

**Jihad, War and Nation-State Formation:
An Analysis of the Political and Societal
Dimensions of Jihad in Muslim Society—Pakistan**

Dr Muhammad Sajjad Ur Rehman

*Assistant Professor,
Department of Political Science,
Government Sadiq Egerton College Bahawalpur.
sajjad.rehman73@gmail.com*

Dr Tahir Ashraf (CA)

*Associate Professor
Department of International Relation
Bahauddin Zakaria University, Multan.
tahirmian1@bzu.edu.pk*

Abstract:

In the current dominant Western discourse, Jihad is the part of a barbarian world view—the source of terrorism and enemy of the modern civilization. Analyzing it in the context of nation-state formation in European historiography, this study emphasizes on exploring the political and societal dimensions of Jihad, ignored so far. Dwelling on analytical/ interpretive approach, the study shows that these dimensions can help the Muslim society to address its grave problems of identity, political order and state formation. It argues that the negative view associated with Jihad is due to the deep politicization of Jihad for which nation-state itself remains responsible. The case of Pakistan illustrates it where the policies of Jihad during Zia and Musharraf regimes helped serve the grand international power design rooted in the self-aggrandized military leadership seeking legitimacy on the name of that grand design. But even amid this politicization, societal and political dimensions of Jihad remained there, though in a reduced form, as may be noted in the development of the notorious ‘Mullah-military alliance’. The study of the concept of Jihad in this perspective at least theoretically informs us about some of the issues in the field which haven’t been given due attention and without which the major crisis of the Muslim world—state formation would merely remain a partial explanation.

Key Words

Jihad, War, Nation State, Nationalism, Political dimension, Societal dimension, Pakistan

Introduction:

Jihad—a Muslim conception of holy war has been much politicized in the present world setting. It is often associated with the radicalization of Muslim youth. It is linked with murder, suicide bombing and violence of all sorts. This negative scenario is due to the high level of politicization of the notion of Jihad in the present world setting. In the ending phase of Cold war, Wests supported different Jihadi movements to defeat soviet forces in Afghanistan. This Jihadi groups began to target the imperialist West, holding it responsible for imperialism and the degradation of Muslim societies. This politicization of Jihad was accepted by the recent controversial statement of Saudi crown prince bin Salman who remarked that the particular Wahabi ideology propagating Jihad in that era was spread on the request of Western countries to encounter soviet influence on Muslims lands¹. There may be found huge gulf between East and West and the imperialism of West is viewed responsible for all the dependence and degradation of the East.

This article argues that Islamic theory and practice of Jihad may be found deeply anchored in creating the set of ways and means by which the power problem linked with the political and societal dimensions of Muslim community remains satisfactorily addressed. This power problem is fundamental to all human collectivities. This is both internal as well as external. Internally, a truly working Jihad helps produce stir and movement which further leads to vast networks of interactions and relationships. Since all Jihad is in the way of God, these interactions and relationships enjoy a stable pattern. So order and organization is must. This is how it comes to develop a collective consciousness leading to what this article calls as the formation of the political dimension. At the same time this formation of the political helps inject a perticular worldview or a common identity in the Muslim community which helps it to interact and to protect its prestigious existence in relation to other people and nations. It is

no problem that this interaction involves both peace and war since both form the normal behaviour of human aggregate in all time and space. So Jihad helps address the power problem of both domestic and international society from Islamic perspective.

The birth of Pakistan in 1947 was not caused by Jihad, but it was the outcome of the nation-state model developed in the West. From its very inception, Pakistan faced serious issues of state and nation formation. So the half part of the country broke away in 1971 and emerged as Bangladesh. The country has off and on been in the grip of severe ethnic, sectarian and political violence. The role of Islam in the political system has always remained an unresolved issue. It was exacerbated in Zia regime (1977-1988) which robustly waged the policy of Islamization of the state and society of Pakistan. Further, it sponsored jihad to support Mujahaddin against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. The whole West supported this policy, making Pakistan the center of Jihadi movements. Pakistan saw different twists and turns on this policy since the Musharraf regime (1999-2008) came to reverse this policy of Jihad when the West blamed Mujhaddin for 9/11 attacks. So Pakistan provides the best case to study the political and societal dimensions of Jihad in the modern world.

Islamic Thought and Thinkers on Jihad:

Among the Muslim theologian and scholars, Maududi and Ibn Temiyah may be found as the two leading Muslim scholars whose ideas and writings have influenced the present day Muslim activists and movements. But it equally relevant to look at the views held by the thinkers of the classical age. Ibn-khaldun mentions two categories of wars in human history. First category of war is based on revenge, competition with neighbours, looting of property etc., and thus unjust. While the second category is one that islam calls as jihad. Ibn-khaldun also includes in this category the type of war waged against transgressors to make them obey the legitimate form of rule. Ibn-khaldun calls it “wars of jihad and justice” (hurub jihad wa-adl)². Al-Farabi is another key thinker of politics in classical Islamic age. His ideal Islamic

polity is what he calls the 'the virtuous city'. To Al-Farabi, this 'virtuous city' needs to be defended against the evil intruders by the consistent practice of jihad. So, for Al-Farabi, all those wars are unjust which are fought for the narrow agenda of the rulers, just for sake of conquest and revenge³.

To analyze Maududi thought, he holds Jihad as fundamental to the formation of a political life of Muslims particularly for the protection and the proliferation of the unique message of Islam. What is important to note in Maududi (1970)⁴ thought that he holds it important to understand the misapprehensions on the question of Jihad. First misapprehension is due to taking Islam as a conventional religion. Religion is often taken as the collection of beliefs, rights and rituals etc. in this sense, no use of force can be justified on the part of a religion since observance of beliefs, rights and rituals remain one's private matter.

But Islam is not a traditional religion. Islam is 'Deen' (the system of life). Thus, Islam is a complete code which wants to govern all the matters of life. And therefore the creation of a just social order is a pre-condition. Islam ensures it through jihad. Explaining the condition of Jihad that it is a fighting in the way of God Almighty, Moududi holds that there is no place of self-aggrandizement or the room for the personal authority, power and wealth in the Islamic abode achieved by Jihad. So, one always refrains from investing one's own self when he is able to snatch power from others via a Jihadi struggle and this is what leads to the just Islamic social order. Following passage further explains Moududi's (1970:6) position:

Islam is interested in the welfare of mankind as a whole and has its own concept of this welfare and methodology to implement it. Any government and authority opposed to its ideology and concept, wherever and whoever it may be, Islam is out to eliminate it.

The second misapprehension is that Muslims are taken as a nation in the technical sense of the world. Nation is the homogeneous group of people unified by common ideology and

physical traits etc. Muslims on other hand are a group of people taken out for whole humanity to promote good and nip evils. This is what makes Maududi call Muslim as the internationally revolutionary party struggling to the utmost in the cause of Islam—the pure submission to God Almighty. This is why Islam does not use ‘war’, ‘fight’ or ‘force’ but it uses Jihad denoting struggle and strife. This is what makes Islam distinct from others.

Ibn Temiyah (1263-1328) held jihad as the most exalted in its statist and effect than any other Islamic injection for collective action. This is the reason that he himself took the sword to save Muslims from Tartars attack which had so far proven fatalistic for Muslim societies. He motivated for unity among different Muslim groups and he also met his differences with the existing rulers to fight Tartars with full force. As a result, Muslims were able to finally crush the Tartar power in the last ever i.e. the battle of Shaqhab.

To Ibn Temiyah (2000)⁵ Jihad is so fundamental to faith and society formation that those Muslims who don’t wage Jihad may be called hypocrites and sick in their heart. Ibn Temiyah mentions the saying of the holy Prophet (peace on him) that saying prayer is the pillar of Islam while Jihad is the summit of Islam. It is thus like a roof which keeps Islam safe from outsiders and their effects. Ibn Temiyah justified the great rewards of Jihad by different reasons: First, its benefits do not remain restricted to the one self, but is spread to the whole community. Second, it is worship that covers all the inner and outer meditations in their purity. Thirdly, life and death is the universal rule. What is important that one should live and die in eternal happiness, which can be achieved in best way by Jihad due to the fact that Mujahid is either a victorious or a martyr.

The purpose of Jihad is to make people obey the commands of God Almighty and particularly recalcitrant groups which can be made follow the order of Muslim rulers by fighting only. Ibn Temiyah is of the view that a lawful warfare (jihad) is only with those who fight with Muslims. If they don’t fight, Muslims should also observe restraint. He mentions the holy verse: And fight in the way of God Almighty those who fight you, but

transgress not: God Almighty loves not the transgressors (2:190).

War and the State Formation: A Comparison Between Islam and West

War has an intimate relationship with the growth and development of the nation state in Europe. The birth of nation-state was an urge for the formation of the political dimension in an attempt to address the problems of law and order faced by the societies of Western Europe in particular. Treaty of Westphalia (1648) was a response to the wish for an orderly life, distressed by the civil wars in Europe. Wars generated the movement of people and resources which left no choice for the communities to produce a strong centrally controlled political organization. Earlier, Hobbes had shown the need of all-powerful state as a solution of the anarchical human society prone to violence and decay due to "the war of each against each"⁶. So, the modern state was an outgrowth of the perpetual tensions and conflicts in human society. This may be found consistently recognized in the works of theorists and scholars on nationalism and modernism. They held War is the basis of the formation of the political. This is what European historiography suggests, as famously noted by Tilley: "State made the war and war made the state."⁷. All wars though happened to be destructive, war is the will of society. It gives the society a high ambition and a friend-enemy distinction. It generates some of memories and feelings which keep a people unified and at the same time help them have a historical continuity which make them exist as a coherent whole (or a nation).

Nation state was a product of the secularization of wars in Europe. What made nation state grow, flourish and produce a stable pattern of relationships in all the different sectors of society was its ability to enter into the domain of secular wars. It thus caused to unleash huge economic potential, making it possible for the tremendous money and material resources in the creation of standing armies serving the peculiar political ends of nations. Without it, the large-scale technological advancement which first pioneered in the field of defense might have not

occurred. These were the transformations which further led to societal and economic growth in the West.

War on the other hand could never enter into the domain of secular on Muslim lands. Rather, from its heyday to its decay, Jihad continued to define all codes and conduct of war in Muslim part of the world. In different intervals of time, it was possible that one could politicize Jihad, serving its own ends, Jihad however could never be secularized. Even at the time of its worst politicization, as to which, for example, Bin Sultan (the Crown prince of KSA) recently pointed out, it couldn't help using the religious ideology of Whahabism to find its support in Muslim community.

The group-members thus become ready to relinquish their freedoms in favour of centralizing authority which provides immunity and protection to them. This is how the question of the management of the violence found in human nature can be tackled, as the history of the growth and development of modern state in Western Europe suggests. In its earlier form, it emerged as 'Leviathan' which Hobbes (1588-1679) viewed as the effective means of resolving the problems of human nature and society which everywhere caused people to be "shord, natsy, selfish and brutish"⁸ With the passage of time, its brute powers were diluted and harnessed finally on the name of the will of society what Rousseau () called as 'general will'. However, in its most civic form, nation state remained a formidable formation due to its capacity to produce huge powers of the physical type unprecedented in the human history before. This is what made Webber⁹ to note that modern state monopolizes over the means of violence and further, the task of politics can be done by its ability to manage this violence.

Analyzing the Islamic holy war – Jihad, in this perspective, it serves the similar goals of management of violence in human nature and even more emphatically in whole society through the participation of whole community. This is what distinguishes it from other forms of warfare which in most cases happened to be materialistic and thus attract a particular section of population concerned with worldly uplift. While, in case of Jihaad, purpose

is spiritual well-being, that is rooted in the Divine reward. So Jihaad is an activity that has a strong implication for the functioning of the Government of the Muslim community. It is due to this powerful Divine connection that war and warfare could not enter into the domain of secular-worldly to the extent of Muslim society as may be found in case of west where war soon happened to be linked with modern state formation further paving the way for the specialist forces i.e. the standing armies of the nationstate to emerge there. This is one of the strong reasons that nationalism as well as secularism could not grow on Muslims lands even after a long stretch of time i.e. at least two hundred years now.

To explore the role of Jihad in this context—in the formation of major constructs i.e., state, identity and political order, Jihad is the name of sacrificing one's precious possessions including life to fight the enemies of Islam or a state established on the name of Islam. Our world is not a heavenly abode of perpetual peace but devil is there with its force and designs. So Jihad is must. This is there to keep the way of God, way of justice, balance and peace intact. This is the reason that one's struggle for one's path to God is also entitled as Jihad (Al-Quran). So the beginning of Jihad lies in one's acceptance of 'Tauheed'—oneness of God which makes a person/ group to negate all the rest of deities, including ideologies and system erected against the injunctions of God. This belief formation provides the basis of Muslim identity. This is how he/she engages in relationships. So the relationship with God helps define relationships with the rest—the sources of simultaneous power and identity in the life of the group.

Societal dimension of Jihad

War has historically been an important source of providing thrill and the rejuvenation to the decaying societies. These were the crusades and the later European inter warfare which led to Renaissance and reformation to take place in that part of the world experiencing dark ages of its history. This role of war is obvious due to its capacity to bring fundamental questions such as existence, survival, power, weakness to their forefront. This

provides a thrill and action which is otherwise impossible to be generated. Furthermore, war helps create distinction between friends and enemies which is a key factor to make a people sovereign¹⁰. So, war makes people rise and move forward in a specific direction which thus helps attain a particular social change by creating new sets of identities and interest.

The same may be ascribing to Jihad being a holy war fought in the way of God. This is the reason that after 1979, when it was initiated for the sake of liberation of Afghanistan from Soviet Union, it created a great stir and movement within the Muslim people across the world. Although, Muslim people were able to live freely in their respective states, yet they perceived themselves victim of foreign deign beyond their control. Being rooted in economics, this design was the outcome of loyalties both at home and abroad. Muslim people found Jihad as the most effective tool and powerful idiom to mark their resistance against this foreign design.

This gave political Islam a new dimension of its own: it became transnational, violent, mass oriented and thus societal. Earlier, at the time of freedom from colonial rule, political Islam was more of a compromising type: it was nationalist, statist, elitists and modernist in its outlook. This is how it was able to snatch freedom from its colonial master. For example, in case of Pakistan, we find that the founding fathers, Sir Syed Ahmed khan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal happened to be compromising: nationalists, elite-oriented, modernist/positivist/rationalist in their outlook. This situation marks an important change which is time and space born. It thus signifies a linear development which is likely to bridge the widening gap between political and societal in Muslim majority societies i.e. Pakistan since the establishment of the colonial rule on their lands.

It is interesting to note that the existing power structure in these societies is a big hurdle in bridging this gap. This is due to number of reasons, important among which are the powerful interest associated with the foreign design imposed on these societies. This gives rise strong international unity of elites

which is chiefly responsible for this gap. mass society knows that it has no ways and means to act against it and thus one is doomed to loose in case of any defines. Therefore, it ones interest to accept this reality as an ultimate one. This is what makes all attempts of democratization a mere amalgamation of words and slogans unable to be the part of the ground realities of these societies.

Societal dimension of Jihad may be realized in the way that is the powerful source of a possible alternate reality in Muslim majority societies/Pakistan. This is an alternate reality since it is able to form the political of its own. This is how it is an important source of empowerment, thrill and action leading to the generation of new identities and interest. It is thus a precondition to attain sovereignty without which as John Austin¹¹ viewed, a people cannot be able to be free and to create a free society. In this way, Jihad is likely to get together Muslim masses on a single unified platform through its capacity of the production of the political of their own. This is how they would be able to emerge as sovereign people capable of thus fulfilling the precondition of initiating state formation.

What however remains threatening for the societal dimension of armed forces' link with Islamic activists is the increasing statization of this relationship. This happened after 9/11 when armed forces had to take action against Islamists to meet the American demands of rooting them up. In this course, some were tamed such as Lashkir Taiba, Jash Muhammad and some other Jihadi groups, a considerable number of fighters rebelling from these organizations and joined with likeminded in the hilly areas of the country engaging themselves in the decade long insurgency and in which tens of thousands from both sides have been killed/ injured/ migrated. This change in the policy of jihad caused to negatively affect the societal dimension of 'Mullah military Alliance'. It resulted in making the alliance to be wholly state centered for its survival. In this way, fruits of war cannot be obtained and thus the likely emergence of the independent sphere of religion would be affected. It would be obviously hamper the possibilities of the formation of the political of an

indirect type as the nature and scope of power distribution patterns in their traditional settings in these societies suggest.

Looking from a different angle, this notoriously known as "Mullah-Military alliance", dictated by the principle of necessity, is one form of the societal-centric scheme to emerge in case of Pakistan. This alliance is one outcome of the aspirations of the section of society though small but increasing gradually. Furthermore, it is for purely political motifs but all these motifs are hidden and indirect. This is the reason that it is not political-centric but remains rooted in the in the large currents of the society.

This Mullah-military alliance may be seen as a catalyst of the transformation which is found to be experienced by the Western Europe as evident in the observation of "state made the war and war made the state". In this context, war was the point of the formation of the political in its greater link with the societal. War thus helped forge the balance between the two intriguing domains-political and societal. This political was largely of ethnic/ nationalist origin since otherwise there was no justification for the mass society to participate in it by risking all of its precious possessions including the most precious-life.

Since ethnic dimension was able to hold sway over the rest including the religious, it caused political to be overt or open-to work as an independent variable-as may be witnessed in the growth and development of nationalism in the West. But the same status of the political is not likely to emerge in case of Muslim societies in particular due to religion has not been removed as the basis of identities despite more than a century wide modernization efforts pointing to the placement of religion in these societies on the position it has historically been under the pre-colonial/ pre-nationalist societal centric scheme of the political order.

Political Dimension of Jihad

Colonization of Muslim lands in 18th and 19th centuries permanently caused to terminate the tradition of Jihad in Muslim societies. It also meant the negation of the independence of the

political dimension of the community. However, the struggle for the formation of the political potential took a new shape under the flag of nationalism rooted in the zeal of freedom from colonial rule. So colonialism caused to dissociate the link between Jihad and political formation by introducing the ready made nationalist model. This is the reason that the post-colonial states were no longer the product of Jihad but to the same reason, these remain un-viable in the true sense of the word.

Why did state failed to emerge in its true sense in Muslim part of world after freedom from colonial rule, for instance, as Pakistani case witnesses? Finding its answer in western scholarship, for-instance, Smith¹² gives the combination of three factors crucial for the emergence of state in case of Western Europe: "namely, state, war and religion". According to him, these three were fundamental in converting distinct communities called as ethnic categories into "ethnies" finally on their way to emerge as modern nations. This transformation finally helped making transition towards modernity possible. All these three-state, war and religion have their intimate relationship with the formation of the political. Importantly, war has a particular significance of its own due to its extraordinary impact and reach in the human affairs.

It is interesting to note that this role of war may be equated to that of Jihad. Analyzing carefully, Jihad is an activity based on the interplay of the three: state, war and religion. Non-of them can be minced from the co-relation. This is evident in the definition of Jihad to protect Darussalam (State), Jihad is the name of fighting (war) in the way of Allah (Religion). This is the reason that Jihad remains the single most important Guarantee of the formation and the protection of the political pertaining to Muslim societies in their long history.

This role of three factors as noted by Smith at the same time tells us about another phenomenon of war, linked with unmitigated suffering, violence and degradation. In case of the problems of state/ nation building in Muslim societies like Pakistan, can this fundamental role of war help us in making sense of the misery, insult and bloodshed in the country? Can we one day hope for

some positive outcome to be produced out of the total sum of negatives, non-sense and irregularities which hamper the progress on each and every moment of the every passing day?

In fact, link between armed forces and nationalism remains crucial in almost all Muslim countries and this is in part due to the exclusive sovereignty of God (which teaches that whatsoever state does cannot be held legitimate)¹³ and in part due to the predominance of the practice of Jihad in Muslim tradition. In the wake of current religious identities as well as the present war on terror in which many of Muslim states (i.e., Pakistan, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, etc) have been engaged in fighting their own subjects with US support, standing armies of the Muslim societies are faced with a very pinching question that whether they are fighters in the way of God or just fighting for the piece of land inhabited by a group of people called as nation. This question becomes highly significant in the face of growing religious consciousness. Since all fighting remain prohibited in Islam unless fought to protect abode of Islam (Darussalam) from infidels or to nip down the oppressing elements in the abode.

It further results in various problems, for instance, what makes a body to be ranked an oppressor? Whether it is a group rebellious to the state or the state itself if collaborating with foreign powers perpetuating the rule of certain elite classes? What is then the position of standing armies safeguarding such oppressive rules in the eyes of Islam? What is the place of ethnicity or nation in Islam and what is code of their mutual conduct? Such and other questions are constantly hovering over the Muslim minds, shaping a new cognitive map which now wants to see things in a different manner-at least away from colonially borrowed slavish routine of life.

In the present world, Jihad has been deeply politicized since it was not allowed unless it served the power-design of the contemporary international order, as may be watched in the US massive support to Afghan Mujahidin fighting against the former Soviet Union. Since the exploited Muslim folk found new meanings of liberation and contentment in Jihad, the end of cold war proved to be its new beginning on a global scale culminated

in the events of 9/11. This made US power hit Jihadi forces all across the Globe. But at the same time, since it was overriding, exclusive and strictly compartmentalizing (either you are with us or with enemies), it made the honeymoon between Jihaadi forces and their state patrons end in nightmare. This is how Jihaad was deeply politicized, and was finally reduced in the service of interest holders and time servers who happened to be the beneficiaries of state patronage. It is at this time, Jihaad ceased to exist as an activity independent of its own and thus capable of initiating the job of state and nation building.

Zia, Musharraf and their legacy of Jihaad

Zia policies raised the status of a soldier as a Mujahid fighting in the way of Allah. This was important since it made the armed forces not to be mere professional organization. It means that a soldier who was faithful to state, he could be also faithful to his religion. This led to the notion of an Islamic army-in the service of both Pakistan and Islam. This was seen positive and even necessary since Islam was declared as the basis of Pakistan. In other words, Pakistani identity was Islamic in all respects.

So long as, JIHAD remained the state policy, as was the case with Zia regime, due to cold war on the borders of Pakistan and the resultant US massive assistance to Pakistan, it was nothing problematic. Since Islam and Pakistan were two names of the same thing, there was no conflict on the question of locating collective identity with state or religion. But with the passage of time, as the state and religion were made distance from each other particularly in Musharraf rule who went to answer the debate in favour of the state, as his policy of Pakistan First witnesses.

This debate is not limited to the armed forces, though it may be more intense in the army due being an institution based on the management of force. Common society may be found equally effected since the question now appears to be hotter than ever. This may well be adjudged by the statement of Munnawar Hassan-Ameer of Jammat-i-Islami: "if an American soldier is not a martyr, how can one be entitled as martyr fighting on his instructions"¹⁴. This created a big nuisance in Pakistani society

since it was to question the taboos working behind the power structures-the perpetual rule of military- bureaucratic oligarchy in Pakistan. So, because, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, earlier, what was largely vague/ hidden due to dual state policies-using Islam as a cover, has now largely appeared out of the bag. One now finds that there is a possibility to be disloyal to one's religion on the question of political-state obedience. secondly, if they stand disloyal to Islam, whether it would be affordable in any way?

This situation is mix of optimism/ pessimism. Its pessimistic aspect is that common people are no more interested in the political life of the community One folk thinks that this situation cannot be redressed and thus they become stick with the promotion of themselves and their families by hook and by crook. A hopeful sign however is that many of them are turning to religious organizations such as Tublighi Jamaat where they are finding new ways of giving meanings to their discontented life and it is possible that they may likely one day revisit their attitude of massing interests 'by hook or by crook'.

This is optimistic in the sense that it offers a challenge for many others-making them define their existence in finding some way out of the perceived antagonism between state and religion. This state of antagonism gives them a new hope and new courage to fight the unfavourable conditions everywhere in life. Whatsoever the outcome of their struggle may be, what remains important that they are increasingly changing their attitude towards state as an agent of change/ welfare in their life? They are finding way and means other than the state in the struggle for overcoming the tensions of the everyday life. Though it is slow and silent not having a regular shape yet, it is happening. This is also there since defining themselves in Islamic terms (it is simply unaffordable to do without Islam) they consciously/ unconsciously move away and away from the state and thus strengthening the societal dimension of the identity/ order formation rather than the political one.

It should be noted that though this optimistic folk is smaller in number, it is present in almost all sectors of Pakistani state and

society. Many of them are soft believing in the everyday life and going along with it. But some of them are hard liners forcing their view on society. They have gone to the extent of joining Jihadi organizations or going with fighters on hilly/ tribal areas in the hope of passing life of their choice of purely religious zeal.

Concluding Remarks

In the current scenario, there may be found real conflict between Jihaadi forces and the proponents of the nationalism i.e. the prevailing grand liberal democratic narrative. This conflict is rapidly changing over world more than it appears to be. For example, the ongoing global war on terror led by United States and its alloys is one form of this conflict. Its another form can be glanced in the civil wars fought across the Middle East. But this conflict does not remain limited to this display of hostilities. Rather, this conflict is comprehensive to the extent that it is encountered by each Muslim community and individuals composing it in their everyday life. This is due to the difference between the religious model of Islam that goes onto cover all the major and the minor areas of human life on one hand and the materialist-worldly design associated with ethno-rationalist-statist model of the nationalism on the other. What enhanced these differences is the fact that nationalism wants an allegiance of the same comprehensive type as demanded by one's religion. So, the conflict remains wider than what remains visible on the scene such as the ongoing war on terror.

To say in brief, Pakistan's engagement in high power politics since the early days of its creation to the present times (the frontline state in the on-going global war on terror) may be accredited to the nationalist version of the political which aims at power seeking identities, roles and relationships justified by the highly charged environment of power produced by that peculiar nationalist version. This is the reason that the present nation state system invariably remains anchored in constant state of anarchy making thus the endless power seeking the only option for survival. Anarchy thus defines the very model of identities, roles and relationships and Pakistan's bid for Jihad

(1980-2000) and anti-Jihad (2000 to onward) under US approval may be seen as the part of stabilizing attempts in that highly charged environment of power (domestic and international) defined by anarchy.

In the light of this generalized statement of the complex foreign policy behaviour of Pakistan over the decades, the study assumes that the domestic and international implications of the problematic national identity in Pakistan can be understood. To make a better sense of the complex highly charged environment of power, as an extension of the nationalist model of international relations, there is thus an obvious need of examining the formation of national identity as influenced by Pakistan's search for her friends and to get rid of the threats of the possible enemies. The behaviour of United States, China, India and sister Muslim states remains the primary source of analyses in this regard. It is in this perspective that Jihad and anti-Jihad as vital foreign policy initiatives may better be analyzed in relation to the intended/ unintended formation of national identity in Pakistan.

Furthermore, these discussions help us challenge the notion of state as a primary source of stability in the international system. Its central argument is that because of the endless pursuit for power and the resultant exclusivity of the political as characterized by the constant state of anarchy in the present international system, it is all-powerful state/ nation which can work and exist. What else exists on the name of state or nations, it is the mere extension of the design of that all-powerful state/ nation. The same remains true to the extent of Muslim world also. State unequivocally remains the expression of the collective political identity of a particular people. Since that collective political identity is in a state of collapse to the extent of Muslim societies in general, it is hard to claim existence of 'state' in these societies. To the same reason, it is wrong to link stability/ instability factor in these societies with state failure. Rather, it signifies the problem of the existence of state in the first place. In the perspective of the nationalist model of stability in the contemporary international world, it is better to entitle these societies like Pakistan, Afghanistan as post-nationalist

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societies in which there is need to envisage a different type of order/ organization linked with a different identity narrative apart from the present dominant nationalist one.

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- ¹¹ John Austin. Lectures on Jurisprudence and the Philosophy of Positive Law ,St. Clair Shores, MI:
- ¹² Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity*. (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 1991) 27.
- ¹³ This is against the prevailing conditions-Western notion of sovereignty which attributes sovereignty to humans and thus views it a pre-condition for the existence of a free people and thus responsible for everything good or ill attached with it.
- ¹⁴ See, Sameera Rashid, "Munawar Hassan, our fallen soldiers and citizens ARE martyrs" *The Express Tribune*, Nov 12, 2013.

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