

## Reflections of Neo-Global-Colonization: Traces of Neo-colonial Facts in Fiction

Author: **Dr. Syeda Sughra Naqvi**, [punjtani512@ymail.com](mailto:punjtani512@ymail.com)

Affiliation: La Rochelle University, France / Govt. Graduate College Sahiwal, Pakistan

Co-Author: **Shaista Afzaal**, [shaistaafzaaleng@gmail.com](mailto:shaistaafzaaleng@gmail.com)

Affiliation: Govt. Graduate College for Women Sahiwal, Pakistan

### Abstract:

This study introduces the theme of neo-global-colonization and American imperialism in the twenty-first century. The discussion analyses the circumstantial geo-political goals that allow the US to take more bold steps for implementing its ideal New World Order that not only includes the change of imperial regimes in the Middle East but also introduces the possible change in geographical boundaries that may force the new local governments to be more submissive. These goals favour the particular interests of global colonisers to maintain power and exploit economic resources of the under-developed nations, rich in natural resources but deprived of modern economic development. The argument is constructed comparatively, by connecting the literary and political conspiracy theories reflected in contemporary literature with picturesque realism; bitter facts through fiction. "Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it." Arundhati Roy believes. In this context, the paper presents an analysis of the texts which uncover the US' game of throne to exploit natural resources of the under developed countries through collaborative role of the World Bank and other charity organizations, in light of Noam Chomsky's neo-colonial theory presented in his book *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants* (2011) and Arundhati Roy's literary theory of Facts in Fiction presented during her Arthur Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, entitled *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*.

**Key Words:** Post colonialism, Neo-colonialism, Neo-Global-Colonization, Social Misrepresentations, Facts in Fiction, Revisionism, Radicalization, Fundamentalism, *Chanday ka Dhanda* (Business of Welfare)

*Article Received: 18 October 2020, Revised: 3 November 2020, Accepted: 24 December 2020*

### Introduction

The US dream of becoming a global coloniser began with the end of World War II. The policy makers had started their planning during the war, "how to shape the post war world," (Chomsky 2011, pg 10) which could easily be seen in an open society. The think tanks of the United States of America were on the same page that "the dominance of the United States had to be maintained" (Chomsky 2011, pg 10). For maintaining US dominance, and to weaken the Soviet Union, a US-Nazi alliance, a "secret army" (Chomsky 2011, pg 11) was not only formed in collaboration with Hitler, but also kept working inside the Soviet Union into the early 1950s. They preferred supporting regimes which were subservient to them than the elected governments, especially if they tilted towards communism. That

provides an evidence that the US has to consider its own interest as primary by following the Monroe Doctrine.

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

Health Organization, and 4) The relationship between the US (neo-coloniser) and Pakistan (neo colonised) in the aftermath of 9/11.

The US possesses 25% of the World's wealth but only 4.27% (Worldometers 2019) of its population. How has the US gathered that wealth? And what is it going to do with it? According to Chomsky, to strengthen the American economy, the US needed to dominate a "Grand Area" (Chomsky 2011, pg 13) that could include the Far East, the Middle East with its incomparable energy resources, the third world, the western hemisphere, in other words, nearly the "entire globe" (Chomsky 2011, pg 13). To examine the transition from British colonization to American imperialism, we need to analyse American neo-colonialism in light of Arundhati Roy's indictment against the United States for introducing nuclear technology to the world, as well as Umera Ahmed's denunciation for exploiting the economic resources of third-world countries, leaving poverty, chaos and instability behind for the natives, not to mention the humiliated sovereignty of the developing nations through drone attacks; generally speaking, the Americans' obsession that they can transform the world as they like and portray themselves as liberators.

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

"In place of colonialism, as the main instrument of imperialism, we have today neo-colonialism . . . [which] like colonialism, is an attempt to export the social conflicts of the capitalist countries. The temporary success of this policy can be seen in the ever widening gap between the richer and the poorer nations of the world. But the internal contradictions and conflicts of neo-colonialism make it certain that it cannot endure as a permanent world policy." (Nkrumah 1965, pg 5)

According to Nkrumah, the result of neo-colonialism is that foreign capital is used for exploitation rather than for the development of the less-developed parts of the world. Under neo-colonialism, investment increases the gap between the rich and the poor countries of the world. That was why he believed that the struggle against neo-colonialism is to prevent the financial power of the

developed countries being used in such a way as to impoverish the less-developed countries, rather than excluding the capital of the developed world from operating in less-developed areas for mutual benefit.

### Facts in Fiction

Literature sets a relationship between an author's world of imagination and the characteristics of real life, "the relationship between the aesthetic and the political" (Roy 2018) — violence, injustice, exploitation, corruption, power politics — to exploit literary sensitivity and to relieve the conscience of the author. The most common yet implicit way of distributing the literature is with the concept that "the fiction [i]s not political and the essays [a]re not literary." (Roy 2019, The Guardian) While for me just like Roy, literature is spacious because its place "is built by the writers and readers" (Roy 2019, The Guardian) and that is neither limited nor measured. The writers are "incorporating real-life figures and events into [their] writing, melding fact and fiction together" (Shaharyar 2019, DAWN News). A writer can present, and a reader can conceive, political facts in literary form of fiction, or a writer may produce and a reader may perceive political prose or an essay or an article as fictitious pieces of writing. We may observe Roy's liking for "the idea of literature that is needed" (Roy 2019, The Guardian), and not that which is produced just for the sake of production and consumption, because it is literature, according to her, "that provides shelter" (Roy 2019, The Guardian) of all types. Literature covers all forms of writings produced and created for need-based creative activity; creativity which responds to the needs of the people, creativity needed in a certain time and place, a certain historical context. However, it cannot be determined accurately at its earliest whether what is being produced is needed or not. Some authors write and leave it to the reader to decide whether it is needed or not, and if needed, by whom? Readers might buy the idea and others just overlook it. There are authors who write purposefully. They weigh demanding issues to discuss through their creative activity and then opt to write facts either through fiction or nonfiction. However, there are times or situations when writers write their hearts out, listening to the echoes of their conscience, it quenches their thirst; they produce what they need for their soul's satisfaction. Still, literature is providing shelter to its writers. The true call comes from the need. The need finds shelter in literature, no matter what

form of literature; poetry, fiction, or nonfiction “literature ... provides shelter” (Roy 2019, The Guardian). Roy has no doubt in her mind regarding her take on facts in fiction or fiction with facts because she is certain, and me too, that “Fact and fiction are not converse. One is not necessarily truer than the other, more factual than the other, or more real than the other. Or even ... more widely read than the other.” (Roy 2019, The Guardian) We may safely say that a writer feels the difference in his/her body, mind and soul when s/he is writing. And this very difference is the shelter. An author’s “fiction and nonfiction - they walk ... around the world like ... two legs” (Roy 2019, The Guardian), as John Berger’s take on two forms of literature, quoted by Roy.

### **The US Role in Breeding Extremist Fundamentalism:**

The “Great Game” (Roy 2016, pg 217) of US imperialism works with no clearly defined moral limits to establish its friendship or enmity for or against its agents. Who are the agents of the American Empire? Well, the liberals - particularly the neoconservative economic liberals - in the first place; the West receives their undying support of course, but not only the liberals. Yes, the fundamentalists as well. The US utilises both fundamentalists and liberals as tools for establishing its imperialism, replacing one with the other according to the needs of the time and place. The choices are made depending on the situation. Who is to be manipulated, when and where? The needs of the Empire decide. Friends of yesterday can be foes today and vice versa. Who can be manipulated with better results in a specific situation and who can be slaughtered in a changed scenario? No agent is sacred. Anyone could be disposed of as per the requirements of neo-colonial imperialism. The CIA “created” (Roy 2016, pg 219) Bin Laden. The Afghan *mujahideen* against Soviet occupation were lauded as “freedom fighters” (Roy 2016, pg 227) by President Reagan. President John F. Kennedy “orchestrated a regime change” (Roy 2016, pg 297) in Iraq to bring Saddam Hussein to power. In Pakistan, the Zia regime -- extremist, fundamentalist, dictator all in one -- was a darling of the US when his help was needed to defeat the Russians in Afghanistan. Many other examples could be given, but focusing on the arguments of the paper, we are going to highlight the US’s role in breeding extremist fundamentalism for its own imperialism in the twentieth century; the very same extremist fundamentalism the US has been fighting the so-

called ‘war on terror’ against in the twenty-first century. It is because these agents were/are no longer needed. They are kicked out, thrown away or slaughtered instead. It is because imperialism needs more blood through another wave of ‘regime change’. This is how the game of thrones in favour of US imperialism goes on, using fundamentalists as its agents to “put in” (Roy 2016, pg 225) its puppet-like individuals, groups, governments or regimes to root out the unwanted individuals, groups, governments or regimes, all around the globe. This is what I refer to as neo-global-colonization. This is what America presents to the world in the garb of ‘liberation’. This is what the West relishes as democracy.

### **Economic colonization explained by Mallence Bart Williams**

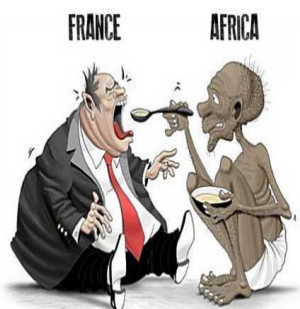
African countries are enriched with an ‘abundance of minerals’ and blessed with ‘infinite beauty,’ producing the most exquisite agricultural products like harvests of “coffee, coco, fruits, vegetable” and the best of a breathtaking ‘culture’ (Williams, (2015). Williams reminds us that the West only ‘names’ the natural resources but the Africans ‘have’ all of them; the real treasures of the world. Africa has the best diamonds and huge reserves of gold along with many other precious minerals, huge petroleum reserves, platinum, [minerals] to make titanium, crude oil, coal deposits (3rd largest in the world), tantalite, zinc, copper, coal, nickel, salt, granite, potassium, timber, mahogany and tea. African soil “is golden literally, naturally” with a “strong cultural heritage” (Williams, (2015) as well. In the field of academics, Sahara University is one of the most ancient Universities in the World, according to Williams. The West is desperate to exploit the resources of Africa to power computers, airplanes, cell phones and engines; the status symbol to establish their power and “to give value to their currencies”. (Williams, (2015)

Ahmed’s fictional revolutionary character Ibaka is as baffled as Williams, a factual researcher. Both want to know, “Why is it that 5000 units of our currency is worth 1 unit of your currency while we are the ones with actual gold reserves?” (Williams, (2015) It is evident that the aid is, in fact, not coming from the West to Africa but from Africa to the western world. Western development depends on African resources to keep flourishing. The imperial currencies (dollar, euro, and pound) are worthless if African resources would be subtracted from the capitalists’ economies. They are practising a barter system;

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



The IMF reported that six out of ten of the fastest growing economies of the world are African, measured by GDP growth. The French treasury is collecting about “500 billion dollars foreign exchange reserves” from African countries which “still pay a ‘colonial tax’ to France in the form of forced deposits” (The Pan-African Alliance, 2017). Former French President Jacques Chirac said, “We have to be honest, and acknowledge that a big part of the money in our banks comes precisely from the exploitation of the African continent,” and back in 2008 he said, “Without Africa, France will slide down into the rank of a third [world] power.” (The Pan-African Alliance, 2017) Former French President François Mitterrand also has admitted that “Without Africa, France will have no history in the 21st century.” (The Pan-African Alliance, 2017)



African nations’ access to their own money deposited as foreign reserves in the Western banks is limited to 15%. In case they

withdraw more than that, they have to borrow their own money by paying a fee. And even then, the nations are held at 20% of their public revenue from the past year. Ironically, the West in general, just like France, gives a small percentage of the same money they hold hostage back to African nations in the form of ‘aid’. All this confusion is created with a purpose; a financial scam and colonial tax are meant to keep the West powerful and Africans dependent (The Pan-African Alliance, 2017). To do that, Africans play a recurring role by becoming the agents of this monopoly. Africa could not progress because of their manipulation or corruption that benefits the West. One would assume that in evolution the fittest survives. However, in nature, any species that over hunts, over-exploiting the resources they depend on, would sooner or later die out. And it happens because nature maintains the balance. (Williams, (2015)

### The Theory of Nuclear Deterrence and Roy’s Critique of the US

Similarly, the US has taken bolder steps for implementing its ideal New World Order to change the imperial regimes in the Middle East, Africa and the Far East, with a proposed plan of a possible change in geographic boundaries to make the local governments more submissive. “Nuclear weapons are about peace, not war,” (Roy 2016, pg 47) but advocacy in favour of nuclear proliferation ignores some “fundamental flaws” (Roy 2016, pg 48) which the Theory of Deterrence is based on. First of all, deterrence is based on certain assumptions regarding the psychology of the enemy. Roy explains this assumption in the following words: “[Theory] assumes that what deters you (the fear of annihilation) will deter [the enemy]. What about those who are not deterred by that? The suicide-bomber-psyche — the “We’ll take you with us” school — is that an outlandish thought?” (Roy 2016, pg 48) The second flaw of this theory, Roy says, is that “deterrence is premised on fear. But fear is premised on knowledge.” (Roy 2016, pg 48) As soon as one gets a clearer understanding of the situation, fear disappears. Thus in the presence of nuclear weapons, living has become more frightening than death. And Roy credits this “altering the very meaning of life” (Roy 2016, pg 49) to the Neo-Global-coloniser by introducing nuclear weapons to the world in order to be “The Masters of the Universe... the United States of America! ... the ultimate coloniser.” (Roy 2016, pg 49-50) Thus Roy urges humankind, irrespective of their

<sup>1</sup> Image Credit: [A Medium Corporation](#)

<sup>2</sup> Image Credit: [A Medium Corporation](#)



credentials, to raise voices against oppression, to “stand up and say something. Never mind if it’s been said before. Speak up on your own behalf. Take it personally.” (Roy 2016, pg 50)

### US Neo-Global Colonization:

Ahmed portrays the same kind of use and abuse of the individuals, the organizations, the states, the governments by the imperialist colonial system in her novel *Aab e Hayat*. She acknowledges that the invaluable “*Insaniyat* (Humanity)” is equivalent to “*kuch bhi nahi* (nothing)” when it comes in the way of “*mada parasti* (capitalism)”; the very capitalism the West admires as the symbol of “*taraqqi* (development and progress)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 312). Thinking about human rights prior to imperial interests is in fact unthinkable in the capitalistic approach to imperialism. Salar, as the regional director of the World Bank in Congo, is presented by Ahmed as a symbol of human conscience. He recommends that the head office abandon its projects in the forests of the Congo. The projects are depriving pygmies of their human rights. His recommendations were based on his own research and observation which he conducted after meeting Ibaka, a Howard graduate activist leader of pygmies, who exposed to Salar the human rights violations on his land, with his people, through the World Bank projects. His recommendations were in favour of human rights, but were perceived as a violation of the charter of the World Bank; the charter of capitalism, that demands its employees to perform their tasks as agents of capitalism. Human suffering should not matter to them. Ahmed also highlights the factual tactics of capitalism using fiction. Everyone and everything has a price and is purchasable, according to this logic. Not only concrete material but also abstractions like: Honesty. Faith. Conscience. Intelligence. Compassion. Loyalty. Patriotism. Health. Price can be in dollars or luxuries. Position or promotion. Need or greed. Consented or threatened. Fair or foul. Deal or deception. By hook or by crook. Imperialists use all of these, one by one, to trap Salar, to make him ignore the call of his conscience crying out “*Insaniyat ki tazleel* (humiliation of humanity)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 303). Persuasion fails. Offers of promotion fail. Fear of ruining a career fails. Capitalistic imperialism still has something in its pocket for Salar to buy him, his family and identity. His family, his beloved wife, and dear kids. The family one cannot imagine living without. And the identity, the travelling documents without which one cannot

join and protect one’s family. Trapped, Salar tastes the very humility he is raising his voice against, for the people of the Congo. And “*zillat* (humility)” rarely succeeds in turning people submissive, Ahmed believes. Contrary to submission, it teaches “*muntaqim al mizaji* (vengefulness)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 313). Maybe they are strangers to the invincible power of humanity, selflessness and justice of nature. Abstract in thinking. Concrete in practice. Reflected in Chomsky, Roy and Williams’ factual accounts while in Ahmed’s fictional characters; Salar and Ibaka. Chomsky, as an American, never hesitates while exposing its Imperial New World Order and neo-colonial ‘great game’. Roy, as a representative of an ex-colonial subcontinent, is fearlessly confident in condemning the neo-colonial plans of neoliberals. Williams, in agony about humiliation and exploitation of her Africa and Africans, is resilient enough to mirror the ugly face of neo-global-colonization to its inventors. Salar, as a practicing Muslim, is a “*maddah* (fan)” of the West but he could not become its “*matee* (subservient)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 312). And Ibaka is the symbol of determination for the revolutionaries of the future. They all are different in their religion, colour, creed, origin. Yet they are one with their compassion for humanity, for justice, for equality, for freedom. They all are one against oppression. They all are one against exploitation. They all are one against capitalism. They all are one. They are humanists.

Seventeen years have passed since the US invasion of Afghanistan. Afghanistan has been bombed back into the “stone age” (Roy 2019, The Guardian). The sole purpose was to topple the Taliban. But after returning it to the ‘stone age’, the American government is back in negotiations with the very same Taliban, showing that the Taliban has been conceded to as “*ba zaabta taqat* (a disciplined stakeholder)” (Mufti, 2019) instead of “*dehshat gard groh* (a terrorist group)”. The World has observed the first episode of the post cold war New World Order. In the meantime, it has destroyed Iraq, Libya and Syria, and now, employing the same old scare gambit, the same weary misrepresentations and the same old fake news about nuclear weapons, “it is gearing up to bomb Iran” (Roy 2019, The Guardian). In this age of “fake-news coups” (Roy 2019, The Guardian), everyone is already in a race and the race “looks like a race toward extinction” (Roy 2019, The Guardian). Hundreds of thousands of innocent civilians have lost their lives to war and sanctions with the ‘justification’ “When a big tree falls, the

ground shakes” (Roy 2016, pg 10). Its thirst for blood is not quenched. A whole region has plummeted into chaos. Ancient cities have been transformed into mud. And worst of all, the satanic monstrosity of ISIS has been introduced to the world amidst the rubble and the desolation. It has spread across the world, indiscriminately killing common people who certainly had nothing to do with the US’ wars. Roy rightly indicts America for fitting itself within the definition of a rogue state. She says, “Over these last few years, given the wars it has waged, and the international treaties it has arbitrarily reneged on, the US government perfectly fits its own definition of a rogue state” (Roy 2019, The Guardian), The “irony of ironies” (Roy 2019, The Guardian) is that the US and the West claim to be the saviour. The colonists of yesterday are being sold to us as the liberators of today. Hypocrisy, as serious business, is clever. It fogs up the mirrors, blurring the view. Roy highlights this predatory system, masked as welfare, “Once again, the Global North, the creators of the problem, will see to it that they profit from the solution that they propose. A solution whose genius will, no doubt, lie deep in the heart of the ‘Market’ and involve more selling and buying, more consuming, and more profiteering by fewer and fewer people. In other words, more capitalism.” (Roy 2019, The Guardian)

### Usury or Interest

Ahmed is very clear in her mind about Islam, its forged fractions and the causes of that forgery. Her criticism of capitalism is because of her staunch faith in, and reasonable comprehension of, Islam. She believes that “*Sood Islam ki bunyad kay kilaaf hey*. (Interest is against the foundation of Islam)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 350). She believes in the reasoning by which usury is declared impermissible. It is because Islam is based upon the principle of human compassion and relief. Contrary to this founding idea of Islam, interest generates lust for money and capital that tangles up humankind in money-making traps, and as a result compassion for human relief loses worth. Ahmed’s critique on western financial systems is established on the very idea that the western financial system is based on interest, the interest that weakens the poor to strengthen the rich. This capitalist system is exploitative and favours imperialist “*taqatwar aur pesay wala*, (powerful and wealthy)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 353). The status difference between the rich and the poor establishes a vast gap and the gap causes an

imbalance within and between societies. “*Chotay bank afracad ka istemal krtay hein, World Bank qaumon ka*, (Small banks exploit individuals while the World Bank exploits nations)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 340). This exploitative system makes the poor poorer at the same speed as the rich get richer. Unbalanced societies lose their sense of moral values and human compassion. Poverty breeds greed. Greed mates with dishonesty. Dishonesty propagates deception. Deception produces lies.

### Holy Prophet (SAWA)’s Last Hajj Sermon

The theme of *Aab e Hayat* is based upon the Holy Prophet’s (SAWA) last Hajj sermon that, according to Ahmed, is for the benefit of all humankind with its universal message of peace, harmony, tolerance and compassion for humanity and human rights with social equilibrium. The main points of the Holy Prophet’s (SAWA) final Hajj sermon, as discussed by Ahmed, are:

1. Beware of God’s anger regarding women’s rights. Treat your women well and be kind to them, for they are your partners and committed helpers. It is true that you [males] have certain rights with regard to your women, but they also have rights over you.
2. Regard the life and property of every human as a sacred trust just as you regard this month [zilhajj], this day [arfa], this city [Makkah] sacred. “*Meray baad gumrah na ho jana keh phir ek dusray ki gardanain marnay lago*” Do not be misguided after Him (Holy Prophet) that begin to cut each others’ throats.
3. Stay away from “*jahiliyat* (ignorance)” and “*farsooda rasm o riwaj* (conservative traditions)” forever.
4. Forgive others’ evil actions because forgiveness is better than revenge.
5. Beware of Satan’s seduction that causes “*fitna o fasad* (disputes and mistrust)” among people.
6. Develop “*bhai chara* (brotherhood)” and “*hurmat* (respect)” for each other.
7. Do not oppress or harm anyone; neither your own “*naafs* (self)” nor to others.
8. All human beings are the offspring of Adam and Eve and thus are equal. An Arab has no superiority over a non-Arab, nor does a non-Arab have any superiority over an Arab; a white has no superiority over a black, nor does a black have any superiority over a white; no one has any priority over another except “*bartari hey*

*tou sirf taqwa ki* (the only priority is of piety and good action.)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 261)

9. Take care of servants as one takes care of oneself.
10. Usury or Interest is “*haram* (forbidden)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 135) so do not take it from the ones who are in need of loans for fighting against poverty.

The message of Allah’s Messenger is very lucid and clear in each and every piece of advice he gave to the people, without any ambiguity or doubt. The message is to be careful regarding the weaker ones, either physically or financially. The message is of equity as well as equality. The message is of sharing and caring for the needy and poor in hard times. The message is to be helpful, hospitable and kind to other people instead of being a tyrant, oppressor or persecutor. The message is to construct a peaceful and balanced society, equally supportive for all, without any discrimination.

### Sharing and Bearing Interest-Free Trade vs. Neo-colonial Capitalism:

To get rid of an interest-based capitalist financial system, Ahmed suggests developing and strengthening an interest-free Islamic financial system parallel to the current capitalistic system. The Islamic financial system encourages trade for human welfare and equality with an idea to share both profit and loss. The system that would equally be beneficial to the poor and the rich without any discrimination for the maintenance of social equilibrium. The current system is made by the welfare states and in spite of its being exploitative in favour of the rich, it is successful. The reason for its success is because this financial system offers welfare to the poor of these societies. Its guise is attractive apart from the fact that this system serves neo-colonial ideology, just as a monster under the cover of a fairy. One may challenge individuals but cannot challenge the states, individually. So, Ahmed urges those states which are victims of neo-colonial exploitation, in the guise of welfare, to unite and establish a strong parallel financial system with welfare for the societies and not for the welfare of the neo-colonisers; the US and the West in general.

Ahmed’s critique of the World Bank and World Health Organization is a reflection of Williams’ indictment of OXFAM International, UNICEF, the Red Cross, Life Aid and many more. As was mentioned earlier, according to Chomsky,

in order to strengthen the American economy the US needed to dominate a “Grand Area” (Chomsky 2011, pg 13) that could include the Far East, the Middle East with its incomparable energy resources, the third world, the western hemisphere, in other words, the “entire globe” (Chomsky 2011, pg 13). Williams answers her own question, “How does the west ensure that the free aid keeps coming? By systematically destabilizing the wealthiest African nations and their systems and all that backed by huge PR campaigns, leaving the entire world under the impression that Africa is poor, and dying, and barely surviving on the mercy of the West.” (Williams, 2015). The charity organizations mentioned above are utilising huge funds, paid by innocent people under the impression of helping with their donation, to advertise charity, sustaining the image of Africa worldwide. However, what happens during charity campaigns is, according to Williams, “One hand gives under the flashing lights of the cameras and the other takes in shadows.” (Williams, 2015)



3

Ahmed chose fiction, while Williams nonfiction, two parallel mediums of literature, to expose the bitter facts of neo-global-colonization.

### Internal Peace and Discontent:

The twenty-first century is observing the peak of discontent and disillusionment. “*Sakoon kahin nahi hey*, (Peace is nowhere)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 272). Many are becoming victims of displacement while trying to escape from civil unrest for their survival. Others are afraid of terrorism. The terrorism by extremists. The terrorism of ideologies; fundamentalism and neo-liberalism. The terrorism of both Islamists and

<sup>3</sup> Image Credit: screenshot taken from Williams, Mance Williams' presentation (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes.: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](https://www.tedxberlin.com/)



neo-colonialists. Both in lust for power. To rule the world. To impose their ideologies. To dictate their laws to humanity. One terrorises people in the name of Islam and the other in the name of progress.

People are wandering around “*Sakoon ke liye*, (in search of peace) (Ahmed 2017, pg 272) but are unable to find any. Ahmed tries to untie the complicated knots of disillusionment, ruffling human minds through a conversation between Imama and an old woman:

Imama: “*Sakoon kahin nahi hey*, (Peace is nowhere)”

Old woman: “*Tou jo cheez duniya main hey he nahi osay duniya main kya dhoondna?* (Why look for something that does not exist?)”

Imama: “*Phir banda rahe kyun duniya main agar be sakoon rehna hey?* (Then why live in this world with unrest?)”

Old woman: “*Tou phir kahan rahe?* (Then where to live?)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 272)

There is no option but to struggle against the disillusionment, Ahmed concludes. It is better to look for and then eradicate the reasons of discontent instead of wasting energies on finding something non-existent. Along with external unrest caused by terrorism, societies are victims of an internal unrest too. An unrest and discontent that is caused by the conscience, the self accountability or non gratification of “*hasil* (haves)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 274) in longing of *la-hasil* (have-nots). “*Naimatain beshumar theen magar sakoon e qalb nahi tha* (Bestowed with innumerable blessings but no peace of [mind and] heart.)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 303) There are two causes, positive and negative, of this internal *be sakooni* (discontent). The positive is concerned with human sufferings or self accountability of the conscience, while the negative is concerned with greed. Imama’s discontent is caused by being rejected by the one she loves most, although she is blessed with a life partner who loves her. Ahmed tries to explore the cause of such unrest of mind and heart when Imama decides to separate from her husband Salar for a while. The old woman wants to know why she left her husband, thus she asks, “*Tujh se pyar nahi karta tha?* (Didn’t he love you?)” She replies, “*krta tha* (He did.)”

“*Khayal nahi rakhta tha* (Didn’t he take care of you?)”

“*rakhta tha*, (He did.)”

“*Roti kapda nahi deta tha* (Didn’t he provide provisions of life like food and clothes?)”

“*Deta tha* (He did.)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 273)

But still she is unhappy, with the excuse “*Be sakooni thee wahan*, (There was no peace),” (Ahmed 2017, pg 274) that made old woman realise she may be in love with someone else. So the direction of her queries changes:

“*Kabhi pyar kiya hey?* (Have you ever been in love?)”

“*Kiya tha* (I did.)”

Old woman: “*Phir kya hua?* (What happened then?)”

“*Nahi mila* (Didn’t get.)”

*Mila nahi ya os ne chor diya?* (Didn’t get or he left you?)”

“*Os ne chor diya* (He left me.)”

“*Pyar nahi karta hoga?* (Maybe, he would not love you?)”

“*Piyar krta tha, magar intezaar nahi kar skta tha* (Loved but could not wait.)”

“*Jo piyar karta hey woh intezaar karta hey* (Who loves, he waits.)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 273-274)

This conversation is needed for every discontented soul to explore the cause of one’s own discontent because one cannot overcome one’s regrets until one knows the real reason. Life is not as simple as two plus two equals four. But it is not as complicated as we make it by tangling ourselves in misperceptions. A state of denial never allows the remedy to cure the wounds. This state of denial is very common in South Asia. This conversation helps Imama to rejoin her husband to whom she was “invaluable”. The acceptance of the fact that a person has moved on, not because of some compulsions but because one wanted to, help decrease the pain and anxiety.

### Ahmed’s Human Compassion for the People of the Congo:

Umera Ahmed’s compassion for humanity is reflected in Salar’s speech in the Congo during Ibaka’s funeral procession. The speech was delivered to the people of Congo who were enraged at the World Bank for their rebellious leader Ibaka’s assassination, and voices Ahmed’s compassionate-relationship (Ahmed 2017, pg 367) with the people of Congo who are considered “*kamtar* (inferior)”, who are deprived of their “*haqooq* (rights)” and “*wasail aur asas[ay]*



(resources and heritage)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 368). These are the same resources and heritage from the colonial system through which, according to Frantz Fanon, “The colonist derives his validity, i.e., his wealth” (Fanon 1961, pg 2). Ahmed attempts to register, according to Fanon’s view for decolonised souls, the “discover[ed]...humanity” (Fanon 1961, pg 8) of the people of Congo through a character of a Howard graduate Pigmy rebellion leader, named Ibaka, as their liberator, saviour and thus de-coloniser. Since “[t]he decolonization is always a violent event.” (Fanon 1961, pg 1), according to Fanon, Ahmed manifests that violence in her novel set in Congo, when the newly decolonised humans not only “begin to sharpen their weapons” (Fanon 1961, pg 8) after the assassination of their leader / liberator, but also use them against the neo-coloniser’s representative bodies in the region, the World Bank and World Health Organization. Although Ibaka is a humanist, his campaign is disciplined, his protests remain peaceful (Ahmed 2017, pg 369) throughout his struggle for pygmies’ rights, but his last message to his people before assassination provokes them toward “Jihad” (Ahmed 2017, pg 325). Perhaps Ibaka could not find any word more appropriate than Jihad to be used for a revolution against injustice and oppression, to snatch back what is being stolen away by “*gidh an dakoo* (vulture and robber)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 325), to use violence, to compel the World Bank to quit the country, and in case the Word Bank turns a deaf ear to their righteous demand of abandoning their projects in the forests which are going to deprive half a million pygmies of their revenue, affecting thirty five million people of Congo from their only source of income, the forests by the banks of the Congo river. Ahmed’s fiction, in line with Fanon’s theory of decolonization and Williams’ indictments of the West to be ruthlessly exploitative and imperial, is based on realism.

### Reflections on Religious Coercion:

Ahmed sketches the peaceful Islamic school of thought through her characters, representing ideals of society with a comparative portrayal of both practising Muslims and extremist fundamentalists. Dr. Sibte Ali, a practising Muslim character in her novel *Aab e Hayat* (Water of Eternity), portrays the true spirit of Islam that forbids the practice of “coercion” (Holy Quran, 2:256). He says that if Allah gives humans a lifetime’s chance to learn, to seek, to repent, to confess and then to mend their ways after doing wrong, we are no one to judge. If His doors are

always open for forgiveness we have no right to criticise or abandon or punish. Allah has the powers of judgment and decides forgiveness or punishment, we are not authorised to practise those powers. (Ahmed 2017, pg 349)

Contrary to practising Muslims with a compassion for humanity and refutation of coercion, extremist fundamentalists use coercion without any concern for human compassion. Their assumption of being more observant and religious gives them license to humiliate other humans. Saad and his family represent this kind of extremist. Ahmed depicts such fanatics and exposes their hypocrisy and double standards with a hidden lust for worldly gains in the guise of simplicity, religiosity, self righteousness and being God fearing. Allah condemns this dualism and hypocrisy in the Holy Quran even if they are offering prayers. Allah’s “*vayilun lilMusalleen* (woe upon those who pray)” (Holy Quran, 107:4) expresses His condemnation and dislike for those Muslims who tell “*Kazzib* (lie)” (Holy Quran, 107:1) when talking, do not take care of but rather drives away “*yateem* (orphans)” (Holy Quran, 107:2), do not encourage to “*ta’ami almiskeen* (feed poor)” (Holy Quran, 107:3) but “*yora’uun* (to show off)” (Holy Quran, 107:6) offer “*saahoon* (heedless)” (Holy Quran, 107:5) prayers. Saad and his family are living examples of this hypocrisy Allah denounces. Saad is Salar’s university fellow who is known and respected as a God-fearing Muslim with regularity in five times a day prayers, referencing the Quran and Hadith in every matter, showing off his flawless knowledge about Islam, refraining from bad habits of adultery, drinking, dancing and condemning others for doing such evil practices. But his hypocritical chattering of religious values is exposed when Salar sees him enjoying the same evil practices, drinking and adultery, in his apartment. The only difference is that others do not lie regarding their immodesty and he does. He is a hypocrite while others are not. Such extremists claim to be staunch believers and self appointed guides whose “*rehnumai* (guidance)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 396) is needed for spiritual and moral education. However, these self-appointed spiritual leaders never miss a chance of humiliating others with their judgments, sarcasm and coercive behaviour that expose their acute ignorance if Islamic precepts which forbid taunting, backbiting and sarcastic teasing. These fanatics’ assumptions of self righteousness, hiding their lust for money and wealth, declares their so-called “[*mazhabi*] *rang* (religious disguise)”

(Ahmed 2017, pg 393) dominant of all colours of the world. Ahmed's depiction of Abu Jahls<sup>4</sup> and their religious misrepresentations is flawless.

The phenomenal theory of twofold misrepresentations is well depicted by Ahmed to highlight misrepresentations of fundamentalism as one side of the coin and misrepresentations of neo-colonialism as the other. Criticism through the western media on Salar's speech at Ibaka's funeral, positioned him as a "*bunyad parast* (fundamentalist)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 405) for mentioning the doctrine of Islam told by the Holy Prophet (SAWA). The doctrine of Islam is founded on human compassion and relief, as has been discussed earlier under the topic of Islamic Concept of Humanity and Misrepresentations. Ahmed indicates the misrepresentations plotted and propagated by neoliberals or, more accurately, neo-global-colonisers, using available-for-sale-factions of the western media to exploit fake allegations of "*mazhabi Inteha pasandi* (religious extremism)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 378) for the sake of defamation. Although Salar discusses the doctrine of Islam in favour of humanity and human rights, with Islam and the Holy Prophet's (SAWA) being referenced, it is objectionable, even unacceptable, to neoliberals and neo-colonisers. However, he would have been applauded, quite probably, if he had referred to the same compassion for humanity and human rights as an idea borrowed from secularism or liberalism; the guises of imperialism and colonialism. The variant perceptions of Salar's character depicted by Ahmed are: "*Woh libral tha*, (He was a liberal)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 467) as well as a God-fearing, practicing Muslim for the writer, a humanist, a liberator and a saviour for the Africans. But still, an extremist fundamentalist for the neo-colonists.

#### Ahmed as a Liberal-Fundamentalist:

Ahmed's connection to her religious school of thought is very strong. She is very clear in her focus on Islamic fundamentals with a staunch faith in Islam that is reflected in her writings. She criticises the reluctance of conservatism overwhelmed by inferiority complexes of being religious or being poor or being more affiliated to one's own culture rather than to western culture. She highlights the colonial inferiority complexes of the elite classes of society who acclaim themselves as liberal by following

the western style of life, considering their own cultural norms conservative and inferior. She sounds fundamentalist when she declares the elite class of Pakistan as "*gumrah tareen* (the most misguided)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 123) class of society for their activities more in line with liberalism than Islamic culture. For example, short dresses, drinking in parties, familiarity between males and females in combined gathering are "*qabl e etraz* (indecent)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 123) and signs of immodesty for her. However, her fundamentalism is as modern as Islam. She balances her dislike with human objectivity and impartiality regarding freedom of living. "*Tum ne woh pehna jo tumhain acha laga aur unhon nay woh pehna jo unhain pasans tha* (You dressed up as you liked to, and they dressed up as they liked)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 126). So that is none of anyone's business, she affirms, to judge what others are doing and what not, who is doing good and who is bad, who is right and who is wrong, who will go to "*Jannat* (heaven)" and who to "*dozakh* (hell)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 127). Ahmed recalls her fundamentalist shade in the character of Imama, that we humans are not authorised to make a judgment about others' actions since we are answerable only about our own actions, thus we need to focus on correcting our own selves rather than poking our noses in others' affairs. And this reminder is from another character, Salar, another shade of the author; at one and the same time a liberal to extremist fundamentalists and a fundamentalist to liberals. A true Muslim. A humanist. Salar believes that "*sabar, bardasht aur ata'at e Khudawandi* (patience, tolerance and obedience to God)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 127) are more important for humanity and peace than finding fault with others' actions.

Salar and Imama are the two main characters of the novel *Aab e Hayat*. Imama embraces Islam through her own understanding in her adulthood while Salar is a born Muslim, but his spiritual shift from sinful to a practising Muslim takes place when he develops his understanding about Islam. Both husband and wife reflect Ahmed's concept of an ideal Muslim couple. If one is wrong at times, the other corrects. If one makes a mistake, other makes it right. Ahmed's ideal couple goes side by side with each other instead of male domination. Both can claim rights from the other. The relation is friendly and not of owner / subservient. Ahmed advocates equality in a relationship, the value of relationships, and gratification from relationships. Ahmed explains Islamic values that oblige

<sup>4</sup> The plural of Abu Jahl that means the father of ignorance, it was the name of an enemy of Islam in the Holy Prophet's time and is used to refer to acute ignorance metaphorically

husbands to be responsible for all provisions to wives because it is their “*istehqaq* (right)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 140) and not an *ehsaan* (favour). “*Yeh os ki zindgi hey, os ka fesla hai, tum apni khwahish os pr impose (lagoo) nahi kr sakti* (This is his life, his decision. You cannot impose your longing upon him.)” (Ahmed 2017, pg 243)

In contrast to fanatically fundamentalist characters like Saad and his family, Salar, Imama and their family are presented by Ahmed as balanced and sane Muslims. A comparative analysis of both families, their behaviours and their actions, clarifies that self-appointed righteous fundamentalists, lacking compassion and respect for humanity and human rights, are not representing the true message of Islam.

### **Managerial Business of Fear and Misrepresentations:**

The story of *PK* (drunk), an Indian Movie, is plotted on the managerial religious misrepresentation engineered by the fundamentalists - to whom Hirani and Joshi, - who have made religion their business, “the business of fear (*dar ka business*)” (Joshi & Hirani, 2014). ‘The business of fear’ does not need any monetary investment. The only investment the fundamentalists have to make is to create the fear of religion, heighten it and then exploit that fear as much as possible. Since faith in God gives hope to the people, the same hope is converted into fear of His anger and punishment. Sow fear, and reap wealth in the form of funds and power through followers’ support. What the managers of this business have to do is to keep increasing the sense of fear. Hirani and Joshi endorse the idea that “the faith in God gifts hope to the people. It strengthens and encourages people to fight with hardships of life in bad times” (Joshi & Hirani, 2014). The writers of *PK*, contrary to the fundamentalists’ accusations of apostasy and atheism, clarify their theism with a strong faith in the existence of God, the Creator of every living and non-living creature including humankind, the universe, planets, stars, heaven and hell. However, they strongly disagree with the managerial denial of human reasoning, advocating “*dharam ke mamle main sawal nahi uthaatay*, (In matters of religion, we should not raise questions or ask for reasoning)” (Joshi & Hirani, 2014) because “*yeh vishwaas ki baat hey*, (It is a matter of faith)” (Joshi & Hirani, 2014). A journalist named Jaggu, the heroine of the film, responds logically to this managerial denial against human reasoning in these words, “*Agar bhagwan chahtay k hum sawal na uthaien tou woh humain*

*sawal krnay ki shakti na detay* (If God wants us not to question, he would not have bestowed us, humans, with reasoning ability)” (Joshi & Hirani, 2014). The living creatures of God are of three kinds: angels, animals and humans. Angels have wisdom and flawless obedience to God with no instinctive desires, thus need no reasoning. Animals have instinctive desires but no wisdom of what is right and wrong. Humankind possesses both wisdom and instinctive desire, thus human reasoning; the characteristic that distinguishes humans from animals as well as from angels. Hirani and Joshi termed the managerial engineering in religion as “Wrong Number” (Joshi & Hirani, 2014) and Misrepresentations as the managers’ “*phirki*” (twist or spin) (Joshi & Hirani, 2014) for exploiting people’s faith. “*Kono phirki le riya* (someone is twisting the facts)” (Joshi & Hirani, 2014). And this ‘someone’ is none other than ‘the manager of the religion’; mufti, pandit, priest, monk, the fundamentalists, in short. This ‘*phirki*’ helps to increase fear. The fear helps their business to flourish; the business of religion. Common people cannot dare to reason because of fear of God, generated by the managers, so Joshi and Hirani introduce the blunt character of an alien named PK to raise logical questions to the ‘managers’ as well as ‘salesmen’ and give reasonable answers to their illogical fabrications regarding religion. The name PK is given to the alien for his blunt logical reasoning *that* is taken as idiocy. “*PK hey kya?* (Are you drunk?)” reveals the common false perception for human reasoning that only a drunk may be blunt enough to question religion, the ignored fact is that what is questioned is the fabrications introduced by the managers, and not the religions. They refer to the top three religions in India; Hinduism, Islam and Christianity without any discrimination, with full respect, that shows no religion are targeted, instead their target is the manufactured misrepresentations of the managers. PK’s astonishment on hearing a salesman’s claim of making *bhagwan* (God) delineates the astonishment of everyone with an ability to reason “*Ap bhagwan ko banaya k bhagwan apko?* (You created God or God created you?),” and the whispered reply was truth revealing, “*Dhandha band krwaiey ga kya?* (Are you going to fail our business?)” while the reply in public “*Ap hmaray bhagwan ko hath lgaien gy aur hum khamosh rahain gy? Humein apnay bhagwan ki rakhsha krna aata hai*, (Do you think that you target our God and we will stay silent? We know how to safeguard our God)”, was an attempt by Tapasvi, one of the self-appointed ‘managers’ of



the religion, to hide the truth through emotional exploitation. But PK's reasoning turns his attempt into ashes through a more logical statement when he says, "*tum karay ga bhagwan ki rakhsha? Bhagwan jono ess pura duniya ka banaya, jono to ka banaya* (You will safeguard God? God, who created you and this universe?)". These self-appointed guardians have actually defamed the religions. They do it for their business, for making money, for acquiring power.

#### **Chanday ka Dhandha (Charity as a Business)**

Ahmed narrates this process of revisionism; the journey from point A to point B, from morality to immorality, by introducing two minor characters named Molvi and Ghulam Farid, the victims of poverty and also of immorality. Molvi, the Imam in the Masjid (Mosque), invests the charity funds, donated for the construction of Masjid by the villagers, in an interest-based business with fixed profits to fight poverty, overlooking the command of Islam against interest. While Ghulam Farid, noticing Molvi's dishonesty and corruption, is corrupted by both greed and poverty, and demands "*masjid kay hadiye main se apna hissa* (his fair share from the charity funds for Masjid)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 387) as a ransom for keeping Molvi's "*chanday ka dhandha* (business of charity)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 387) a secret. Molvi refuses, accusing him of being "*dozakhi insan*, (a man of Hell)" who has no fear of God (Ahmed 2017, pg 387). The same business of charity that is being done by the neo-colonial system through charity organizations has been discussed earlier.

#### **Ahmed and Roy's Optimistic Activism to Make the World Peaceful:**

Ahmed shares the fierceness, anger, originality and clarity with which Roy loves humanity. We may hear Ahmed and Roy echoing each other's calls of social equilibrium for humanity and an end to imperialism. Roy urges humankind, irrespective of credentials, to raise voices against oppression, to "stand up and say something. Never mind if it's been said before. Speak up on your own behalf. Take it personally" (Roy 2016, pg 50). The same message of motivation the reader receives from Ahmed's call to be more than 'a reader'; 'a rider', "*kal ki behtri kay liye aaj koshish karna ho gi*, (We would have to struggle today for a better tomorrow)." (Ahmed 2017, pg 432)

#### **Conclusion:**

The Third World countries have everything but there is no political will to correct the wrong. The leaders are thieves. The governments are corrupt. And the neo-colonisers know very well how to exploit and benefit from their corruption. Like Old Imperialism, New Imperialism too depends for its success on a network of agents; corrupt local elites who are available to Service Empire (Roy 2016, pg 313). In case, they could not buy their loyalty or patriotism and rise for armed struggle against such monopolising forces, they are defamed; "the nationalists are referred to as rebels, terrorists, or frequently 'communist terrorists!'" (Nkrumah 1965). Ahmed says optimistically, "We cannot change our miserable yesterday, but the fate of tomorrow is in our hands." (Ahmed 2017, pg 385) Roy's hope of seeing an end to American imperialism is very clear. She believes that the American style of life based on capitalism is not going to sustain itself forever, just as the Soviet lifestyle based on communism could not, because of its being flawed. The reason for the failure is its denial to acknowledge that there is a world beyond America, and the West in general. The capitalist lifestyle is built by human intelligence and undone by human nature. But the "time has come, the Walrus said. Perhaps, things will become worse and then better." Roy's prophetic optimism predicts, "Another world is not only possible, she's on her way. Maybe many of us won't be here to greet her, but on a quiet day, if I listen very carefully, I can hear her breathing" (Roy 2016, pg 252). Earth is for human beings. Africa is for the Africans just as Europe is for Europeans. Congo is for the people of Congo. Kashmir for Kashmiris and Palestine for Palestinians.

Ahmed is aware of the influential status of the powerful in this world of capitalism. No system, whether economic or political, can succeed without power. Acknowledging that "*sikka taqatwar ka chalta hey*, (power rules the world)" (Ahmed 2017, pg 431), and that power comes with knowledge, learning, acquisition, practice and development, and the neo-colonists own that power. She puts stress on focusing on the fundamentals, just as Hamid does, to regain the lost powers. "Dehshat gard duniya pr hakmiyat qaim nahi kr sktay, (Terrorists cannot rule the world)." For that Muslims need to be united because "*Muqabla afrad nahi qaumain krti hein*, (Nations compete, not individuals)." (Ahmed 2017, pg 431-32) To live for oneself and die for oneself cannot bring change. Terrorism is brutal,

savage and “dehumanising” (Roy 2016, pg 340-41) for both the predators as well as the prey. So is war. The difference is that the terrorists, as “free marketers of wars,” (Roy 2016, pg 340-41) are not ready to let the State monopolise wars as the “legitimate use of violence.” (Roy 2016, pg 340-41)

#### References and Bibliography

- Ahmed, Umera (2017), *Aab-e-Hayat*, Feroz and Sons Publications, Lahore
- Chomsky, Noam (2011), *How the World Works: What Uncle Sam Really Wants*, pg 10, Hamish Hamilton, Published by Penguin Group, article first published 1992
- Fanon, Frantz (1961), Translated from the French by Richard Philcox (2004), *The Wretched of the Earth: On Violence*, Grove Press, New York, USA
- Gandhi, Rajiv (2016), Quoted by Arundhati Roy in *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois, pg. 10
- Holy Quran: Surah AlBaqra and Al Maun
- Joshi, Abhijat & Hirani, Rajkumar (2014), *PK or Pee Kay (Drunk)*, Directed by Rajkumar Hirani, Produced by Vishnu Vinod Chopra & Rajkumar Hirani, Copyright Rajkumar Hirani Films Ltd
- Mufti, Amna (2 June 2019), *Afghan Jihad Mein Humne Kya Khoya Kya Paya?* (What is lost and gained in Afghan Jihad?), [BBC News: Urdu](#)
- Nkrumah, Kwame (1965), *Neo-Colonialism, the Last Stage of imperialism*, 1st Published by Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London, (Published in the USA by International Publishers Co., Inc., 1966), pg. 5, <https://politicalanthro.files.wordpress.com/2010/08/nkrumah.pdf>
- Roy, Arundhati (2018), *Evil Empire: How To Think About Empire*, an interview with Avni Sejjal, published in Boston Review Fall Issue, accessed website & updated (2019) link: [bostonreview.net](http://bostonreview.net)
- Roy, Arundhati (2016), *The End of Imagination*, Published by Haymarket Books, Chicago, Illinois
- Roy, Arundhati (13 May 2019), *Literature provides shelter. That's why we need it*, Arthur
- Miller Freedom to Write Lecture, Published in *The Guardian*
- Shaharyar, Anam (19 May 2019), *Fiction: New Beginnings, Unexpected Endings*, [DAWN News](#)
- The Pan-African Alliance (5 Dec 2017), *Ghana's President Just Put France In Its Place—But He Missed The Mark On These 3 Points*, Published by [A Medium Corporation](#) (US)
- Williams, Mallence Bart (2015), *Chances. Challenges. Changes.: Change Your Channel*, [TEDxBerlinSalon](#)
- Worldometers (2019), <http://www.worldometers.info/world-population/us-population/>