POLITICS, VULNERABILITY AND RATCHETING UP THE IDENTITY OF POP TERRORISM

Naheed Zia Khan
Fatima Jinnah Women University
Rawalpindi, Pakistan

It is all about a village that once upon a time, not very long ago, was torn with incessant conflict caused by the venomous animosity between its many quarrelsome lords, both small and big, each trying to outwit and humble the others to keep hold on the largest number of mules and biggest chunk of pastoral lands. Eventually, the conflict flared up to Armogeddon followed by the extinction of all but two lords who tacitly agreed to divide the village into two and rule one's own part by talking the domestic sheep and the mules on the respective share of pastoral land into an eminent threat from the other party. However, there was also a lot of truth in it as each one of the two lords dreamt of becoming overlord by subjugating the other. They took their turns and always staked the pawns who thoughtlessly traded in their brains for the bran generously doled out by each respective lord. History books have it that one of the two lords was bled dry while trapped in a hostile terrain and besieged by pawns of the other lord. The latter pumped in the crucial war supplies and pumped up the pawns into believing themselves invincible while engaged in the righteouus cause. Finally, there was left only one lord who, in principle, should have become the overlord. Unfortunately, many things had changed for worse in the meantime, including the bad omen of the emergence of an ever widening and deepening galaxy. The victorious lord rescued the situation by again staking the pawns. However, this time round the latter were talked into wearing the garb of self-righteousness with horns on the headdress. In that guise the pawns managed to put up a scary appearance to all and sundry including domestic sheep of the victorious lord. In the event, some of the pawns, still under the hangover of previous pumping up, got so mixed up that they were no longer able to distinguish between the reality and pretension of their garb.

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11 Author has coined the term pop terrorism in this paper which, trusting readers' cognitive ability, in the contemporary global milieu scarcely needs to be explained.
was a magical garb, presently selling hot in the commercial breaks of soap operas telecasted round the clock. The victorious lord, now overlord as well as the customer relations manager, has been recommended for honorary degree in strategic management of social marketing. Down with the mules!!!!!!!!!!! Conviction in tatter. Long live the sheep!!!!!!!!!!! Four legs good, two legs better.

Introduction

Terrorism is widely considered the gravest threat of contemporary times. Although the origins of the word itself can be traced back to the times of French Revolution in the 18th century, the threat that terrorism poses, particularly since the end of Cold War, is in many ways unparalleled in the past. First and foremost, terrorism is the biggest factor responsible for uniting and dividing the communities both within and between nations. Second, its threat and occurrence has a worldwide radius. Third, the political and emotional charge of word terrorism is escalating by the day since after 9/11. Finally, its perpetrators are frequently identified with a certain creed which, ironically, in recent history was promoted and adored by the standard bearers of war on terrorism. The last point merits some devoted heart searching by those who look forward to the future of humanity as a
self-sustaining and mutually reinforcing symbiotic existence rather than a self-destroying and conflict ridden parasitic entity. This paper therefore makes an attempt to carry out the analysis which may help distinguish between real and widely perceived causes of global terrorism. The argument is structured round three points dealt in three distinct parts. Part I provides the perspective on hegemonic struggle in the bipolar world of Cold War years. In author's opinion, understanding of this perspective is fundamental to an objective understanding of the causes of war on terrorism. Part II of the paper presents an inductive analysis of the hegemonic need for creation of a threat perception in the post Cold War uni-polar world. Finally, Part III adopts a psychoanalytical approach for analyzing the response of the community subjected to the perception of terrorist threat.

I.

You say a good cause can even sanctify war?
I say unto you it is a good war that sanctifies any cause...... Nietzsche

History of civilization documents a never ending saga of power struggle between groups of humankind united and divided by varying denominations including race, ethnicity, creed and, most recently, nationality. During the last century, the power struggle between nations reached its peak wearing the garb of a bipolar world where the capitalist block, led by United States of America (US), preached virtues of a free world, as opposed to the communist block, led by former Union of Soviet Supreme Republics (USSR), who considered the socialism's promise of heaven on Earth a worthwhile bargain in exchange for freedom of choice and property rights.

13 In author's opinion, the power struggle between groups is reflection of individual's desire to overpower others, one of the most dominant of human instincts. At the individual level, each and every human instinct can be regulated with a measurable degree of success by those who are blessed to understand the paradoxical Grand Design also in the universe of intangibles. However, regulation of human instinct at collective level has always been a challenge eternally rendering the positive law in sociology both imperfect and incomplete. Furthermore, at collective level, the struggle to overpower other groups may also be warranted under two universal laws, namely; survival of the fittest and might is right, hence the justification for six principles of political realism. The most famous of the classic works deliberating on political realism, is by Morgenthau (1948). His emphasis on the power interests of states as the driver behind international relations conforms with author's proposition regarding nationality being the contemporary denomination both uniting and dividing the extended family of Homo S. Sapiens.
Little Boy & Fat Man enormously helped establish US supremacy of the world in the immediate period after World War II (WWII). Further augmentation of US hegemonic design was ensured by the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, widely known as Marshall Plan, to help rebuild the war ravished Western Europe. In the aftermath of WWII, Europe was also facing the dollar gap crisis. The latter, coupled with social and political problems of that time, all the more warranted an affirmative action on the part of US to help keep Western European countries assembled under the umbrella of capitalism held by the only superpower of the day. Since electronic media of those times did not offer much of a platform for psychological warfare, the strategy relied on the print media: Animal Farm, first published in 1945, and Nineteen Eighty Four, first published in 1949 are two very important cases in point.

The Berlin Blockade of June, 1948 was not only the preamble of final erection of the Iron Curtain in 1961, it may also be considered the formal beginning of the Cold War which was to mark the so called civilized world in the subsequent years. The beginning of a bipolar world, however, should be considered from the day of atomic bomb test by former USSR on August 29, 1949. With the former USSR elevated to the status of a superpower, US strategic considerations warranted for its hegemony to become the regulatory model of the free world, specifically in developing countries of Asia and Africa which, after decolonization, were woven in a bimodal system of core and periphery. On the other hand, the internationalist targets of former USSR warranted breaking into the bimodal system and weaning away the members

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14 Little Boy & Fat Man are the nicknames given to the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively, in August 1945 [see, Newsweek, July 24, 1995].

15 General George C. Marshall, Secretary of State under Harry S. Truman, was the first to propose, in his commencement address of June 5, 1947, at Harvard University, American assistance to help rebuild Western Europe [http://www.usaid.gov/multimedia/video/marshall/marshallspeech.htm, accessed on July 20, 2008]. From the viewpoint of free world phenomenon, General Marshall rightfully earned a Nobel Peace Prize for his monumental proposal which practically saved Western Europe, the seedbed of modern socialism, from the shackles since socialism developed, up to the 1840s, almost exclusively as a French and British movement [see, Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 29, 1954, P. 880].

16 In the post-WWII period, European huge balance of payments deficit against US was termed as dollar gap crisis. It stood at $8 billion in 1946 and rose to $12 billion in 1947, with no relief in sight [see, McCormick, 1999, P. 74].

17 Having being familiar with the other works and biography of the same author, the author of this work is led to the conclusion that publication of both novels and their translation in a number of other languages was a very important part of media warfare carried out by the US and its allies in the Western Block. The two novels mentioned in the reference are the last works of an otherwise obscure and controversial person, Eric Blair, who wrote under the pseudonym George Orwell.

18 The dates of all events mentioned in this paragraph have been taken from http://en.wikipedia.org, accessed on July 20, 2008.
of the periphery, while simultaneously weakening the Western hegemonic core from within.

In spite of an unprecedented and unparalleled war machinery produced by a well thought over strategy of establishing a Military-Industrial Complex (MIC), US lost the Vietnam War. The latter was to be avenged in a manner befitting a superpower determined to reestablish its hegemony by washing away the venous humiliation with blood of the enemy. The opportunity came round with invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 by the former USSR. It goes without saying that Afghan resistance needed armaments and other essential supplies to carry out gorilla assaults on the occupying Soviet forces. However, by playing up the strategy of instrumentalizing religious sentiments of an otherwise underdeveloped and largely impoverished Afghan community, US helped create a war machinery more effective than any of the artifacts produced by her MIC. Indeed, there is documented proof of US calculation of the strategy to instrumentalize the religious factor for mustering the support of populace in Pakistan in such an eventuality. For example, John Foster Dulles, Eisenhower’s Secretary of State, appears to have believed that due to their blind Islamic faith, vast majority of the population in Pakistan was psychologically best suited to oppose Communism: an observation which, about three decades later, was to become the most effective warhead against USSR. 19 On the other hand, eternally puppet regimes of Pakistan were to be driven to the desired direction by carefully administering commensurate doses of foreign aid. 20

As a matter of fact, US strategy to exploit religious sensibilities in her hegemonic struggle may have been conceived even before the creation of Pakistan: while referring to the making of Pakistan in July 1947, Marshall, Secretary of State to Truman, said that Pakistan with a population of seventy million persons, will be the largest Muslim country in the world and will occupy one of the most strategic areas in the world [Hussain, 1985. P.2].

The strategy paid-off, as the unstructured and unorganized fighters of Afghan resistance corps were hailed even by the Iron Lady of the West, Margaret Thatcher, Prime Minister of United Kingdom (U. K. ) during the Afghan War of 1980s. She, while on her visit to an Afghan refugee camp in Pakistan, told them of her admiration for their refusal to live under a godless communist system which [was] trying to destroy [their] religion and independence [Thatcher, 1995, P.168].

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20 Historically, Pakistan’s largest single donor has been US. Its share was 26. 5% of the total aid disbursed between 1951 and 1988. However, relative share of US in the total inflow of foreign aid to Pakistan has been changing over different periods as warranted by political and strategic consideration of the former [see, Khan, 1995].
The Western Block led by US won Cold War with Afghan blood standing out amongst shades of flying colors claimed by the winners. Gorbachev’s Perestroika and Glasnost, introduced in 1985, enormously contributed to the end of a bipolar world by eventually causing breakup of former USSR in 1991. However, felling of the Berlin Wall in October 1989 and subsequent reunification of Germany had already harbingered the beginning of a uni-polar era where the free world, again led by US, felt and continue to feel insatiable craving for the “freedom to blaspheme against their neighbors’ religion.”

Little do they care that it was blood and conviction of follower of the same religion that saved them from hardship of Animal Farm and helped them keep their Manorial abode in Nineteen Eighty Four. Is it usual complacency and ungratefulness of the cross-section of human nature? Unfortunately, no, there is a lot more to it than what meets the eye.

II.

The great majority of mankind are satisfied with appearances as though they were realities…….

Machiavelli

Every struggle has its heroes, but even more fundamentally, the struggle must have a foe [Juergensmeyer, 2001, P. 171]. This is probably the only sentence in Juergensmeyer’s elaborate work that carries some measure of objectivity while describing pop terrorism which continues to merit spirited and frequent public vows to crush its perpetrators by muscling up the global muscle to side with the most destructive war machine ever assembled, the MIC. The reader of Juergensmeyer’s work, even with moderate worldview and analytical ability, ought to feel disappointed because of the oversimplified approach, if not intellectual dishonesty, of the author.

Indeed, the above quoted sentence from Juergensmeyer’s work itself appears to be the preamble of author’s effort to help escalate threat perception of pop terrorism. Juergensmeyer highlights the image only on one side of the coin vividly showing that alleged struggle of pop terrorists owes its sustenance to America as Enemy [Juergensmeyer, 2001, pp. 178-82]. Turning a blind eye to other side of the coin renders his analysis, unfortunately, simplistic rather than simplified.

During the Cold War years, each of the two superpowers had a built-in mechanism to control its domain of influence in the presence of reciprocal

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21 The quotation has been borrowed unaltered from Webster (1990), P. 13.
threat. That mechanism was no more there in the post-Cold War uni-polar world. Hence the hegemonic compulsions warranted creating threat perception in the absence of a real threat. Hegemonic compulsions and strategies universally have the backdrop of economics. For verification of the relationship between hegemony and economics, the students of pop terrorism must retrieve longitudinal geopolitical map of the world dating back to the onset of Neolithic era (round 8000 B.C.). Indeed, the documented history is witness that ultimate goal of hegemonic struggle is control of economic resources which are never enough. The relationship between hegemony and economics universally underlies the quest for hinterland. However, there have been times in history when some certain natural resources underscored the hegemonic struggle, as they were fundamental for survival of hegemony. In author’s opinion, these resources during the last five hundred years successively have been bullion in the early age of European colonization of the New World, raw materials after the industrial revolution and energy in the contemporary times. Therefore, energy issue warrants close examination by the student of pop terrorism.

Since after WWII, the world is unstoppably growing in terms of both headcount and per head energy consumption. In spite of remarkable efforts to invent and commercialize alternate energy sources, fossil fuels still remain largest source available to meet ever increasing energy needs, particularly in the Western world. The latter happens to be drastically deficient in terms of endowment of fossil fuels, oil and natural gas. The figures listed in fact sheet on the following page provide valuable insight into the political economy of the phenomenon of pop terrorism.

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22 Archeological documentation of Sumerians (3500-2400 B. C.) reveals that warfare among cities and with foreign people escalated as the competition for resources grew more intense. Indeed, it was the scarcity of economic resources which was originally responsible for emergence of the office of “King” (round 2500 B. C.). The early kings were originally military chieftain winning power and reward as defenders of their communities [see, Greer and Lewis, P. 18].

23 The biggest living exhibit of the latter is the colonization of the New World by Europeans.

24 The landmark event in the history of colonization of the New World is the European conquest of the Inca Empire. Pizarro, the Spanish conquistador, received in ransom for Atahualpa, the captured Inca emperor, enough gold to fill a room 22 feet long by 17 feet wide to a height of over eight feet. After the ransom was delivered, Pizarro executed Atahualpa [see, Diamond, 1999, P. 68].

25 Currently, oil and natural gas together provide over 60 percent of world consumption of energy, while share of oil alone adds up to over 40 % of all energy consumption [http://www.cia.doc.gov/energy/cabs/carbonsmix/chapter2.html], accessed on July 24, 2008.
World Energy Endowment and Consumption: Comparative Fact Sheet

1. Oil & Natural Gas Reserves (January 1, 2007)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Oil</th>
<th>Natural Gas</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total (Billion Barrels)</td>
<td>Total Trillion Cubic Feet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>1,317.44</td>
<td>6,182.692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>739.205</td>
<td>2,566.038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>215.75</td>
<td>204.385</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% Share</td>
<td>% Share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
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2. Oil & Natural Gas Consumption**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region/Country</th>
<th>Oil (million barrel/day in 2004)</th>
<th>Gas (trillion cubic feet/year in 2003)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>% share</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>82.235</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>20.730</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Per Capita Consumption of Oil & Natural Gas†

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region/Country</th>
<th>Oil (million barrel/day in 2004)</th>
<th>Gas (cubic feet/year in 2003)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>WORLD vs. US</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>An average world dweller consumes less than 1/5 of the oil consumed by an average US citizen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>.070</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Reported figures are computed by the author with the help of information available in Oil & Gas Journal, Vol. 104, 47, December 18, 2006. The journal is published by PennWell Corporation, USA.


†Figures are computed by the author with the help of information already listed in part 2 of the fact sheet. The population estimate could not be accessed for 2003. All per capita calculations are therefore based on population estimates for 2004 with the population of US and world being 295 million and 6.4 billion, respectively.

The consumption of oil and natural gas in US is about a quarter of the total world consumption. Not a startling result since, as per global bookkeeping, about a quarter of world income is counted for US national income. Indeed, it happens to be ordinary knowledge that being an American...
means to have a much higher standard of living than that of an average world dwellers. Per capita lower and higher consumption of fossil energy by an average world dweller and an average US citizen respectively is, therefore, not surprising either. However, what most certainly ought to be questioned is US domestic base of that demonstratively high level of consumption of both oil and natural gas. Part 1 of the fact sheet listed in the foregoing vividly explains US positions in relation to the lands that either allegedly harbor pop terrorism or have affinity with its alleged perpetrators. Small wonders that the situation warrants securing the safe supply of fossil energy to ensure that when US gets cold the world sneezes.

In what follows, author is going to present a perspective which may not be shared by many students of geopolitics. That, however, should not render this analysis invalid since geopolitics feasts on dogmas and it is as much a right as it is the sacred duty of a researcher to step into the realm of philosophy and claim property rights in that limitlessly vast no man’s land. Moreover, however important roles dogmas universally play in the organization of human society, ultimate functional significance of contemporary geopolitical dogmas ought to be determined by relativity of the sum total of utility and disutility for the humankind as a whole. This is all the more important while considering global interdependence in the new millennium.

The relative endowment of fossil energy reserves and their significance in geopolitics of the contemporary world is part of common knowledge, particularly since after the operation Desert Storm in 1991. In author’s opinion, operation Desert Storm was the first phase of the strategy of direct control of the lifeline of US hegemony. Indeed, the latter, for a long time now, is seriously threatened from within because of both the imperial outstretch and an equally outstretched standard of living of country’s populace. The forerunner of the strategy of indirect control was text book principle of divide and rule, a principle which US inherited from her former motherland along with the English language. The creation of the new state of Israel in 1948 was the catalyst of divide and rule strategy which was to be implemented by implanting a people with scapegoat history in the heart of a land which belonged to a number of poor, weak, peripheral and semi peripheral Muslim majority counties who were the reminiscent of the bygone Golden Age of Arab imperialism, superseded and culturally suppressed by the Ottoman empire which had already fallen after WWII. Indeed, there was only so much that US could have done in the face of the emerging threat of a bipolar world, in a world still licking the wounds of recent Armageddon, the WWII.26

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26 President Truman’s avowal, following explosion of her first atomic weapon by former USSR in 1949, that US has always taken into account the probability of eventual development.

Organized by: National Institute of Psychology, QAU, Islamabad, Pakistan (October 13-17, 2008) | Page 82
The breakup of former USSR in 1991 was a long awaited opportunity for US to directly control the energy resources that she desperately needed for maintaining the social outstretch of her populace. The noble cause of the liberation of Kuwait helped strengthen US control of Middle East energy resources. However, it was a fragile arrangement in a world where old rivals were teaming up to fill the vacuum created by the demise of one of the two super powers. The graduation of the European Economic Community to an ever widening and deepening Union in 1992 was not an unexpected development in US strategic bookkeeping. Furthermore, the creation of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), with Russia as its patron saint, had all but eliminated the possibility of the resurrection of the dragon trapped and slain in Afghanistan. The situation, therefore, warranted a strategy knitting all rival strands in a tapestry designed to highlight the unipolar and omnipotent status of US. The strategy essentially underscored the significance of threat perception.

Indeed, preparations for creating a threat perception had started even before the evacuation of former USSR from Afghanistan. The hype created by the threat of a godless regime in Afghanistan had paved the way for extremist elements in the Muslim Majority countries. Unfortunately, the large size of poverty headcount, high levels of illiteracy and failure of states to provide the basic needs subjected the marginalized groups of Muslim majority countries to instrumentalization by the extremist elements, having expertise in emotional manipulation and, in most cases, sold out to national and international vested interests. The defeat of a superpower in the hands of rugged and ragged Mujahideen was hailed by these elements as proof of God

of nuclear weapons by other nations [Feis, 1964, P. 152], is indicative of US apprehension of an early end of her absolute supremacy after WWII. Other perspectives that add weight to author’s argument include two sagas, namely; Balfour Declaration of 1917 and Suez Canal Crisis. Former foreshadowed the final creation of the state of Israel in 1948. In author’s opinion, the Declaration was part of British strategy of defying Woodrow Wilson’s principle of self-determination for nationalities and keeping indirect control of area by following the policy of divide and rule in good times to come. The British, however, did not expect their imperial hold to wane and replaced by the US who subsequently adopted the same policy in favor of her own newly acquired hegemony. This is evident from the successive chain of events between the onset of WWII and the voting by the UN General Assembly, in November 1947, for formation of a Jewish state in Palestine. Not surprisingly, US and former USSR voted in favor while the British abstained. Also, British policy remained covertly hostile to Israel even during the first Arab-Israeli war [for detailed description of these events, see Westwood, 1988, pp. 8-29]. The Suez Canal Crisis is another very important case in point [see, Westwood, 1988, pp. 32-61]. The humiliation faced by British and French political establishment, after they had to withdraw their forces from Egypt under the pressure from both the former USSR and the US [see, Greer and Lewis, 2005, P. 609], indicates the beginning of a new geopolitical order where the old powers needed to be sent a strong message that their time is up and they must not take an initiative without first having consulted the Big Brothers.
being on their side. The appearance of *Satanic Verses* at the right time produced a ripple effect, particularly in a community alleged to be *Waiting for Allah*. The former, a textbook case of high treason, surpassed *Animal Farm* in terms of its intended effect. Iranian theocratic Fatwa expectedly added fuel to the fire lit by the *Clash of Civilizations*. The clergy had once again spontaneously yielded to the hegemonic design.\(^7\)

Strategic compulsions of hegemonic survival demanded the concentration of threat perception in a target location. It is a widely popular thesis that the primary motive of the continuum of US engagement in Afghanistan is the control of oil and gas resources of the Caspian and Central Asia [Rashid, 2000, p. 168; Klare 2001, p. 89]. This author, however, invites the reader to consider an alternative viewpoint. The formation of CIS following the breakup of former USSR was, among other things, a clear signal of maintaining Russian control over fossil energy resources of the Central Asian region. For funneling the oil and gas of Central Asia, Russia favors a northern route through its own pipeline system. A country like US that tops the world in clearly reading its strategic constraints and options, can all but overlook the fact that the former Soviet republics in Central Asia have become ever more dependent on Russia since the formation of CIS. After the huge losses of both men and material in the Vietnam War, sponsorship of countless proxy wars in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and a ceaseless effort to fill a bottomless pitcher in Afghanistan, US simply can’t afford the renewal of Cold War by threatening strategic Russian interests. Therefore, saga of Unocal, US oil company, narrated by Rashid (2000), and other loosely referenced abundant material on the subject of US strategic interest in Central Asia, regularly posted on countless websites, appears to be misguided judgment, if not carefully administered eyewash. What must not be forgotten is that, however

\(^7\)While US was busy building up the arsenal and morale of *Mujahideen*, Iranian theocratic rule under Khomeini was the most trusted deterrent against possible socialist infiltration in that country. In author’s opinion, the near simultaneity of Iranian revolution and invasion of Afghanistan by former USSR was not a historical coincidence. It was rather a well thought over strategy of hegemonic struggle in a bipolar world. Iran at that time was experiencing conflating social undercurrents as both liberals and clergy were on the move against Raza Shah Pahlwée’s rule. According to an eye witness account of the progression of movement against Shah’s rule, the revolution was snatched by clergy from hands of liberals who made most of the sacrifices [see, Masood, 1995]. Had it been other way round, the world might still have been divided into two poles, warranting promotion of *pop terrorists* as *Mujahideen* ready to sacrifice their lives for establishing the *Kingdom of God* on Earth. Finally, since Iranian resilience and potential is historically underscored with the strength, richness and cohesion of her cultural heritage, country’s efforts for economic development and progressive social transformation were to be thwarted with the help of old buddy Saddam Hussein who, after eight years of skirmishes with Iran, turned against his benefactors, stealthily built a *super gun* and bluntly went for *um-ul-herrib*, mother of all wars. Hence the final solution, Operation Mongoose. The rest is history.
enormous, fossil energy resources of the Central Asian region are secondary by a wide margin to the oil and gas reserves in Iran and other Muslim majority countries in the Middle East and North Africa. This is what ought to own the spirit of Operation Desert Storm, the formal announcement of the end of a bipolar world, followed by a pretty long gestation period understandably involved in preparation for a project encompassing a multi-prong strategy with public diplomacy being its orbital force: If the propaganda machine of Hitler could have incinerated the scapegoat of history without a modicum of resistance by collective conscience of the heirs of humanitarian philosophy of Goethe and Kant, the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) must have the power to spell on the mass mind of mankind the illusory magic to help brand an unwilling, unprepared and uninformed people with a mark they deservedly invite since the eternal law of nature only favors the fittest. That mark was to become a hallmark for applauding and rewarding the sins of state terrorism in the war on terrorism.

The end justifies the means. Firstly, a disobedient Iran, causing a global security threat with her nuclear program, warrants a dossier at least as trustworthy and licentious as the one behind Operation Mongoose. However, a prior siege of the rogue state will help reduce the risk involved in operation. Secondly, Afghanistan’s Great Game is all but over. Therefore, it is important to preempt another probable Russian attempt to swim in the warm waters. Thirdly, the marriage of convenience with Europe after WWII, is increasingly becoming unbearably abhorrent since after the Maastricht Treaty. Fourthly, Japan has helplessly grown into the bad habit of a balance of payment surplus, while the allowance was only permissible as a capitalist miracle in Asia during the Cold War. If Genius is the art of

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28 For an elaborate analysis of the reference point, see Khan (2004).
29 In the hegemonic struggle spanning over at least last two hundred years, the Indus Valley loophole has always been a strategic locale. Here the gap between the Central Asian transport network and Pakistan’s road system is only about a hundred mile. Therefore, an aircraft over the narrow Wakhan range may quickly bring hostile forces in Rawalpindi, the center of military power in Pakistan. This is what led the British to fortify north-west frontier of India at the end of 19th century [see, Tayyeb, 1966, P. 220]. Similar strategic motives were behind the US backed Baghdad Pact, later becoming Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), when the terrain became a part of Pakistan after the end of British colonial rule [see, Khan, 1992]. The current beleaguered state of Swat Valley and Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan appears to be a vital link in the same chain of causation. Although airpower and ballistic missiles have greatly reduced dependence on overseas basis, the ongoing war on terrorism suggests that physical presence on ground still remains strategically fundamental.
limitations then politics is the art of the possible. Both Japan and Europe can be disciplined by having the power to ration them the vital supplies of oil and gas. Finally, and most importantly, for the General Motors to cushion the social outstretch of a nation accustomed to taking its lifestyle for granted, the wizardly wheel of MIC warrants to be continuously greased with fossil energy resources in the Middle East and Southwest Asia.\textsuperscript{31}

The upshot is that, though aware of the moral underpinning of war on terrorism, it is the education in political realism which saves the US government from moral excesses and political folly.

\textbf{III.}

\begin{quote}
In the size of the lie there is always contained a certain factor of credibility, since the great masses of people will more easily fall victim to a great lie than to a small one. \textsuperscript{32} \textit{-------} \textsuperscript{32} \textit{Hitler}
\end{quote}

The argument in this part is built around Newton’s third law of motion i.e. action is equal to reaction but in opposite direction. Newton referred to a certain type of parametric relationship in the sphere of physical sciences. However, the hegemonic design of contemporary world appears to have applied the same law for behavioral exploitation of a certain creed.

In the world around us what is real and what is perceived are universally two different things. In the 1980s, there was simultaneous progression of Afghan War and globalization. Since information and perception are critical aspect of connectivity, the larger than life image of Mujahidin shaped by the global media was readily bought by the free world, particularly in Muslim majority countries of South Asia. Indeed, the Pulitzer format of news telecast on CNN and BBC made the romantic struggle of Afghans against a superpower near visible to a wide variety of global audiences.\textsuperscript{32}

In the hype of the times many forces, previously lying dormant, were unleashed out in the open. These elements were welcomed and promoted by

\textsuperscript{30} Former is a quotation by Goethe, quoted in Waite, 1977, P. 324, while discussing Bismarck of Germany. The latter is a quotation by Bismarck himself, quoted in the same on P. 322.

\textsuperscript{31} Indeed, influence of domestic political and economic circumstances on the use of force is the subject of a growing body of empirical research. The available evidence from US shows that domestic conditions like high unemployment, strong investor confidence, presidential election year and the absence of ongoing wars contribute to a motivated bias in international threat perception, providing both opportunities and justification for the use of force [see, Benjamin, 1998].

\textsuperscript{32} Pulitzer format is a journalistic frame, invented by Joseph Pulitzer in the 19th century, for capturing mass mind.
vested establishmentarian interests in Muslim majority countries. Unfortunately, the former are eternally condemned to follow the command of the external hands that either feed or help sustain their insatiable appetite for an exploitative rule over widely illiterate and structurally ignorant Muslim masses. In the post-WWII period, modernity theorist had widely prevailed, to the criminal neglect of Rostow's universally valid prescription, in public policy formation of most of the Muslim majority countries. In South Asian Muslim majority countries, the governments lacked both the requisite doses of physical capital and the will to consistently implement the modernity agenda. Resultantly, the formal education system, the driver behind modernity, divided successive cohorts of youth into three broad and distinctly hierarchical tiers for a period spanning over the length of a generation.

The top tier, mistakenly called elite, consisting of landed, bureaucratic, military and, later, industrial aristocracy, was educated in English medium schools providing academic standards and social environment almost matching that of Eaton. After graduating from school they usually proceeded for further education in the West which unquestionably confirmed their birth right for a lucrative and influential position in political, bureaucratic or military establishment.

Unfortunately, the South Asian aristocracy did not evolve spontaneously through the sociological processes experienced by the medieval Europe, eventually leading to the age of enlightenment.

It was rather the legacy of the colonial rule which was to perpetuate for providing the lead cast of Asian Drama. Therefore, while holding critically influential establishmentarian portfolios, aristocracy's dutiful obedience to the Master's command was to match its neglectful complacency to the plight of the masses.

The second tier largely consisted of the upper crust of the urban masses and it was to receive an insufficient education provided by an inefficient public sector system. Moreover, education beyond school level was widely considered by this class a passport for entry to the higher rungs

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33 Modernity theorists advocated a headlong structural reformation of the newly decolonized Southern countries, mirroring Western civilization in their social and physical capital. Rostow on the other hand prescribed a consistently balanced and down to earth approach promising sustainable development. His theory of linear stages makes the growth process to successively pass through a traditional society which, before it takes-off to self-sustained growth, must be first having the prerequisites for development, if it aspires to drive to maturity that, in turn, will help it have a safe landing into the age of mass consumption [see, Rostow, 1961].

34 In the enlightenment vocabulary elite is a person born in purple, raised in luxury, having a deeply imbued sense of social responsibility, translated into concrete actions.

35 It is the title of a voluminous book describing intricate mechanism devised by the Western establishment for eternal indirect rule over the Southern countries which, in theory, are considered to be sovereign states [see, Myrdal, 1968].
of social hierarchy rather than a privilege carrying the price tag of social responsibility.

The cross-section of the youth graduating from public sector educational institutions ended up unemployed, self-employed in petty jobs, or employed in the lower rungs of the organizational hierarchy in the formal sector. However, above the line outliers graduated to the social class which Hitler rightfully called petty bourgeoisie. This class was mostly after sustaining and improving its newly acquired social status, hence the phenomena of enlightenment and social responsibility remained alien to them.

The third and the last tier overwhelmingly represented disadvantaged and marginalized groups of the society. These groups were unable to avail even rudimentary public provisions of education for their children because of either inaccessibility or high opportunity cost.

The only recourse left to them, which also conformed with their belief system, was the medersa, usually attached with a Masjid. However excessively abused by contemporary media warfare, medersa is an Arabic equivalent of the world school in English. It was a generic word in school books and everyday language of the people in Pakistan and Afghanistan till the time they learned that those who graduate from madrasas are to be called Talib. The latter on the other hand is distortion of the generic equivalent of the Urdu word for a student, talib ilm, the knowledge seeker.

As an institution, medersa goes back to the times when formal education was largely about religious learning. The Christian equivalent of medersa is the Church school which ought to be credited for introducing and promoting the tradition of mass literacy in Europe even before the advent of the modern age. Unfortunately, two hundred years of colonial rule in the Indian Subcontinent systematically eroded the academic significance of medersa and reduced the institution to the level of a shelter

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36 According to him, petty bourgeoisie is a social group recently risen above the level of a manual worker. Therefore, a petty bourgeoisie is always fearful of sinking back into the old despised class [see, Hitler, 1995, P. 21].
37 Masjid is Arabic equivalent of Mosque. For subjective reasons, the author has chosen to use the former word in this work.
38 The first medersas were founded by the Marinid sultans, during the 14th century. Their curriculum included the Arabic language, astronomy, mathematics and medicine [see, http://histcbo.com/schun/hist/schun-histarab.html accessed on August 4, 2008].
39 Formal schooling outside Church schools was rare in Europe until about the end of the first millennium. The type of schools that developed in medieval Europe were quite similar, with most of the teachers being priests. Moreover, schools were for boys only, though some local parish schools offered rudiments of education to the girls as well. For several centuries through the renaissance, most schools were either run for the Church or by the Church and its priests. Indeed, the history of literacy in the West is closely tied to the history of Western Christianity [see, Graff, 2008].
for those children who were regrettably deprived of both social and physical capital, as they either did not have a family or belonged to a households striving hard to survive on the fringes.

The colonial rule had also subjected Arabic and Persian, two languages of the medium of instruction in mederasa, to the genocide which universally happens to be one of the most effective imperialist instrument. Resultantly, by the time the British left, the glorious tradition of mederasa had reduced to rote learning of Quranic verses along with some rudiments of dogmatically memorialized history.

Up until the invasion of Afghanistan by the former USSR, the state and society in most of the Muslim majority countries, particularly in the Subcontinent, were all but Islamized. Therefore, the mederasa education did not provide entry in the formal employment beyond the level of unskilled or casual labor. Given the usual slack in the labor markets of labor abundant countries like Pakistan and Bangladesh, many were not able to find employment even at the lowest rung of organizational hierarchy in the formal sector. Resultantly, they had to earn their livelihood mostly in the lowly paid and seasonal informal sector jobs. That said, a handful of mederasa graduates managed to make a moderate living from the communal funds doled out to them for the religious services performed by them on marriages, funerals and as Imam Masjid. Their humble station in life in the post-colonial Muslim majority countries partly owed to the fact that Islam did not have to get into a marriage of convenience with Roman paganism. Hence, the Islamic tradition neither boasts of the Holy Roman Empire nor it has a Vatican style religious hierarchy. Indeed, since after the times of the early Caliphs, when the Islamic political tradition was still in its formative stage, palace and temple in Islamic empires always had their distinct spheres of influence and have existed side by side without interfering in the affairs of each other. A close examination of political and social tradition of Islamic empires will reveal that even in the first millennium, Jurisprudence, an institution largely independent of both palace and temple, humbled Magna Carta in terms of its efficacy to judiciously resolve interpersonal conflicts and ensure administrative transparency and accountability. The Islamic temple and institution of jurisprudence in Muslim societies were both marginalized after the successive fall of Islamic empires. There is no evidence in recent history of an encouragingly spontaneous effort in any of the Muslim majority countries to revive/reform the status of these two institutions in a progressively dynamic manner, thanks to neo-colonialism, modernity and the black hole of Western civilization.

40 In all fairness, it was not the first time that a language genocide happened in the Indian Subcontinent. In the documented history, the Arabs, during their imperial rule in India, effectively replaced Sanskrit, one of the oldest language of humankind, with Arabic.
While keeping in perspective the foregoing analysis, it is hardly surprising that retrogressively dogmatic and blamelessly shortsighted madrasa graduates in Pakistan were overwhelmed in the 1980s, watching their fellow brethren in Afghanistan, bearded and attired in the similar fashion, engaged in Jihad against one of the superpowers. For the first time round the modern world had recognized the worth of their pitiful existence. The aura of the times favored their breed and creed beyond recognition both within Pakistan and internationally. In the latter case, the glorified media projection of Mujahidin being received, honored and applauded by the Western leaders further strengthened their faith in self-righteousness. Domestically, there was a sympathetic Islamizing government that not only recognized and patronized madrasa culture, but also promulgated public policy in social and economic spheres favoring the orthodoxy. No less significant was that revolution in neighboring Iran, harboring the advent of an age when it will be possible to establish the long awaited Kingdom of God on God’s earth. Moreover, it was the best of times for the good old Arab imperialist to win back Pakistan’s society through cultural infiltration, an ongoing legacy of the Afghan War. Finally, the orthodoxy, which was never favored by the electorate in Pakistan, got ticket for entry to the parliament through the backdoor.

The madrasa graduates and other orthodox elements had scarcely adjusted to their newly experienced exaltation when the magic rug was drawn from under their feet, as the Soviet forces evacuated Afghanistan. In despair, they watched rival Afghan factions bleeding each other to extinction and their own status being relegated back to a life of ignominy. Little did they know that the script is being written for them to play out their new role as disaster and terror to the world charged with what Webster (1990, P. 19) rightly calls machine-gun bullets of liberal self-righteousness. Unfortunately, even in absence of the generous assistance of latter, this role would have been natural to them under the nostalgic hangover of what Thomas Munn called a romantic passion; the drive to external expansion of the self into space, without any fixed object, will which is free because it has no goal and aspires to the infinite [1959, P. 175].

The rest is history. Suggested readings include the upwave and downwave of Taliban syndrome; blasphemy pranks; an insider’s review of Al-jezera TV soap operas; world-view attack; and perception management techniques.

CONCLUSION

Dreams of a peaceful day? Let him dream who may…Goethe
One of the most intriguing perspective of the war on terrorism is that all monumentally belligerent times in human history are marked as phases of hegemonic transition. Fortunately or unfortunately, contemporary threat of a MAD (mutually assured destruction) state of warheads deters EU to pace up the process in favor of Europe, the likely successor of Coca-colonization. The latter, however, is different from the past phases of colonization in many benevolent ways which appear to benefit the disadvantaged and marginalized groups. In all fairness, besides waging a war on terrorism, the hegemonic interventions also include influencing the public policy in favor of those surviving on the fringes, or directly providing the social and physical capital denied to them by already prevalent internal colonialism, a phenomenon that happens to be rampant in most of the developing countries since after graduating to the status of sovereign states. The outreach has been made accessible even to those dwelling in the periphery of what the wilderness photographer Galen Rowell called the throne room of mountain gods. 41 However, these and many other mutually rewarding positive developments may not suit the internal vested interests thriving on the status quo for centuries.

Universally, hegemonic struggle is worldly manifestation of the eternal laws known as might is right and survival of the fittest. This struggle, therefore, is as compulsive for the hegemony as it is oppressive for those who are instrumentalized in the process. That said, the contemporary international hegemonic struggle ought to keep in perspective that new millennium is offering the humankind enlightenment possibilities that did not exist in similar situations of the past. However, these possibilities are accompanied by challenges simultaneously unleashing both threats and opportunities. Finally, the crystal ball shows that a systematically created threat perception appears to be turning, unfortunately, into a systemic threat, thanks to the global media that is too unruly to allow the conciliatory and rational sense to prevail. In author’s opinion, it is onus upon the hegemony and the intelligentsia of the countries involved in war on terrorism, either as the battleground or as frontline state, to help optimize the situation in the best interest of humanity.

REFERENCES


41 Quoted in Mortenson and Relin (2007), P. 18, while referring to the beauty of the Baltoro heights in northern Pakistan.


