Islam and Modernity: A Case Study of Pakistan’s Political History

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Abstract

By reflecting on the revivalist and essentialist approaches towards Islam, this research paper attempts at exploring the practices of Islamization in the backdrop of modernity in Indian subcontinent particularly in post-partition state of Pakistan. It argues how Muslim thinkers strived to revive Islamic ideology in the changing world directly influenced by modernity. Taking the detailed historical overview of the struggles between the implementation of Islamic ideology and identity and modernity, this paper argues that Muslim scholars in Pakistan have been struggling to position Islam as the mainstream religion and code of socioeconomic and political spheres of Pakistani society. During these efforts, rulers and religious elite have been continuously trying to impose and forward their own understanding of Islam in order to strike a balance between the modernist influenced changes and the true spirit of Islam. But in this process, various versions and approaches of Islam have emerged in Pakistan under different rulers like liberal Islamization, nationalist Islam, socialist popular Islam, revivalist fundamentalist Islam, civil theocratic Islam, moderate-modern Islam and so on. These different versions and interpretations of Islamic ideology have given impetus to different pressure groups keeping the state in a confusion and
clash with modernity which has, to a great extent, affected the progress of Pakistan in this modernized and globalized world.

Keywords: Islam, Modernity, Pakistan, Political History, Islamic Modernists

Introduction

‘Islam and modernity, modernity and Islam; different approaches in historiography and the social sciences attempt to find a significant connection between these two, allegedly separate, certainly distinct, “forces of history”’¹. The nexus between Islam and modernity has been widely studied by the legal, social, historical and economic experts to explore congruencies and contingencies of these two phenomena². By revisiting the discourses about Islam and its compatibility with modernity, this paper sets out the background for Islam/modernity debate in Pakistani political system. It argues how Muslim thinkers strived to revive Islamic ideology in the changing world directly influenced by modernity. Taking the detailed historical overview of the struggles between the implementation of Islamic ideology and identity and modernity, this paper argues that Muslim scholars in Pakistan have been struggling to position Islam as the mainstream religion and code of socioeconomic and political spheres of Pakistani society. During these efforts, rulers and religious elite have been continuously trying to impose and forward their own understanding of Islam in order to strike a balance between the modernist influenced changes and the true spirit of Islam. The underlying predicament of the discourse on Islam and modernity in the post-colonial Muslim world is well articulated by Rahman that those who understand Islam do not understand modernity and those who understand modernity do not understand Islam³. By deploying the background for Pakistan’s political history, this paper discusses various approaches adopted by the ruling elites to maintain a balance between Islam and modernity.
Islam and Modernity in the Indian Sub-continent

It is erroneous to assume that reform in Islamic philosophical thought developed due to the western influence or as a result of colonial encounter with the westerners, as is professed by most of the scholars. The subject of reform in the Islamic thought has been a central issue since 9th century under reign of the caliph al-Ma’mun (reigned 813-32). Since then several Muslim scholars such as al-Ghazali (d.1111), Ibn Khaldun (d.1382), Ibn Taymiya (d.1328) have made enormous contribution to the Islamic scholarship. In the early eighteenth century, the Islamic scholarship revived. Shah Wali Ullah (1702-1762) of the Indian sub-continent was the first Indian Islamic thinker who related Islamic thoughts to the society. According to him, religious injunctions were to be observed not only because of their divine origin but because of the advantages it conferred on the individual and the society. He pointed out the social purpose of the Islamic teachings and he was the first Indian Islamic scholar who translated the Quran into Persian, the language of aristocracy in India. His act of translating the Quran was criticized by the proponents of the Wahhabi movement, who considered it a sin (Saeed, 1994). A puritan movement started under the guidance of Muhammad Ibn Abd Al Wahab during the same time period. These two distinct movements which Rahman regarded as “pre-modernist reform movements” are pivotal since they initiated due to contentions within Islamic history and self-interpretation.

The scholarship on Islam and modernity has been established as contentious by the orientalist essentialists and Islamic essentialists. On one hand, the orientalist discourse suggested Islam as inadaptable to change, thus, a hindrance to progress and reforms. On the other hand, the Islamic revivalists considered modernity as a plague from the West; polluting human values and ethics. The orientalist essentialist approach has been widely studied and criticized by the academics while the essentialists approach presented by the Islamic revivalists has not been much debated in the scholarship on Islam and modernity. By Islamic revivalists, we mean those Islamic scholars who completely reject modernity. In the late eighteenth century, these views were present by Abd-al-Wahab. These views survive today in the form of various Salafi movements.
Islamic revivalists believe that return to a “golden age” of Islam is the key to success and that ‘the ills of present-day Muslim societies are due to the loss of political power which in turn was caused by the community drifting from the original sources of the Book and sunna’. These scholars believe in literal interpretations of the Islamic texts and do not allow any change or innovation in the religious matters. They call for the revival of the seventh century Islam, which according to them is the ‘most authentic and real Islam’. Syed Abdullah al-Maududi of India/Pakistan (1903-1979) adhere to this school of thought while some scholars like Nasr consider Maududi as Islamic modernist for his contribution in the development of methodical political reading of Islam and an idea for social action to actualize his vision.

Beside the stances taken by the western and Islamic essentialists, most of the scholars claim that Islam and modernity are compatible with each other. The scholars adhering to this school of thought are known as Islamic modernists or Islamic reformists. Islamic modernists believe that Islam is compatible with modernization and the message of the Quran is to enlighten human beings, not to drag them back to the past. Before the decline of Muslim empires, the debates were focussed on reform and change within Islam tradition e.g. place of reason in religion, validity of literal interpretation of the Quran, question of free will and the authenticity of the Hadith literature. After the decline of the Mughal Empire, in the mid-nineteenth century, vigorous debates and discussions originated among the Muslim scholars of the sub-continent. These debates were primarily based on the shifting grounds of British colonial rule and the transformations produced by the colonial power in its on-going attempts to adapt to, and thus codify and reify, local social, economic and religious variation across the subcontinent.

According to Masud, four reasons for the rise of Islamic modernism are: decline of Muslim empires, European colonial expansion, missionaries attack on Islam and the disregard of the Islamic teachings and values by some of the Muslim scholars getting education from the western institutes. An additional factor of the rise of Islamic modernism is reaction against the Islamic revivalist. Different approaches have been proposed by
the Muslim scholars to cope up with the challenges of the modern world. Four main scholars of classical Islamic modernism were Kamaluddin al-Afghani of Iran (1839-1897), Muhammad Abduh of Egypt (1845-1905), Sir Syed Ahmed Khan of India (1817-1898) and Muhammad Iqbal. The aim of these scholars was to keep pace with the developments in the West and suggesting some solutions of the criticisms raised by the Westerns. In this section, we will discuss two renowned Islamic modernists of the Indian Sub-continent; Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Allama Muhammad Iqbal.

Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) was the first Islamic modernist of the Indian sub-continent. He served as the judiciary sub-judge under the East Indian Company in 1840. At first, he was loyal to the Company but after the event of 1857 Indian revolt he became critical of the British attitude towards Muslims and Islam. He believed that if Muslims and European co-operate with each other and share their scientific heritage, it could help the society at large. After visiting Britain in 1869 he established the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College of Aligarh in 1875, India’s first Muslim University which was inspired by Oxford and Cambridge educational system. He believed that Muslims need religious reforms as he said: “Today we are, as before in need of a modern theology [jaded ‘ilmal-kalam] whereby we should either refute the doctrines of modern sciences, or undermine their foundations, or show that they are in conformity with Islam” (Troll, 1978:311). He believed that there is no discrepancy between the Quran and science as he stated: “There is no matter in the Qur’an disagreeing with the laws of nature” (Khan, 1970: 30). Khan discusses that the reasons of backwardness of the Muslims were rooted in the prevalent religious ideas and social practices. The forms of political, economic and social institutions cannot be based on the standards as they existed in the early Islam. He supposed it to be the height of absurdity … to consider such worldly matters as unchangeable as the eternal verities incorporated in the Quran” (Dar, 1957:274). He was a staunch believer of human wisdom and emphasized that there was no need of theologians. According to Khan, the Muslims can solve their problems only if they read the Quran intelligently; he widened the meaning of *ijtehad* (use of individual reasoning) as the birthright of every
thoughtful Muslim. Due to his revolutionary ideas, he was criticized by the traditional Islamic scholars firstly, because of his loyalty to the British, whom the Islamic scholars consider as invaders. Secondly, the Islamic scholars like Ashraf Ali Thanwi and Jamal-ud-Afghani issued fatwas against Sir Syed Ahmed Khan because of his views on nature and denial of the miraculous events in Islam.

Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938), also known as *shair-e-mashriq* poet of the East, provided the vision for creating Pakistan. In 1930, he became the President of Muslim league. He was a barrister by profession, but his intellectual ideas and poetic faculties surpassed his professional career. He is a widely acknowledge scholar especially his ideas on self-autonomy gained much popularity among the Iranian scholars. The prime message of his poetry was to motivate the Muslim community as he suggests that in order to develop it was crucial for the Muslim of India to revisit the entire Islamic scholarship without breaking with the past. He recognized that modern knowledge is indispensable, and Muslims must equip themselves with both modern education and the study of the Quran. Iqbal’s vision of Muslim nationalism was territorial and he demanded a Muslim nation which would provide peace and security for India and “for Islam, an opportunity to rid itself of the stamp that Arabian imperialism was forced to give it, to mobilize its law, education and culture and to bring them into closer contact with its own original spirit and with it the spirit of modern times”12. In the next section, we will discuss the role of Islam-modernity debate in Pakistan’s political history.

**Pakistan’s history: Modernization or Islamization?**

Pakistan’s political history is fraught with the tension between Islamic and modernizing discourses as is used by the political elites and Islamic leaders. In 1947, the Indian sub-continent was divided into Hindu majority India and Muslim-majority Pakistan. The purpose of the Pakistan movement was to have a separate nation state for the Muslims of India, which was widely misunderstood by Islamists as a demand for an ‘Islamic’ state. According to Alavi, “the Pakistan movement was
a movement of Muslims rather than of Islam; a movement in which diverse Muslim ethnic groups from different regions, representing different social strata and interests, were allied in pursuit of quite material objectives”13.

Nationalists such as Jinnah14 and Iqbal used Islam as a unifying and mobilizing force for the Muslims of the subcontinent in order to create a separate nation-state. Addressing the Pakistan’s Constituent Assembly in Karachi on August 11, 1947, Jinnah elucidated his secular vision:

You are free; you are free to go to your temples; you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan … You many belong to any religion or caste or creed that has nothing to do with the business of the State … In course of time Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, no in the religious sense, but that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as citizens of the State15.

In 1948, Jinnah clearly stated in his radio address that “In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission”16. The above statements clearly assert that the purpose of Pakistan was not to create an Islamic state but a state providing economic, political security and most importantly cultural security for South Asian Muslims. As the Pakistani state aspired to create an integrated modern nation-state, there was an opposition from the religious clerics who asserted that Pakistan was created as an Islamic state and Islamic law should be implemented in the country. ‘Maulana Maududi goes one step further in characterizing any failure to implement Islam in state affairs as ‘a form of national apostasy’17. Besides, several ethno-nationalist movements (e.g. Bengali, Pashtu, Sindhi and Balochi) reacted against what they saw as the unfair distribution of political power and economic resources. These movements challenged the ideology of an integrated “Pakistani culture”. The most significant of these movements was the 1971 civil war between East and West Pakistan which led to the establishment of an independent Bangladesh. Due to the
inconsistencies between Islamic, ethnic and modernist ideologies in its early years of formation, Pakistan is unable to maintain its identity either as an Islamic or secular state. Paula Newberg aptly remarks that Pakistan in its first years was a product of varied political visions and state structures.

For some, Pakistan was the proud culmination of Muslim self-assertion, for others it was the expression of a necessarily Islamic state; for some, it represented the failed prospect of a pluralistic, liberal India; for some, independence was the logical outcome of sub-continental politics, for others it was the product of manipulation or historical accident\(^\text{18}\).

Due to this overwhelming mix-match of varied ideologies the constitution of Pakistan is also neither Islamic nor secular but a blend of both. The Objective Resolution by the first constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1949, which gave a prominent role to Islam in the constitution writing, was indeed the first compromise by the state and its legislative assembly with the Islamic parties. The first constitution of Pakistan was drafted in 1956 followed by another in 1962 and the final in 1973. Due to the dissolution of successive governments, the first martial law was imposed in 1958 by Ayub Khan, who ruled the country and held Islamic parties in contempt. The 1962 constitution embodied reform in the Muslim Family Laws (divorce, marriage, inheritance) Ordinance of 1961\(^\text{19}\). This reform initiated a conflict between modernist and religious authorities, and it was reconsidered during the Zia’s regime. Ayub Khan’s period was of extreme conflict with India over the disputed area of Kashmir. Ayub Khan was forced to quit in 1969 as a result of the populist movement in East and West Pakistan. He handed over power to Yahya Khan, another military ruler. The first democratic elections were held in Pakistan during Yahya Khan’s rule. Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman, of East Pakistan based party Awami League, won the elections due to the population of East Pakistan which was larger than that of West Pakistan. The West-Pakistan based political party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto did not accept the result. A military operation was held in East Pakistan to subjugate them to the rule of West Pakistan.
This resulted in civil war in 1971 and the separation of East Pakistan into an independent state i.e. Bangladesh. ‘The loss of East Pakistan was the result of autocratic centralized rule and a failure of Pakistan to create a sense of participation and economic justice among the Bengalis’.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto remained in power from 1971-77, Bhutto was a socialist and the mobilization of the masses became his landmark. Bhutto was basically a modernist, but he also used Islam for political purpose. It was during Bhutto’s rule that the constitution of 1973 was jointly formulated by a democratically elected assembly, which included an amendment of affirmation of the finality of Muhammad’s prophethood. This amendment resulted in declaration of Ahmadi’s as non-Muslims in the State of Pakistan. The status of Ahmadis as Muslim has been a contentious issue since 1950s as there have been several riots on Ahmadis as non-Muslims in Pakistan. The plight of Ahmadis in Pakistan will be discussed in the section on Islam in Pakistan. Due to the opposition from religious parties against Bhutto and pressure from the opposition General Zia-ul-Haq overthrew his ‘so-called un-Islamic government’ and came to power.

In 1977, Zia-ul-Haq imposed Martial Law in Pakistan and ‘proclaimed that he was preparing to enforce true Islamic laws in the country’. The Sharia laws implemented by Zia encouraged the Islamist groups in Pakistan and for the first time in the history the Islamist parties gained significant political power. ‘Now the Jama’at was resorting to all the tactics of a normal political party that were unthinkable three decades ago. Nevertheless, its percentage of votes did not cross more than 7 or 8 percent’. Zia’s Islamization project led to the decline of the position of women in Pakistan. Mumtaz and Shaheed and Weiss show the implication of Zia’s Islamization program for women. Zia introduced Hudood Ordinance and a return of Pakistani women to chadar (a long veil covering most of the body) and Chardivari (the four walls of the house). The construction of ‘the ideology of Pakistan’ came into public debate in the 1970s during Zia’s regime. The ideology of Pakistan implied two things: Islam is the basis of nationhood in Pakistan; and, Islam must be recognised as the prime guiding
principle of the state. ‘Zia’s vision of the “ideal Islamic state” appealed not only to the Islamic fundamentalists and patriarchal sects in Pakistani society, but also to the nationalist and anti-colonialist sentiments trying to find cultural authenticity’\(^{28}\) through a “return” to fundamentalist Islam.

Gradually, the Islamic character of the State began to strengthen, and it has had far-reaching consequences that have lasted until today. When Soviet forces invaded Afghanistan during Zia’s rule, hundreds of young Pakistani students, who had been studying in madrassah, or traditional Islamic educational institutions, were sent by Zia to participate in Soviet war in Afghanistan\(^{29}\). This exacerbated the importance of Islamist groups in Pakistan. The jihadist groups were nurtured by the United States and Pakistani intelligence services and used as proxies in the war against the Russians who occupied Afghanistan\(^{30}\). After the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan, civil war broke out in Afghanistan, as a result of which many Pakistani and Afghanis Jihadists migrated to Pakistan. These young uneducated and jobless men were used this time by the Pakistani army to fight in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir\(^{31}\) in the name of Jihad. Meanwhile, the Madrassah culture in Pakistan flourished. Abbas rightly confirms that many Madrasah students later on turned out to be Jihadists\(^{32}\). Although the Madrasah system was encouraged by General Zia-ul-Haq, the failure of the later governments to provide a functional state educational system led to an increase of Madrasah students. Taking advantage of this situation, the religious parties in Pakistan continued to strengthen their grip in the country by using Madrasah students in political activities.

According to the scholars, who have documented Pakistan political history, Zia’s political period indicate ambiguous nature of Islamization policies. Kurin discusses that Islamic policies implemented by Zia lacked grass-root support. By using ethnographic approach, he shows that Punjabi villagers did not see Islamization as practical\(^{33}\). Esposito shares similar views as he states that, “Zia-ul-Haq’s interpretation and application of Nizam-i-Islam have neither won popular support
nor inspired national unity.” Critics regard the Islamization project of Zia as a tool to legitimize his illegal regime.

Zia died in a mysterious air crash and after his death this wave of Islamic fundamentalism was somewhat pacified, for some time in the country. After Zia, Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif came into power twice, one after the other. Both Bhutto and Nawaz’s government were trying to drive Pakistan away from “Islamization to development and modernization” but the military intervention did not let that happen. In 1999 General Pervez Musharraf overthrew Nawaz Sharif’s government on the charges of terrorism and later on he named himself as the president of Pakistan in 2001.

The events of 9/11 changed the shape of world politics and brought Islam and Pakistan to center stage. Islam was given an increasingly political character in world politics and Pakistan was represented as a site of terrorist activities by the western media. The United States ‘war against terrorism’ in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan contributed to the further rise of Islamic extremism. Nevertheless, since 9/11, Islamic extremism increased in Pakistan and the modernization process of Musharraf was seen as a western agenda by most of the Pakistanis. The 9/11 attacks were perceived as attacks on western modernity by the westerners, which almost always stands in sharp contrast to Islam. The Muslim world sympathized with the United States, but the latter’s post-9/11 policies disappointed the Muslims all over the world. In Pakistan, according to Terror free Tomorrow report, 52 percent of Pakistanis surveyed think that the United States is responsible for the violence that is occurring in Pakistan today. Some of the factors that aggravated the anger of Pakistanis against the United States are as follow:

1) The invasions of Afghanistan (2001) and of Iraq (2003), both led by the United States.
2) The abandonment of Afghani mujahedeen, previously used by the United States against Soviet forces, now represented as Islamic Jihadis/extremists or fundamentalists by the western media after 9/11.
3) The “anti-terrorist” activities and the military operations in north-western Pakistan undertaken by the Pakistani government of General Musharraf, allegedly in support of the U.S.’s war on terror (such as the Red Mosque operation)\textsuperscript{37}.

4) The United States drone attacks in several parts of Pakistan that used the alleged presence of Osama Bin Laden in those regions as an excuse.

Musharraf’s pro-US and anti-Taliban policies were seen by Taliban as a clear sign of war against them. As a reaction against Musharraf’s policies Taliban fighters have continued to carry out suicide attacks in several parts of the country. On one hand, the Islamic extremists emerged boldly and began their self-assigned mission of cleansing Pakistani society. On the other hand, Musharraf’s idea of enlightened moderation\textsuperscript{38} was seen negatively not only by Islamic groups but also by the public. Musharraf’s policies were not completely unreasonable; but the series of events that followed them proved them to be anti-Islamic and pro-US. This placed the Pakistani people in a bizarre dilemma, caught between the Islamists and Pro-US modernists. Many Pakistani youngsters were radicalized during this time period as Musharraf was seen by the Pakistanis as an American agent inclined to destroy Pakistan. Pakistani youngsters have lost their hope from the politicians and they consider it as their self-assigned duty to fight against those who, according to them, want to destabilize Pakistan.

Paracha argues that there is still needed to develop the fertile and feasible relationship between Islam and modernization\textsuperscript{39}. Referring to Musharraf’s concept of enlightened moderation in Islam, Paracha emphasizes that Musharraf also felt the need to revisit Islamic ideology with specific focus on modernization and thus came up with the concept of “Enlightened Moderation”. The use of religious card has been a popular tool in the politics of Pakistan\textsuperscript{40}. However, the sociological and political aspects of Muslim modernity has been manifold, but due to various interpretations and utilisations of different approaches to Islamization, there has always been a clear discontent and conflict in implementing a nationalistic
modern approach of Islam which has been detrimental is organization and ideological formation of Pakistani society.

Gugler, however, is of the view that a certain approach of Islamization which has strict adherence to Islamic principles and ideologies has been a significant landmark of Pakistan’s foreign policy during Zardari regime from 2008 to 2013. It has helped in establishing the Taliban control in Afghanistan. Yet, it has also been flexible in allowing other religious sects to remain peacefully in the society. This regime is liberal in religion as compared to other political regimes in Pakistan. From 2013 to 2017, Nawaz regime took reins of the country but mostly remained entangled in their cases. However, they tried to develop the environment for business opportunities. But there are religious conflicts even within the constitution of Pakistan. This also suggests the confused condition of Islamization in the contemporary Pakistan. Khan’s slogan of making Pakistan a state of Medina as Prime Minister of Pakistan since 2018 is a revivalist stance of aspiring to implement the practices in true letter and spirit of Islam. But this looks more like a socio-political effort for since coming in the office, Imran Khan has got caught up in economic issues which are far deeper than to let him concentrate on cultural matters. However, his slogan caught a lot of attention and backing by the masses which seem to get disillusioned with the passage of time due to economic depressions and uncertainties. His call is not towards a fundamentalist Islam only rather a mix of fundamentalism and liberalism, but still the boundaries and contours of his approach towards modern Islamization are not clear so far.

Conclusion

‘In sequence a number of contesting Islams have emerged: ‘liberal-modernist Islam’ of the early rulers, Ayub Khan’s ‘developmental Islam’, Yahya Khan’s ‘nationalist Islam’, Bhutto’s ‘socialist-populist Islam’, Zia’s ‘revivalist-fundamentalist Islam’, Sharif’s ‘civil-theocratic Islam’ and Musharraf’s ‘moderate-modernists Islam’’. Islam is an effortless instrument to win people’s heart in Pakistan and
Pakistani political actors (both Generals and democratically elected politicians) have used it persistently. In Pakistan, any form of government that is not Islamic is considered as ‘un-Islamic’. Even today in Pakistan, democracy and secularism are seen by the orthodox Muslims as western concepts threatening the solidarity of Muslim ummah. Those leaders who try to modernize Pakistan are reproached and considered as American agents as we have elaborated above the case of Musharraf. On the other hand, leaders like Zia are also problematic for the Pakistanis. Due to these religion-based political conflicts, Pakistan has never been able to emerge as a modern nation-state till today. The conflict between Islam and modernization also has never been explicitly stated as the situation has never been aggravated to the extent as it is today. Now, it is important to define the status of Islam and modernity in the formation of the state. ‘The larger issue facing Pakistan is not total state failure or collapse, but an exploration of the kind of nation-state that Pakistan will become’46.
References

4. Ibid, 44.
7. Muhammad Ibn Abd Al Wahab of Arabia (1702-1792) was the founder of the Wahhabi movement in the Hijaz.
11. Allama Muhammad Iqbal (1877-1938) also known as ‘Mufakir-e-Pakistan’ i.e. thinker of Pakistan.
12. Ibid. 119
14. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948), also known as Quaid-e-Azam, was the founder of Pakistan.
16. Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift into extremism: Allah, the army, and America's war on terror* (ME Sharpe, 2004), 19.

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Tariq Ali, *The duel: Pakistan on the flight path of American power* (Simon and Schuster, 2009), 123.

Sharia law means Islamic law. Another term used by Zia was to implement *Nizam-e-Mustafa*, the system of Prophethood, in Pakistan.

Jamat-e-Islami founded by Maulana Maududi and other Islamic political parties which developed over years.


The Hudood Ordinance commonly known as *Zina* Ordinance is ‘defined *zina* as wilful sexual intercourse between a man and a woman who are not validly married to each other’ (Shah, 2006:128). The punishment for *zina* and rape is stoning to death for married and 100 stripes for unmarried. The problem with this law was that it mixed rape with *zina* and if the rape victim is unable to produce four witnesses, he/she would be charged of *zina*.


Tariq Ali, *The duel: Pakistan on the flight path of American power* (Simon and Schuster, 2009), 123.

Kashmir is a disputed state between India and Pakistan since the division of sub-continent in 1947. The issue of Kashmir has not been resolved yet and it is a major bone of contention between the two countries.

Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's drift into extremism: Allah, the army, and America's war on terror* (ME Sharpe, 2004), 203.


Polls conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow in June 2008.
http://www.terrorfreetomorrow.org/upimagestft/PakistanPollReportJune08.pdf

In July 2007 Musharraf carried out an operation on Red Mosque ‘Lal Masjid’ and the adjacent Jamiah Hafsa madrassah. Lal Masjid and Jamiah Hafsa were considered as site of militant activities and government carried out an operation killing 70 militants. Negotiations have been going on between government and the madrassah leaders, but a consensus could be drawn which resulted in this operation.

The idea of enlightened moderation was given by Musharraf which meant to practise Islam moderately and his viewpoint was criticised by Islamic groups and other opponents as according to them the enlightened moderation is a western agenda.


Ibid. 131.


