liberal democracy alone (with all its concomitant verities such as the unbridled freedom of thought/expression, human rights, and so on) remain the reigning ideology for mankind in the wake of the demise of communism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe? Leaders of Islamic movements in the Muslim world vehemently challenge such a hegemonic intellectual usurpation of mankind’s affairs by the West. On a similar plane, the contradictions and indeed antipathy, between the Western intellectual thought and the Muslim world in the context of the United Nations Charter and its related covenants and statutes has been very brilliantly brought out by a Moroccan Sociologist, Fatima Mernissi. It is her contention that the UN Charter and its other documents embody the Western intellectual thought out of which, inter alia, democracy and freedom of thought and expression and human rights emanate as fundamental organising principles of mankind. When a Muslim state becomes a party to such covenants, it willingly undertakes the legal obligation to be bound by them in its internal and external dealings. Here a dilemma/contradiction may arise if it adopts Shariah as its fundamental law. The Shariah obligations and the UN Charter obligations may not always coincide with each other. In such situations, legal contradictions are bound to have far-reaching implications, if they are not amicably resolved. Even the

48. Francis Fukuyama seems to entertain an affirmative answer to this dilemma. For particulars, see Ibid., n. 21.

Secretary-General of the World Organisation, Dr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali has joined the fray. In an interview given to Helene Bourdon representing World News Link, Dr. Ghali has given the following answer to a question concerning his perception of the "threat of Islamic extremism."

It is in contradiction with the general Principles of the U.N., in contradiction with the different conventions on human rights, and with the new objective of the U.N. which is to encourage democracy among member states...the Islamic extremists are in clear opposition to the basic philosophy of the U.N.\(^50\)

On the link between democracy and human rights, Dr. Ghali states:

...I link human rights with democracy, because democracy is the institutionalization of human rights. I am not so much in favour of human rights being enforced through international legislation. it does not work. But if you are able to encourage a country to adopt a democratic system, that system will be the best way to protect human rights.\(^51\)

Thus, Dr. Ghali's views make it obvious that he is influenced by liberal (Western) intellectual thought. However, it is not obvious whether he considers Shariah-centric political system to be structurally incompatible with the promotion of human rights and democracy.

This being the ideological state of relation between the Shariah-based Muslim law and the International law of the United Nations, continuing disillusionment about the United Nations on Realpolitik grounds is very much discernible particularly among Islamic movements in Muslim countries. A popular Arab and Islamic Conference, representing Islamic movements from 80 countries, meeting in Khartoum

\(^{50}\) Reproduced in The Hindu (Delhi), 6 September, 1994.
\(^{51}\) Ibid.
(Sudan) on 30 March 1995, condemned the United Nations as "the international mechanism which now functions incorrectly, and has become a weapon against Muslim countries." 52 Such a perception is widely shared in the present times by a broad section of the Third World population. Since 1990 onwards, it got reinforcement beginning with the successful taming of Iraq by a coalition of Western and some Muslim states for the former's occupation of Kuwait.

Islam's Relevance to Foreign Policy

A state's foreign policy cannot afford to ignore the civilizational ethos which inform society and bind it with the decision-making processes and structures of that state. This is particularly true in a democratic state which provides a political space for civil society to operate and seek to make an imprint on both the domestic and foreign policy domains of that state. The presence of Jewish pressure groups in the American society and their impact on the American foreign policy-making with regard to Israel vividly illustrates the point.

While it is axiomatic that in some states which proclaim themselves Islamic, 'Islam would constitute a significant influence on (foreign) policy', 53 it is also noteworthy that in some Muslim societies where the state adopted secularism as an official ideology, Islam has, of late, come to occupy no less a pivotal role in the arena of foreign policy formulation and/or implementation. In those Arab states where the official ideology is Baath Socialism (Arabism) as in Iraq or Kemalism as in Turkey, the regimes have not hesitated to utilize Islam both in their domestic and

52. The Hindu (Delhi), 1 April 1995.

foreign policies. Saddam Hussein, during the Gulf War in 1990, sought to mobilize Arab and non-Arab Muslim opinion in the name of Islam (and to a large extent succeeded in doing so), whereas the Muslim governments, with few exceptions, extended their support to the multinational coalition forces. In the responses of the secular Turkey on the evolving situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Armenia-Azerbaijan dispute over Nagorno-Karabakh, and in the Indian subcontinent, the question of Jammu & Kashmir, the element of Islam is very much discernible. In the current political scenario of Turkey, one may observe growing trends towards Islamic activism spearheaded by political formations such as Islamic Welfare Party. Secular Turkey's Islamic tendencies, as will be discerned (in brief) in relation to the three aforementioned cases, are partly attributable to the seeming relevance of Islamic oppositional groups in the Turkish politics.

In his Statement delivered at the Islamic Summit Conference which met in Casablanca (Morocco) during 13-14 December 1994, the Turkish President Suleyman Demirel referred to the tragedy that enveloped the Balkans and viewed it from a Muslim eye and also emphasised the need for the Muslim states to shoulder their obligation towards "Muslim brothers and sisters" of Bosnia-Herzegovina. As the following passage makes it obvious:

The tragedy [of Bosnia-Herzegovina] is a source of deep concern for us. The Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina and the destruction of its cultural and religious heritage continues in a most blatant manner....The Bosnian case has....become a test case for the international community....(and also) for the Islamic community. A number of Islamic states, including Turkey, have provided troops to UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] [and]...must intensify.... collective efforts...[further] contribute...troops to UNPROFOR [and mobilize more humanitarian assistance to Bosnia.] The plight of Moslems at the center of Europe is a direct challenge for all of us and our organisation [OIC]....If the Islamic community fails, who else can our Bosnian brothers turn to? The Bosnian Muslims....should not be denied the right to self-defense. The Bosnian
government should be exempted from the arms embargo imposed by the UN Security Council.\textsuperscript{54}

In the same statement, President Demirel referred also to the Armenia-Azerbaijan dispute. In this case also the Pro-Muslim attitude was clearly discernible. This may not, however, brush aside non-religious geostrategic considerations which are conspicuous in their presence in both the Bosnian and Azeri cases as they were historically linked to Turkey. Exhorting the Muslim states to similarly empathise with the Azeri problem as they had done with the Bosnian tragedy, President Demirel said that "the support of the OIC members to our Azeri brothers in their struggle to defend the territorial integrity of Azerbaijan is crucial. We must display solidarity with our Azeri brothers."\textsuperscript{55} Thus, the Turkish approach towards these twin issues was informed, inter-alia by the Muslim factor. It also called upon the Islamic community to support Bosnia-Herzegovina morally, politically and militarily. While this being the state of affairs with regard to Bosnia and Azerbaijan, President Demirel's brief mention of the question of Jammu & Kashmir in his Statement was of a different veneer. There was no suggestion in his reference that it was a Muslim issue save for the fact that the OIC was concerned about it. Nor did he explicitly convey feelings of fraternity or solidarity towards the Kashmiri people as he had done vis-a-vis the Bosnians and the Azeris. To understand him in a proper perspective, it is better to quote him on the subject:

The situation in Jammu & Kashmir continues to be a source of concern for the OIC. We hold the view that the dispute should be resolved through negotiations. The solution to the problem must be based on the principle of legitimacy and international law.\textsuperscript{56}

\textsuperscript{54} For the Text of the Statement delivered by Suleyman Demirel, President of Turkey, at the Islamic Summit Conference, Casablanca (Morocco), 13-14 December 1994, see Journal of Peace Studies (New Delhi), Vol.1, nos. 6-7, September-December 1994, pp.68-74.

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., p.70.

\textsuperscript{56} Ibid., p.70.
Further, unlike the suggestion for military support to Bosnia, with regard to Jammu & Kashmir, there was no such suggestion. Instead the need for a negotiated settlement was underlined, by giving due respect to the principle of legitimacy and international law.

In the three cases referred to above, two different approaches were advocated by Secular Turkey: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Azerbaijan were viewed from an Islamic angle and Jammu & Kashmir was perceived from a non-ideological light. The upshot of the above clearly delineates that secular regimes, when confronted with problems of civilizational magnitude (as perceived by them) would not hesitate to employ religious idiom and symbolism to buttress their legitimacy through the medium of foreign policy.

In the domain of foreign policy, Islam operates at two levels, principally at the levels of formulation and implementation. The former includes factors such as public opinion, historical antecedents, attitudes of decision-makers and structures, interaction with the external milieu, etc., and the latter, the actual conduct of foreign relations and its foreseen and unforeseen consequences. Public opinion in Muslim countries constitutes an influence on the foreign policy making and the behaviour of the state mediated, of course, by the perceptions, images and interests of the decision-making elite. This does not, however, convey that the two would always be held together in a symbiotic bind. Far from it. Frictions may, in fact, develop between them. In the case of Pakistan, two illustrations would suffice to bring home the point. In 1956, during the Suez crisis, public opinion and the state response to the crisis moved in diametrically opposite directions. Again, in 1990, with regard to the Gulf crisis arising out of the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, the state in Pakistan supported the multinational coalition, whereas, the public opinion in the later phase of
the war, crystallized in the support of Iraq and its leader, Saddam Hussein. Closely associated with the images and perceptions of the decision-makers is the 'personality' factor as an input into the decisional structures and processes in the foreign policy arena. Z.A. Bhutto and Zia-ul-Haq (or King Faisal and the Late Ayatollah Khomeini of Saudi Arabia and Iran respectively, to name only the two), in their own personality styles, endeavoured to give an Islamic orientation to their country's external behaviour, and also sought to emerge as Islamic leaders in the rest of the Muslim world.

State apparatuses such as the constitution, legislative enactments and statutes also exert (an) influence, and provide guidelines in the formulation of foreign policy. The constitutions of most of the Muslim states do contain explicit provisions declaring Islam as the religion of the state. Further, they make it imperative for the state to promote the goal of Islamic solidarity among Muslim states. In the domestic arena, the Islamic provisions differ from one state to the other, depending upon the nature of the social structure. Some of them declared Shariah as the fundamental/basic law of the state to which all other laws were supposed to be subordinated, the former purporting to regulate individual and collective life of Muslim societies. In Sudan, the military backed Islamic regime of Colonel Ahmed Bashir promulgated Shariah measures to which the animistic and Christian inhabitants of the country's southern part do not like to subscribe. The problem was further complicated with the support extended by the Vatican to them and the international human rights bodies also fishing in in the troubled waters. Likewise in Pakistan, the application of blasphemy laws were met with an international criticism mounted by Western powers. It is, thus, obvious that the implementation of Islamisation measures in the domestic arena may have international repercussions. Other Islamic states too have infused the religious element in their internal and external policies with considerable dexterity. Recognition of this fact does not convey the absence of non-Islamic factors/inputs into the
dynamics of external relations. In those Muslim societies where political opposition has considerable voice in state affairs, the regimes are hard put to ideologically justify their actions in Islamic terms. To this extent, Islam has become an instrument in the hands of oppositional forces which use Islam with finesse. Thus, Islam becomes a source of regime destabilization.\(^\text{57}\)

JIHAD

As a Quranic term, Jihad lends itself to a variety of meanings. In generic terms, it refers to the human effort to lead a good life, to make society more moral and just, and to spread Islam through preaching and teaching by means of the heart, the tongue and the hands. It is of central importance to Muslim self-understanding and mobilisation.

In the heyday of the history of Islamic civilization, the framework within which foreign relations were conducted, was subsumed under the notions of Dar al Islam (Abode of Peace), Dar al Harb (Abode of War), and Dar al Sulh (Territories under Treaty). In pristine Islam, it was Siyar - the law that governed Islam's intercourse with the rest of the world - which held sway. In the early Islamic history, the Siyar envisioned a Pan-Islamica wherein the Dar al Harb would be integrated into the Dar al Islam. During the Middle Ages, Islam and Christendom clashed against each other with religious fervour, employing the weapons of Crusades and Jihad as their organising principles. The general perception that the spirit, and hence the essence, of this conflictual relationship still continues to exist is held by both the contestants. The initial Western support in bringing Israel into existence and their

\(^{57}\) For, Islam as one of the inputs into the decision-making processes of the foreign policies of Muslim states, see Adeed Dawisha, "Islam in Foreign Policy: Some Methodological Issues," in Adeed Dawisha, ed., Islam in Foreign Policy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 1-8.
subsequent measures to strengthen Israel in the latter’s fight with the Arabs, is cited by Muslims as an example to this effect. In this context, Muslims perceive Israel to be an extension of the West in the heart of holy Islamic lands and that Zionism constitutes a constant threat to the Islamic world. Further, the Jewish state, to borrow an evocative statement of Sheikh Muhammed Hussein Fadlallah, a Shiite leader of Hizbollah (Party of Allah) in Lebanon, is "a conglomeration of people who came from all parts of the world to live in Palestine on the ruins of another people". Numerous instances of this genre can be given.

The Islamic view of international relations has itself been evolutionary. It did not spring all of a sudden. Islamic legal learning made a substantial contribution to the sum total of universal legal scholarship in such areas of international law as the notion of trusteeship of political power, the right of rebellion against unjust rulers, the law of war and peace, etc. In the context of the contemporary world scene characterized by the system of sovereign nation-states and the proliferation on nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction (notwithstanding the efforts to control their

58. This viewpoint is being recognised in most of the scholarly analyses. Representative of them is Maria McKarzel, 'The Middle East since 1945', *World Review: A Journal of Contemporary Relevance* (London), Vol. 30, No. 1, March 1991, p. 22.


spread), the traditional Jihad-centric framework of international relations becomes a potential source of perpetual tensions and antagonisms among states. It has to give way to notions of Islamic solidarity, peaceful maintenance of international relations, and the like. In view of this, in the contemporary times, a need to re-orient Islamic methodology in the arena of external relations has been felt in order to enable the Muslim states to conduct their foreign policies on those lines.63 However, in one sense, the spirit of early times is still evident in the modern age: the frequent calls for Jihad (a striving towards a righteous, just cause in all public matters) on the part of the Muslim leaders against the external encroachments on the territorial integrity and independence of Muslim states.64 In fact, the history of twentieth century Islamic societies acts as a testimony to the fact that Jihad had acted as an anti-colonial and

63. Prominent among those who think on these lines is Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman. See his two works: The Islamic Theory of International Relations: New Directions for Islamic Methodology (Herndon, Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1987), and Crisis in the Muslim Mind (Islamic Methodologies No.1), Second Edition, trans. Yusuf Talal De Lorenzo (Herndon, Virginia: International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1994).

64. The Fatwa (religious edict) of the spiritual guide of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Ali Khomeini, issued against the presence of Western Armed Forces on the Saudi Arabian soil in the context of Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, constitutes an important part of Jihad, as understood in terms of self-defence. On the other hand, Saudi Arabia, to justify its decision to invite the American led Western forces on its territory has, during 120-12 September, 1990, convened a meeting of the world Muslim League (Rabita Alam-e-Islami), an offshoot of the Organisation of Islamic Conference, in which the assembled religious leaders approved of the Saudi decision saying that it is in conformity with Sharia. In the statement called the Makkah Document that was issued at the conclusion of this Saudi-sponsored Conference, there was a strident attack of Saddam's "hypocrisy towards Islam" saying that his invasion of Kuwait would "distort the image of Islam and the Muslims before world public opinion, leading most of the international media to make it a point to portray Islam and its adherents in a bloody way, and said that they cannot keep promises, do not respect the rights of neighbours, have no mercy for the young and do not recognize the rights of others." To counter this, Saddam Hussain convened his own "World Muslim Conference" in Baghdad during September 9-12, 1991, in which the Conference called for a Jihad as expected by Saddam Hussein, did not materialize. For details, see, The Economist (London), Vol. 316, No. 7673, September 22-28, 1990, p. 55. and also Mushahid Hussain, 'The Persian Gulf Crisis: Impact on the Muslim World', Strategic Studies (Islamabad), Vol. XIV, Nos. 1 & 2, Autumn/Winter 1990-1991, p. 38.
anti-imperialist ideology against their subjugation by the West. It performed the function of mobilising an entire population for a national cause. Conscious of this historical function of Jihad, its present day votaries espouse its application to the existing Muslim societies in order to stall Western penetration and influence in various hues. The cultural penetration of the West into the Third World Muslim societies in the form of mass media and the aggressive promotion of consumerism (hedonism) as an antidote to neutralize the affection of the Third World populace to their own cultural forms has also established the relevance of Islam in international relations. Islamists are cognizant of the dangers emanating from global mass consumerism and perceive the latter as a further extension of westernization and a new form of indirect colonial penetration, resulting, albeit, in internal cultural invasion. By offering a variety of possible lifestyles, consumerism does compete with, and in many respects, contradict the holistic life-world epitomized in the Islamic concept of Tawhid. By seeking to elevate hedonism, to the level of a global culture, consumerism directly cuts through the religious beliefs and values held dear by Muslims. Thus, it is a challenge and an opportunity for forces of Islamic resurgence as the latter have a potential to counter the utilitarian ethos represented by consumerism with the latter's emphasis on leisure, gratification, and hedonism. Besides, in the context of contemporary politics, Islam can still guide international relations if the present-day needs and modern conditions are taken into consideration. John L. Esposito substantiates them as follows:

2. The supremacy of justice: "Be just under all circumstances".


3. Continuous preaching of Islam by peaceful means and if freedom to do so is denied, or the Muslim community is attacked, war must be waged to deter aggression.

4. Contracts and Trusts must be honoured under all circumstances and whoever the party may be.

5. Reciprocity in the conduct of relations when no agreements to regulate them exist."\(^{67}\)

The short and successful swift action of the Western states against the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait has once again brought into public reminiscence the bygone spirit of the crusades, the erstwhile colonial domination and the contemporary neo-colonial tendencies of hegemony buttressed by the post-Cold War international politics manoeuvred by the so-called "unipolar superpowerism" of the USA. "During the crusades, the West attacked Muslims in the Middle East, and during colonialism the West occupied Muslim lands. The present is the same, only the political context and form of operation differ."\(^{68}\)

Referring to the re-emergence of the West's crusading spirit in modern times, W.M. Watt has this to say:

Some Muslims today...see various forms of western aggression against the Islamic world as a recrudescence of the crusading movement. Colonel Qadhafi of Libya goes so far as to speak of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798 as the Ninth Crusade and the establishment of the state of Israel with American support as the Tenth Crusade.\(^{69}\)


In the Muslims popular perception, crusades preceded the colonial phase in the evolving historical relationships between the West and Islam and the present-day scenario of Islam's interaction with the West is a continuation of the earlier two historical phases. To quote Watt again:

Many Muslims now see colonialism as a continuation of the aggression of Christians against the Islamic world begun by the crusades. This is in no way a folk memory but it is a new perception based on what Muslims have learnt in the West... Doubtless there is some justification for their seeing the crusades as an early stage of the struggle between the Islamic World and Christian Europe for the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean.⁷⁰

Alan Richards and John Waterbury also refer to such Muslim perceptions:

...the nineteenth and twentieth century confrontation of the Middle Easterners as another enactment of an ancient struggle between Christianity and Islam, and European colonialism as an effort to snuff out Islam once and for all.⁷¹

The end of colonialism in the Muslim World enabled the ruling elites of the latter to engage their whole societies to define afresh their social priorities in accordance with their genuine needs and indigenous cultural heritage. This genuine search for indigenisation is evident virtually in the entire Third World. As Braibanti notes:

The emergence of Islamic national identity is part of a larger global trend of developing nations turning to indigenous models of development. Disenchantment with foreign models and growing self-confidence in a

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⁷⁰. Ibid., p. 98.

national identity encourages... 'endogeneity'. This search for roots leads inevitably to a reconsideration of Islam.  

Thus, the Muslim endeavor to indigenise their ethos and reorganise their societies within the framework subsumed by those ethos have caught the popular imagination in those societies. Implicit in those endeavours are not merely to stall those outer layers of Western cultural artifacts such as music and other permissive exhibits, but also to prevent politico-ideological penetration in the form of nationalism, secularism, westernization, etc., as outlined in the foregoing. An alternative Islamic vision, to enthuse all walks of life, and hence holistic, is touted as an ever-lasting penacea to the sufferings and tribulations being faced by Muslim societies.

In the backdrop of this scenario, it is not fortuitous that Islam still governs a greater part of the world in many aspects, and when the European domination of the world system tends to fade out in many respects, it (Islam) is free to come to the surface again, after many centuries under colonial system. In the last fifty years, the Muslim world has transformed itself from a dominated area to a dynamic force in global affairs. In the words of Bo Johnson Theutenberg again:


73. Bo Johnson Theutenberg, 'Different Trends of the International Legal System of Today,' in The Future of International Law in A Multicultural Society (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984), p. 268. "When the European domination and the European bonds now are being lifted from the colonial world, it is natural that these countries revert to their own "values". The interesting thing is, however, that it is not only one single country that takes recourse to its own cultural system, but a big part of the world, the whole Afro-Asian group of countries. Acting in the same direction, those countries can most surely influence the evolution of international law." Ibid., pp. 268-9.
Present evidence has shown that Islam again acts with strength, and naturally the rest of the world asks the question whether this means that some doctrines of the Islamic Shariah law in the long run will influence the corpus of international law with regard to inter-state relations, and in that case what interpretations of the Shariah law will be the guiding one.74

An important dimension of the West-Islam interaction that borders virtually on confrontation and hostility is exhausted in what is widely known as Jihad. For most of the time in the history of Islam's contacts with the Occident, Jihad constituted a significant governing principle between them. In the context of the re-emergence of Islamic forces in contemporary international relations, can Jihad be a constituent element? The frequent calls for Jihad that are often made in modern times indicate, on the face of it, an affirmation of its present relevance. During the time of West's colonial domination over the Islamic world, Jihad played a progressive role in the form of liberation struggles. In our times, its salience lies in defending the Muslim world’s political independence and territorial integrity when encroachments are made upon them, and the Muslims right to adopt socio-economic and political systems of their choice in the light of Shariah. In this context, the changing nature of Jihad in the dynamics of Islam's relationship with the Occident is aptly depicted by Bo Johnson Theutenberg:

Islam and the Occident have much to talk about, much to inform each other about, but now on an equal footing (emphasis added). We must be fully aware of the fact that politico-military circumstances and constellations may 'push' the dogmas towards a clear distortion, and after that much is destroyed. The distorted and misunderstood dogmas will exist as "eternal" barriers to rapprochement between the systems.75

Jihad, In the present times, has assumed defensive connotations vis-a-vis the West, in particular, in view of its proclivity to safeguard identity, independence and

74. Ibid., p.268.
75. Ibid., p. 270.
sovereignty of Muslim lands.  

This rightly runs counter to the popular notion of a "holy war": an expression consciously propagated primarily by the western media in the present times and by the Christendom in the medieval ages. As it does to other Quranic concepts, the Western media consciously attributes to Jihad new and specific meaning which is far removed from the original intent. Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman counters this Western stereotype by saying that it (Jihad) does not preeminently stand for combat or fight and that Islam is not aggressive by nature. However, Jihad, as a form of defensive war, converges with present-day international law as embodied in the United Nations Charter and other international treaties. The latter two recognize the state's traditional right to individual or collective self-defence. Under certain propitious circumstances, Jihad may also bring into its focus the connotation implicit in the concept of "Just War". However, the task of defining the circumstances leading to "Just War" is retained by political leadership in a given circumstance or a constellation of circumstances. It is, thus, obvious that Jihad opens up itself to a variety of juridical opinion and that there is no such thing as a monolithic definition of the concept disregarding time-space consideration. While it is feasible to talk of "Just War" in the context of Jihad, on the other hand, it is quite instructive to recall that the former U.S. President, George Bush, described the American (and by implication, Western) military campaign to liberate Kuwait from Iraqi military occupation also as an instance of a "Just War". To this effect, he also obtained ecclesiastical endorsements from the Church leaders similar to the Muslim leaders' traditional practice of obtaining Fataawaa (singular, Fatwaa, a religious verdict) from the Muftees (singular, Mufti, one who issues a Fatwaa) on their public policies.

The statements made by Bush during the course of the War, were sprinkled with the invocation, "God Bless America", which smacked of religious overtones.


Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman, The Islamic Theory of International Relations: New Directions for Islamic Methodology and Thought (Herndon, Virginia: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1987).
His State of the Union message of January 1991, was reflective of the latter: "To night, as our forces fight, they and their families are in our prayers. May God bless each and every one of them and the coalition forces on our side in the Gulf."\textsuperscript{78}

The Afghan Mujahideen’s successful campaign against the armed occupation of their country by the erstwhile Soviet Union is a typical testimony of this defensive connotation of Jihad. Jihad can, thus, be legitimately employed for throwing off a foreign yoke which the modern international law recognises as the right of self-defense. Hence, Jihad is a potent weapon to secure human freedom when the latter is threatened. Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman endorses this contention when he says that Jihad as basic Islamic principle does not exclude the possibility of armed conflict.\textsuperscript{79} At the same time, he lays an equal emphasis on its other meanings and its application to different situations. This would imply that Muslims need to change their approaches and methods of thought if at all they aim at creating and maintaining a successful Islamic social system including international relations. As the duty to pursue what is true and right, Jihad includes protection of the human rights of life, belief, honour, family, education, and the Khilafah, common and private properties. Further, Jihad could be a war of words, an effort to make the doctrines of Islam accepted and acceptable. Jihad could, therefore, take place by persuasion as the Holy Quran enjoins:

\begin{quote}
Invite (all) to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious; For thy Lord knoweth best, who have strayed from His path, and who receive guidance.\textsuperscript{80}
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Ibid.}, n. 77, p. 124.

\textsuperscript{80} \textit{The Holy Qur'an}, 16: 125.
Even the Makkah-Taif Declaration (Third Islamic Summit Conference, 25 January 1981) defined Jihad in the sense of a legitimate defensive struggle "to liberate the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and the holy places" and "to defend the independence and sovereignty of a country against an aggression". The Declaration further legitimized Jihad in circumstances where Muslims become "victims of innumerable injustices" and are faced with multiple dangers due to the reign of force and aggression and the politics of violence in international behaviour". The Declaration proceeded further to say that "Islam enjoins justice and equity both for its followers and others and it also enjoins tolerance and magnanimity towards those who do not combat us, do not force us to leave our homes and do not violate our sacred values and which never takes the side of wrong doing, injustice or oppression". By this, it was evident that the member-states successfully pursued a detailed explanation of Jihad (in the context of Muslim states' external behaviour) in order to remove any misconstruction or misinterpretation.

In this context, it would be very instructive to comprehend the poly-dimensional nature of Jihad as underlined by Robert L. Canfield, an Anthropologist of repute. As he states at length:

The Jihad is the highest, most honourable quest of the Muslim. It is the struggle for a pure inner life as well as for upright relations in one's social affairs and a just society in the world at large-inner purity, upright relations, and social justice understood, again, in Islamic terms. Because the Jihad for purity, uprightness, and social responsibility is the ideal quest of the Muslim, it has normally provided the basis for cooperation in social causes. **Contrary to the supposition of some non-Muslims, Jihad is not a call to mindless bloodshed in the name of God, rather, it is a call to fulfill sublime ideals** (emphasis added).

An appeal to **Jihad** is heeded by Muslims as a function of its aptness to particular circumstances; its moral content, in any case, springs from ideals deeply embedded in Islamic notions of virtue and sublimity.  

This being the case, it is very surprising to note that the appeal made by Yasser Arafat, currently the 'Head' of the Palestinian National Authority, to insert the word **Jihad** in the Dakar (Senegal) Declaration (Sixth Islamic Summit Conference held during 9-11 December 1991) to describe the struggle against Israel’s occupation of Palestine territory (since the mid-1993, Jericho and Gaza Strip became self-governing territories under the authority of PNA) was not accepted by the Conference majority. The plausible reason for this rejection could be that Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt and other countries were not particularly enthused with the Palestinian leader as he sided with Saddam Hussein in the latter’s War against the U.S.-led Coalition in January 1991. This episode makes it clear that when bilateral equations are strained among the members, they tend to affect their common obligations in an adverse way. Islamic solidarity sounds hollow and remains a rhetoric when, in specific circumstances, it is left unpractised. The OIC, in its Third Summit Conference held at Makkah-Taif in January, 1981, paid obeisance to the 'ideal of Islamic solidarity' and reiterated the latter’s consolidation among member-states as a priority objective.

**Nation-State System**

**Tawhid** exemplifies the worldview of Islam. The mental horizon of a typical Muslim is governed by **Tawhid**. To him, it is an ultimate reality; to it alone ultimate loyalty is owed, even though there is apparent diversity in the creation of universe by Allah. As the **Holy Quran** says:

And among His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the variations in your languages and your colours; verily in that are signs for those who know. 83

Further,

O, people, we have created you (all) of a single pair, a male and female (namely, Adam and Eve), and we have constituted you into tribes and nations that you may know one another. Noble among you in the estimate of Allah is more virtuous. 84

Thus, pluralism as understood from this Qur'anic perspective is meant to serve the purpose of knowing each other, and not to consider it as an ultimate reference point. In the backdrop of the aforesaid, nation-state system confines man's loyalty to a specific group evolved through a historical process involving race, language, territory, economic relations and other factors. Thus, Tawhid is an antithesis to particularism, ethnocentrism and racism, and that it is an organising principle of universalism which takes into its vortex the political phenomenon too. 85

The ideology of nation-state has had no equivalent either in the early Islamic thinking or practice. It's introduction in the Muslim world, as elsewhere, was related to Western colonialism. Moreover, the retreating colonial powers put in place a nation-state structure in the notionally free political entities of the Muslim world. However, the nation-state system did not acquire an ideological legitimacy from the populace in the Muslim world. Its acceptance or tolerance by the Muslim world on the Realpolitik grounds should not be treated as tantamount to ideational or intellectual conformity. In fact, on spiritual and ethical foundations of Islam, it would be a difficult proposition to rationalise/legitimise it in the context of the Muslim World. At

83. The Holy Quran, 30:22.
85. For an understanding of the Tawhidi worldview of Islam in its multifaceted dimensions, see the thought-provoking lectures delivered at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies (Oxford University) and compiled in a book form. Masudul Alam Choudhury, The Unicity Precept and the Socio-Scientific Order (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1993).
best, it enjoys an ambiguous legitimacy as its viable alternative in any concrete form, is found wanting in the present times. Further, the growing band of conformists who view that the nation-state is on the way towards obsolescence attribute it to factors beyond the control of a sovereign nation-state: revolutionary changes in the technology of telecommunications that have rendered the world to the status of "Global Village" and the growing stranglehold of multinational corporations in global economic relations, to name only the two. On the other hand, in the contemporary world, it is increasingly perceived, particularly by Muslims, that the nation-state order dismembers the Umma(h) because territorial delimitation is the hallmark of a nation-state, whereas Ummah overrides territoriality and holds its adherents together by a common bond of faith. In fact, it divided the Umma(h), and for the West it became easier to exploit one national Muslim state with another, as the establishment of the Muslim Umma(h) poses the greatest threat to their interests. Besides, the rise of nationalism has been a central force in the disintegration of Islamic unity.


88. Ibid., p. 75. Similar view is held by Kalim Siddiqui as epitomized in the following sentence: 'Nationalism is a force which leads to the disintegration of the human personality, and society at all levels.' Quoted in Kalim Siddiqui, 'Nation-States as obstacles to the Total Transformation of the Ummah', in M. Ghayasuddin, ed., The Impact of Nationalism on the Muslim World (Selangor: Malaysia, The Open Press, 1986), p. 1.

Kalim Siddiqui further elaborated this theme in his paper titled 'Integration and Disintegration in the Politics of Islam and Kufri', Presented at the World Seminar on State and Politics in Islam, held in London, 1983.

For further particulars on the subject, see Abd Allah Ahsan, 'The Identity Crisis within the Modern Muslim Nation-States', Al-Tawhid (Tehran), Vol. V, No. 2, March-August 1988.

For an argument on the incompatibility of Islam and nationalism, see Murtaza Garia, 'Nationalism in the Light of the Quran and the Sunnah', in M. Ghayasuddin, ed., The Impact of Nationalism on the Muslim World (Selangor: Malaysia, The Open Press, 1986), pp. 23-35.
Hence, the arbitrary delimitation of territorial boundaries on the part of the retreating colonial powers, is, in the present times, sought to be redrawn, albeit by the use of force, on the plea that the existing boundaries are incompatible with their civilizational legacy, and indigenous traditions, thus attempting to right historical wrongs. One may perhaps attribute this realisation to Saddam Hussein's invasion and eventual occupation of Kuwait. In the context of the convergence that was found between the USA and the erstwhile Soviet Union, the Security Council could, with the consent and consensus among the Five Permanent Members, impose sanctions against Iraq, Libya, and intervene in Somalia and allow the USA to intervene in Haiti.

In the case of Somalia, the UN concern was to create stable conditions so that a semblance of political order might be in place there. In the Haitian case, the Security Council "empowered" the USA to attack Haiti in order to restore the democratically elected government which was overthrown by the military.

Be that as it may, in the case of Muslim states, a plethora of transnational Muslim institutions do bring into sharp focus the contradictions latent in the nation-state order, characterising the contemporary Muslim world, when one takes into account the wide gap between the rhetoric of Islamic universalism and the ceaseless pursuit of the so-called "national" interests of the Muslim states pursued by the ruling elites. To enable Muslims to establish ummatic institutions in the Muslim world, the ruling elites have not succeeded in overcoming obstacles posed by nationalism, tribalism and ethnicity, in particular. Hence:

The dilemma of Islam and nation, Islam and tribe and Islam and contemporary ideologies needs to be reduced first by contemporary Muslim political thought before a truly ummatic institution can be conceived and become functional. Islamization should first be tackled as

89. For details on the conformist and non-conformist attitudes towards the system of nation-state in the context of Islam, see James P. Piscator, Islam in the World of Nation-States (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 40-116. In this work, the author argues that there is a well-established Islamic tradition endorsing territorial pluralism among Muslim states.
a conceptual challenge before it can be transposed into institutional forms.90

As these dilemmas, on the one hand, severely test the efficacy of the Muslim political thought in resolving them, there lies, on the other, a potential in Islam to play a constructive role in the field of international relations as Abdul Hamid Abu Sulayman perceives it:

Islam could be used to bring about more emphasis on issues such as human dignity and human rights by taking a stand against racial and nationalist discrimination by emphasising equality and merit, by decentralising political authority and decision-making bodies, and advocating wider cooperation and mutual support in economic, technical, social, cultural, and political matters based on principles of human welfare and progress, equity, merit, and social justice.91

In contravention of an international order based on primordialism as outlined above, there lies a potential in the concept of ummah to structure international system on the basis of universal brotherhood of mankind. Moreover, for Muslims, the notion of ummah does not conflict with the world view of the Holy Quran and the political practice of the early Islam. At subliminal state, the notion of Ummah stirs the psychological make-up of Muslims and instantly finds an echo of acceptance. This is one of the reasons as to why it forms part of ideologized Islamic groups operating in the Muslim world. Moreover, the concept of ummah is intrinsic to the Holy Qur'an and that the followers of Islam were familiar with and continue to cherish it in the modern times too.

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THE DEMISE OF THE USSR AND THE RISE OF CENTRAL ASIAN STATES TO SOVEREIGN NATIONHOOD

The demise of Soviet Union as a political entity has created a new situation whose impact on world politics has been of a transformational nature. Hitherto, issues germane to the adoption of appropriate socio-political systems intelligible to their respective populations have not been settled in any successful manner. Besides, the situation has thrown up for the Muslim world both opportunities and challenges to forge ideological, political and other kinds of cooperation with the Muslim states of Central Asia and the Caucasian Muslim Azerbaijan. Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan have already initiated diplomatic moves to befriend these states through bilateral and multilateral contacts on the one hand and to bring them under a common Islamic fold on the other. They leaped at the opportunity (created by the emergence of these Muslim states) to make communion with the latter. Pakistan was especially moved by the independence of these states. Pakistan, as early as 1990, made an arrangement with Uzbekistan to facilitate religious publication, educate students, and exchange Islamic scholars through its International Islamic University in Islamabad. In 1992, Pakistan signed a memorandum of friendship and cooperation with Azerbaijan, thus becoming the fifth state to do so - the other being Russia, several Central Asian States and Turkey. Prior to this, an Azerbaijani delegation visited Pakistan in early November 1991 to attend an Islamic conference in Karachi. Taking advantage of the occasion provided by the conference, Sheikh-ul-Islam Allahsukur Pasha-zade, heading the spiritual section of the delegation, called upon the participants from thirty OIC states to give more backing to Azerbaijan by recognising its independence and support the Azerbaijani case against neighbouring Armenia over a predominantly ethnic Armenian enclave called Nagorno Karabakh falling within the territorial jurisdiction of Azerbaijan. As a result of an extensive empirical research conducted on the state of ethnic relations among the different Central Asian and Caucasian nationalities.
following the ushering in of Perestroika by Mikhail Gorbachev, a researcher had concluded that this dispute over a territorial enclave (Nagorno Karabakh) signifies a "clash among different cultural traditions, religions, Christian and Muslim-as well as resentment over the higher socio-economic status of the Armenians." Azerbaijan found its ideological niche as it had joined the Organisation of Islamic Conference (OIC) as a full-fledged member at the Sixth Islamic Summit held in Dakar, Senegal, during 9-11 December 1991. It may be cited here that Azerbaijan was a sovereign entity, for a very brief period during 1918-1920. Albania too was admitted to the OIC as a member at this Summit Conference.

From the Pakistani side, a 20-Member strong multi-faceted delegation headed by the Minister of State for Economic Affairs, Sardar Assef Ahmed Ali, set off on a three-week long tour of the Central Asian states, beginning on 24 November 1991 (and ending on 15 December 1991), on an exploratory mission with a view to seeking the possibilities for forging fraternal relations with the States of the region that have been engaging the attention of the international print media. The delegation composed of government officials, businessmen and industrialists from the private sector, journalists and scholars. The delegation members met their counterparts of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan and arrived at an understanding for cooperation in wide-ranging fields. Memoranda of Understanding (MOU) were exchanged with them covering areas such as hoteliering, banking, telecommunications, transportation, education (including business management), barter trade, drug industry and youth affairs. As a mark of gesture to these States, Pakistan offered $30 million suppliers' credit to Uzbekistan and $10 million each to


93. The Hindu (Delhi), 26 November 1991.
the other four Central Asian states. It made an immediate despatch of 5,000 tons of rice each to these five states besides Russia; gift of medicines worth $100,000 to each one of the five; a donation of $5,000 to the madrassas and religious boards in each one of them; and a decision to open consular offices on reciprocal basis in these five states of Central Asia.94

During his three week long sojourn to the region along with other members of the delegation, Pakistan's Minister of State evinced keen interest in importing natural gas and hydro-electric power from Turkmenistan and Tajikistan respectively. The latter stands second after Russia in the whole of former Soviet Union in the production of electricity and geographically it is the state nearest to Pakistan among all the Central Asian States. But for the Wakhan Corridor (created by the British imperialists in 1895) trisecting Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, the last named state would have had a land border with the former.

The delegation recognised the obstacles created by the continuing Afghan civil war situation in the way of Pakistan's politico-economic aspirations in the region. As, for instance, for Pakistan to import natural gas and electricity from Turkmenistan and Tajikistan respectively, peace and stability in Afghanistan is a pre-requisite because the pipelines from these two Central Asian states have to pass through Afghanistan. The desired peace in the latter still eludes Pakistan.

Meanwhile, Turkey had established trade relations with Azerbaijan and the Turkmenian President Separmurad Niyazov visited Ankara on 2 December 1991, declaring that he "highly evaluates the fraternal help of the Turkish people in the field

of economy". In 1992, both Turkey and Uzbekistan signed an accord governing the principles and objectives of relations between the two countries as well as agreements covering trade and economy. It became a member of the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO), the later-day version of the Regional Cooperation for Development (RCD). The revival of this moribund organisation by inducting into it five other newly independent states of Caucasia and Central Asia - Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan - and Afghanistan, besides the continuing membership of Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey into this new outfit (ECO), is an exercise in collective economic, political and cultural diplomacy akin to similar exercises towards regional cooperation in other parts of the world. These Central Asian countries and Afghanistan signed the documents pertaining to the ECO in the extraordinary meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs in Islamabad on 29 November 1992. These members - ten in number - together constitute a 300 million population which has a potential to become a strong trading zone.

As regards the politico-constitutional order which Turkey desires Central Asia to emulate, is its own Kemalist Secularism. In this regard, the Western Powers, including the United States of America, have been prodding Turkey to outstage Iran (and the model that it represents) from foraying into the newly emerged region. Meanwhile, in an attempt at derussification, Azerbaijan and Kyrgyzstan gave up the Cyrillic (Russian) script and adopted the Latin which is close to the Turkish script. The rest of the Central Asian states, except Tajikistan, have followed the same trend.

In the area of cultural cooperation with Central Asia, Turkey’s progress has been considerable. By 1992, students from Central Asia who were enrolled in Turkish Universities numbered 10,000, and they were provided with scholarships.

Typewriters, printing presses and textbooks were exported to the states of the region.  

During his Central Asian tour in April-May 1992, Turkey's the then Prime Minister and the current President, Suleyman Demirel, described Uzbekistan as the 'homeland of our ancestors'. His host, President Islam Karimov, said that Turkey had been the first country to recognize Uzbekistan's independence and that the republic was determined to follow the Turkish secular and liberal democratic model. Iran and Tajikistan signed a declaration opening consulates in Tehran and Dushanbe mutually, and envisaging direct economic ties in future. In line with its Islamic foreign policy, Iran welcomed the Central Asian republics' transition to statehood and viewed it as a positive development in the present world order. Tehran was among the first capitals to accord recognition to these new entities and establish diplomatic relations with them as the first priority of its foreign policy agenda. Iran considers the binary perception of the Central Asian states' political tendencies in terms of Islamism and nationalism as a Western propaganda ploy. Instead, it believes that the "native peoples (of these countries) have been trying to preserve their Islamic culture and national entities as the two elements of their identity and in the light of such an approach, address other fundamental problems pertaining to managing the affairs of their respective countries."  

In the present world context of ethnic-and religion- based identity formation in the midst of growing interdependence of nations for economic and technological


97. Ibid.

98. An excerpt of the address delivered by the Ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to Pakistan, Mr. Javad Mansouri, at the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Islamabad, 13 January 1993. See Pakistan Horizon (Karachi), Vol.47, No.1, January 1994, p.19.
cooperation, Iran’s recognition and encouragement of the former in its foreign policy endeavours towards Central Asia is noteworthy. As viewed in perspective by an Iranian Ambassador to Pakistan in January 1994:

Preservation of the cultural and historical identity of the native people of the region [Central Asia] that once was the cradle of civilization, science and literature, and helping them to restore their genuine identity, tops the list of Iran’s priorities in the region....Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkey and the Central Asian republics have...a joint cultural geography, rooted in the old history of the native peoples. Such cultural-historical commonalities can open the desired chapters for new cooperation and pursuit of a common future in the region...with the political will of the regional governments bolstered by the native Muslim peoples’ demands and aspirations, the problems faced by the region where Iran and Pakistan are located, would be solved. And taking into account the commonalities and the ample cultural affinities, as well as the necessity for progress and advancement in all areas, regional cooperation will flourish in all fields.\(^99\)

However, the aforesaid should not be taken to mean that Iran solely relies on religio-ethnic factor in its foreign policy orientation towards the Central Asian states. This was particularly true under the political dispensation of President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who had embarked upon the task of Iran’s economic rehabilitation after he assumed the reins of power following the demise of Ayatollah Khomeini. Reflective of this political change, Iran adopted a multi-dimensional and multi-pronged approach in its ties with the states of the region. In a territorial dispute involving Armenia and Azerbaijan over the contentious enclave Nagorno-Karabakh, Iran mediated between the two disputants. To other states of the region, in particular to Turkmenistan, it is an important source of technical advice and economic assistance. These are likely to be reinforced with the trilateral understanding arrived at recently by Iran, Turkmenistan and India, with the first named state agreeing to provide a transit route by rail and road to the last named state in its economic forays

\(^99\) Ibid., pp.20-21.
into the region. Further, through the medium of multilateral diplomacy symbolised by such regional organisations as the Economic Cooperation Organisation (ECO) and the Organisation of Caspian Sea Littoral States (OCLS), Iran seeks to entrench itself in the region. Being an important actor in the political dynamics of the Persian Gulf region, Iran perceives the emergence of Muslim states in Central Asia as a geostrategic extension of the former, with obvious stretch of the religious boundaries. Thus, it is obvious that besides the religio-ethnic input, Iran's behaviour towards the region is informed by non-religious considerations also, as outlined in the foregoing.

With Turkmenistan, a state having a land border with Iran, the latter since 1990, signed nine bilateral agreements for joint development of some of the former's oil and gas reserves. Further, Iran took interest in the formation of Caspian Sea Cooperation Zone - as constituted by Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Russia and Turkmenistan which was supposed to supplement its diplomacy in the other Central Asian States.

Not missing the bus, the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, on its part, had donated one million copies of the Holy Qur'an to the Central Asian Muslim Board. Press reports attest to the fact that Saudi Arabia is sending large sums of money to Islamic groups in the region. It has become increasingly concerned about Iranian activities in Central Asia. It is using its wealth, the Pan-Islamic organisations which it controls, and its status as guardian of Islamic holy places, sometimes in cooperation with Turkey, to counter the Iranian offensive in the ex-Soviet republics.

100. Ibid., n. 96, p. 116.

With the collapse of Communism in the erstwhile USSR, ethnic and religious nationalisms are vying to fill the ideological vacuum in the various states of the region. As ethnic loyalties have transborder appeal, neighbouring states like China have valid reasons to worry about in the near future: the people of Kyrghyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Tajikistan are ethnically related to those inhabiting the Xinjiang province of China. In order to obviate such likely repercussions of ethnicity-propelled politics spilling over to its borders, China had invited the Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev in early June 1991 to visit China's Xinjiang province.102

Soviet Union's Afghan Involvement: Unintended Results

The increasing manifestation of Islamic consciousness among the Central Asian societies103 was, ab initio, facilitated by the Soviet Union's abortive mission in Afghanistan for nearly a decade since December 1979. This was facilitated by a variety of factors such as geographical contiguity, racial and religious affinity and the nature of porous borders enabling cross-border movement of men and material between the Soviet Central Asia and the Northern Afghanistan. The peoples inhabiting the latter two regions belong to the same racial stock. About 4.1 million Tajiks, 1.7 million Uzbeks and half a million Turkmen live in Afghanistan. The Soviet invasion energized these peoples to such an extent that the invading army had to finally extricate itself by withdrawal. The Soviet involvement, even if we, at the risk of over-enthusiasm, admit that it achieved nothing, had at least served one important unintended (from the Soviet perspective) consequence: it paved the way for the coming together of the Central Asian and Afghan Muslims. The Tajiks,


103. Surveying the growing consciousness of Islamic identity among the different Central Asian nationalities living in the hallowed city of Bukhara (Uzbekistan), Colin Thubron, a columnist, reports the situation in detail. For his detailed reportage, see The Pioneer (New Delhi), 25 September 1994.
Uzbeks, and the Turkmen on both sides of the Amu Darya (Transoxania) could cultivate frequent contacts with each other. The Mujahideen acted as transmitters of Islamic culture to Soviet Muslims by making accessible to the latter, tapes on Islamic subjects and Mawdudi’s Russian rendering of Tafhim Al-Qur’an. 104 Similarly, his Jihad, written in the early years of the 1920s, was reported to have been circulated in Tajikistan during the later parts of the 1980s. 105 As an instance of these growing contacts, Tajik leaders played a key role in brokering Mujahideen-Soviet understanding under which Prof. Burhanuddin Rabbani, an Afghan Tajik and the former President of Afghanistan, led his Mujahideen delegation to Moscow with a view to solving the Afghan imbroglio. 106 Such growing fraternity between the Tajiks and Afghans enabled the latter to view developments in Tajikistan with a great sense of concern and attachment which viewed the activities of the Islamic oppositional groups in a favourable light. For instance, Prof. Rabbani and Ahmed Shah Masood, both being Tajiks and belonging to Jamaat-i-Islami, reacted strongly to the Dushanbe disturbances of February 1990. They characterized these disturbances as "freedom movement" or "internal revolt" against the "Soviet subjugation". 107 Harping on the cultural, religious and racial bonds that unite the Tajiks and the Afghans, these leaders exhorted the Muslims in Central Asia to break from Moscow. 108 Rabbani, in particular, warned that "the Afghans living on this side could create complications for the Soviets" which proved prophetic with the presence of Tajik Islamic opposition


106. The Hindu (Delhi), 26 November 1991.


108. Ibid.

109. Ibid.
on the Afghan soil which is mounting armed attacks against the Tajik government forces and the CIS "peacekeeping" forces stationed on the Tajik soil. The Tajik Islamic forces owe their presence in northern Afghanistan to their expulsion by the governmental authorities propped up Russia, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan.

Even before Perestroika had become a guiding principle for reforms in the Soviet society, there was Islamic ferment in Central Asian societies as a form of resistance against Russification attempts by the Centre, resulting in what Bourdieu called the "Language of refusal." With the attainment of independence by these republics, the cultural manifestation culminated in the adoption, at the state level, of native languages and scripts, thus further derussifying the process. The extension of this process could also be seen in the change of state names: Turkmenia became Turkmenistan, Kirghizia became Kyrghyzstan and its capital Frunze re-adopted its pre-revolutionary name of Bishkek.

The accessibility of Central Asian Muslims and the Afghan Mujahideen to each other was further enabled by other developments effected by the Soviet regime. The latter engaged its Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Turkmen with their cousins in Afghanistan in the early years of its occupation. This was felt indispensable as these Central Asian Muslims have sufficient knowledge of local conditions, language and traditions of their counterparts in Afghanistan. However, instead of realising the objectives of Soviet occupation, such close contacts became counter-productive as the Soviet Muslims themselves were Islamised by the rebels. The latter supplied Islamic literature to the Tajiks. The rebels came across the border to proselytize. Guns and ammunition as well as training in guerilla warfare were supplied to the fighters of Tajikistan's Islamic Revival Party by the Afghan mujahideen. Eventually, in January 1980, some Soviet Muslim soldiers deserted and went over to the rebels, in spite of the extreme difficulties of doing so. They could not accept the official version of the invasion and could not, therefore, think of fighting against their own ethnic cousins. The cumulative effect of all these developments was that the Central Asian Muslims
were exposed to the ideas of Islamic activism reigning supreme among the Afghan **Mujahideen** and in Islamic Iran.\textsuperscript{110} This is borne out, with particular relevance to Tajikistan, by the far from settled civil strife between the Tajik government of the former communists led by President Imamali Rakhmanov and an amalgam of inchoate Islamic and liberal democratic opposition. The increasing salience of the latter in the current Tajik politics may partly be attributable to the ideological influence exerted by the activist Afghan mujahideen during the Soviet occupation years. Among all the Central Asian states, Tajikistan stands out as a potential candidate for incorporating political Islam into its body politic. The stationing in Tajikistan of the military contingents of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) including the Russian Border Guards in the name of peacekeeping was most probably done with a view to obviating the rise of Islamic forces, which under present uncertain conditions, seem capable of filling a given political vacuum. The Russian Federation, in particular, does not want this eventuality to occur; hence its unconcealed support to strengthen the government led by former communists-turned nationalist elites. Its pronounced military presence in Tajikistan testifies to its concerns in that volatile country. Moreover, the President of Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov, being sensitive to the perceived spill-over effect of Tajikistan's Islamic forces on his countrymen, made a strong plea to Russia and other Central Asian states to directly intervene in Tajikistan and also succeeded in getting them to the latter.

Even in its present form, the Islamic movement in Tajikistan, spearheaded by Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP) owed its vitality, during the life and death of Soviet Union, to the support, ideological and material, extended to it by the Afghan mujahideen. Hence, it may be conjectured that in any future shape of events to happen in the region, Afghanistan may hold a key there. As one Pakistani scholar,\textsuperscript{110} For details, see Alexandre Bennigsen, 'Soviet Muslims and the World of Islam', *Problems of Communism* (Washington, D.C.), Vol. XXIX, No. 2, March-April 1980, pp. 38-51.
Rasul Bakhsh Rais, succinctly laid bare the criticality of Afghanistan in this regard: "Afghanistan's relevance to the shaping of an Islamic geopolitics in the region due to its central location is far greater than is usually understood." For such a "relevance" to become meaningful, Afghanistan's factious political groups need to establish peace and stability in the country as a necessary prerequisite in whose creation Pakistan, Iran, and Saudi Arabia, the interested outside actors, do play no less a critical role.

This being the state of affairs in the region, Russia, as a successor state of the former Soviet Union, has been beset with its internal crises owing to the transition from communism to liberal democracy and from command economy to market economy. Besides, developments in Caucasus and Central Asia are unfolding. In the Caucasian region, Georgia is involved in a secessionist crisis with Muslim Abkhazia, and Azerbaijan and Armenia have yet to find a solution to a territorial dispute over Nagorno Karabakh acceptable to both the parties, even though Armenian control over the enclave was firmly established. The state system built on the ruins of the Soviet Union both in Central Asia and Caucasus is yet to find its feet with incontrovertible boundaries, harmonious religious and ethnic mosaic, and a fairly stable politico-economic order. Under the present circumstances, this appears to be a very tall order. Besides, within the Russian Federation, the people of Tatarstan have been in ferment against the Russian state as the unfolding developments in Chechnya amply demonstrate. The Chechnyan crisis, unexpectedly for the Russian state, created a perception of domino effect among the peoples of Central Asia and Caucasus. They perceive that Russia will not hesitate to employ force to safeguard its interests anywhere in its "near abroad". This appears to be the implicit message which Boris Yeltsin wants to convey to his neighbouring states.

Dwelling upon these internal and external crises besetting Russia in the aftermath of Communism's collapse, the Nobel Laureate in Literature, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, while addressing the deputies of Duma (Lower House of the Russian Parliament) on 29 October 1994, predicted that "the rise of Islam will be one of the great themes of the 21st Century" and that Russia "should not be mixed up in it in any way."112 Continuing his "populist and nationalist message",113 Solzhenitsyn "accused the [Russian] government of playing more attention to foreigners living in Russia than Russians living abroad in the former Soviet republics" and urged upon the government to "fight against the foreigners who come from war-torn countries and settle down comfortably with us (Russians), buying the land and the dachas"114 [residential houses]. He exhorted the Russian government to adopt a slav-centric foreign policy in its neighbourhood by enabling the establishment of a "Slavic Union consisting of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus and included Kazakhstan into it on the ground that 60 per cent of its population is of slavic origin."115 With regard to the latter state, Solzhenitsyn, while revealing his scheme of things, opined that "the defence of our [slav] oppressed compatriots in Kazakhstan should be the main objective of our [Russian] foreign policy" and that "Russia should get out of the trans-Caucasus and Central Asia while it still can".116 It was also reported that Solzhenitsyn made a proposal entitled "How Should We Reconstruct Russia?" in November 1990 in which he argued for a slavic union.117 It is, thus, obvious that considerations of ethnicity, not excluding religion, are uppermost in the mental

112. The Hindu (Delhi), 30 October 1994.
114. Ibid.
115. The Hindu (Delhi), 30 October 1994.
116. Ibid.
scheme of Solzhenitsyn in revamping Russia's external orientation for the ensuing years. However, this proposal was met with criticism by many Central Asian leaders including Kazakhstan's Nursultan Nazarbaev. It may be noted here that this proposal conforms to the one cited in the foregoing.

Further, in the context of these fast changing developments, the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service, a successor to the former dreaded Soviet era KGB, had, in a report (September 21, 1994) captioned "Russia and the CIS: Does the West need to correct it's stand?", described "Islamic extremism as an immediate threat to the security of the Commonwealth of Independent States" (CIS, a conglomeration of former Soviet republics) and has called upon the international community to oppose it.  

Continuing its Report, the Intelligence Service has further observed:

Islamic extremism in exerting a most negative impact in crisis zones in the CIS. ...It is making itself felt both in Tajikistan and in the conflict in the Caucasus....The export of the ideology of militant Islam is emerging as a grave danger both inside and outside the CIS. It is in the interests of the entire world community to fight extremism and stabilize the situation in areas where it has gained a foothold.

It is obvious that the Report has in view the countries bordering former Soviet Union, namely, Turkey, Iran, and Afghanistan. The Report has identified the war-torn Afghanistan as posing "a threat to the State sovereignty of a number of countries, above all Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.... (The Report) has information that some forces in Afghanistan are working to set up a Pharsi-speaking state in the northern part of the country and incorporate Tajikistan into it.

118. Quoted in The Hindu (Delhi), 22 September 1994.
119. Ibid.
120. Ibid.
The Report, thus, creates a scare scenario among the constituent members of the CIS which Russia considers as falling within its "sphere of influence". The underlying rationale of the Report may be to involve the Russian Federation in the on-going civil war like situations in its neighbourhood, particularly in the Caucasian states of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan and the Central Asian state of Tajikistan. In fact, Russia is already engaged in a kind of mediatory effort alongwith Pakistan, Iran and Afghanistan to resolve the Tajik tangle arising out of a power struggle between the present ruling government of ex-communists and the oppositional combination of liberal democratic and Islamic groups.121 It is of interest to note that Russia has seriously considered the involvement of India in the ongoing efforts towards resolving the Tajik conflict with a view to possibly tempering/neutralizing the growing influence of Iran and Pakistan in the region and to reinforce the existing state structures in the region to effectively fight against the forces representing "Islamic extremism" (as alluded to in the Report cited above). In this fight, as projected by the aforesaid Report, ideological dimension is not altogether absent: Secularism versus Islam.

It is instructive to view the present situation (as projected by the Russian Intelligence Service) in perspective. Gorbachev, finding himself extremely difficult to cope up with the repercussions following his policy of Perestroika, was reported to have made some comments concerning the ethnic disturbances that raged the Fergana

121. According to the Press reports, a peace accord has been signed between the Tajik Government and the opposition on 18 September 1994 in Teheran, for which the UN Secretary General's special envoy for Tajik affairs, Mr. Ramiro Piriz Ballon has thanked Tehran for playing a positive role. The terms of the accord stipulate that both the government and the opposition forces have undertaken to release all political prisoners and prisoners of war within a month at most to take necessary measures to observe a cease-fire, to end hostility, and to allow the U.N. observers to monitor the situation in the country. The Hindu (Delhi), 26 September 1994.
valley of Uzbekistan in June 1989. With reference to those disturbances, he was quoted to have said on 13 June 1989 in Bonn that "Islamic fundamentalism had bared its teeth". Similarly, concerning the territorial dispute between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno Karabakh, Gorbachev, on 19 January 1990, was said to have held the Azerbaijani Muslims responsible for the violence that ensued. Further, prior to this, in 1986, the Politbureau ordered a campaign against Islam in Central Asia—a seemingly incongruous action in the age of perestroika and democratization. Gorbachev was reported to have even personally ordered a 'firm and uncompromising struggle against religious phenomena', which means Islam in the context of Central Asia.

In this connection, it is instructive to recall, in a comparative light, Gorbachev's handling of the independence movements in the Baltic republics (Latvia, Estonia, and Lithuania) and his attitude towards disturbances in Azerbaijan and the respective Central Asian republics, and the response of the Western states towards these two sets of states. The Western reaction to the independence drive of the former set of three states bordered on instant acquiescence and was perceived as "symbols of legitimate challenge to the yoke of Soviet totalitarianism and a litmus test of Soviet Glasnost and Perestroika". Gorbachev's refusal to accept the Baltic's freedom demand and his resort to mild use of force to quell the freedom struggle in

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122. See n. 105 and originally cited in Central Asia and Caucasus Chronicle (London), July 1989, p. 3.
124. Quoted in ibid., p.366.
the three states, and the imposition of economic blockade were received with criticism and indignation in the West. The latter questioned Gorbachev's commitment to his own offsprings: Glasnost and Perestroika, in view of his initial refusal to grant independence to the Baltic states.

However, a completely different and ambivalent attitude of the West was discernible vis-a-vis Moscow's policy towards the independence movements in Azerbaijan and Central Asia. When in January 1990, Soviet special forces brutally put down demonstrations in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku and declared an indefinite state of emergency, the reaction of the Western media, the public, policy-makers and even intelligentsia was uniformly subdued, often neutral, and at times sympathetic to Moscow's predicament. Moscow's right to maintain 'law and order' in Azerbaijan and Central Asia and its concern to avert the imminent disintegration of the Soviet state were given legitimacy and positively viewed by the West, an attitude which was at variance with that of the Baltic states, as shown in the foregoing.

Similar Western attitude is discernible vis-a-vis Russian Federation President, Boris Yeltsin's attack on Chechnya to prevent it from seceding from the Federation. The Chechnya republic headed by General Dzokhar Dudayev unilaterally declared independence from Russia in the closing months of 1992. Even though, the Western powers, including the USA, condemned the Russian attack on Chechnya, they maintained that the latter was an integral part of Russia. The Western concern about the Chechnyan situation pertained only to the choice of means employed by Boris Yeltsin as the former did not favour unmitigated, indiscriminate, and disproportional use of force against the republic's population.

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126. Ibid., p. 117.
Moreover, in the contemporary history of the erstwhile USSR, there were instances in its external behaviour when it did not hesitate to cynically use its Muslim factor to further its foreign policy objectives. The USSR, under the auspices of the International Department of Soviet Muslim Organisations, convened an International Islamic Conference which had its confabulations in Baku, Azerbaijan, during 1-3 October 1986. The Conference was envisioned to commemorate the United Nations General Assembly Declaration of 1986 as the International Year of Peace. The theme of the Conference was 'Muslims in the Struggle for Peace'. The meeting was attended by about 600 representatives hailing from 60 countries of Asia, Africa, Europe and America. In organising this Conference, the motive of the then Soviet State was to establish its credentials as a friend of Muslim countries in their quest for peace, stability and justice in their respective regions.127

The analysis hitherto made portrays, in general terms, Islam's relevance in contemporary international relations. However, this portrayal will be incomplete if the field of foreign policy is left untreated. Hence, the specific involvement of Islam in the foreign policies of Iran and Saudi Arabia is, in brief, identified.

Islam and Foreign Policy: The Case of Iran

According to R.K. Ramazani, the Islamic Republic of Iran conducts its foreign policy on the basis of the following guiding principles:128


1. Rejection of 'dependence on either the West or the East'.
2. Identification of the United States as the 'Principal enemy' (Great Satan, 'Shaitaan-e-Buzurg') of the Islamic Revolution.
3. Struggle against super powers and the 'zionist power'.
4. Close relations with all oppressed peoples, especially those in Muslim countries.
5. Liberation of Jerusalem, and opposition to pro-Israeli states.
6. Anti-Imperialism, and
7. Support everywhere for oppressed people including national Liberation movements.

Also implicit in the fourth and the seventh principle is the cherished objective of Iran to 'export' its brand of revolutionary Islam: a clear example of a religious goal pursued through the medium of foreign policy. Leaders of the revolution and its post-revolutionary ones made it clear that they would 'export' the revolution to other parts of the world until Islam reigned supreme the world over.

'Neither East, nor West' represents not only an attempt to abjure relationship of dependence with the East and the West, as represented by the erstwhile Soviet Union and the capitalist USA and Western Europe respectively, but also an assertion to design a truly non-aligned, independent and ideologically coloured (i.e. Islamic) foreign policy orientation. This may be considered as a genuine effort, for the first time in Iran's diplomatic history, to steer clear of bi-ideological paradigms of capitalism and communism. In contrast to the latter two, revolutionary Iran's international outlook was moulded by an ideological vision of Islam's supremacy for it provided a comprehensive vision of the world as understood by Khomeini:

Islam has a system and program for all the different affairs of society: the form of government and administration, the regulation of peoples' dealings with each other, the relations of state and people, relations with foreign states and all of the political and economic matters....The
mosque has always been a center of leadership and command, of examination and analysis of social problems.\textsuperscript{129}

Khomeini had a binary view of the world, a world torn between East and West, and an Islamic World facing a crusading West. For Khomeini, the world was divided into two groups: Oppressors (the United States and the West in general, as well as the Soviet Union) and oppressed (Muslims and the Third World).\textsuperscript{130}

The aftermath of Iran's Islamic Revolution had created a ferment in the region and the Revolutionary Leader's avowed objective was to spread it beyond its border, whereas the erstwhile Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan was, \textit{inter-alia}, aimed at forestalling the potential of trans-Islamic activism,\textsuperscript{131} as it formed part of Khomeini's ideological worldview. In its war with Iraq, Iran described itself as representing the forces of Islamic universalism and Iraq, the imported ideologies of nationalism and socialism. It further claimed that it had fought the war in defence of Islamic faith and community and not in defence of its national community. It denounced the Iraqi leader as an atheist and called for the overthrow of his regime. The Islamic Republic had employed distinct devices to further the cause of Revolution in its vicinity and the regions afar.

Through propaganda, it denounced the Gulf States for their archaic political structures, oppressed minorities, hypocritical rulers, and dependence on decadent


\textsuperscript{130} For an analysis of Khomeini's worldview, see Farhang Rajaee, \textit{Islamic Values and the World: Khomeini on Man, the State and International Politics} (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983).

Western powers. In this context, Ayatollah Khomeini and the broadcasts of Iran's Voice of the Islamic Revolution called upon Muslims of the Gulf and throughout the world to rise up against their governments. This endeavour was further strengthened by the constitutional stipulation which requires the state "to perpetuate the revolution both at home and abroad". To quote the Ayatollah, in this context: "We want Islam to spread everywhere....but this does not mean that we intend to export it by the bayonet....If governments submit and behave in accordance with Islamic tenets, support them; if not, fight them without fear of anyone." Besides, Article 10 of the Islamic Republic's Constitution (1979) stipulates that 'all Muslims are one Umma and the Government should exert itself continuously to achieve the political, economic, and cultural unity of the Islamic World.' Be that as it may, of all the countries, it was Lebanon (and also Bahrain) which felt the direct impact of the Revolution. After the Revolution, Lebanon found, on its territory, the presence of Iranian Revolutionary Guards (Pasdaran) whose objective was to help promote Shiite radical organisations, in particular, Hizbullah and al-Jihad, which received training, weapons, and money from Iran. The ultimate goal of these organisations was to emulate Iran, i.e., to strive for the creation of an Islamic State in Lebanon.

The Islamic Republic interpreted the Hajj to imply the indistinguishability of religion and politics and contended that the annual pilgrimage had a political dimension too: to stress the need for radical action, to proselytize among the believers, and not the least, to embarrass the Saudi government for its claim to be the custodian of the Holy Places. A practice begun by the late Ayatollah and intended for the Iranian pilgrims to chant political slogans against the United States and Israel, is


134. Ibid., pp. 140-151.
being continued by his successors which creates heat annually between the Saudi dynasty and the regime in Iran.

The late spiritual leader maintained that the Gulf political systems (as they are monarchies) were antithetical to Islam and their proclivity to seek crutches from the United States was stigmatized as "American Islam". His choicest epithets were, however, reserved for the House of Saud, as the following makes it obvious:

The ruling regime in Saudi Arabia wears Muslim clothing, but it actually represents a luxurious, frivolous, shameless way of life, robbing funds from the people and squandering them, and engaging in gambling, drinking parties, and orgies. Would it be surprising if people follow the path of revolution, resort to violence and continue their struggle to regain their rights and resources?\textsuperscript{135}

To the members of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) - a politico-strategic formation which followed the Islamic Revolution (and set up to counter the perceived growing influence of Iran) - the late spiritual leader exhorted them to "return to the lap of Islam, abandon the Saddam Hussein regime in Baghdad, and stop squandering the wealth of their peoples"\textsuperscript{136}

Through the World Congress of Friday Prayer Leaders, the Islamic Republic endeavoured to bring disparate groups together under some central direction,\textsuperscript{137} possibly under its guidance and leadership. The Ministry of Religious Guidance was, in this context, charged with providing preachers and publications and conducting conferences for \textit{ulama} from overseas. Further, Sayyid Ali Khameini, who succeeded


\textsuperscript{137} \textit{Ibid.}, n. 132, p. 167.
the late Ayatollah, called upon prayer leaders from forty countries to turn their mosques into houses of "prayer, cultural and military bases(to)....prepare the ground for the creation of Islamic governments in all countries."\textsuperscript{138}

The ill-famed \textit{Satanic Verses} of Salman Rushdie succeeded in creating an upsurge of revulsion in the believers against the author and the novel. It was the Islamic Republic which first took the leadership of the Islamic world through the pronouncement (Fatwa) of the Late Ayatollah. The post-Khomeini political leadership of Iran, still firmly sticks to the decision laid down by the late Spiritual Leader.

In this context, it seems appropriate to delineate the impact of Islamic Revolution on what Mona Abul-Fadl calls "conceptual reconstruction of a hermeneutics of understanding"\textsuperscript{139} of Islamic societies. The Revolution had kindled interest among scholars to search for new indigenous theoretical models that may help obtain meaningful understanding of Middle Eastern and other Muslim societies. As Mona states:

The relevance of the Islamic dimension in contemporary Middle East politics is palpably evident in the controversies which develop when it comes to dividing alternative models of society and politics. What was definitely perturbing about the Iranian Revolution was not the toppling of the monarchy, but its successful defiance of the prevailing norms and options which convey much of what modernity stands for, including power structure and the ideologies and idioms which sanction global politics. In view of its past legacy, and given the accessibility of its ideals and norms and their perceived relevance to the modern historical context, the credibility of its challenge is enhanced. \textbf{The view which attempts to minimise the implications of the Islamic dimension to understanding contemporary politics is partly conditioned by}


\textsuperscript{139} Mona Abul-Fadl, \textit{Islam and the Middle East: The Aesthetics of A Political Enquiry} (Research Monograph No. 2) (Herndon, Virginia: The International Institute of Islamic Thought, 1990), p. 46.
misconstrued analogies and partly by misplaced priorities and concerns\(^{140}\) (Stress added).

The conducting of foreign policy with the assistance of home-grown traditions and civilizational legacy is the bedrock of Iran's (and other Muslim states) idiomisation of Islam and its increasing application to situations where Muslims suffer as victims, in the contemporary international system. A major part of the reason for the isolation imposed upon it by the Western powers owes its origin to Iran's espousal of "Islamic causes" all over the world. And hence, their denial to it all the necessary wherewithal: military and economic, with which it seeks to achieve its aspirations on the international stage. Adding other grounds to Iran's support to "Islamic causes", Western powers, spearheaded by the United States of America, allege that Iran is a state sponsor of "International Terrorism" and an obstructor of the on-going peace process in the Middle East between the Arabs and the Jews.

Be that as it may, of late, gesturing a departure from its hitherto-held position, Iran is reported to be distancing itself from carrying out the death sentence issued by the late Ayatollah Khomeini against Salman Rushdie. To this effect, Iran's Chief of Judiciary, Ayatollah Mohammed Yazdi, was reported to have said that "the death sentence passed on Salman Rushdie was an independent stance and the issue was outside the authority of the judicial systems of the Islamic Republic of Iran."\(^{141}\) and that his courts did not have the authority to enforce the sentence promulgated against the writer. Such gestures were indicative of Iran's readiness to remove obstacles in the way of promoting economic relations with countries of the European Union, Japan, China and Russia. Further, they were also meant to counter American efforts to economically isolate Iran from the rest of the world, for its alleged role as the sponsor of "international terrorism". Iran, it appears, has come round to a view that

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140. Ibid., p. 46.
141. The Hindu (Delhi), May 25, 1995.
the standing fatwa against the British writer does not, under the present circumstances, serve the foreign policy interests of the country, and in order to secure the latter, a tactical dilution of religious fervour (which marked the initial years of the Revolution) is considered appropriate to adopt. This is not to suggest that it will give up the goals of the Revolution of which promotion of Islamisation internationally forms a significant segment. Viewed in perspective, the aforesaid is reflective of the changing contours of Iran's foreign policy as a function of its state in the present international system.

Islam and Foreign Policy: The Case of Saudi Arabia

According to Piscatori, Saudi Arabia, in the perception of most Westerners, evokes "an image of Islam itself".142

Saudi Arabia's commitment to Islam is "natural and unshakeable", as it is the Guardian of the Holy Shrines of Islam. The Saudi Monarch King Fahd since 1986, assumed to himself the honorific title of Khadim al Haramain al Sharifain (Custodian of the Two Holy Places). The state traces its roots to Wahhabism and seeks to uphold and maintain its pristine purity as one of its standing concern, and draws its legitimacy from it, claiming to govern and be governed by the Quran and the canonical law. Ulama constitutes an important segment of its governing elite endowed with positions of privilege in the departments of law and education and as advisers to the government. With the exception of the Ulama, the State would have been wholly made up of the members of the al-Saud dynasty. As regards the specific impact of Islam on the Saudi foreign policy, James P. Piscatori delineates thus:

If by an 'Islamic Foreign Policy' one means that a set of values uniformly determines what policy will be, then there is no such thing. But...Islamic values have some importance in foreign policy but the importance varies according to the issues and decision-makers. It is in this relative sense that Saudi Arabia may be said to have an Islamic policy...this does not mean that the Islamic dimension is as strong as the Saudis say it is. There are times when Islamic values enter into the formulation of policies because decision-makers believe that they are important, as in the case of Palestine, but even in these instances Islam is not the only factor that counts. In the sense that Islam coincides with, and does not contradict, other pragmatic considerations, it reinforces narrow self-interests; as a reinforcer, Islam adds a reason for devising a policy and does not merely justify other reasons. But by far, Islam has been more important in the implementation of Saudi policies - that is, in legitimating them by expressing them in terms attractive to their own audiences abroad. In this, it is clear that Islam does play a role in Saudi foreign policy, but in the final analysis the overriding purpose of that policy is to preserve the Saudi regime and Saudi independence. 143

The Kingdom perceives itself to be the core of the Ummah. It was the driving force behind the creation of a plethora of international Islamic organisations.

In the foreign policy arena, it invests vast sums of money in Islamic institutions and individual countries with Muslim majority populations that are members of the OIC. The Saudi aid goes to Arab states, the greater Islamic world, and the non-Muslim World, respectively in that order. During the reign of King Faisal, Saudi Arabia pursued Pan-Islamic foreign policy since the late sixties. In this regard, certain conducive factors facilitated Faisal's endeavours towards Islamic

solidarity. The end of the Arab cold war between Saudi Arabia and Egypt over North and South Yemen, the declining appeal of Nasserism, and the defeat of Arabs by Israel in the 1967 war. In order to achieve the objectives of Islamic solidarity, successive Saudi monarchs adopted a variety of measures. Through the instrumentality of development aid, the Kingdom seeks to achieve its foreign policy objective of Islamic solidarity. It is estimated that about 77,000 million riyals as non-reimbursable development assistance and concessional loans are provided by the Kingdom to the 35 developing countries that are members of the OIC during the last fifteen years. 144 In this endeavour, the Kingdom utilizes the multi-faceted institutional channels in the formation of which it played a very prominent role: The Islamic Bank for Development, The Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development, The Arab Monetary Fund, The OPEC Fund for International Development, The Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, The African Development Fund, the Arab Corporation for investment Guarantee, and the like. 145 It grants scholarships to Muslim students and provides funds for the Muslim World Youth Organisation. Besides, it liberally donated its financial largesse to larger Islamic causes all over the world. Thus, recipients' religious affiliation constitutes a very important criterion in Saudi Arabia's foreign policy. However, of late, in Saudi Arabia an oppositional Islamic voice is trying to emerge on the horizon. A newly formed London-based Committee for the Defence of Legitimate Rights (CDLR, founded in May 1993) aims at (1) establishing representative government accountable to the people, (2) strict application of Shariah, and (3) seeking purer form of Islam, etc. The Committee seeks to act as an independent human rights


145. Ibid., p. 296.
commission and enforce "the declining Islamic standards in the wake of Gulf War." A simmering discontent against the nature of Islam practised by the House of Saud is very much discernible here as reflected in the stand of the opposition.

Such developments do suggest that Islam is resilient enough to be a vehicle of challenge or protest against the governing regimes which are equally adept in resorting to Islamic symbolism for their legitimacy. Thus, in the hands of both the state and the opposition, Islam acts as a religio-political doctrine with its concomitant symbols, and ideas, deriving their roots from the scripture. The juxtaposition of the Western response to the Islamic revolution in Iran (and concomitantly the policies pursued by the latter in the international arena) and its attitude towards Saudi Islamisation process makes an interesting study in contrast. The West perceives in the former a source of threat to its interests, whereas in the latter, the absence of such a danger.

In the backdrop of this Overview, it makes sense to delineate the increasing salience of Islam in the foreign policy behaviour of Pakistan; a fact which has been attested to by many a scholar. In the context of the fast changing international milieu, into which Pakistan has not only been drawn but has also been endeavouring to charter its course via turbulent waters towards tranquil shores so that it may find for itself a rightful place under the sun. The pages that follow will analyse this aspect of Pakistan's foreign policy.