

ISLAM, TERRORISM, AND THE STRATEGY
OF ENLIGHTENED MODERATION

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MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE
Strategy

by

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ABSTRACT

ISLAM, TERRORISM AND THE STRATEGY OF ENLIGHTENED MODERATION,
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The study focuses on analyzing the ongoing acts of violence and radicalism by individuals associated with Islam, in the light of teachings and principles of this great religion of peace, which denounces terrorism. Tracing the roots of terror in almost all faith and beliefs, it suggests that violence is not a function of faith; rather it is politically motivated with more fundamental causes and reasons for such acts. After detailed analysis of all the related aspects, the study concludes that such acts in the name of Islam are not consistent with the teachings of Islam.

The study also attempts to answer these questions: Is the violence and radicalism being practiced in the name of Islam, Islamic? How has Islam, being a religion of peace, gained a reputation as a belief of war, violence, intolerance, and terror? What is the Islamic concept of jihad, and what are the misperceptions about this concept?

It then suggests the means and ways to deal with the menace of terrorism in Muslim countries on a more comprehensive basis through the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation,” proposed by President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iv
ACRONYMS	vi
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW	10
CHAPTER 3. ISLAM AND TERRORISM	15
Islam: Is it a Religion of Radicalism and Violence?	15
Islamic Concept of Jihad: It is not killing the Innocents	22
Historical Perspective: Islamic Tolerance and Peaceful Co-existence	27
CHAPTER 4. TERRORISM: AN ANALYSIS	39
Terrorism is Independent of Religions	39
Definition of Terrorism	42
Types of Terrorism	46
Causes of Terrorism	50
CHAPTER 5. COMBATING TERRORISM: STRATEGY OF ENLIGHTENED MODERATION	61
What is Strategy of Enlightened Moderation?	62
Recommendations	66
The Western World	67
The Muslim World	71
Moderate and Enlightened Pakistan	77
Conclusion	83
BIBLIOGRAPHY	91
INITIAL DISTRIBUTION LIST	99
CERTIFICATION FOR MMAS DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT	100

ACRONYMS

CRS	Congressional Research Service
ETA	Bask Separatist Movement in Spain
EU	European Union
IRA	Irish Republic Army
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MMAS	Master of Military Art and Science
NBC	Nuclear, Biological, and Chemical
NDFB	National Democratic Front of Bodoland
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organizations
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
PBUH	Peace Be Upon Him
RAF	Red Army Faction
ULFA	United Liberation Front of Assam
UN	United Nations
US	United States of America

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Do not kill women, children, the old and feeble; do not mutilate, disfigure and damage unduly; do not submerge any palm-dates; do not cut any trees; do not demolish any houses; and do not put the defeated enemy or his territory on fire.¹

Guidelines offered by the Holy Prophet Mohammad, Peace be upon Him (PBUH), to his military commanders

Today's most talked about subject is "terrorism," described as the greatest threat to the peace-loving world and humanity. The world is busy with vigor to end this menace and to make the world a more peaceful and safer place. The current war against terrorism is being fought on military, political, social, economic, and educational fronts with the primary focus on the military element. Though terrorism is a threat for all societies as well as faiths, a proactive campaign to combat this menace by the West, in general, and United States of America, in particular, has created some misunderstandings between the faiths, and given an opportunity to some to further the gulf of misunderstanding and distrust between faiths and civilizations.²

Despite having been clarified many times by those waging this war that it is not against any particular religion or belief, many still consider it as a war against Islam.³ Many people in the West regard Islam as a religion of radicalism, violence, and extremism that preaches hatred and hostility, especially towards non-Muslims. There have been efforts on the part of some to blame Islam for all or most of the terrorist activities across the globe. To correct these misperceptions, one must first ascertain if Islam--described as a religion of peace--is rightly portrayed as a major influence on terrorism, or if other factors are more influential.

Historically, terror has not been associated with any particular religion or faith. Selected factions of almost all religions, usually motivated by localized interests, have occasionally employed this means to achieve the intended interests. Hence, associating terrorism with a particular religion or belief may not be fair.

To make a just assessment and to reach a fair conclusion on this subject, it is necessary to examine the tenets of Islam and the causes of terrorism in detail and also to study the ways and means to address this challenge. Therefore, a primary question addressed in this paper will be: Is the violence and radicalism being practiced in the name of Islam, Islamic?

Certain secondary questions which will be answered in the process of the research are: (1) What are the tenets of Islam as a religion and are the radicalism, violence, extremism, and fundamentalism associated with Islam rooted in these tenets? (2) How has Islam gained a reputation as a belief supporting war, violence, intolerance, and terror? (3) What is the Islamic concept of jihad, and what are the common misperceptions about this concept? (4) Who are “Islamic” terrorists, is faith at the base of the current upsurge in terrorism, or are there hidden agendas taking refuge in the faith? and (5) What are the history and current trends of terrorism in beliefs other than Islam? The key working assumption of this paper related to these questions is that the violence and radicalism being practiced in the name of Islam is not Islamic and that those propagating and demonstrating violence and radicalism have specific agendas, rooted not in religion, but motivated by political or economic factors.

The second primary question addressed in this paper will be: How can a governmental strategy encompassing social, economic, political, and religious aspects of

Muslim societies reduce or eliminate the root causes of violence and radicalism often attributed to Islam? Secondary questions to be addressed in answering this question are: (1) Are the current measures employed by Muslim governments to combat terrorism (encompassing both defensive antiterrorism and proactive counterterrorism techniques) proving to be relevant and effective? (2) Are current antiterrorism and counterterrorism measures having an impact in checking the activities of terrorists to widen the gulf of mistrust and misunderstanding between faiths and religions? (3) Is there evidence that the global “war on terrorism,” currently dominated by military actions, could be more effective at attacking the root causes of violence and radicalism if economic, social, political, and educational measures were also employed? (4) Does the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” announced by the President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf at the 2002 Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) summit include the necessary ingredients of a more broad-based, more effective strategy to combat the root causes of terror? The key working assumption of this paper related to this question is that a more broad-based approach against terrorism, especially at the nation-state level, which includes political, economic, social, and educational means, in addition to military measures, will be more effective at reducing or eliminating terror.⁴

Combining the two primary research questions into one provides the major thesis of this paper: a “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” in the Muslim world can be more effective at eliminating the root causes of violence and radicalism, which spring not from religion or faith, but from actual or perceived political, social, or economic grievances.

President Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan outlined the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” at the OIC Summit Conference at Putrajaya, Malaysia, in 2002, which, in

addition to being acceptable, appears to be more suitable in attacking the roots of violence and radicalism than military action alone. It highlights causes of terrorism other than religious factors and emphasizes the need to address these factors seriously and comprehensively, to reduce the threat of this menace more effectively.

The growing asymmetries in power among states, discrimination in the dispensation of international justice, repression of peoples' legitimate aspirations, and growing socioeconomic disparities, have precipitated “new threats” to international peace and security, [and the threat of terrorism is the most pronounced and alive amongst these]. Terrorism poses the most urgent threat for many countries, including the most powerful States; [and] for many, the terrorist threat is close and personal. The global cooperation in the fight against terrorism has been highly successful and the determined and collective action has contained and disrupted the violent agendas of the terrorists.⁵

Chapter 5 of this research paper will focus on the elements of this strategy--its ends, ways and means--with a view to ascertain its effectiveness and applicability.

Due to the space and the time limitations of this paper, and the non-availability of literature specific to some secondary questions, these questions will not be addressed in detail. Chapter 3 “Islam and Terrorism,” discusses Islam as it existed before the emergence of sects and different schools of Islamic learning. Very basic concepts of Islam as found in the primary sources of religion, that is, The Qur’an--the Muslim “scripture” or Holy Book and Hadith--the traditions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)--are presented. Moreover, this review focuses on Islamic teachings related to peace, violence and radicalism, and jihad. Chapter 4 “Terrorism: An Analysis,” basically makes an endeavor to delink faiths from violence and thus does not study the dynamics of terrorism in its entirety. There is insufficient reference material available to study and analyze the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” in depth; hence, its potentials were mostly extrapolated.

Though a lot has already been written on the subject of terrorism in the name of religion, it remains a very current subject. The author is a strong proponent of dialogue and cooperation rather than concentrating on ideological differences, and feels convinced that the world should focus on the basic similarities of beliefs and values, especially among the monotheistic faiths. As a Pakistani, the author has a special appeal for the President of Pakistan's proposed "Strategy of Enlightened Moderation" to address the menace of terrorism and as a bridge for the gap between Islam and the West. He is a staunch believer in the fact that terrorism cannot be associated with any particular religion or faith and that extremism exists in almost all societies. This thesis paper provides an ideal opportunity to study and research this theme in a dispassionate manner, to affirm or mold views on the subject.

He does not feel himself as an expert on Islam and the interpretation of its teachings, which require a very high degree of religious specialization; therefore, he relies heavily on existing explanations and interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadith. He admits that clearly, this is a very sensitive topic, and, as a Muslim, it may be very difficult and challenging for him to avoid bias; still, he commits to remain as impartial and dispassionate as possible. This research will hopefully contribute positively towards clarifying that radicalism and violence is not Islamic, and will help finding a long-term strategy to combat terrorism effectively.

Islam warns its followers to avoid the extremes that have been the cause of the destruction of earlier communities. The Qur'an instructs Muslims in times of adversity to act with justice, perseverance, and patience. Terrorists apparently never think of relating their acts to the elementary principle that Islam places great value on the sanctity of

human life. Traditionally, Muslim jurists considered terrorist attacks against unsuspecting and defenseless victims as heinous and immoral crimes and treated the perpetrators as the worst type of criminals. It is a well-established Qur'anic precept that the injustice of others does not excuse one's own injustice.⁶

In the West, the term "jihad" has come to be known pejoratively or negatively as "waging a holy war" against infidels. However, in Islam, jihad is something that is positive. It consists of two dimensions--the "inner jihad" that seeks to curb negative and self-destructive forces within--and the "external jihad"--a struggle against violence and tyranny by means of words and actions. As for the latter, it has strict rules of engagement which prohibit taking civilian life, harming animals, and even chopping down trees.⁷ The summary of guidelines offered by the Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) to his military commanders, referred at the start of this paper, reflects the peaceful nature of the faith even during combat. At another occasion, Caliph Omar (the second successor to the Holy Prophet (PBUH)), while giving instructions to his commander-in-chief, repeated similar instructions.⁸ The best jihad one performs is that of helping oneself gain more knowledge of Almighty God.⁹

The Qur'an stresses compassion, benevolence, justice, and wisdom as its central themes. This becomes evident in reviewing the Holy Book, where every chapter of the Qur'an (with the exception of one) begins with the propagation of mercy and compassion as the qualities of the Creator. Compassion in Islam is not restricted only to Muslims, but it also requires sensitivity to the suffering of others. In a tradition (Hadith), the Messenger of God, may God bless him and grant him peace, declared that "people are God's children and those dearest to God are the ones who treat His children kindly."¹⁰

Today, Muslims are facing a defining moment. They must recapture the true spirit of Islam and reclaim it from those who have harmed its integrity and honor. Islam is a religion of peace and tolerance that summons individuals to compassion and justice, forbids violence, and encourages peace between people and between nations. Islam directs people to avoid committing evil: oppression, cruelty, murder, and bloodshed are all forbidden. God commands Muslims to do good deeds, and a Muslim is someone who abides by the commands of God, tries scrupulously to live by Qur'anic injunctions on morality, peace, and harmony, in order to make the world a more beautiful place and lead it to progress. The Qur'an says:

But seek, with the (wealth) which Allah has bestowed on thee, the Home of the Hereafter, nor forget thy portion in this world: but do thou good, as Allah has been good to thee, and seek not (occasions for) mischief in the land: for Allah loves not those who do mischief.¹¹

One cannot blame religions for the errors of those who use its name or symbols to justify their heinous actions. All religions have had their share of people who claimed to be strict adherents of their traditions, but who actually grossly misinterpreted the basic teachings to suit their own agendas. All the religious traditions of the monotheistic faiths--Judaism, Christianity, and Islam--condemn categorically any sort of act of aggression and certainly any act of terror. Religion cannot be blamed, but the insanity and hate that drives people to commit such atrocities can be. It would not suffice to leave the condemnation there; rather efforts should be made to seek out the root from which this hate pours forth: What are the causes of their grievances, turmoil, anger, bitterness, frustrations, and hopelessness, and how can these be eliminated?¹² Terrorism is not religious and the terrorists are the common enemies of humanity and need to be trapped and finished.

The entire world, irrespective of the religion and faiths, needs to join hands to crush this menace of terrorism. The world needs to chalk out strategies to end it at grass roots level, to include the long-term strategies that have to be pursued to discover viable solutions to these problems. The immediate (defensive) antiterrorist response has to be accompanied by a clear, proactive long-term strategy striking at the root of the problem if final success against this scourge is to be ensured.¹³ President Pervez Musharraf's "Strategy of Enlightened Moderation" has been advanced as an effective two-pronged strategy to combat terrorism and prevent a clash of civilizations. The OIC Summit has already endorsed this plan which involves, on the one hand, internal socioeconomic reform in the Muslim world and, on the other, active support from the major powers to ensure political justice and socioeconomic revival for all Islamic peoples. "There is no time to lose. Action has to be taken before an iron curtain finally descends between the West and the Islamic world."¹⁴

¹Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, *Organization of Government under the Prophet* (Delhi, India: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi), 156-157; referred in the Command and Staff College, *Warfare Foundation Studies: Military History Primer 2001 – Islamic Battles* (Quetta, Pakistan: Command and Staff College), cover page and 56.

²"This is a religious war, a war for Islam against infidels." Bernard Lewis, *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), xv.

³"President Bush and other Western politicians have taken great pains to make it clear that the war in which we are engaged is a war against terrorism--not a war against Arabs, nor, more generally, against Muslims who are urged to join us in this struggle against our common enemy." Ibid.

⁴Patrick J. Buchanan, *Where the Right Went Wrong* (New York: Thomas Dunne Books, 2004), 6.

⁵President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf, *Address to the 59th Session of UN General Assembly*, 22 September 2004 [article on-line]; available from <http://www.un.org/webcast/ga/59/statements/pakeng040922.pdf>; Internet; accessed 25 September 2004. (hereafter cited as UN Address).

⁶Prof. Thomas Arnold, *The Spread of Islam in the World, A History of Peaceful Preaching* (Goodword Books, 2002), 71-72.

⁷Lawrence E. Browne, *The Prospects of Islam* (London: S.C.M.Press, 1944), 11-15.

⁸Major General Muhammad Akbar Khan, *Islamic Pattern of War: Part II* (Islamic Military Science Association; 1968), 198-201

⁹John L. Esposito, *Islam: The Straight Path* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1998), 33-34.

¹⁰Bernard Lewis, *The Middle East* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1995), 210.

¹¹The Qur'an, 28:77, *The English Translation of The Holy Qur'an* by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, [book on-line]; available from <http://web.umar.edu/~msaumr/Quran/28.html>; Internet; accessed 13 January 05.

¹²Arnold, 88-89.

¹³Musharraf, UN Address.

¹⁴Ibid.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will review the literature already available on the subject and will give a broad idea about the focus of literature on the subjects of Islam and terrorism, and the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation.” There are many books, articles, and research papers available on these subjects in libraries and from the Internet. The problem of bias has been noticed predominantly during the review of literature. Major works which have been consulted and referenced in this paper can be grouped as per the major subjects being discussed in this paper--Islam, terrorism, and the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation.”

There are thousands of articles and books on Islam, but the basic sources are limited to two. In this paper only the Qur'an and the Hadith are being considered as the primary sources to derive the actual teachings of Islam on the subjects of jihad, violence and radicalism; thus, only a few other sources were consulted. The English translation of the Holy Qur'an by Abdullah Yusuf Ali, available on-line (web.umr.edu) has been taken as standard for all Qur'anic quotations. The books of Hadith available on-line (www.usc.edu) have been quoted for all Hadith references. In addition to these two sources, the electronic books of Harun Yahya, *Islam Denounces Terrorism, Justice and Tolerance in the Qur'an*, *Islam Has Brought Peace and Harmony to the Middle East All Through History*, and *Pacifism in Islam* available on-line (booksofislam.tripod.com) were also consulted and are referenced frequently.

Maxwell Taylor, in his book *The Fanatics: A Behavioral Approach to Political Violence*, 1991, emphasizes that the fanatics who are willing to undertake the acts of

violence can be found in almost all societies, religious entities, and ideologies. Some view the act of terror as a behavioral outcome and draw on the contemporary and historical case studies to develop and strengthen their arguments.¹ Others (Paul Fregosi, *Jihad in the West: Muslim Conquests from the 7th to the 21st Centuries*, 1998) link the recent terrorist upsurge with the Islamic concept of “Jihad--the Holy War” (as they translate jihad) and regard it as an expression of the Muslim distaste for and antagonism to the entire non-Muslim world.² Amir Taheri (*Holy War: Inside the World of Islamic Terrorism*, 1987) has made a great effort to explain the Islamic concept of jihad and especially in clarifying that it does not necessarily mean the “holy war.”³

Some authors, like Benjamin Netanyahu (*Terrorism: How the West Can Win*, 1986), have adopted much more cautious approaches by differentiating between “acts of terror by some Muslims” and “Islamic terrorism,” with a purpose to shatter the myth that “one man’s terrorist is other man’s freedom fighter.”⁴ Muhammad Abu-Nimer (*Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice*, 2003) considers Islam as a religion of peace and harmony with no room for violence and terrorism and declares the present-day acts of terrorism as un-Islamic⁵ and considers that those who think Islam as a faith that motivates violence have extreme point of view.⁶ Adam Parfrey (*Extreme Islam: Anti American Propaganda of Muslim Fundamentalism*, 2001) gives a totally different point of view and understanding of Islam, opposed to Abu-Nimer.

Bernard Lewis is considered as an authentic and recognized author in the West on the issues of Islam, the Middle East, and terrorism as it relates to Islam. In his book *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror*, 2003, he takes a very dispassionate and professional view of the whole issue: “The war in which we [all] are engaged [today] is a

war against terrorism--not a war against Arabs, nor, more generally, against Muslims--this [is a] struggle against a common enemy.”⁷ His description of Islam in the above quoted book coupled with that of Patrick J. Buchanan (*Where the Right Went Wrong*, 2004, Chapter 3); give a fair idea of how Islam is understood in the West and especially the misperceptions which persist there. These and many more contrasting and contradicting points of view on the issue in hand demand an unbiased study and analysis to find out the root causes of violence and radicalism and the association of any particular faith or belief, particularly Islam, with terrorism.

On the subject of terrorism--its types and causes, there was a great amount of literature available in the library as well as on-line; however, only selected sources which assisted in ascertaining the roots of causes in almost all faiths and societies were consulted. Patrick J. Buchanan (*Where the Right Went Wrong*, 2004, chapter 10) makes a strong argument in support of causes of terror other than faith. P. W. Singer, through his essays “The Crisis within the Crisis, The War on Terrorism: The Big Picture,” and “Pakistan’s Madrassahs: Ensuring a System of Education not Jihad” available on-line through various sources, suggest that there are economic, political, social, and educational causes for the terrorism. The *United States National Strategy for Combating Terrorism* and *9/11 Commission Report*, in addition to suggesting the means and ways to combat terrorism, also bring out the causes and reasons for terrorism other than religious factors. Other articles by Bradley Cook, “America’s Loss of Innocence: Terrorism Within our Midst;” Rex A. Hudson, “The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?;” Dr. Boaz Ganor, “Defining Terrorism: Is One Man’s Terrorist Another Man’s Freedom Fighter?;” C.A.J. Coady, “The Morality of Terrorism,

Matthew J. Morgan, *The Origins of the New Terrorism;*” and Boaz Ganor, “International Terrorism / Non-Conventional Terrorism,” were all valuable sources in understanding the types and various definitions of terrorism.

Much less reference material was available on the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation.” All that was available was in the form of on-line articles and excerpts of speeches of President Pervez Musharraf, as well as very limited analyses and criticism in Pakistan’s local newspapers. President Pervez Musharraf’s article in *The Washington Post*, “A Plea for Enlightened Moderation,” served as the major source. In addition, Anwar Syed’s “Preaching Moderation,” Prof. Khurshid Ahmad’s “Enlightened Moderation or The New US Religious Order,” Ardeshir Cowasjee’s “Enlightened Moderation,” Masooda Bano’s “Unraveling Enlightened Moderation,” Pervez Musharraf’s “OI C – Challenge and Response – Enlightened Moderation,” Shahid Afzal’s “Pakistan’s Enlightened Moderation,” and F.S. Aijazuddin’s “The Shifting Qiblah” were the other sources available on the subject. The main theme of the “moderation” theory was supported through *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* by the great poet philosopher Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, who gave this idea of “Enlightenment” in the early twentieth century. Chapter five also deals with recommendations, which were based largely on the *9/11 Commission Report – What to Do? – A Global Strategy, Ijtihad: Reinterpreting Islamic Principles for the Twenty-first Century*, by the United States Institute of Peace, *Arab Human Development Reports 2002-04*, and *Fatwa Online*.

After 11 September 2001, one of the most discussed subjects has been Islam and its linkage with the terrorism. The many books and articles the many investigations and

analyses, which have been carried out on this subject, have further fuelled people's curiosity about this religion. Islam has never been of greater interest to the people of the West than it is today.⁸ Deliberate misinterpretations of some Islamic concepts and theories to suit perverted agendas cannot be ruled out. While terrorist acts around the globe may be the work of some misled individuals, these cannot certainly be regarded as the product of Islam.⁹ There are contrasting views of various authors and analysts on the subject. This paper will provide a fair opportunity to the reader to analyze the contradictions with a view to find out truth.

¹Maxwell Taylor, *The Fanatics: A Behavioral Approach to Political Violence* (UK: Brassey's, 1991), 25.

²Paul Fregosi, *Jihad in the West: Muslim Conquests from the 7th to the 21st Centuries* (New York: Prometheus Books, 1998), cover page, 21.

³Amir Taheri, *Holy War: Inside the World of Islamic Terrorism* (Adler and Adler, 1987), 20.

⁴Benjamin Netanyahu, *Terrorism: How the West Can Win* (New York: Jonathan Institute, 1986), 3.

⁵Muhammad Abu-Nimer, *Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 61.

⁶Adam Parfrey, *Extreme Islam: Anti American Propaganda of Muslim Fundamentalism* (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001), 37.

⁷Bernard Lewis, *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), xv.

⁸Prof. Thomas Arnold, *The Spread of Islam in the World, A History of Peaceful Preaching* (Goodword Books, 2002), 79-80.

⁹Harun Yahya, *Islam Denounces Terrorism* (England: Amal Press, 2002), [book on-online]; available from <http://www.islamdenoucesterrorism.com/terrorism2.htm>; Internet; accessed 20 January 2005.

CHAPTER 3

ISLAM AND TERRORISM

Islam: Is it a Religion of Radicalism and Violence?

Muslims do not “hate our freedom,” but rather, they hate our policies.¹

Islam is one of the three major world religions, which, along with Judaism and Christianity, professes monotheism, or the belief in a single God. Muslims believe that Islam is not a new religion revealed through Muhammad (PBUH), but the same truth that God revealed through all his prophets to every people. For a fifth of the world’s population, Islam is both a religion and a complete way of life. The word *Islam* comes from the Arabic word “*salam*,” which means “peace,” “surrender,” or “submission.” The full meaning of Islam is “peace through surrender to the will of Allah.” Allah is the name for God,² used by both Arabic-speaking Muslims and Christians.³ A Muslim is therefore someone who surrenders to the will of Allah.⁴ Islam is a religion of peace and tranquility. It lays stress on compassion, tolerance, and patience. Islam teaches a collective sense of loyalty to God and equality of all human beings before Him. This loyalty transcends class, race, nationality, and even differences in religious practices.⁵ A Muslim is one who avoids harming others with his tongue and hands.⁶ The essence of these teachings embodied in Islam has been summarized in the second chapter of Qur’an:⁷ “You who believe! Enter absolutely into peace (Islam). Do not follow in the footsteps of Satan. He is an outright enemy to you.”⁸

Notwithstanding Islam’s universal message of peace and brotherhood and its intellectual and scientific contributions, some commentators interpret it as a breeder of

contempt, purveyor of fearful conformity, and an entity fuelling intolerance and extremism.⁹ Traditional Islamic practices are sometimes regarded as a reflection of medieval times, suggesting that Islam perhaps cannot meet the challenges of the modern world. These misperceptions need to be addressed dispassionately, so that all understand the real face of Islam as a religion. Here an effort will be made not only to explain Islam as a faith along with its tenets, but also to refute the notion of radicalism and violence by illuminating relevant references from Islamic teachings based on the Qur'an and the Hadith.

Some people who claim they are acting in the name of religion may be doing so based on a misunderstanding of the teachings of this peaceful religion. For this reason, it may thus be a mistake to form any opinion of that religion from the activities of few people. There is a definite need to understand that there is a difference in the teachings of Islam and actions of the members of Muslim societies today. There are so many social and cultural aspects that have influenced this religion differently in various parts of the Muslim world, for example, the Islamic society of Indonesia differs from the Islamic society of Jordan. Similarly any action by someone from Saudi Arabia does not validate that action to be in the light of Islamic teachings.

The best way to understand Islam is through a study of its holy sources, rather than the practice of a few. The model of Islamic morality as preached in the Qur'an and Hadith is completely different from that perceived by many, especially in the Christian West. Islam as described in the Qur'an is a modern, enlightened, progressive religion. The ideal Muslim is above all a person of peace; he is tolerant, cultured, enlightened, honest, and knowledgeable. A Muslim educated in the fine moral teaching of the Qur'an

approaches everyone with the love that Islam expects. He shows respect for every idea and he values art and aesthetics. He is conciliatory in the face of every event, diminishing tension and restoring amity. The Qur'an emphasizes morality, love, compassion, mercy, modesty, self-sacrifice, tolerance, and peace. A Muslim who truly lives according to these moral precepts is highly thoughtful, tolerant, and accommodating.¹⁰

Western perceptions of Islam are often based on some misunderstandings, due to a lack of knowledge about Islam. A difficulty in the West in understanding Islam is perhaps because religion does not dominate everyday life in the West, whereas Muslims consider Islam a “way of life.” Though there are more similarities between Christianity and Islam than differences,¹¹ because of vested interests many people from both faiths exploit differences, portray a clash of faiths, and describe a reemergence of crusades rather than promoting dialogue and peaceful coexistence. These actions further widen the gulf of misunderstanding and provide ideal opportunities to extremists in both camps to take the advantage. To find out the actual teachings of Islam, one should always study the actual sources of Islam and try to differentiate between the true religious injunctions and those being propagated and demonstrated by groups with nonreligious agendas and interests.

The worst or the most misplaced misunderstanding about Islam can be summarized as “Muslims are violent, terrorists and extremists.” The roots of this perception lie in actions of some groups associated with Islam and anti-Islam undertakings of select groups in some contemporary societies and beliefs. Where unwarranted actions by some groups associated to Islam are politically or economically motivated, distortion in the image of Islam caused by others stems from the fact that they

probably see Islam as a challenge to the established global order. To check the expansion of Islamic appeal and to mobilize public opinion against its symbols, Islam is being represented as a negative force leading to oppression and violence.¹²

When a gunman attacks a mosque in the name of Judaism, Catholic Irish Republic Army (IRA) insurgents set off a bomb in an urban area, or Serbian Orthodox militiamen rape and kill innocent Muslim civilians, these acts are not used to stereotype an entire faith. These acts are usually not attributed to the religion of the perpetrators, but “Islamic militants” and “Muslim fundamentalists” have become widely used phrases for describing militancy and extremism anywhere in the world. Even if the terrorists may have Islamic identities, the acts they perpetrate cannot be labeled as “Islamic terror,” just as similar acts cannot be called “Jewish terror” if the perpetrators were Jews or “Christian terror” if they were Christians.

Islam does not allow killing of any innocent person regardless of his or her religion. The life of all human beings is sacred according to the teachings of the Qur’an and the guidance of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) collected in the Hadith. The Qur’an prohibits murder in these words:

Whether open or secret; take not life, which Allah hath made sacred, except by way of justice and law: thus doth He command you, that ye may learn wisdom.¹³

Nor take life - which Allah has made sacred - except for just cause. And if anyone is slain wrongfully, we have given his heir authority (to demand qisas or to forgive): but let him not exceed bounds in the matter of taking life; for he is helped (by the Law).¹⁴

Like in Christianity and Judaism, Islam severely restricts taking another person’s life. According to the Qur’an, killing any person without a just cause is as big a sin as

killing the whole of humanity, and saving the life of one person is as good a deed as saving the whole of humanity.

On that account: We ordained for the Children of Israel that if any one slew a person - unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land - it would be as if he slew the whole people: and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people. Then although there came to them Our apostles with clear signs, yet, even after that, many of them continued to commit excesses in the land.¹⁵

But seek, with the (wealth) which Allah has bestowed on thee, the Home of the Hereafter, nor forget thy portion in this world: but do thou good, as Allah has been good to thee, and seek not (occasions for) mischief in the land: for Allah loves not those who do mischief.¹⁶

The blame is only against those who oppress men and wrong-doing and insolently transgress beyond bounds through the land, defying right and justice: for such there will be a penalty grievous.¹⁷

The point to ponder is how the same Qur'an, which teaches the above, can preach killing and violence? Those spreading the misperception that Islam advocates violence vindicate their claim by quoting Qur'anic verses, like "kill them wherever you find them,"¹⁸ and "take not friend from their (Jews and Christians) ranks and slay them whenever you find them,"¹⁹ out of context. A caution may be exercised with regards to reading any verse of the Qur'an in isolation and out of context as it may carry an altogether different meaning. Knowing both the context and also the prevailing situation at the time of revelation of a particular verse in the Qur'an is necessary to interpret its right meaning and purpose.

For example, if someone reads the full text of the above quoted verses he will see a difference in the message being conveyed at both places. Moreover, these verses were revealed at the time when the idol-worshippers of Makkah would attack Muslims on a regular basis. They were threatening the Muslim community of Medina on a continuous

basis. It was under this situation that the Muslims were given permission to defend themselves with force, even though God placed strict limits.

Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors. And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have Turned you out; for tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter; but fight them not at the Sacred Mosque, unless they (first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. But if they cease, Allah is Oft-forgiving, Most Merciful. And fight them on until there is no more Tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in Allah. but if they cease, Let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression. The prohibited month for the prohibited month,- and so for all things prohibited,- there is the law of equality. If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, Transgress ye likewise against him. But fear Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves.²⁰

They but wish that ye should reject Faith, as they do, and thus be on the same footing (as they): so take not friends from their ranks until they flee in the way of Allah (from what is forbidden). But if they turn renegades, seize them and slay them wherever ye find them; and (in any case) take no friends or helpers from their ranks. Except those who join a group between whom and you there is a treaty (of peace), or those who approach you with hearts restraining them from fighting you as well as fighting their own people. If Allah had pleased, He could have given them power over you, and they would have fought you: therefore if they withdraw from you but fight you not, and (instead) send you (guarantees of) peace, then Allah hath opened no way for you (to war against them). Others you will find that wish to gain your confidence as well as that of their people: every time they are sent back to temptation, they succumb thereto; if they withdraw not from you nor give you (guarantees) of peace besides restraining their hands, seize them and slay them wherever ye get them; in their case We have provided you with a clear argument against them.²¹

Islam is a religion of peace and well being and God has forbidden every kind of mischievous acts in the religion of Islam, including terrorism and violence, and condemned those who commit such deeds.

But those who break the Covenant of Allah, after having plighted their word thereto, and cut asunder those things which Allah has commanded to be joined, and work mischief in the land; on them is the curse; for them is the terrible home!²²

But seek, with the (wealth) which Allah has bestowed on thee, the Home of the Hereafter, nor forget thy portion in this world: but do thou good, as Allah

has been good to thee, and seek not (occasions for) mischief in the land: for Allah loves not those who do mischief.²³

Islam fosters freedom of life, ideas, and thought. It has forbidden tension and conflict among people, calumny, suspicion, and even having negative thoughts about another individual. Islam has not only forbidden terror and violence, but also even the slightest imposition of any idea or belief on another human being:

There is no compulsion in religion. Right guidance has become clearly distinct from error. Anyone who rejects false gods and believes in God has grasped the Firmest Handhold, which will never give way. God is All-Hearing, All-Knowing.²⁴

You will not worship what I worship, your religion and your way is yours; and I have my own religion and my own way.²⁵

At another point God says in the Qur'an, "So remind, you need only to remind. You cannot compel them to believe."²⁶ God has made the killing of innocent people unlawful. According to the Qur'an, one of the greatest sins is to kill a human being who has committed no fault:

If someone kills another person - unless it is in retaliation for someone else or for causing corruption in the earth - it is as if he had murdered all mankind. And if anyone gives life to another person, it is as if he had given life to all mankind. Our Messengers came to them with Clear Signs but even after that many of them committed outrages in the earth.²⁷

Those who do not call on any other deity together with God and do not kill anyone God has made inviolate, except with the right to do so, and do not fornicate; anyone who does that will receive an evil punishment.²⁸

God commands believers to be compassionate and merciful, and in this verse, Muslim morality is explained: "Then will he be of those who believe, and enjoin patience, (constancy, and self-restraint), and enjoin deeds of kindness and compassion. Such are the Companions of the Right Hand."²⁹ As is seen in this verse, one of the most important moral precepts that God has sent down to His servants, so that they may

receive salvation and mercy and attain Paradise, is to urge each other to compassion.

Forgiveness and tolerance are among the most basic principles of Islam and in the Qur'an God commands Muslims to practice these principles.³⁰ "The word Islam comes from the same Arabic root as the word peace and the Koran condemns war as an abnormal state of affairs opposed to God's will."³¹

These verses reveal that those who kill innocent human beings are liable to tough punishment. As per Qur'anic injunctions, killing even one person is as great a sin as killing the entire mankind. Anyone who would respect the directions of God would not do harm even to an individual, let alone murdering thousands of innocent people. Someone may escape the worldly system of justice and punishment, but he cannot dodge the account he will have to give on the Day of Judgment. Any true believer, who knows that he will have to give an account to God for every act he commits, will be very careful about respecting the limits God has established.

Islamic Concept of Jihad: It Is Not Killing the Innocents

Islam is not the enemy. It is not synonymous with terror.
Nor does Islam teach terror.³²

Like Christianity, Islam permits fighting in self-defense. It lays down strict rules of combat, which include prohibitions against harming civilians and against destroying crops, trees and livestock. Nowhere does it enjoin the killing of innocents. The Qur'an says: "Fight in the cause of God against those who fight you, but do not transgress limits. God does not love transgressors."³³ "But if the enemy inclines towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah for He is One that heareth and knoweth (all things)."³⁴ War, therefore, is the last resort, and is subject to the rigorous conditions

laid down by the sacred law. The term “jihad” literally means “struggle.” Muslims believe that there are two kinds of jihad. One form of jihad is the inner struggle of the soul, which everyone wages against egotistic or immoral desires for the sake of attaining inner peace.

The word jihad is derived from Arabic words “*Jahd*” or “*Juhd*” which signifies exertion, striving and endeavor. It is also used in the sense of exerting one's power and ability without implying any sense of war.³⁵ Jihad is often mistranslated as “holy war,” a usage the media has popularized. According to Islamic teachings, it is unholy to instigate or start war.³⁶ Neither is jihad justified as war to force the faith on others, as many people think of it. It should never be interpreted as a way of compulsion of the belief on others, since there is an explicit verse in the Qur'an that says: “There is no compulsion in religion.”³⁷

Not only in peace but also in war Islam prohibits acts of violence, when carried against civilians. Whoever commits such violations is considered a murderer in Islam, and is to be punished by the Islamic state. Even during wars, Islam prohibits Muslim soldiers from harming civilians, women, children, elderly, and the religious men like priests and rabbis. It also prohibits cutting down trees and destroying civilian constructions.³⁸

In the linguistic sense, the Arabic word jihad means struggling or striving and applies to any effort exerted by anyone. In this sense a student struggles and strives to get an education and pass course work; an employee strives to fulfill his/her job and maintain good relations with his/her employer; a politician strives to maintain or increase his

popularity with his constituents, and so on. In the Qur'an the word jihad is also used in different occasions.

We have enjoined on man kindness to parents: but if they (either of them) strive (to force) thee to join with Me (in worship) anything of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not. Ye have (all) to return to me, and I will tell you (the truth) of all that ye did.³⁹

But if they strive to make thee join in worship with Me things of which thou hast no knowledge, obey them not; yet bear them company in this life with justice (and consideration), and follow the way of those who turn to me (in love): in the end the return of you all is to Me, and I will tell you the truth (and meaning) of all that ye did.⁴⁰

Striving in the way of Allah and struggling with the greatest power and ability in the cause of Justice and Trust, unmindful of life and wealth, or even family and children, is an achievement of high order and excellence as the Divine Book expresses,

And strive in His cause as ye ought to strive, (with sincerity and under discipline). He has chosen you, and has imposed no difficulties on you in religion; it is the cult of your father Abraham. It is He Who has named you Muslims, both before and in this (Revelation); that the Messenger may be a witness for you, and ye be witnesses for mankind! So establish regular Prayer, give regular Charity, and hold fast to Allah. He is your Protector - the Best to protect and the Best to help.⁴¹

The Qur'an and the Hadith use the word jihad in several different contexts, which will be discussed in succeeding paragraphs.

Jihad is also used for striving ceaselessly to remove ignorance and disseminate knowledge, learning and science. Islam has given top priority to knowledge and pen. Jihad "with pen" occupies a dominant position in the Islamic culture and was influential as a torchbearer of knowledge during the glorious days of Muslim civilization. Any effort made to spread knowledge comes in the realm of jihad "with pen."

Jihad "with wealth" also plays an important role in emphasising to the people to spend their wealth in the way of Allah for the good of mankind. If wealth is required to

be spent on collective projects, it will be considered preferential over individual needs.

According to the Qur'an:

Those who believed, and adopted exile, and fought for the Faith, with their property and their persons, in the cause of Allah, as well as those who gave (them) asylum and aid, - these are (all) friends and protectors, one of another. As to those who believed but came not into exile, ye owe no duty of protection to them until they come into exile; but if they seek your aid in religion, it is your duty to help them, except against a people with whom ye have a treaty of mutual alliance. And (remember) Allah seeth all that ye do.⁴²

Only those are Believers who have believed in Allah and His Messenger, and have never since doubted, but have striven with their belongings and their persons in the Cause of Allah. Such are the sincere ones, Were We then weary with the first Creation that they should be in confused doubt about a new Creation?⁴³

The word jihad has been used in the Qur'an and the Hadith in many different contexts as highlighted in the following: To strive to recognize the Creator⁴⁴ and His cause;⁴⁵ strive to remain steadfast on His teachings⁴⁶ and His path;⁴⁷ strive to stay on the straight path steadfastly;⁴⁸ strive to fulfill the spiritual needs;⁴⁹ strive to limit the oppression;⁵⁰ strive to escape persecution;⁵¹ strive to earn Allah's mercy to enter the Paradise;⁵² strive for righteous deeds;⁵³ performing an accepted Hajj (visit to the Holy Mosque at Mecca and perform religious rituals);⁵⁴ serving and caring for the parents;⁵⁵ speaking words of truth in front of oppressive rulers;⁵⁶ strive against self;⁵⁷ strive to earn Allah's forgiveness;⁵⁸ displaying courage and steadfastness to convey the message of Islam;⁵⁹ removing treacherous people from power;⁶⁰ freeing people from tyranny;⁶¹ defending Islam and Islamic community;⁶² defend against oppression;⁶³ and fighting in the cause of Allah against those who make aggression, but remaining within the limits.⁶⁴

These examples provide ample evidence that jihad is not only about waging a war or so called "holy war;" rather, its scope is much more comprehensive than its use related

to “force.” It may also be evident from these references that jihad is not restricted to the efforts or striving for the good of Muslim community only, but for all mankind, irrespective of religions and faiths. God does not approve initiating a war. Those who start wars have been called disbelievers: “...Each time they kindle the fire of war, Allah extinguishes it. They rush about the earth corrupting it. Allah does not love corrupters.”⁶⁵

Helping allied people who may not be Muslim also falls in the context of jihad. In the late period of the Prophet Muhammad’s (PBUH) life, the tribe of Banu Khuza'ah became his ally through a treaty of joint defence. They were living near Makkah which was under the rule of the pagan Quraysh, Prophet Muhammad’s (PBUH) own tribe. The tribe of Banu Bakr, an ally of Quraysh, with the help of some elements of Quraysh, attacked the Banu Khuza'ah and inflicted heavy damage. The Banu Khuza'ah invoked the treaty and demanded the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to come to their help and punish the Quraysh. The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) organized a campaign against the Quraysh of Makkah, ending finally in the peaceful conquest of Makkah, without any battle.⁶⁶

Limits and rules have been laid down for jihad involving fighting: Allah demands justice from the victorious, commands to restore the deposits;⁶⁷ remain fair in the dealings⁶⁸ and guide with truth;⁶⁹ and enjoins right conduct and forbids evil,⁷⁰ lewdness, abomination and wickedness.⁷¹ According to the Qur’an, war has to be absolutely carried out with strict observance of particular humane and moral values, and is to be employed only when it is inevitable. The guidelines given by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) to the military commanders give a fair idea of Islamic war ethics. He asked them to:

Fight in the name of Allah; fight but do not be treacherous; and do not mutilate; and do not kill women and children; and do not kill the inhabitants of the monasteries.⁷²

Do not kill the feeble; do not disfigure and damage unduly; do not submerge any palm-dates; do not cut any trees; do not demolish any houses; and do not put the defeated enemy or his territory on fire.⁷³

Edward A. Freeman, in his work *Western Images of Islam, 1700-1900*, in remarking about Muslims writes, “These men, terrible in battle, when compared with other victors, eminently mild in victory . . . we hear of no indiscriminate massacre of the defenseless, of no torments, mockeries inflicted even on the most obstinate.”⁷⁴

Historical Perspective: Islamic Tolerance and Peaceful Co-existence

Whoever obeyeth the messenger hath obeyed Allah (as for the person) who turneth away we have not sent thee as a warder over him.⁷⁵

[To those who say] that Islam was spread by the sword. [I will ask them to] distinguish between the spread of the Empire and the spread of the Faith. The Muslim empire was certainly established by the sword but the Muslim faith was not... [You] will not find a single instance in history of an empire spreading by love and peace.⁷⁶

Islamic history, points out clearly how Muslims established this important precept of the moral teachings of the Qur'an in their social life. At every point in their advance, Muslims created a free and tolerant environment. In the areas of religion, language and culture, they made it possible for people with widely divergent views to live under the same roof in freedom and peace, thereby giving to those subject to them the advantages of knowledge, wealth, and position. History never witnessed true Muslims as “makers of mischief.” On the contrary, they brought security and peace to the people from all nations and beliefs inhabiting the large territory over which they reigned.⁷⁷ The mission of the

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) was to free people from tyranny and exploitation by oppressive systems. Once free, individuals in the society were then at liberty to choose Islam or not. Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) successors continued in his footsteps and went to help oppressed people. For example, after repeated calls by the oppressed people of Spain to the Muslims for help, Muslim forces liberated Spain and removed the tyrant rulers.⁷⁸ After the conquest of Syria and Iraq by the Muslims, the Christian population of Hims reportedly said to the Muslims, "We like your rule and justice far better than the state of oppression and tyranny under which we have been living."⁷⁹

One of the most important reasons that the widespread Ottoman Empire was able to sustain its existence for so many centuries was that its way of life was directed by the tolerance and understanding brought by Islam. For centuries Muslims have been characterized by their tolerance and compassion. Various ethnic groups within this multi-national community freely practiced their religions and enjoyed every opportunity to live in their own cultures and worship in their own way.⁸⁰

A closer examination of Prophet Muhammad's (PBUH) life reveals that war is a method resorted to for defensive purposes and only in unavoidable situations. The revelation of the Qur'an to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) lasted for 23 years. During the first 13 years of this period, Muslims lived as a minority under pagan rule in Mecca and faced much oppression. Many Muslims were harassed, abused, tortured, and even murdered; their houses and possessions were plundered. Despite this oppression, however, Muslims led their lives without resorting to any violence and always called pagans to peace. When the oppression of pagans escalated unbearably, Muslims migrated to the town of Medina, where they could establish their own order in a more receptive

and free environment. Even establishing their own political system did not prompt them to take up weapons against aggressive pagans of Mecca. In initial wars that were fought between Muslims and the pagans, Muslims always reacted in self-defense and never instigated war. Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) established a secure and peaceful social environment for Muslims and pagans alike by signing a peace agreement (Hudaybiya) which conceded to the pagans most of their requests.⁸¹ Despite having a big army, Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) conquered Mecca without bloodshed and in a spirit of tolerance. If he willed, he could have taken revenge on pagan leaders in the city. Yet, he did not do harm to any one of them, but forgave them and treated them with the utmost tolerance.⁸² In the Qur'an, God commands believers to treat everybody kindly and justly:

You who believe! Show integrity for the sake of God, bearing witness with justice. Do not let hatred for a people incite you into not being just. Be just. That is closer to heedfulness. Heed God (alone). God is aware of what you do.⁸³

When Mohammed (PBUH) sent his freedman Zaid at the head of an army, he told them to fight in the cause of God bravely but humanely. They must not molest priests, monks and nuns or the weak and helpless people who were unable to fight. There must be no massacre of civilians nor should they cut down a single tree nor pull down any building. This type of behavior by victorious armies was almost unprecedented in the region's history.⁸⁴ Following the death of Prophet Muhammad, Muslims continued to treat the members of other religions with tolerance and respect. Islamic states became the secure and free home of both Jews and Christians. After the conquest of Jerusalem, Caliph Omar calmed the Christians who were in fear of a massacre and explained to them that they were secure. Furthermore, he visited their churches and declared that they could continue to practice their worship freely.

In 1099 CE, four centuries after the conquest of Jerusalem by Muslims, Crusaders invaded Jerusalem and put all Muslims inhabitants to the sword. Again, contrary to the fears of Christians, Saladin, the Muslim general who captured Jerusalem and liberated the city from invasion in 1187 CE, did not touch even a single civilian and did not allow a single soldier to plunder. Moreover, he allowed the invading Christians to take all their possessions and leave the city in security.⁸⁵

The tolerance and justice of Islam also marked the periods of the Seljuk Turks and the Ottoman Empire. Jews who were expelled from Catholic Spain found the peace they sought in Muslim Morocco and in the lands of the Ottoman Empire, where many took refuge in 1492 CE.⁸⁶ Sultan Mehmed, the conqueror of Istanbul, also allowed Jews and Christians religious freedom. Regarding the tolerant and just practices of Muslims, historian A. Miquel states, “the Christians were ruled by a very well administered state which was something that did not exist in the Byzantium or Latin sovereignty. They were never subjected to a systematized oppression. On the contrary, the Empire, and foremost Istanbul, became a refuge for the much-tortured Spanish Jews. They were never forced to accept Islam.”⁸⁷

John L. Esposito, a professor of Religion and International Politics at Georgetown University, makes a similar comment, “Religiously, Islam proved a more tolerant religion, providing greater religious freedom for Jews and indigenous Christians.”⁸⁸ Muslim history is full of instances of Islam’s spirit of toleration such as Mu’awiya’s employing many Christians in his government and Caliph Al Muqtadir’s ordering the rebuilding of churches at Ramleh and other places. When the Caliph Omar entered Jerusalem in the year 634 CE, Islam granted freedom of worship to all religious

communities in the city. Islamic law also permits non-Muslim minorities to set up their own courts, which implement family laws drawn up by the minorities themselves. The administration of Spain over several centuries by Muslims is a glorious chapter in Muslim history. As late as the tenth century CE, ancient temples of fire – which were preserved – stood splendidly overshadowing the modest mosques by their side. The Abbasid Caliph Mamun (813-833 CE) effaced all religious distinctions and Jews, Christians, Sabians and Zoroastrians were eligible for and held high offices of state.⁸⁹ A saying of the Prophet (PBUH) explains that for anyone who enjoys the protection of Muslims, his blood is like Muslims' blood and his blood money is like Muslims' blood money.

Umar (after he was stabbed), instructed (his would-be-successor) saying, "I urge him (i.e. the new Caliph) to take care of those non-Muslims who are under the protection of Allah and His Apostle in that he should observe the convention agreed upon with them, and fight on their behalf (to secure their safety) and he should not over-tax them beyond their capability."⁹⁰

In the Indian sub-continent (present day India and Pakistan), starting from 711 CE (when Muhammad Bin Qasim invaded India) until 1857 CE (when the British formally took control of the region), Muslims remained wholly or partially in control of the region for almost 1146 years. No historian has ever alleged that the Muslims there indulged in an indiscriminate carnage or forcible conversion of non-Muslims during their eleven centuries of rule. Hindus, Sikhs and Marhattas of course fought with Muslim armies but these were political battles, not due to the religious intolerance of their Muslim rulers. In Mughal Emperor Akbar's time (sixteenth century CE), Hindus held the highest offices under the Emperor. They did not try to bring any change in the religious demography of the sub-continent as had been done by the Christian rulers of Spain.⁹¹ It

can therefore be asserted with confidence that the Muslims have been tolerant to other faiths and religions.

All this shows that the moral teaching offered to humanity by Islam is designed to bring peace, happiness and justice to the world. The acts of terrorism being performed in the world today under the name of Islam are completely removed from the moral teachings of the Qur'an and the Prophet's (PBUH) guidance in Hadith. Rather, terrorist acts are the work of ignorant, bigoted people, or criminals who have nothing to do with religion. In other words, the religion of Islam and the moral teaching of the Qur'an do not provide any support for terrorism and the terrorists. To the contrary, Islam and devout Islamic practice are remedies for the scourge of terrorism.

¹Report of the Defense Science Board Task Force on Strategic Communication, September 2004 (Office of the Under Secretary of Defense For Acquisition, Technology, and Logistics, Washington, D.C. 20301-3140), 40, [article on-line]; available from http://www.acq.osd.mil/dsb/reports/2004-09-Strategic_Communication.pdf; Internet; accessed 2 January 2005.

²“Save with such of them (ahli-kitab) as do wrong, say we believe in that which hath been revealed to us and revealed to you. Our God and your God is One and unto him we surrender,” The Qur’an, 29: 46.

³“ISLAM” an Encarta, [article on-line]; available from http://encarta.msn.com/encyclopedia_761579171/Islam.html; Internet; accessed 21 December 2004.

⁴Bertha Beachy, *Islam Means Peace*, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.mph.org/otl/OTLForPeace/0904otlforpeace.pdf>; Internet; accessed 18 December 2004.

⁵Beachy.

⁶M. Muhsin Khan, *Translation of Sahih Bokhari*, Belief, Volume 1, Book 2, Number 9, [book on-line]; available from <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/fundamentals/hadithsunnah/bukhari/002.sbt.html#001.002.009>; Internet; accessed 2 January 2005.

⁷The Qur’an, 2:1-6.

⁸Ibid., 2:208.

⁹Adam Parfrey, *Extreme Islam: Anti American Propaganda of Muslim Fundamentalism* (Los Angeles: Feral House, 2001), 37.

¹⁰Paki, *The True Islamic Morals*, [article on-line]; available from <http://ipaki.com/content/html/27/315.html> ; Internet; accessed 16 December 2005.

¹¹Bernard Lewis, *The Crisis of Islam: Holy War and Unholy Terror* (New York: The Modern Library, 2003), xv.

¹²Islam Online, *Rising to Global Challenge*, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.islamonline.net/iol-english/qadaya/media-1/media5.asp>; Internet; accessed 16 December 2005.

¹³The Qur'an, 6:151.

¹⁴Ibid., 17:33.

¹⁵Ibid., 5:33.

¹⁶Ibid., 28:77.

¹⁷Ibid., 42:42.

¹⁸Ibid., 2:191.

¹⁹Ibid., 4:89.

²⁰Ibid., 2:190-194.

²¹Ibid., 4:89-91.

²²Ibid., 13:25

²³Ibid., 28:77

²⁴Ibid., 2:256.

²⁵Ibid., 109:5,6.

²⁶Ibid., 88:22.

²⁷Ibid., 5:32.

²⁸Ibid., 25:68.

²⁹Ibid., 90:17-18.

³⁰Ibid., 7:199.

³¹Karen Armstrong, *Holy War, the Crusades and Their Impact on the World Today*, quoted by Harun Yahya, *Pacifism in Islam* [article on-line]; available from http://www.islamdenouncesterrorism.com/the_pacifism_of_islam.html and http://www.livingislam.org/fqir_e.html; Internet; accessed 20 March 05.

³²What to Do? A Global Strategy, Chapter 12, 9/11 Commission Report, [book on-line]; available from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/911report/documents/911Report_Ch12.pdf; Internet: accessed 10 January 2005.

³³The Qur'an, 2:190.

³⁴The Qur'an, 8:61.

³⁵Jihad in Islam, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.submission.org/muhammed/jihad.html>; Internet; accessed 13 January 05; and Sultan Shahin, *Islam and Hinduism: Part 3: The Concept of Jihad*, [article on-line]; available from http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Front_Page/EL20Aa02.html; Internet; accessed 17 January 05.

³⁶Dr M Amir Ali, *Jihad Explained*, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.iiie.net/Brochures/Brochure-18.html> and <http://www.geocities.com/WestHollywood/Park/6443/Jihad/explain.html>; Internet; accessed 17 January 2005.

³⁷The Qur'an, 2:256.

³⁸Islamic Glossary Home, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/reference/glossary/term.JIHAD.html>; Internet; accessed 17 January 05.

³⁹The Qur'an, 29:8.

⁴⁰Ibid., 31:15.

⁴¹Ibid., 22:78.

⁴²Ibid., 8:72.

⁴³Ibid., 49:15.

⁴⁴“O ye who believe! take not for protectors your fathers and your brothers if they love infidelity above Faith: if any of you do so, they do wrong. Say: If it be that your fathers, your sons, your brothers, your mates, or your kindred; the wealth that ye have gained; the commerce in which ye fear a decline: or the dwellings in which ye delight -

are dearer to you than Allah, or His Messenger, or the striving in His cause; then wait until Allah brings about His decision: and Allah guides not the rebellious.," Ibid., 9:23, 24.

⁴⁵ "And strive in His cause as ye ought to strive (with sincerity and under discipline). He has chosen you, and has imposed no difficulties on you in religion; it is the cult of your father Abraham. It is He Who has named you Muslims, both before and in this (Revelation); that the Messenger may be a witness for you, and ye be witnesses for mankind! So establish regular Prayer, give regular Charity, and hold fast to Allah. He is your Protector - the Best to protect and the Best to help," Ibid., 22:78.

⁴⁶Ibid., 2:155.

⁴⁷"And those who strive in Our (cause), - We will certainly guide them to our Paths: For verily Allah is with those who do right.,"Ibid., 29:69.

⁴⁸"Only those are Believers who have believed in Allah and His Messenger, and have never since doubted, but have striven with their belongings and their persons in the Cause of Allah. Such are the sincere ones, Were We then weary with the first Creation that they should be in confused doubt about a new Creation?,"Ibid., 49:15.

⁴⁹"And if any strive (with might and main), they do so for their own souls: for Allah is free of all needs from all creation."Ibid., 29:6.

⁵⁰"Lo! As for those whom the angels take (in death) while they wronged themselves, (the angels) will ask: in what you were engaged? They will say: we were oppressed in the land. (The angels) will say: was not Allah's earth spacious that you could have migrated therein? ...,"Ibid., 4:97

⁵¹"Lo! Those who believe and those who emigrate (to escape persecution) and strive (jahadu) in the way of Allah, these have hope of Allah's mercy ...,"Ibid., 2:218.

⁵²"Or did you think that you would enter Paradise while yet Allah knows not those of you who really strive (jahadu), nor knows those (of you) who are steadfast.,"Ibid., 3:142.

⁵³Ibid., 29:69.

⁵⁴ "Rather the best *jihad* is an accepted hajj.," Sahih Bukhari, Chapter 61, Hadith Number 2632 ,[book on-line]; available from <http://www.sunnipath.com/Resources/PrintMedia/Hadith/H0002P0061.aspx>; Internet; accessed 23 January 05.

⁵⁵"It is related that 'Abdullah ibn 'Amr said, "A man came to the Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, and asked his permission to go on *jihad*. The Prophet, may Allah bless him and grant him peace, asked, 'Are your parents alive?' He replied, 'Yes.' He said, 'Then strive in caring for them.',"Ibid., Hadith Number 2842.

⁵⁶“Yet another man asked the Messenger of Allah, “What kind of jihad is better?” He replied, “A word of truth in front of an oppressive ruler!,” Sunan Al-Nasa’I, Hadith Number 4209 , quoted by Dr M Amir Ali, *Jihad Explained*.

⁵⁷The Messenger of Allah, Muhammad(PBUH) said:”.. the mujahid (one who carries out jihad) is he who strives against himself for the sake of obeying Allah, and the muhajir (one who emigrates) is he who abandons evil deeds and sin.,” Sahih Ibn Hibban, Hadith Number 4862, quoted by Dr M Amir Ali, *Jihad Explained*.

⁵⁸“O ye who believe! Shall I lead you to a bargain that will save you from a grievous Penalty? That ye believe in Allah and His Messenger, and that ye strive (your utmost) in the Cause of Allah, with your property and your persons: That will be best for you, if ye but knew! He will forgive you your sins, and admit you to Gardens beneath which Rivers flow, and to beautiful mansions in Gardens of Eternity: that is indeed the Supreme Achievement.” , The Qur’an , 61:10-12.

⁵⁹“Who is better in speech than one who calls (men) to Allah, works righteousness, and says, “I am of those who bow in Islam?,” Ibid., 41:33.

⁶⁰“If you fear treachery from any group, throw back (their treaty) to them, (so as to be) on equal terms. Lo! Allah loves not the treacherous.” Ibid., 8:58.

⁶¹“And why should you not fight in the cause of Allah and of those who, being weak, are ill-treated (and oppressed)? Men, women, and children, whose cry is: 'Our Lord! Rescue us from this town, whose people are oppressors; and raise for us from You, one who will protect; and raise for us from You, one who will help'.” Ibid., 4:75.

⁶²“To those against whom war is made, permission is given (to fight), because they are wronged;- and verily, Allah is most powerful for their aid. (They are) those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right, - (for no cause) except that they say, “our Lord is Allah.. Did not Allah check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measure. Allah will certainly aid those who aid his (cause); - for verily Allah is full of Strength, Exalted in Might, (able to enforce His Will).” Ibid., 22:39-40.

⁶³“And those who, when an oppressive wrong is inflicted on them, (are not cowed but) help and defend themselves.” Ibid., 42:39.

⁶⁴“Fight in the cause of Allah against those who fight against you, but do not transgress limits. Lo! Allah loves not aggressors. And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allah. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against transgressors.”Ibid., 2:190,193.

⁶⁵Ibid., 5: 64.

⁶⁶Conquest of Makkah,[article on-line];available from http://www.witness-pioneer.org/vil/Articles/companion/21_ali_bin_talib.htm; Internet; accessed 17 April 2005.

⁶⁷The Qur'an, 4:58.

⁶⁸Ibid., 5:8.

⁶⁹Ibid., 7:181.

⁷⁰Ibid., 22:41.

⁷¹Ibid., 16:90.

⁷²A. I. Akram, *The Muslim Conquest of Persia*,(Rawalpindi : Army Education Press, 1975), 313.

⁷³Muhammad Yasin Mazhar Siddiqui, *Organization of Government under the Prophet* (Delhi, India: Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi), 156-157; referred in the Command and Staff College, *Warfare Foundation Studies: Military History Primer 2001 – Islamic Battles* (Quetta, Pakistan: Command and Staff College), cover page and 56.

⁷⁴Edward A. Freeman, *Western Images of Islam, 1700 – 1900*, referred in the Command and Staff College, *Warfare Foundation Studies: Military History Primer 2001 – Islamic Battles* (Quetta, Pakistan: Command and Staff College), 57.

⁷⁵The Qur'an, 4: 80.

⁷⁶A. I. Akram, 313.

⁷⁷Harun Yahya, *Justice and Tolerance in the Qur'an*, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.harunyahya.com/justice1.php>;Internet; accessed 20 March 05.

⁷⁸Dr M. Amir Ali, *Jihad Explained*.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰Harun Yahya, *Islam Has Brought Peace and Harmony to the Middle East All Through History*, [article on-line]; available from http://www.harunyahya.com/32terrorism_middleeast_soc08.html;Internet; accessed 20 March 05.

⁸¹“Under the terms of this treaty the Prophet would be allowed to make the pilgrimage, not then, but in the following year. Makka would be emptied for three days for the Muslim pilgrims. The Treaty also stipulated a truce for ten years; that any tribe or person would be free to join either party or make an alliance with it; and that those who were not free but subjects or dependents of the Quraysh and who defected from paganism to Islam would be returned to the Quraysh by the Muslims.” *Hudaybiya as a Manifest*

Victory, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.islamanswers.net/moreAbout/Hudaybiya.htm> ;Internet; accessed 20 March 05.

⁸²Conquest of Makkah

⁸³The Qur'an, 5:8.

⁸⁴Karen Armstrong, *Holy War, the Crusades and Their Impact on the World Today* (London: MacMillian Limited, 1988), 25.

⁸⁵Harun Yahya, *Pacifism in Islam*, [article on-line]; available from http://www.islamdenouncesterrorism.com/the_pacifism_of_islam.html ;Internet; accessed 20 March 05.

⁸⁶Mahmood Mamdani, *Good Muslims, Bad Muslims – America, the cold war and the roots of terror* (Pantheon Books, 2004), 5.

⁸⁷Islamica, Volume 2 Issue 1, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.icsfp.com/Media/Newsletter/Islamica-FebMar2004.pdf> ; Internet; accessed 12 March 2005.

⁸⁸John L. Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 39.

⁸⁹M. N. Roy, *Historical Role of Islam: An Essay on Islamic Culture, Chapter III*, [article on-line]; available from http://www.globalwebpost.com/farooqm/study_res/islam/info/roy.html; Internet; accessed 20 March 05.

⁹⁰Sahih Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 52, Hadith Number 287.

⁹¹Mahmood Mamdani, 5.

CHAPTER 4

TERRORISM: AN ANALYSIS

Terrorism is the war of the poor and war is the terrorism of the rich.¹

Sir Peter Ustinov

In the previous chapter, roots of violence, radicalism and terrorism were traced in the religions and faiths, and an effort was made to de-link the ongoing acts of terrorism from Islamic teachings. It was also ascertained that murdering innocent people in the name of a divine religion is unacceptable and Islam does not permit this. This chapter will analyze the political linkage or genesis of terrorism and the conditions that help harbor terrorism. We will study that terrorism is not the domain of any particular religion or faith; rather it is primarily the function of political motivation and agendas, though misinterpretation of religion may also serve as a stimulant or source of motivation for some violent acts. Moreover, as the next chapter deals with the strategy to counter terrorism – the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation”, an understanding of the various types and causes of terrorism is essential for evolving a suitable counterterrorism strategy and response.

Terrorism Is Independent of Religions

It may be possible to trace the roots of violence and radicalism in religious injunctions; but, mostly it is factors other than religion or faith that motivate terrorism. Most of the time it is not differences in religion or faiths but rather other elements of civilization, such as shared values, language, history, customs, and institutions, which have been at the root of conflicts between peoples and nations.²

Civilizations are differentiated from each other by history, language, culture, tradition and, most importantly, religion.³ Religious similarities may contribute to peaceful relations among them; conversely, differences in religion may increase the incidence of war.⁴ However, religion alone cannot be termed as the cause of war or conflict even though the role of religion in defining societal groups or civilizations remains very important.

Sadly, the fact that the perpetrators of various terrorist acts carry Christian, Muslim or Jewish identities causes some people to put forward claims which do not concur with divine religions. The truth is that even if terrorists have Muslim identities, the terror they perpetrate cannot be labeled as “Islamic terror,” just as one should not use the term “Jewish terror” if the perpetrators are Jews, or “Christian terror” if they are Christians.⁵ Despite this understanding, the problem is that what is described as the “war on terrorism” has now become broadly interpreted as a “war on Islam” by much of the world’s Muslim community,⁶ which is again a misperception and needs to be put right.

The global media trend today is also not unbiased. There was a detailed study carried out in Serbia, entitled “*Terrorism through Daily Press in Serbia,*” to see how newspapers covered the issue of terrorism and current global war on terrorism (GWOT). Having gone through the study it appears that terrorists, mujahideen, Islamic extremists/fundamentalists, Taliban, and al-Qaeda are all used as synonyms.⁷ Although many acts of terrorism may be attributed to those associated with Muslim societies, one should always keep in mind that there are extremists and religious fanatics in all religions. Hatred, violence and many atrocities have also been committed on behalf of Christianity (Spanish Inquisition, and others).⁸ The United States’ National Strategy for

Combating Terrorism-2003 notes that terrorism is not religiously but politically motivated:

The enemy is not one person. It is not a single political regime. Certainly it is not a religion. The enemy is terrorism – premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub national groups or clandestine agents.⁹

Acts of terrorism have been and are being carried out in various parts of the world by different groups for a variety of purposes. Sometimes a communist organization, a fascist group, a religious radical or separatist faction assumes responsibility for these acts. The types of terrorism techniques vary according to the persistent political and social environment in that particular region or country. While countries like America often became the target of attacks by racist and marginal terrorist groups, the European countries have also been the centre stage for violent acts carried out by political terrorist organizations.

The British have for decades dealt with bombs planted by Irish Catholic nationalists; the Spanish with attacks by Basque separatists; Sri Lankans with incursions of Tamil and Sinhalese militants; the French with subway bombings by Algerian Muslim radicals; Indians with violence by both Sikh and Kashmiri separatists; Palestinians with Jewish extremists; and Israelis with Palestinian suicide commandos. Even the Japanese had to deal with nerve gas placed in a Tokyo subway by a Buddhist. For some countries, dealing with terrorist attacks has regrettably become a way of life.¹⁰ “With so many diverse adherents, every major religion will spawn violent zealots.”¹¹

Organizations and groups like the Red Army Faction (RAF) and Neo-Nazis in Germany, Albanian terrorism in Kosovo,¹² the Basque Separatist Movement (ETA) in Spain, the Red Brigades in Italy, the Irish Republic Army (IRA) in the UK,¹³ the

Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) in Sri Lanka, and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist)/ United Peoples Front (all listed as “other terrorist groups” by the State Department)¹⁴ all seek to make their voices heard through terror and violence by killing innocent and defenseless people.¹⁵ In addition to an old liberation struggle ongoing in Kashmir, India is home to several indigenous separatist and Maoist-oriented terrorist groups¹⁶ like the National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB), the National Liberation Front of Tripura, the United Liberation Front of Assam (ULFA); and the United National Liberation Front (seeking an independent Manipur).¹⁷

Though today terrorism is being associated broadly with Muslims and Islamic states, the violent episodes associated with other religious extremists like Christian Identity movements, Catholic/Protestant paramilitaries, Sikh, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish extremists vouch that terror has no religion.¹⁸ We need to understand that terrorism is not a new phenomenon but rather that human history has witnessed these acts as long ago as 48 AD:

Beginning in 48 A.D., a Jewish sect called the Zealots carried out terrorist campaigns to force insurrection against the Romans in Judea. -- The Zealots' justification for their killing of other Jews was that these killings demonstrated the consequences of the immorality--.¹⁹

Definition of Terrorism

This is not a war against an individual, a group, a religion or a country. Rather, our opponent is a global network of terrorist organizations and their state sponsors, committed to denying free people the opportunity to live as they choose.²⁰

Donald H. Rumsfeld

Consistent with the saying that “One man’s terrorist is another man’s freedom fighter,” the lack of global agreement on one definition of terrorism has become a major

factor in limiting the coordination and collaboration in international efforts against terrorism. The question of an agreed upon definition of terrorism has haunted the debate amongst the states for decades. There is no internationally agreed definition of terrorism.²¹ A first attempt to arrive at an internationally acceptable definition was made under the League of Nations, but the convention drafted in 1937 could not be agreed upon.²² The United Nations General Assembly has had a resolution defining terrorism on its books since 1999 but has not yet reached consensus. At present, the General Assembly's Sixth Committee is considering a draft Comprehensive Convention on International Terrorism that would include a definition of terrorism, if the convention is adopted. An internationally acceptable and agreeable definition is necessary for a united and effective response to terrorist acts, wherever, regardless of time, place and perpetrators.

Scholars, politicians, security experts and journalists all use a variety of definitions of terrorism, and some books cite around 109 different definitions of terrorism, some of which follow:²³ "Terrorism is the use or threatened use of force designed to bring about political change."²⁴ "Terrorism constitutes the illegitimate use of force to achieve a political objective when innocent people are targeted."²⁵ "Terrorism is the premeditated, deliberate, systematic murder, mayhem, and threatening of the innocent to create fear and intimidation in order to gain a political or tactical advantage, usually to influence an audience."²⁶ "Terrorism is the unlawful use or threat of violence against persons or property to further political or social objectives. It is usually intended to intimidate or coerce a government, individuals or groups, or to modify their behavior or politics."²⁷ "Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or

property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives.”²⁸

Terrorists often use threats to create fear among the public, to try to convince citizens that their government is powerless to prevent terrorism, and to get immediate publicity for their causes.²⁹ Terrorism could be regarded as domestic or international, keeping in mind those who are conducting it, or by the magnitude of the effects of a particular act or series of acts.³⁰

The League of Nations Convention (1937) defined terrorism as “All criminal acts directed against a state and intended or calculated to create a state of terror in the minds of particular persons or a group of persons or the general public.”³¹

The United States Code defines terrorism as “premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against noncombatant targets by sub-national groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience.”³² This definition does not include acts of violence against civilians that are committed by the military forces of recognized states, but only those by individuals or nonstate organizations. Violent acts by states might be violations of international law but are not terrorism.

The European Union (EU) observes that “terrorist offences include intentional acts, by their nature and context, which may be seriously damaging to a country or to an international organization, as defined under international law, where committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, or unduly compelling a government or international organization to perform or to abstain from performing any act, or destabilizing or destroying the fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures of a country or international organization.”³³ This definition does not impose

any restriction on freedom struggles/national liberation movements. However, it is too broad and does not lead to any specific actions against terrorists.

The OIC also has been unable to reach agreement on a definition of terrorism.³⁴ At the OIC Summit in 2002, it was discussed that “any deliberate attack on civilians, including those by Palestinian suicide bombers, should be classified as acts of terror,” but the delegates disagreed.³⁵ In the final Declaration on Terrorism it was affirmed:

To reject any attempt to link Islam to terrorism as terrorism has no association with any religion, civilization or nationality; to unequivocally condemn acts of international terrorism in all its forms and manifestations, including state terrorism, irrespective of motives, perpetrators and victims as terrorism poses a serious threat to international peace and security and is a grave violation of human rights; and to reiterate the principled position under international law and the Charter of the United Nations of the legitimacy of resistance to foreign aggression and the struggle of peoples under colonial or alien domination and foreign occupation for national liberation and self determination.³⁶

While this declaration does not define terrorism, it focuses on delinking the acts of terrorism from faiths and nationalities, while at the same time condemning all its forms. It also emphasizes establishing a clear distinction between the legitimate liberation and resistance movements and the terrorist activities. Its unanimous approval also reaffirms Muslim countries’ commitment to combat international terrorism.

If we analyze all above mentioned definitions we find contrasting and contradicting points of views with regards to inclusion or exclusion of certain acts in the scope of terrorism or otherwise, depending on specific agendas and interests. Terrorism, by nature, is difficult to define.³⁷ Certain issues in the definition of terrorism which still remain unresolved are the distinction between terrorism and other forms of political violence, separating terrorism from criminal acts, the relationship between guerilla warfare, and the terrorism and differentiation between terrorism and legitimate struggles

for separation or independence from an occupation force or country. The difference in points of view is so obvious that even different agencies of the U.S. government have different working definitions.

Types of Terrorism

Throwing a bomb is bad,
dropping a bomb is good;
Terror, no need to add,
depends on who's wearing the hood.³⁸

There are various types of terrorist activities which have been going on in history and even today. These acts can be classified in various ways depending on the source of motivation, funding, intentions, objectives and players or perpetrators. Even if we analyze the current terrorism trends, the acts of violence are not restricted to any particular faith, religion or social group. Aum Shinrikyo conducted the first major terrorist attack using chemical weapons on a Tokyo subway in 1995. The bombing of the Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma revealed similar extremism by American right-wing militants. Other plots by Christian Identity terrorists have shown similar mass-casualty proclivities.³⁹ Other faiths and religions in addition to Islam have had a limited role as motivators or stimulants of the terrorism. The types of the terrorism as described in succeeding paragraphs will give a fair idea that, in addition to religion, many more factors influence violence in the world.

State Terrorism. When it first entered political discourse, the word “terrorism” was used with reference to the reign of terror imposed by the French Jacobin regime – that is, to describe a case of state terrorism. Historians of the French Revolution have analyzed and discussed that case in great detail. There are also quite a few historical

studies of some other instances of state terrorism, most notably of the period of “the Great Terror” in the Soviet Union.⁴⁰ State terrorism involved the use of violence by states in pursuance of the political objectives. State agencies, just as secret societies or dissident groups, are prone to commit terrorist acts in an attempt to produce or maintain political objectives. Terrorism can be used by states for repression of their own citizens, political opponents, and minorities, as well as against conquered peoples and enemies in war.

State Sponsored Terrorism. This is the type of terrorism in which terrorist groups are deliberately used by radical states as foreign policy tools. This is considered to be the most “cost-effective way of waging war covertly, through the use of surrogate warriors.”⁴¹ State sponsored terrorism includes acts of terrorism sponsored by one country against another using violence and lethal force with a view to achieving long term political or strategic objectives. The aim of the country that sponsors and abets terrorism and insurgency can range from destabilization and weakening of a government or a central authority, to the break up of the existing social and political order in the targeted country.

Nationalist Terrorism. Nationalist terrorists seek to form a separate state for their own national group, often by drawing attention to a fight for “national liberation” that they think the world has ignored. Nationalist terrorism can be difficult to define, since many groups accused of the practice insist that they are not terrorists but freedom fighters.⁴² Nationalist terrorist groups commonly include the Irish Republican Army and (as per Israel) the Palestine Liberation Organization. Others are the Basque Fatherland and Liberty, which seeks to create a Basque homeland separate from Spain, and the

Kurdistan Workers' Party, which seeks to create an independent Kurdish state apart from Turkey. Arab nationalism helps fuel Al-Qaeda, just as Pashtun nationalism provides a good deal of the support for Taliban.⁴³

Religious Terrorism. Religiously motivated modern terrorism is the “fourth wave” in the evolution of terrorism.⁴⁴ Religious terrorists seek to use violence to further what they see as divinely commanded purposes, often targeting broad categories of foes in an attempt to bring about sweeping changes. Religious terrorism is characterized by compliance with belief. Sectarian killings, as practiced both by Nationalists and Loyalists in Northern Ireland fall into this category.⁴⁵ Ongoing acts of terrorism by Al Qaeda are also regarded as religious terrorism, though these may be motivated mainly by factors other than religion.

Left Wing Terrorism. This type of terrorists is out to destroy capitalism and replace it with a communist or socialist regime. The Baader-Meinhof Group (Germany), the Japanese Red Army, the Weathermen (1970s America), and the Red Brigades (Italy) are examples of left-wing terrorist groups.⁴⁶ Like religious terrorism, both left wing and right wing (see below) terrorism are motivated by an ideology (ideal future state) and the motivation and commitment are quite similar.

Right Wing Terrorism. These groups seek to do away with liberal democratic governments and create fascist states in their place.⁴⁷ Though normally it does not threaten the population at large, right-wing terrorism, enhanced by the huge coverage of modern media, represents mainly a political and psychological danger to the stability of democratic societies.⁴⁸

Anarchist Terrorism. This type of terrorism is aimed at the production of limited change, designed perhaps to force the government to change its policy on particular issues. From the 1870s until about 1920, revolutionaries seeking to overthrow established governments launched a wave of bombings and assassinated a series of heads of state; one such victim was President William McKinley, killed in 1901 by a young Hungarian refugee influenced by anarchist sentiments. Some experts see signs of a new interest in anarchist violence arising out of the recent wave of protests against globalization.⁴⁹

Suicide Terrorism. It is defined as a politically motivated violent attack perpetrated by a self-aware individual who actively and purposely causes his own death through blowing himself up along with his chosen target. The rationale or motive for suicide terrorism may be diverse, ranging from hate, incitement, revenge, ease of delivery, religious or ideological zeal and perhaps desperation. Notwithstanding the underlying reason behind suicide terrorism, it is most common today and, on average, suicide attacks inflict four times more fatalities and twenty-six times more casualties than other conventional terrorist attacks. Between July 1987 and February 2000, the LTTE carried out 168 suicide terror attacks in Sri-Lanka and India. It is the only organization that succeeded in assassinating two heads of states. Other recent examples are the attacks by the Palestinian suicide bombers against the Israelis.⁵⁰

Nuclear, Biological and Chemical (NBC) Terrorism. A NBC terrorist attack is an incident in which a terrorist organization uses a nuclear device or chemical/biological weapons to cause mass murder and devastation. Nuclear terrorism also includes the use, or threat of use, of fissionable radioactive materials in an attack; for example, an assault

on a nuclear power plant for the purpose of causing extensive and/or irreversible environmental damage.⁵¹

Cyber Terrorism. It is defined as the use of computing resources to intimidate or coerce others. An example of cyber-terrorism could be hacking into a hospital computer system and changing someone's medicine prescription to a lethal dosage as an act of revenge.⁵²

Causes of Terrorism

Terrorism in its current form and the terrorists are the products of some proxy wars of super powers.⁵³

The causes and reasons for committing the heinous acts of terrorism have been changing all along the course of history. These causes range from political, nationalist ,anti-colonial, or revolutionary goals to totalitarianism, extremism and fundamentalism, from educational vacuums, poverty and deprivation, religious radicalism, history, and vengeance, to unresolved international disputes, desperation, law and order situations, and many other political and organizational factors.⁵⁴

Some writers think that “totalitarianism”⁵⁵ is the major cause of encouraging violent acts. But especially in today’s world of intolerance emanating mainly from Middle East and Muslim world, it is not the Islamic religion but rather “the totalitarian ideologies of the cold war have been planted in fertile ground in the Middle East,”⁵⁶ that are the sources of this totalitarianism.

“Extremism and Fundamentalism” in any ideology, faith or religion, social practices and customs can be a trigger towards violence. The people who are extreme in their views and ideas are not only difficult to moderate but they always think that

whatever they practice is right and what everyone else is practicing is wrong or false. Their being fundamental and extremist in their respective ideas acts as a binding force for all the other such groups. There is a disquieting similarity in the views of radicals irrespective of their religions.⁵⁷ “One surprising finding is the startling levels of support for al Qaeda among other radical groups, such as Neo-Nazi and radical “Christian Identity” groups, who celebrated al Qaeda and its 9/11 attacks for the attempt to strike a perceived shared foe.”⁵⁸ Mark Juergensmeyer, in his book *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, identified three elements that Islamists, radical Christians, and other religious terrorists share: they perceive their objective as a defense of basic identity and dignity; losing the struggle would be unthinkable; and the struggle is in deadlock and cannot be won in real time or in real terms.⁵⁹

“Educational Vacuum” in some societies allows teaching institutions with a particular school of thought or Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) with particular agendas to start with a program of indoctrinating the population. Every nation makes use of its education system to keep nationalism or any other binding motivation alive in its youth. If no established or orderly education system exists, then many voluntary organizations are going to be attracted to fill this void. These organizations are then at liberty to advance their respective agendas and may indoctrinate the youth with anything that suits their program. Many *madrassas* (religious schools) in the middle east being accused of teaching extremism may be not be doing so; they may just fill an educational need in impoverished areas.⁶⁰ Moreover, they are doing a great public service mission for most of the students, although a minority may have links with those accused of doing radical acts.⁶¹ Though uneducated people are easy prey to any recruitment efforts by the

terrorists, lack of education cannot be regarded as the cause of doing terrorist acts. Out of all the 9/11 terrorists, the majority were highly educated, mostly from Western institutions. Similarly, Aum Shinrikyo was able to recruit individuals with a high level of education and technical knowledge for the subway terrorism in Japan.⁶²

“Poverty and Deprivation” is often an associated cause leading to placing students in education institutes with special agendas as discussed in previous paragraph. Poverty and lack of resources with the parents and their inability to support the education of their children in other schools is usually a major reason for sending them to the *Madrasas* (religious schools). The failing public education system forces poor parents to send their children to these schools in the first place.⁶³ Creation of an effective local alternative by bolstering the state’s education system is probably a long term permanent solution to this.

“Religious Radicalism” as propagated by the select groups in almost all major religions is another cause of the violence. This opportunity of misinterpretation of the religious injunctions has been afforded to these people because of some voids in the religious hierarchies. For example, the elimination of Khalafat in Islam in the twentieth century left no one as the global religious head of the majority of Muslims. This encouraged people with specific agendas to strive to promulgate themselves as self-proclaimed *Khalifa* (religious head) and to misdirect the people as per their agendas by misquoting and misinterpreting the religious directions. “The religious imperative for terrorism is the most important characteristic of terrorist activity today.”⁶⁴ Islamic radicalism is regarded as the most notorious form of the new culture of terrorism, though almost all faiths, religions and numerous cults have also posed a similar threat during the course of history. The American religious right has been active with destructive

objectives, although law enforcement presence has restrained these groups.⁶⁵ But it is important to distinguish religious terrorists from those terrorists with religious components, but whose primary goals are political.⁶⁶ Until the emergence of political motives such as nationalism, anarchism, and Marxism, religion provided the only acceptable justifications for terror.⁶⁷ Terrorism in modern times has not, until recent years, been so dominated by religious overtones. At the time when modern international terrorism first appeared, of the eleven identifiable terrorist groups, none could be classified as religious.⁶⁸

“History” also serves as cause for motivation for acts of extreme violence and radicalism. History harbors feelings of vengeance, which can be a stimulant of greatest power for motivating masses to perform acts of any nature against a particular faith, religion, society or a country. This brings into play the role of education system and educational institutes, who provide a coated interpretation of history to their youth. Though a state may desire to have a particular interpretation of historical events advanced to keep its identity and nationalism alive, this may to be checked effectively in the interest of peace in the world. Also vengeance may not always be rooted to an historic event; it could be the result of a particular behavior of the opposing side or a specific treatment afforded by it to the terrorist’s side.

“Unresolved Disputes” between the Muslim world and the others are another cause or source of terrorism. These disputes can provide motivators for violent acts to encourage people to strike either directly on the opposing party or the responsible powers in the global system. Settlement of disputes like Palestine and Kashmir would eradicate a major recruitment cause for those who seek to use armed struggle as a mean to gain

world attention or to promote results in their favor. Delay in resolution or just settlement of such disputes provides a prospect to those responsible for spreading hatred and distrust amongst religions.

“Desperation” because of deprivation or because of not being able to do a particular thing, achieve a specific goal, etc, also forces individuals, societies or nations to resort to acts of terrorism as a negative reaction.

“Defective Domestic Law Enforcement” encourages or at least provides safe haven to domestic and even international terrorist organizations. Certain political and organizational factors like gross inequalities in economic resources and standards of living between different parts of the world are a popular reason given for the ardency and viciousness of contemporary terrorists.⁶⁹ In addition, governmental collapses (and resulting authority vacuums) also provide ideal breeding grounds for terrorists.

“Fear of Intrusion of Western Values and Institutions” in the Islamic world through the process of free-market globalization is an alternative explanation for the growth of terrorism. Terrorism may be viewed as the weaker party’s only method to strike back.

The causes of terrorism discussed above are not the only causes to motivate somebody to pick up a weapon or adopt a violent course. This list, however, gives the reader a fair idea that religion is not the only cause of terrorism and thus cannot necessarily be blamed for any violent act even those committed by people claiming to be the followers of any particular faith. Islam, like Christianity, preaches peace and non-violence, denounces radicalism, and should not be blamed for such violent acts. These acts may be committed by the individuals claiming to follow a particular religion or faith,

but there may be other political, economic or social factors influencing the actions of these people perpetrating radical acts.

Having identified the reasons for breeding violence and radicalism that fuel violent and terrorist acts, we will next study and analyze the effectiveness of a strategy to eliminate the radicalism from Islamic societies in general and Pakistan in particular.

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CHAPTER 5

COMBATING TERRORISM: THE STRATEGY OF ENLIGHTENED MODERATION

There is a glaring need for the United States--to establish a grand strategy toward the Islamic world that will shape our often-disparate policies.¹

In the previous chapters we have been able to identify that terrorism cannot be linked to any particular faith, that religion is not the sole motivator for the perpetrators of terror, and that there are other social, economic and political causes which ignite this menace. This chapter will primarily view the salient aspects of the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation,” outlined by the President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf, as a strategy to combat terrorism, and offer certain recommendations with regards to its implementation. Here an important point to keep in mind is that combating terrorism does not mean only antiterrorism but also counterterrorism actions. The *United States Strategy of Combating Terrorism 2003* also highlights that it is essential to remove the underlying reasons at the base of terrorism triangle (its root causes) in order to effectively counter this threat to humanity.²

In this chapter we will study the salient features of the strategy, its areas of emphasis, and the responsibilities it poses on various players in today’s world. The President’s Strategy deals with the problems that influence violence and radicalism and lays down a vision for the entire Muslim world. We will unpack the strategy and see what is to blame, whom it addresses, and what solutions it suggests. This strategy may have to be implemented and put in practice alongside the military action already being waged, in

effect downplaying the importance of military means in comparison to other “soft” actions, especially those which will reinforce the “combating terrorism” efforts.³

What is the Strategy of Enlightened Moderation?

The 9/11 Commission Report calls for the provision of long-term and comprehensive support to the government of Pakistan for its commitment to combating terrorism through “enlightened moderation.”⁴

Before going through the contents and motives of the proposed strategy, we must make an effort to understand its genesis and the literal meanings of both terms modifying the subject of the strategy: “enlightened” and “moderation.”

In an elementary sense one is **enlightened** if he/she is well informed and aware of the implications and ramifications attaching to any given issue or proposition. In some of its uses, the term also has a connection with the “enlightenment,” which was an eighteenth century intellectual movement, led by men such as Voltaire and Rousseau in France, John Locke in England, and Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine in America. It urged the use of reason, common sense, and observation to combat superstition. It called for questioning traditional doctrine and values, empiricism in science, cultural relativism and pluralism, and belief in the possibility of universal human progress.⁵

The attitude of mind . . . to be open-minded, willing to accept the possibility that other belief systems may contain some merit, and that therefore they deserve respect. They have the right to exist, even flourish, alongside our own faith. This is **moderation**, and the disposition towards others that it generates is tolerance. Moderation and tolerance are, thus, children of enlightenment.⁶

“Enlightenment” and “Moderation” are not just two catchy expressions; they also have potential appeal to Muslim societies. The Muslim culture, society, and the Shari’ah (the summary of Islamic laws based primarily on the Qur’an and Hadith), if viewed from Islam’s intellectual, ideological and moral perspective, all stress these two attributes as the distinct features of Islam as a religion and civilization.⁷ Islam preaches moderation and balance in matters concerning one’s faith, actions, and the life of an individual in a

society, his community life, worship rituals, economy, and even in matters concerning friendship, war and peace. The Qur'an and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) ask Muslims to live moderately. The Qur'an describes the Muslim Ummah (the community of faith; the Muslim community) as a "moderate community" and the Holy Prophet (PBUH) declared moderation as the best course.⁸ It is probable that President Musharraf and the crafters of this strategy had the background and history of these terms in their minds.

During the OIC Summit Conference at Malaysia in 2002, the President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf, unveiled the "Strategy of Enlightened Moderation". With the exception of two articles and some speeches which President Pervez Musharraf delivered at various occasions explaining his proposed strategy, little is available to explain its details. At this summit, the need to put forward such a proposal was probably felt by the Islamic world leaders, after having seen the widening gap and different points of view that exist between the West and the Islamic world. In his own words, Pervez Musharraf explained the need and the timing of floating the strategy:

The world has been going through a tumultuous period since the dawn of the 1990s, with no sign of relief in sight. The suffering of the innocents, particularly the Muslims at the hands of militants, extremists and terrorists has made it all the more urgent to bring order to this troubled scene. It is in this spirit that the "Strategy of Enlightened Moderation" is being put forward.⁹

In his view the world has become a very dangerous place, both because of continuing confrontation as well as the easy availability of means of destruction in spreading terror. He, along with other leaders, realized that Muslims are the major losers in this clash, and all those who spread terror in the name of Islam are in fact doing a great harm to the Ummah. An especially harmful result is that the non-Muslims have a very

wrong impression about a very peace-loving faith, just because of the acts of those who associate themselves with Islam.

The unfortunate reality is that both the perpetrators of these crimes and most of the people who suffer from them are Muslims. This has caused many non-Muslims to believe wrongly that Islam is a religion of intolerance, militancy and terrorism. It has led increasing numbers of people to link Islam to fundamentalism; fundamentalism to extremism, and extremism to terrorism.¹⁰

Terrorism and violence committed by the perpetrators are in fact a manifestation of the “battle of the minds” or the “war of ideas.” The best way to fight this war with an objective of achieving a comprehensive success is through affording better education and establishing enlightened, moderate and non-violent societies. Poverty, lack of education, lack of power and disunity have been identified as plights of the Muslim world, and the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” aims at addressing all these deficits to eliminate terrorism and violence from their roots.

The stark challenge that faces anyone with compassion for the common heritage of mankind is determining what legacy we will leave for future generations. The special challenge that confronts Muslims is to drag ourselves out of the pit we find ourselves in, to raise ourselves up by individual achievement and collective socioeconomic emancipation. Something has to be done quickly to stop the carnage in the world and to stem the downward slide of Muslims.¹¹

It was with this background that the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” was crafted. The strategy is designed to be both an immediate and long-term solution to violence and radicalism, a remedy to current problems affecting universal harmony, and as a preventative for the further marginalization of Muslims. In its final recommendations, the 9/11 Commission also makes frequent mention of the measures mentioned in this strategy, and its recommendations are consistent with the broad directions proposed by President Musharraf.¹²

The “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation,” which is being considered as a win-win for the Muslim as well as the non-Muslim world, is a two-pronged strategy. One prong is directed at the Muslim world to shun militancy, extremism, and to adopt the path of socioeconomic uplift, and emphasizes closer coordination among Muslim nations to combat terrorism and extremism.¹³ The other prong, directed at the West in general and the US in particular, aims at resolutely resolving all political disputes with justice and also assisting in the socioeconomic uplift of the deprived Muslim world. In effecting this strategy, both prongs should be moved or implemented simultaneously to achieve desired results from the proposal.

As a potentially very useful tool in resolving the problems faced by the world from radicalism and violence, in moderating the Islamic ummah, and in addressing Pakistan’s difficulties, the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” has earned acclaim and approval from many, but not everyone thinks it is the only comprehensive solution.¹⁴ Criticism of the strategy can be classified in two broad categories: the first group of criticisms hold that the strategy is not more than dictating or guiding the Islamic world on the route described by Washington, and that the realistic picture of Muslims painted by Pervez Musharraf is a reflection of an apologetic mindset.¹⁵ These critics, in analyzing the potential and effectiveness of the strategy, think that it may not be able to appeal to the Muslim world as a result, Muslim governments, even if they are convinced on introducing *enlightened moderation* in their respective societies, may not be able to enforce the strategy. It has also been commented that what has to be implemented by the West, and especially by the U.S.--the peaceful and just resolution of disputes involving Muslims, and socioeconomic uplift of Muslim countries--may not attract the West’s

sincere efforts. Such critics think that Pervez Musharraf is presenting too simplistic a view of the world.¹⁶ Some realists, however, remark that though “terrorism is caused by injustice involved in unresolved political disputes; Muslims must realize that the world in which we live is not always fair. In other words, some amount of injustice will always remain and we must learn to live with it.”¹⁷ Others think it to be the solution to their problems and an effective alternative to, or reinforcement for, the measures already being implemented by the world.¹⁸ There are also some critics who think that by becoming moderate and enlightened means becoming non-religious or adopting non-religious life style and approach.¹⁹

Irrespective of the criticism, the strategy is in line with the world environment of combating terrorism. Almost all Muslim and Western leaders have equally ratified it to be a useful tool in addressing the problem of radicalism, violence and reducing the gap between the Muslim societies and the West.²⁰ As with all the strategies, its effectiveness greatly depends on its operationalization and implementation.

Recommendations

We must locate our policies on the side of change, not the failing status quo.²¹

The implementation recommendations will be appended in terms of actions, measures and policy lines which the West and the Muslim world may have to take, in line with the strategy. Pakistan is the test bed of the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation;” thus, effectiveness of the measures undertaken so far in Pakistan will also be analyzed and studied.

The Western World

The world is a dangerous place to live, not because of the people who are evil, but because of the people who don't do anything about it.²²

Albert Einstein

The West and the United States in particular have a great responsibility with regards to making the world a more peaceful place. The poverty, repression, lack of freedom, and economic difficulties in the Muslim world have been identified by many as main causes of creating conditions that promote terrorism, violence and radicalism. The allegedly biased role played by the West and the U.S. in settlement of unresolved disputes involving Muslims is also regarded as another major cause of violence. The “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” assigns an independent prong to the West to undertake these tasks.

The other prong, to be delivered by the West and the US in particular, must aim at resolutely resolving all political disputes with justice and also assisting in the socioeconomic uplift of the deprived Muslim world.²³

The world must realize that confrontation and use of force is not going to bring ultimate peace. The root cause of extremism and militancy lies in political injustice, denial and deprivation. Political injustice within a nation or a people, when combined with stark poverty and illiteracy, makes an explosive mix leading towards an acute sense of deprivation, hopelessness and powerlessness. A people suffering from a combination of all these lethal ills is easily available cannon fodder for the propagation of militancy and the perpetration of extremist and terrorist acts.²⁴ The West must make all possible efforts to eliminate the chances of emergences of radicalism by supporting prosperity and

opposing repression.²⁵ Key measures which the West needs to take playing its part of the pie are outlined in succeeding paragraphs.

Dispute Resolution. The West must make all efforts to resolve with justice the political disputes involving the Muslim world, like Kashmir and Palestine, as its part of the commitment to the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation.” These fair efforts on the part of United States and the West, possibly requiring a change of policy toward disputing partners, can help weaken the linkage between nationalism and radical terrorism.²⁶

Diplomacy instead of Confrontation. The West and especially the global leader the United States must adopt an approach of open dialogue, focusing first on diplomacy rather than armed confrontation and fighting. This will be an important measure to win the hearts, minds and souls of the Muslim World and develop a good dialogue between faiths and civilizations.²⁷ James Wolfensohn, the former World Bank President, is recorded to have said in March 2002 that “We will not create a safer world with bombs or brigades alone.”²⁸ This amply highlights the importance of employing diplomatic means as well as the use of force and confrontation, the latter as a last resort.

Public Diplomacy. “Public diplomacy refers to government-sponsored programs intended to inform or influence public opinion in other countries; its chief instruments are publications, motion pictures, cultural exchanges, radio and television.”²⁹ There is no doubt that people are the strongest element of national power. There is a great deal which goes on in this realm, however, and still a lot needs to be done. Though the efforts have increased in the post 9/11 period, undesired armed preemptions / interventions by the West have proved counter-productive and led to a decrease in support by the general

public in Muslim countries. Public diplomacy – which focuses on the publics of Muslim countries – is a key means to reverse the negative trend of opinion toward the U.S.

Dialogue of Civilizations. Quite against the rhetoric of the clash of cultures and civilizations, *Dialogue between Civilizations* aims at finding out the similarities between the faith and cultures to promote peace and harmony in the world.³⁰

From an ethical perspective, the paradigm of dialogue among civilizations requires that we give up the will-to-power; and [without] the will-to-empathy, compassion, and understanding, there would be no hope for the prevalence of order in our world. We ought to gallantly combat this dearth of compassion and empathy in our world. The ultimate goal of dialogue among civilizations is not dialogue in and of itself, but attaining empathy and compassion.³¹

The dialogue should be pursued aggressively by both sides to disprove the conspiracy theories promoted by the term *Clash of Civilizations*.³² This dialogue will help build trust and confidence between various faiths and cultures, and can help make the world a relatively safer place. There is a fair awareness in world with regards to the need, importance and suitability of timing of this dialogue, and the U.S. must regulate this dialogue as the global leader. In this context a productive dialogue between the West and Islam is not inconceivable.

Diminishing the Underlying Causes:³³ Even at the cost of repetition, it may be important to emphasize that if the underlying causes of violence, radicalism and militancy are ascertained correctly, more than half of the problem is already solved. And if the underlying causes are addressed and diminished effectively, the threat can be eliminated. This will require an aggressive long term campaign to identify and mitigate the contributors to the underlying causes of militancy.³⁴ In broadest terms, these measures will include economic stabilization through addressing financial disparities and poverty alleviation, assisting the governments to establish their writs through effective

law enforcement, facilitating good governance, and ensuring elimination of ignorance through mass literacy.

We must look beyond the immediate danger of terrorist attacks to the conditions that allow terrorism to take root around the world. These conditions are no less threatening to U.S. national security than terrorism itself. The problems that terrorists exploit – poverty, alienation, and ethnic tensions – will grow more acute over the next decade. This will especially be the case in those parts of the world that have served as the most fertile recruiting grounds for Islamic extremist groups.³⁵

The United States and its allies should strategically allocate resources to develop those countries where terrorism has already taken root and those where terrorism is likely to take root.³⁶

Other measures required to be taken by the West as part of its role in the implementation of “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation” include creating a favorable environment for sustained economic growth; promoting accountable and participatory governance; promoting literacy and education in the Islamic world and underdeveloped nations; effectively engaging in strategic communications efforts to denigrate the concept of terrorism; promoting the dignity and cultural heritage of Islam and the ability of Muslims to coexist peacefully with the West; and reenergizing the efforts for peace and stability in the Middle East and between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.³⁷

If all this is done with sincerity and an atmosphere of trust established between all cultures and faiths, the West would have played its part and history would unfold differently.

The Muslim World

Tolerance, the rule of law, political and economic openness, the extension of greater opportunities to women--these cures must come from within Muslim societies themselves.³⁸

The Muslim World has a great responsibility towards the whole affair of radicalism, violence and terrorism, by transforming their societies as per the true teachings and guidance of Islam. Muslim leaders have a great role to play in all this and need to do their utmost to transform their societies.

The prong required to be delivered by the Muslim world [demands] shunning militancy; extremism and adopting the path of socioeconomic uplift and emphasizes closer coordination among Muslim nations to combat terrorism and extremism.³⁹

It requires the Muslims to pull themselves out of their present poverty, ignorance, and incompetence, and embrace enlightenment, tolerance, and moderation. The Muslim world as well as West needs to understand that even if this project is initiated with the utmost seriousness, and using all available resources, it would still take many years to be accomplished. The measures and steps that need to be initiated by the Islamic world will be discussed in ensuing paragraphs.

Self-Introspection. This will be a very important, perhaps critical step towards the implementation of this strategy. Muslims need to draw lessons from their past, their golden history and the teachings of Islam, i.e. the Qur'an and Sunnah (the proven practices of the Holy Prophet (PBUH)).⁴⁰ In light of this, the Muslim Ummah should critically analyze the acts of some of the people who are misrepresenting the Muslim world, with a view to see whether these are in line with the teachings of Islam or otherwise. The teachings of Islam – the Qur'anic injunctions and sayings of the Holy

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) – on the subject of violence, radicalism and peace have already been presented in Chapter 3; however, the following quote will further emphasize on the summary of relevant tenets.

Islam exploded on the world scene as the flag bearer of a just, lawful, tolerant and value-oriented society. We had faith in human exaltation through knowledge and enlightenment. We exemplified tolerance within ourselves and toward people of other faiths. The armies of Islam did not march forward to convert people by the sword, despite what the perceptions may be, but to deliver them from the darkness through the visible example of their virtues. What better projection can be found of these deeper values of Islam than the personal example of our Holy Prophet (PBUH), who personified justice, compassion, tolerance of others, generosity of spirit, austerity with a spirit of sacrifice, and a burning desire to make a better world.⁴¹

The present state of affairs of the Muslims is not very encouraging despite their having great a deal of talent and immense capabilities, potential, and resources within their societies. This is because they probably lack the will to harness these potentials and resources. The perpetrators of ongoing acts of violence preach a different and wrong approach to accomplish the heights the Muslims had experienced in the past. President Pervez Musharraf appends all this in his words:

We have been left far behind in social, moral and economic development. Unfortunately, during our decline we remained in our own shell and refused to learn or acquire from others. We thus reached the present depths of despair and despondency. We need to face stark realities. Is the way ahead one of confrontation and militancy? Will this path lead us to our past glory and also show the light of progress and development to the world?⁴²

The answer to the questions put forward is not confrontation, violence and radicalism, but rather to head towards enlightenment and concentrate especially on “human resource development” through poverty alleviation, better education, health, and social justice. The path of moderation and a conciliatory approach will have to be

adopted to wash off the common beliefs that Islam is a religion of militancy and that it is also in conflict with modernization, democracy and secularism.

Revitalization of the OIC. The OIC is the only collective body of the Muslim world in place. There is a clear need to infuse life into this body which, at present, is in a state of near impotence.⁴³ It has to be restructured to meet the challenges of the 21st century, fulfill the aspirations of the Muslim world, and lead Muslims towards fulfilling their legitimate right and obligations within free and equitable societies.

The sole voice of the Ummah, the OIC, has neither been able to register the truth on the international stage nor manifested any signs of rising to the new tasks facing Muslims. It appears as if it has been paralyzed by the sheer enormity of the daunting problems emanating from the radical transformation of the globe's strategic political and economic scene. Despite its large membership, the organization has become almost irrelevant to the new dynamics of global politics.⁴⁴

President Pervez Musharraf has succeeded in getting the OIC to adopt the slogan of *Enlightened Moderation* in its deliberations, which in turn has created some space in the OIC discussions for a pragmatic review of how to transform the Muslim world into a competing moderate society.⁴⁵ One change in the OIC is the formation of a committee of eminent persons to recommend a restructured OIC. This is indeed a big step in the right direction, provided the committee can come up with concrete proposals to make OIC an activist body representing Muslims. The OIC could become a key influence for Muslims to show resolve, and to rise above self-interest for their joint, common good in the very spirit that Islam preaches.

Socioeconomic Revival. The Muslim states possess great potential and resources but the state of affairs of socioeconomic conditions is of a great concern. Individually

some countries may be rich, educated and developed, but the collective situation is different. In the words of President Musharraf:

The human development indicators of the OIC members are among the lowest in the world, although possessing seventy percent of the world's energy resources and with a forty percent share in the global supply of raw materials. As for the OIC's share in global trade, it is a pitiful six per cent, while its collective GDP amounts to a meager five per cent of the world's GDP. Twenty-two of the world's forty-nine least developed countries belong to the Islamic world. International institutions have classified twenty-three Muslim countries as severely indebted. Historically something has to be done, and done quickly, to stop the downward slide if we want to prevent ourselves from being sidelined in the future.⁴⁶

This generally poor state of political, economic and social conditions helps breed militancy that is both a great threat to Muslim societies and world peace. Radical groups gain support by focusing on the poor and dispossessed, especially when governments fail to perform the same function.⁴⁷ Muslim countries, individually and collectively, must make efforts to coordinate and focus their resources to establish economically more robust societies.

Clarification of Misperceptions about Islam. Muslim religious leaders and think tanks must endeavor to correct the misperceptions about the religion in the West. For example people must be able to differentiate between Islam and Arab nationalism.⁴⁸ This may require deliberate information operations Muslim countries and Muslim interest groups to correct the misplaced misperceptions about the highly peaceful teachings of Islam.

The Reconstruction of Religious Thought. "Reconstruction" is shaping and directing the evolution of religious experience, with a view to adapt to the modern circumstances, thoughts and experiences.⁴⁹ This is probably the most important measure of the strategy to be taken by the Muslims. The importance of reconstruction of religious

thought cannot be undermined as it was directed by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) himself. This was an essential component of the early centuries Islamic progress but in later centuries it ceased. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, a great philosopher poet who promoted the idea of establishing an independent homeland for Muslims of South Asia, stressed the need for this in his work on “*The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.*”⁵⁰ The values of any divine religion cannot be changed or modified as they are divine injunctions and based on divine revelations; however, practices can be transformed or reinterpreted or even reconstructed.

The process adopted for this purpose, which exists in the teachings of Islam, is called *ijtihad* (interpretation and reasoning based on the sacred texts). Many Muslims believe that they must choose between Islam and modernity or between Islam and democracy, but these are false choices. To reinterpret Islam for the twenty-first century, the practice of *ijtihad* must be revived.⁵¹ The issues facing Muslims today that require *ijtihad* include reviewing the role of women in Islam; narrowing the gap between various schools of thought (schools of jurisprudence); reinterpreting relationships between various faiths and religions in the context of globalization; rethinking Islamic economic theories in relation to the modern economic system; achieving more unity and collaboration among Muslim states in religious, political and economic fields; examining ethical moral standards with regards to the promotion of individual freedom, especially that of religious minorities; and explaining proper behavior of Muslims in non-Muslim countries.

Elimination of the Knowledge Deficit. “A climate of freedom is an essential prerequisite of the knowledge society.”⁵² The Muslim world is in the middle of problems

and complications due to numerous reasons as mentioned in preceding paragraphs, and the deficit of knowledge is probably one of the major reasons at the base of almost all these problems. “A number of factors block the dissemination of knowledge. Among these factors are authoritarian and over-protective child rearing, the deteriorating quality of education in many countries in the region, curricula in schools that encourage submission, obedience, subordination and compliance rather than free critical thinking, the lack of autonomy at universities, and the poor state of university libraries.”⁵³ Some of the measures that Muslim governments could take that would prove useful are: unleashing and guaranteeing the key freedoms of opinion, speech, and assembly through good governance; disseminating high quality education based on educational outcomes and life-long learning, promoting research and development in societal activities, and keeping up with the information age; shifting rapidly towards knowledge-based production; and establishing an authentic, broadminded, and enlightened general knowledge model.⁵⁴

Establishment of Tolerant Societies. Muslim countries must attempt to establish such societies that are educated and knowledgeable, prosperous and tolerant. This is possible only if the education imparted to all the members of society is based on true teachings of Islam. Educated societies are less prone to manipulation by extremists who profit greatly from ignorance.

The Muslim ummah has a very delicate responsibility for implementing their strategic prong in advancing the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation.” One key is to start implementation collectively from the platform of the restructured OIC. Pakistan, as the architect of the strategy and co-leader of the Islamic world, has taken the lead to

implement the strategy. Pakistan has the potential, the will, and the leadership to become a model of *Enlightened Moderation* for the Muslim world.

Moderate and Enlightened Pakistan

[F]or “enlightened moderation” . . . the United States should [make] difficult long-term commitment to the future of Pakistan . . . the United States should support Pakistan's government in its struggle against extremists with a comprehensive effort that extends from military aid to support for better education, [to assist] Pakistan's leaders make difficult choices.⁵⁵

Pakistan is deeply Islamic yet a moderate country.⁵⁶ Although most of Pakistan’s Muslims are devout, they are not particularly radical. Moreover, Pakistani politics historically have been dominated by ethnic, linguistic, and economic issues, not by religion.⁵⁷ Until the 1980s, Pakistan remained free of any signs of militancy or radicalism or lack of tolerance. The vast majority of people of Pakistan are peace-loving and moderate people, who need to stand up and play their rightful role to neutralize the extremist elements that are in the minority.

The war against Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in 1980s, which made use of religion as a stimulant to fight against the Russians, gave rise to religious violence in Pakistan’s social fiber.⁵⁸ This characteristic of the society since then has proved very harmful for national integration, economic development, internal security and diplomatic acceptability. It has been ascertained many times that Pakistan may not be facing any major external threat; however, the element of radicalism and lack of tolerance in the society are substantial threats to stability and development. To effectively counter this dangerous trend in the society, Pakistan needs an effective interplay of various elements of national power - diplomacy, economy and defense.⁵⁹ Terrorism and sectarianism

remain the most serious issues for Pakistan. The security of Pakistan is threatened more from within than from outside forces.⁶⁰

Now is the time to rebuild Pakistan as a moderate country along with reconstructing its educational system and conducting a massive overhaul of the economy.⁶¹ Concerted efforts are being made to make Pakistan an enlightened and moderate Islamic state, focused on social justice and welfare, as envisaged by the founding fathers of the country.

If we have a look at the line of thought of the founding father of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, he also wanted Pakistan to be a moderate and tolerant society, having freedom of expression and freedom to practice religion. In one of his speeches after the creation of Pakistan he emphasized:

You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other places of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion, caste or creed – that has nothing to do with the State. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of the same State.” You will find that in the course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State.⁶²

Because Pakistan is the architect, it therefore becomes a good test case for implementation of the “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation.” Pakistan has brought about many changes in its policies to discourage militancy and religious extremism in the society. For example, Pakistan also pragmatically decided to align with the U.S. in the war against terrorism. It has become imperative for Pakistan to revise both its foreign and domestic policies to survive in the fast changing environment.⁶³ Pakistan appears to be taking the correct approach in rejuvenating its internal and external policies in harmony with the changing international environment.⁶⁴ Hopefully, these steps will transform the

society on a sustainable course that will lead to a political pluralism, religious harmony and social tolerance.

By adopting the line of *Enlightened Moderation*, Pakistan has gained economically as well as diplomatically. Security, stability and prosperity have been forecasted by the analysts, but only if Pakistan continues to pursue this policy.⁶⁵ From being a nearly isolated country, Pakistan is now seen as a country that can play an important role in international politics. Pakistan has been assured comprehensive support from the international community for its commitment to the policy of *Enlightened Moderation*.⁶⁶ The revival of the economy through the introduction of macro-economic measures has produced a great deal with regards to the poverty alleviation. Measures like sustainable economic growth, development projects in rural and urban areas, and targeted interventions through microfinance are also bearing fruits and remodeling the social outlook of the nation.⁶⁷ Succeeding paragraphs will discuss some of the actions that are being undertaken in Pakistan in pursuance of this strategy, in an effort to remodel the nation into an educated, moderate and democratic, aware and prosperous society, free from radicalism, violence and deprivation, and demonstrates tolerance, patience respects cares for human rights.

Registration of Religious Schools. This is one of the major steps that have been taken up by the current government to achieve the desired objectives of *Enlightened Moderation*. Registration includes definition of the curriculum and teaching approaches, and even setting up some model *madrasas* which would teach a syllabus proposed by government which, importantly, includes teaching computers and other sciences in addition to religious studies.⁶⁸ These schools currently provide free religious education,

boarding and lodging, and are essentially schools for the poor. About a third of all children in Pakistan in education attend these schools. To this point, the students have been trained and educated in religious disciplines only, and their lack of modern civic education, reinforced with poverty, have made them an imbalanced and potentially radical element in the society. The government has pledged to change the status of *madradas* and integrate them into the formal education sector of the state. Through this action, the government will be able to monitor the curriculum, registration and monitoring of finances. The government is also offering *madradas* with free Islamic and modern textbooks and other rewards, including supplementing salaries for teachers.

Cleansing the Society from Foreign Militant Elements. Free education opportunities offered by well-established religious schools, and the Afghan jihad of the 1980s, attracted many foreign nationals to Pakistan. The socio-political environment of that time provided them opportunities to establish themselves in areas bordering Afghanistan. These elements have been involved in undesirable activities and at times have engaged in violent activities within Pakistan society. Through focused military and police operations, and increased registration of foreign nationals in areas bordering Afghanistan, the government is making concerted efforts are being made to make the society free from such radical elements.

Increasing the Education Level in the Society. “Today, in Pakistan, access to good education remains a privilege, not a right. The state has abdicated all effective responsibility for providing education. As a result every class gets the education it can afford, if it can afford it.”⁶⁹ Education at every level of Pakistan’s society will have to play a vital role in the uplift of intellectual awareness of the need for change. Many

thinkers in the country appreciate the importance of science and technology,⁷⁰ and the availability of high quality, advanced education must be expanded to larger segment of society.

Poverty Alleviation. This program launched by the government is set to play rich dividends in its efforts to eradicate poverty from the society. Poverty and deprivation are major influences as motivators for radical behavior. Peoples' living standards will have to be raised by providing them good job opportunities and employment so that these people do not fall prey to the attractive recruiting offers of the terrorists.

Resolution of Regional Disputes. Pakistan and India have harbored hatred between the populace of both countries, despite their having co-existed for almost twelve centuries (711-1857 CE). This hatred has its base in the brutalities committed at the time of independence; however, subsequent events over last half a century of both nations' independent histories have also contributed to nurture intolerance. Efforts of President Pervez Musharraf to resolve disputes and build mutual confidence between Pakistan and India have received unequivocal support from the international community as well as the general public of Pakistan. Both adversaries seem to be shedding their long-followed policies towards each other and both appear to understand that "countries desirous to reap economic benefits in the unipolar world must strive for conflict resolution, as conflicts impede economic growth."⁷¹ No country interested in boosting its economy can afford conflicts and differences with its neighbors and major trading partners. It is time for Pakistan to make a realistic assessment of the global situation and improve relations with its neighbors showing flexibility, even if acceptable compromises are to be made.⁷²

Miscellaneous Measures. Some of other steps which are being taken include exemplary punishments awarded to sectarian or extremist offenders, de-weaponizing the society with special emphasis on militant outfits, monitoring the known breeding grounds of religious extremism, banning the activities of known militant groups of religious parties, and imposing bans on publication and circulation of provocative religious literature spreading hatred, prejudice and extremism. Alongside the registration of religious schools, registration of all religious groups and organizations, declaration of their manifestos, and greater transparency of their funds and funding resources is also being pursued. Independent and free national and private media is also playing a positive role in promoting feelings of understanding, respect and tolerance for other religions and sects.

Mass Literacy Drive. Pakistan's education system needs to be objective. The emphasis must shift from ritual teachings to understanding the spirit of Islam by reading its basic texts. In this regard, Arabic should be pursued as a compulsory subject from eighth class onwards until twelfth grade to achieve a better understanding of Holy Qur'an and other religious explanations. Muslim students should also be taught religion and Islamic principles in greater detail by using the Holy Qur'an and Hadith.

Some actions which may have to be taken at an appropriate time in this regard include banning the naming of mosques after sects or different schools of religion; restricting the use of loud speakers for *Azan* (calls to prayer) only; abolishing the requirement of indicating religious sect in personal data forms; monitoring sermons given in mosques; effectively checking the free mobility and display of arms; encouraging and even persuading religious leaders to discourage prejudice and hatred; propagating the

idea of peaceful co-existence; revoking the implementation of religious values by force of law/constitutional amendments consistent with the Islamic principle that “there is no compulsion in religion;” establishing a comprehensive computerized database with complete records of criminals and terrorists including vehicle records; and, establishing a trained antiterrorist force on the lines of that emphasized by the U.S. Homeland Security Department.

With the will of both the people and leadership, Pakistan will be able to achieve the desired results and reap the fruits of this *Enlightened Moderation*, and also serve as a model for the other Muslim countries to follow.

Conclusion

Islam is a religion of peace and preaches tolerance and coexistence. Islam calls for the protection of a man’s life, family, wealth, honor and intellect and totally rejects terrorism and terrorist acts. Terrorists who cause corruption on earth by carrying out killings and destruction deserve tough punishment.⁷³ Fighting terrorism is a joint responsibility⁷⁴ and all Muslims must take active part in this effort. “Islam is a religion of mercy and benevolence. It is a religion of construction, not destruction.”⁷⁵

Acts of violence historically have not remained the domain of any particular faith and almost all faiths have had groups or individuals involved in acts of violence and terrorism. Although current world events highlight violence and terrorism by members of the Muslim community (who call themselves Muslims), Islam itself is not the cause or justification, as these acts are politically, not religiously motivated.

The Muslim world and the West, and the United States in particular, all have their responsibilities to make this world a more peaceful place by uprooting the menace of

terrorism permanently. The “Strategy of Enlightened Moderation,” which is expanding from its original broad guidelines, supports ongoing efforts in this direction and has the potential to be an instrument of peace, if implemented with sincerity and fairness by all. Pakistan is already marching on the road to enlightened moderation and has achieved a great deal, but much remains to be accomplished. If efforts of the country’s leadership and the general public continue with the same pace and commitment, Pakistan has an opportunity to become both a moderate and prosperous society and a beacon for the rest of Muslim world.

¹Peter W. Singer, *The Crisis within the Crisis*, Al Jazeera, August 2003, [article on-line] available from <http://www.brookings.edu/views/op-ed/fellows/singer20030801.htm>; Internet; accessed 17 October 2004.

²United States National Strategy for Combating Terrorism, February 2003, page 6, [article on-line] available from http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/counter_terrorism/counter_terrorism_strategy.pdf ; Internet; accessed 11 December 2004.

³Anatol Lieven, *Fighting Terrorism: Lessons from the Cold War*, October 2001, [article on-line] available from <http://www.ceip.org/files/pdf/Lieven-7.pdf> ; Internet; accessed 12 January 2005.

⁴K. Alan Kronstadt, *Terrorism in South Asia*, [article on-line] available from <http://www.fas.org/irp/crs/RL32259.pdf>; Internet; accessed 10 March 05.

⁵Anwar Syed, *Preaching Moderation* (Karachi, Pakistan: Daily Dawn, 27 June 2004), [article on-line] available from <http://www.worldpress.org/Asia/1889.cfm>; Internet; accessed 13 January 2005.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Prof. Khurshid Ahmad , *Enlightened Moderation or The New US Religious Order* ; [article on-line] available from <http://www.jamaat.org/Isharat/ish0704.html>; Internet; accessed 12 February 2005.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan, *A Plea for Enlightened Moderation* (The Washington Post, 1 June 2004), A23; [article on-line] available from

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A5081-2004May31.html>; Internet; accessed 10 January 2005.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²“The U.S. government must identify and prioritize actual or potential terrorist sanctuaries . . . using all elements of national power. We should reach out, listen to, and work with other countries that can help . . . For enlightened moderation . . . the United States should be willing to make hard choices too, . . . in its struggle against extremists with a comprehensive effort that extends from military aid to support for better education, . . . a shared commitment to political and economic reform. It should include a shared interest in greater tolerance and cultural respect, translating into a commitment to fight the violent extremists who foment hatred. If we heed the views of thoughtful leaders in the Arab and Muslim world, a moderate consensus can be found. Where Muslim governments, even those who are friends, do not respect these principles, the United States must stand for a better future. Short-term gains in cooperating with the most repressive and brutal governments were too often outweighed by long-term setbacks for America’s stature and interests. A comprehensive U.S. strategy to counter terrorism should include economic policies that encourage development, more open societies, and opportunities for people to improve the lives of their families and to enhance prospects for their children’s future.” 9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 12, *What to Do? A Global Strategy*, [article on-line] available from http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/911report/documents/911Report_Ch12.pdf ; Internet; accessed 10 January 2005.

¹³Ardeshir Cowasjee, *Enlightened Moderation*, Daily Dawn, Editorial, 12 October 2003, [article on-line] available from <http://www.dawn.com/weekly/cowas/20031012.htm>; Internet; accessed 12 March 2005.

¹⁴Masooda Bano, *Unraveling Enlightened Moderation*, Al-Ahram(Online), 17 - 23 June 2004 ,Issue No. 695; [article on-line] available from <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2004/695/in1.htm>; Internet; accessed 10 January 2005.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Anwar Syed.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 12.

²¹P. W. Singer, *The Crisis Within the Crisis*.

²²National War College Student Task Force on Combating Terrorism, *Combating Terrorism in a Globalized World* (National War College, May 2002), [article on-line] available from <http://www.ndu.edu/library/n2/n02CombatingTerrorism.pdf> ; Internet; accessed 16 January 2005.

²³Pervez Musharraf, *A Plea for Enlightened Moderation*.

²⁴“Before the anti-Soviet, Afghan war started, the Palestine dispute alone was the cause of unrest or concern in the Muslim world which led to a general unification of Muslims in favor of the Palestinians and against Israel. The Afghan war of the 80s, supported and facilitated by the West as a proxy war against the Soviet Union, saw the emergence and nurturing of pan-Islamic militancy. Islam as a religion was used to harness mass, worldwide Muslim support. Subsequently, the atrocities and ethnic cleansing against the Muslims in Bosnia, the Chechen uprising, the Kashmir freedom struggle and an invigorated Palestinian Intifada all erupted in the 90s after the Soviet disintegration. To make matters worse, the militancy sparked in Afghanistan, which needed to be defused after the end of the Cold War, was allowed to fester for the whole decade of the 90s. This festering wound of Afghanistan with fighters from the entire Muslim world existing within the period of upheaval in other Muslim nations turned multidirectional, looking for new conflict zones where Muslims were suffering. This saw the birth of Al Qaeda. All this while the Palestinian Intifada kept gathering momentum, uniting and angering Muslims across the globe. Then came the bombshell of the horror of 9/11 and the angry reaction of the US against the Taliban/Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. All subsequent reactions of the US, their domestic responses against Muslims, their attitude towards Palestine and operation in Iraq led to the total polarization of the Muslim masses against the US. Why this needs to be recapitulated is to prove that it is not Islam as a religion which preaches or infuses militancy and extremism but political disputes which led to antagonism in the Muslim masses.” Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan, *Enlightened Moderation*, [article on-line] available from <http://www.netpakistani.com/te/?m=v&a=365040> ; Internet; accessed 6 April 2005.

²⁵P. W. Singer, *The Crisis Within the Crisis*.

²⁶Anatol Lieven.

²⁷ Kumar Ramakrishna, *An Indirect Strategy for Trumping Al-Qaeda in Southeast Asia*, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.ndu.edu/inss/symposia/Pacific2002/ramakrishnapaper.htm>; Internet; accessed 13 February 2005.

²⁸James Wolfensohn, World Bank President, March 2002; quoted in *Combating Terrorism in a Globalized World*, National War College, May 2002, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.ndu.edu/library/n2/n02CombatingTerrorism.pdf> ; Internet; accessed 16 January 2005.

²⁹U.S. Department of State, *Dictionary of International Relations Terms*, 1987, 85 referred in *What is Public Diplomacy?* [article on-line]; available from <http://www.publicdiplomacy.org/1.htm#defined>; Internet; accessed 13 February 2005.

³⁰President Seyyed Mohammad Khatami, *We Should Listen to What Other Cultures Offer*, September, 2001; [article on-line]; available from http://www.schillerinstitute.org/dialogue_cultures/khatami.html; Internet; accessed 10 March 2005.

³¹Ibid.

³²Yamauchi Masayuki, *From the Clash of Civilizations to a Dialogue between Civilizations, A Review of the 20th Century and a Preview of the 21st Century*, [article on-line]; available from <http://www.dialoguecentre.org/PDF/Yamauchi.pdf>; Internet; accessed 10 March 2005.

³³National War College Student Task Force on Combating Terrorism.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸9/11 Commission Report, Chapter 12.

³⁹Pervez Musharraf, *A Plea for Enlightened Moderation*.

⁴⁰Dr Abduljalil Sajid, *The Role of religion and Belief in a democratic Society: Searching for ways to combat Terrorism and Extremism* (The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe(OSCE) International Conference, Gulistan Palace, Baku, Azerbaijan, 10-11October 2002); [article on-line]; available from <http://www.mcb.org.uk/role-of-religion.pdf> ; Internet; accessed 17 March 2005.

⁴¹Pervez Musharraf, *A Plea for Enlightened Moderation*.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Daily Times Editorial, *Our TV Channels and 'Enlightened Moderation'*, September 30, 2004; [article on-line]; available from http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/default.asp?page=story_16-6-2004_pg3_1 ; Internet; accessed 10 March 2005.

⁴⁶Pervez Musharraf, President of Pakistan , *OIC-Challenge and Response-Enlightened Moderation*, June 01, 2004, [article on-line]; available from http://www.infopak.gov.pk/President_Addresses/OIC_challenge_response.htm; Internet; accessed 15 March 2005.

⁴⁷Anatol Lieven.

⁴⁸“Arab nationalism helps fuel Al-Qaeda, just as Pashtun nationalism provides a good deal of the support for Taliban.” Anatol Lieven.

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