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# Cold War in Pakistan: Interdiscursivity in the Pro-leftist and Pro-Islamist Magazines

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## ABSTRACT

This article examines the variations in the selected pro-leftist and pro-Islamist magazines' discursive practices related to the Cold War era/politics in Pakistan. It adopts Critical Discourse Analysis as a theoretical and methodological framework to delve into the discursive practices of the chosen periodicals. The discourses of the leftists and counter-discourses of the Islamists highlight the ideological polarization as reflected in the in-group support and the out-group condemnation of certain viewpoints. These contrasting viewpoints coalesce around several issues and topics which were selected and used by chosen magazines to take part in the ideological conflict and challenge the rival ideologies in society. Some of the topics the selected magazines harp on are literature, culture, nationalism, Islam, socialism/communism, and democracy/capitalism. Using foregrounding and backgrounding in the topic selection of political magazines the researcher shows how nominated political magazines foregrounded and backgrounded reporting from the in-group and the out-group point of view and how they highlighted or hid reporting from the in-group and the out-group. The study shows how these magazines used similar topics to advance their discussions in discourse and presented their ideas during Cold War. They also utilized these topics to support and oppose certain ideas as the content of these periodicals is permeated with the ideologies which are glorified and used to renounce the alternative ideologies prevalent in discourse.

**Key Words:** Cold War, Critical Discourse Analysis, Magazine Discourse, Discursive Practices, Interdiscursivity.

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## Introduction

The first half of the twentieth century saw socialist revolutions in Russia and China and installations of socialist regimes across the world. The second half of the twentieth century witnessed the Cold War between capitalist and communist blocs. Thus, the twentieth century was a significant age of ideology and so many ideas had never been presented in other times. Intellectuals and writers were following different courses; if one group was seeking sanctuary in their dilemmas about nationalism, capitalism or democracy, the other was rooting for socialism or utopia.

During the Cold War, the whole global community including Pakistani society was involved in an ideological conflict primarily between conflicting ideologies. Every segment of the society was obsessed with the ideologies it espoused and struggled hard for their materialization. The conflicting ideological discourse in Pakistan had its origins in and linkages with the universal ideological clash of the Cold War which was a contest over cultural and ideological supremacy and competition between powerful ideologies to gain cultural and political legitimacy. The gulf between different ideological groups and factions, between the right and the left, the red and the green, the traditionalists and the modernists, the seculars and the absolutists, conservatives and the liberals, and the standardized politics and the political pluralism had come out in open. The ideologies of Marxism or communism and American-led Western capitalism particularly provided contexts for the cultural and intellectual debates at home. The Russian Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the atomic bomb and the Cold War also provided broader contexts for these debates. Cold War politics deeply affected the ideological fault lines that determined the intellectual orientation in Pakistan. These dissenting views came across each other and took the form of ideological conflict. Amidst these ideological confrontations, society saw literary and cultural debates between the progressive writers and liberal pro-status quo writers supported by the USA and between progressive writers and Islamist ideologues like Maulana Maududi of Jamaat-e-Islami. Intellectual clashes were intensified and took the form of personal attacks, and rhetoric and negative connotations got attached with them (Toor, 2011).

Amid this ideological battle, the whole country was divided between the right and the left. On one side were the supporters of capitalism and Islam while on the other were communists, progressives, and socialists. Everyone in society and particularly in politics had to take sides. Neutrality or a middle position was not an option; it was deemed as hypocrisy or duplicity. Academic institutions, trade unions, politics and political parties, media, literature, educational institutions and even mosques became the grounds for the Cold War ideological conflict and the resultant ideological competition. This polarization was also evident in political, journalistic and literary mainstreams. The Print media was also part of the strata of society, intricate in ideological conflict. The Cold War ideological divide also segmented Pakistani media into pro-left and pro-Islamist media which became involved in a continued struggle and presented this intellectual schism through their content. They also played their part in the construction and intensification of this conflict. Both camps used print media to reach out to the masses to disseminate their ideologies and win over them. This ideological war was particularly fought on the forum of Urdu print media. Rival groups in media and politics published their propaganda literature in Urdu to reach the masses who understood Urdu well. Both groups had the support of a potent and organized print media industry based on the chains of newspapers and magazines in their ideological war. The media was on the forefront and as propaganda machinery, it

## ***Cold War in Pakistan: Interdiscursivity in the Pro-leftist and Pro-Islamist Magazines***

disseminated certain viewpoints in society. In collaboration with their respective ideological camps, both pro-Islamist and pro-leftist media eulogized and extolled the ideologies and social system they espoused and vilified their rival economic, political, cultural, literary and social ideals and did their utmost to relegate alternative ideas from the legitimate framework of the Pakistani state, society and imaginary of masses. Apart from denouncing the alternative interpretation of social reality in the form of ideologies, they also targeted each other's political parties, political leaders and key figures from different walks of life.

This article is an analysis of the discursal and discursive practices of the pro-left magazines: Al-Fatah and Lail-o-Nahar; and the pro-Islamist magazines: Chattan and Zindagi. These periodicals which have been chosen for analysis are Urdu newsweeklies and the main battlegrounds where this war of ideologies was fought. The data for analysis of this article has been gathered from archival records of selected magazines from 1958-1971. For analysis of the discursive practices of selected magazines, the study focuses on interdiscursivity (a form of intertextuality) to analyze the production and consumption of discourse (text). It uses the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach of Norman Fairclough (2012) combined with the concept of the ideological square of Van Dijk (1998) to analyze the discursive practices utilized in the presentation of ideological conflict in Pakistan. The discursive analysis of the selected data will be performed with the help of topicalization as an instrument of analysis.

The aim of this article is to point out the polarization of the discursive practices of both camps in the context of the Cold War. Henceforth, it takes on the discourses and discursive practices of literature, culture, nationalism, Islam, socialism/communism, and democracy/capitalism.

### **Interdiscursivity/Topics**

Interdiscursivity/topicalisation is the second form of intertextuality which denotes the same multiplicity of voices within discourse:

Interdiscursivity signifies that discourses are linked to each other in various ways. If we conceive of 'discourse' as primarily topic-related (as discourse on x'), we will observe that a discourse on climate change frequently refers to topics on sub-topics of other discourses, such as finance or health. Discourses are open and often hybrid: New sub-topics can be created at many points. (Reisigl, & Wodak, 2009, p. 90)

Topics are discursive practices in a text, and they provide information in the discourse. Writers and orators consider it essential to write or speak on them.

### *Ghulam Ghous*

Topics are reference points which are written or spoken in discourse (Dijk, 1996). While reporting news, journalists pick topics that attract and appeal to their readers (Richardson, 2007). The notion that journalists choose some news and neglect others raises the query as to what criterion is used for the selection of news stories or what a media station contemplates newsworthy. There are no fixed rules for media bodies to follow to build newsworthiness. However, Harcup and O'Neil (2001) have delineated ten news values that events, or actions satisfy to get themselves selected as news. These are references to elite power (individuals and organizations); reference to notable figure: entertainment (sex, drama or something that attract humans); surprise; good news (salvages or individual success); bad news (calamity or disaster); significance; relevance (cultural adjacency or political relevance); follow up stories; and newspaper's agenda (political and ideological). Every sentence and paragraph of text carries the topic (perspective of the writer) about which a writer writes. These topics which are chosen by the writer have impacts, both positive and negative. Coverage of specific topics helps us to understand how the media shape public opinion. Interestingly, similar topics are covered in different manners by different magazines.

Interdiscursivity or topics are discourses that are connected in many ways. As such, inside the larger Pakistani socio-political and socio-cultural context, the discourse on 'ideological conflict' relates to other discourses. Nominated magazines in discourse selected various topics to contest the opposite ideologies and rival forces. Within this section, it is discussed how nominated magazines used foregrounding and backgrounding while selecting topics in discourse. Many topics covered by the selected magazines are not possible to be analyzed. Therefore, this study explores a few topics periodicals used to challenge. After going through a large set of data, the researcher was able to distinguish the topics discussed repeatedly in the magazines. Some of the topics they dwelled upon and were featured prominently in news reporting are literature, culture, nationalism, Islam, socialism/communism and capitalism/democracy. Moreover, this research shows how certain information was foregrounded or backgrounded by these magazines. This shows how the magazines emphasized and de-emphasized their contents for ideological purposes. In the case of this study, discourses are interconnecting with numerous sub-topics belonging to discourses on further topics as shown in this section. Above mentioned discursive elements were used by nominated magazines to point out points of differences and to deepen them taking polarization at the media level to an ideological conflict.

Selected magazines i.e., Al-Fateh and Lail-o-Nahar were pro-leftist magazines that represented and supported progressive, socialist and communist forces as well as their allies in ideological conflict whereas Chattan and Zindagi were pro-Islamist magazines that epitomized the support for Islamist, conservative and traditional factions of Pakistani society. On the one hand, Al-Fateh and Lail-o-Nahar, and on the other hand Chattan and Zindagi were ideological allies in discourse and shared perspectives on the discursive elements of discourse which

### ***Cold War in Pakistan: Interdiscursivity in the Pro-leftist and Pro-Islamist Magazines***

are being analyzed below. Therefore, this section will analyze the discursive elements which are divided into the pro-Islamist magazines (Chattan and Zindagi) and the pro-leftist magazines (Al-Fateh and Lail-o-Nahar). Consequently, this section is divided into two parts: Pro-Islamist magazines' interdiscursivity and pro-left magazines' interdiscursivity.

#### **Literature**

Literature was one of the main fields where the ideological battle was fought between conservatives and liberals, socialists and Islamists, liberals and progressives, and progressives and traditionalists. This sub-section is segmented into two parts and that is how nominated political magazines i.e. pro-Islamist (Chattan and Zindagi) and pro-left (Al-Fateh and Lail-o-Nahar) used the domain of literature to take part in post-partitioned literary cum journalistic ideological conflict, expressed their ideas on literature to intensify ideological conflict and challenged the ideas of their rivals in the field of literature.

#### **Pro-Islamist Magazines and Literature**

Pro-Islamist magazines strictly opposed the progressive and leftist ideas in literary discourse using the discursive elements of literature. The ideals and personalities of intellectuals and writers who leaned towards the left were disregarded by pro-Islamist magazines that criticized the art for the sake of the party approach (Qureshi, 1970; Qureshi, 1969). The Islamists quested to trace the ideological sources of everything including literature in Islam. They also lauded right-wing writers for producing a certain kind of literature which propagates Islamic ideals and the Ideology of Pakistan (Abid, 1969; Qureshi, 1969). Pro-Islamist magazines blamed leftist intellectuals for engaging in selfish pursuits to ameliorate themselves (Bakol, 1969). They also resented left-wing intellectuals for hypocrisy, duplicity and confusion in their thoughts and actions (Zulfiqar, 1969; Kashmiri, 1969). Pro-Islamist magazines also condemned the literature of leftists for being propagandist, obscene and blasphemous (Tamashai, 1969; Gilani, 1969).

#### **Pro-Left Magazines and Literature**

As mentioned earlier that Al-Fateh and Lail-o-Nahar represented progressive forces of the left, and opposed conservative, traditional and pro-Islamic forces in literary discourse. They preferred art for the sake of party approach to art for the sake of art. They only appreciated the literature that had a social and political agenda and rejected the Islamist, non-progressive, reactionary and obscurantist traditions within the literature. Pro-left magazines motivated liberal, progressive and revolutionary writers, intellectuals, and artists to produce politically and socially affianced literature which could put society on a constructive track

concerning labourers, peasants and masses. Progressive writers should look towards the life of common people for their creations because the masses are the real headspring of all literature and art (Hassan, 1959).

They renounced the literature produced by Islamist writers and, it was stagnant and devoid of meaning and was afraid to face the realities of social life. They also resented the influence of Islamic culture on Urdu literature and infused Islamic traditions, subjects, characters and beliefs within it. They criticized the Islamist writers for producing historical novels on the Islamic past and deemed them as impotent literature and refused to grant them the dignity/merit of literature (Babar, 1957). They rejected the allegations of blasphemy posed by Islamist magazines saying that their literature and that of their allies does not violate the teachings and characters of Islam (Rehman, 1971; Al-Fateh, 1970).

## **Culture**

No state, not even a newborn wants to appear in front of the world without a culture. It will want to be attired in a cultural dress representative of its aims and identity. The notion that a nation must have a national culture enticed the Pakistani state also to cover its nakedness with clothes of the culture of its own choice. The political economy of media and patronage are two important factors to understand this phenomenon. Pakistan entered debates over cultural nationalism soon after its inception. The realization of cultural nationalism for a nation-state is a hegemonic project which leads to a series of debates between status-quo and revolutionary forces to maintain it or replace it (Toor, 2005). At the time of partition, Pakistan succeeded only in achieving political nationhood. It was not a cultural nation; it was considered important to create a new cultural identity for the nation (Ahmad, 1965). Cultural nationalism was seen as a hegemonic form of nationalism in Pakistan's pastime. Culture became a field of contention where skirmishes over domination between various opinions and social groups took place. Different forces were motivated to define the national culture of Pakistan after its independence and debates revolved around the nature of Pakistani national culture. The task of defining national culture for Pakistan became an imperative for state and intellectual forces over the years and the puzzle was tried to be solved by intellectuals of different propensities within the public discourse of print media, cultural and literary accounts, particularly in the times of the cold war. Thus, a quest for national identity began under which outlining a national culture became important for the intelligentsia of the country within the public domains of magazines, newspapers, seminars, conferences and literary and cultural debates. This section is segmented into two parts: the reporting of pro-Islamist magazines on culture and the reporting of pro-left magazines on culture.

## **Pro-Islamist Magazines and Culture**

Pakistani society is culturally heterogeneous in terms of ethnicity, language and ideological affiliations. The Islamist forces in Pakistan have always been eager to overlook these cultural diversities and replace these identities with Islam. The Islamists sought the cultural identity of Pakistan in Islam. They tried to achieve national integration through religious nationalism rather than cultural nationalism for a nation whose founder claimed its nationhood on cultural grounds. For pro-Islamist magazines, the conception of culture was a sacrilege/profanity and they regarded it as an alternative to Islam and therefore renounced it completely for its secular nature. They also co-related the concept of culture with progressivism, communism and socialism and declared it a scheme to undermine Islamic foundations and religious nationalism in Pakistan. Pro-Islamist magazines resented the entertainment industry of Pakistan through their content and even asserted that Islam was completely opposed to music, TV, Film, theatre and other cultural activities (Kashmiri, 1965). By asserting that Islam was incompatible with the entertainment industry, performing and representational arts, pro-Islamist magazines denigrated the artists as well as their lack of Islamic knowledge (Chattan, 1970; Dastan-gau, 1970). Pro-Islamist magazines also used the sphere of culture to make fun of the attire and form of progressive leaders (Tamashai, 1969).

The cultural debates of pro-Islamist magazines focused on Islam. They interpreted culture from Islamist lenses as they tried to bring Islamic ideology in line with Pakistani national culture. The Islamists accused the progressives of destroying the cultural traditions and moral values of the nation (Gilani, 1969; Zindagi, 1970). To claim succession to the heritage of Islamic culture, Islamists deliberately dissociated Pakistani culture from different local cultures as well pre-partitioned cultures of the sub-continent. Islamists also vowed to dissociate Pakistani national culture from its Indian heritage because “culture is what sets one nation... off from other” (Handler, 1988, p. 15). A shared culture with its counterpart would weaken the *raison d’etre* of Pakistan (Bazmi, 1969).

## **Pro-Left Magazines and Culture**

Pro-left magazines tried to bring progressivism in line with a Pakistani culture that was also Islamic in nature. Pro-left magazines regarded Islamists as pre-modern or anti-modern, incapable of understanding culture and its connotations. Islamists’ denial of cultural recognition implies that they have no appreciation of human life and its forms. Their cultural approach was based on a multiplicity of cultural sources. They sought strong cultural links with their pre-independence shared Indian cultural background as they maintained that no culture can be developed without having a connection to its roots and traditions (Faiz, 1959).

## **Nationalism**

Nationalism is an ideology that seeks to constitute a nation to create an autonomous state over a particular piece of land. Once a country comes into existence, it must formulate a national identity of its own to distinguish it from others. The construction of a national identity is vital, particularly in the case of newly created post-colonial states. No state can maintain its existence through force; it needs to cultivate deeper links in society so that its masses can identify themselves with it. Pakistan achieved its independence in the name of Muslim nationalism, however, soon after its inception differences emerged over what should be the identity of the state. Different forces competed to enforce their respective versions of the state. Nationalism was as elusive as other discursive elements were and many ideas existed about the identity of Pakistan that concentrated on how the Pakistani state should impose its identity. The conflict over nationalism between pro-Islamists and pro-leftists has been a point of debate that provides us insights into how both attempted to mould the state according to their narratives. This sub-section is segmented into two portions: the use of the discursive element of nationalism by pro-Islamist magazines and the use of the discursive element of nationalism by pro-leftist magazines.

## **Pro-Islamist Magazines and Nationalism**

Nationalism was an abstract/mystical concept for them whose framework had no physical existence and yet they claimed its hegemony. Pro-Islamist magazines tried to build Pakistani nationalism based on Islam. They maintained that since Pakistan came into being in the name of Islam, Islam was the ideological base of the country. They also tried to establish that Pakistani nationalism which is Islamic is irreconcilable with socialism, communism and secular nationalism. They rejected every version of nationalism except the one rooted in Islam (Bashir, 1969; Sulehri, 1969).

Pro-Islamists opposed provincial autonomy, a heterogeneous ethnic society and a secular idea of nationalism. They chose the path that leads towards national integration, a unitary form of government, homogeneity, and an Islamic system. Pro-Islamist magazines questioned the loyalty of leftist ideologues and intellectuals because of their advocacy of progressive ideals and nationalist tendencies. They even declared them traitors and enemies of Pakistan (Zulfiqar, 1969). Their extended understanding of decolonization included physical as well as ideological freedom from not only colonialism but also from socialism/communism which they regarded as imperialism (Hijazi, 1969; Gilani, 1969; Bazmi, 1969).

Pro-Islamist magazines not only considered communism a threat to Pakistan and Islam but also regarded secularism, provincialism and local cultures as



### ***Cold War in Pakistan: Interdiscursivity in the Pro-leftist and Pro-Islamist Magazines***

instability-creating factors for the country. In their discourse, Islamic society was a whole where there was no place for ethnicity, regionalism and pluralist voices and called for the dismantlement of racial and ethnic prejudices (Abid, 1969). Only Islam was capable of being a binding force between different regions and ethnicities (Sulehri, 1969). To denigrate their leftist adversaries, pro-Islamist magazines played anti-Pakistan cards. They targeted the leftists for opposing Pakistan and its leadership in the pre-partition era (Shami, 1969; Abid, 1969). Two nation theory, Islamic nationalism, ideological boundaries and the ideology of Pakistan were the main strands/frequently used words of their debates. All these terms allude to Islam which was an essential component of Islamists' discourse (Sulehri, 1969).

### **Pro-Left Magazines and Nationalism**

Pro-left magazines were critical of Islamists' version of nationalism based on Islamic ideological concepts and themes. They regarded it as an obscurantist set of concepts which were impossible to define. They appraised Islamists for spreading and monopolizing such concepts (Hassan, 1957; Musalman, 1970; But-shikan, 1970). Anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, anti-neocolonialism and secular nationalism were the main elements of pro-left nationalism (Zuberi, 1971). Indian and Western animosity was also part of their anti-colonial and anti-imperialist narratives (Darwesh, 1970; Al-Fateh, 1970; Hamesh, 1970).

A major chunk of pro-left magazines' debate on nationalism concentrated on the efforts to prove that Islamists were anti-Pakistan and opposed the creation of Pakistan and Muslim nationalism. They repeatedly insisted that Islamists were hostile to territorial nationalism and thus, against Jinnah and Pakistan. They published selected pieces from principal Islamic pamphleteer and ideologue Maulana Maududi and others to prove that they denounced Pakistan and Muslim League leadership including Quaid-e-Azam before partition (Abid, 1969; Shahid, 1970; Al-Bayan, 1970).

To counter the Islamist version of nationalism, pro-leftists sought to put forward an alternate nationalism based on their vision of a progressive and heterogeneous society. Interestingly Pakistani pro-left magazines deviated from the Marxist approach towards ethnicity by accepting the existence of ethnicity in society and advocating ethnic nationalism (Hassan, 1957).

### **Islam**

Islam was the most important discursive element used in the discourse to win the ideological and political hegemony of both camps. The question here was not the acceptability of Islam as Pakistan was a Muslim-majority country and was conceived in the name of Islam but was of its role in and extent of its influence on the affairs of the state. Moreover, the emphasis was more on political and

economic Islam than its moral and worship procedures. Both leftists and Islamists turned towards Islam for validation of their claims which made Islam a central issue in ideological warfare. This led to an atmosphere where everything was to be seen in line with Islam. Islam became a starting point to guide the principles of the state and yet the conflict was between different concepts of Islam. As a historical fact, Islam is not a monolith; it has been viewed from different lenses by different political actors and associations, even within the context of the Cold War ideological brawl where it was a disputed field. In Pakistan also, there have been different meanings and programs attached to Islam ranging from modern Islam of Muslim League and establishment, fundamentalist Islam of Jamaat-e-Islami, traditionalist Islam of JUI and Islamic socialism of Bhutto. This sub-section is segmented into pro-Islamist magazines and Islam and pro-left magazines and Islam.

### **Pro-Islamist Magazines and Islam**

Pro-Islamist magazines used Islamic idioms against leftists including progressives, socialists, communists, secularists and modernists. They saw Islam as a fighting tool against alternative ideas and dissenting voices. Islamists used the rhetoric of Islam to intermediate between state and society. According to them the base of everything e.g., culture, Pakistan, literature, nationalism etc. was Islam. They claimed that Islam covered all the aspects of life and only Islam can solve the problems of Pakistan for it is more than a religion i.e., a complete code of life. They stressed the inclusion of Islamic guidelines and principles in social, political and economic systems. Their endeavours in this regard made them perceive themselves as vanguards of Islam (Tamashai, 1969; Bakol, 1969; Basri, 1970; Yahya, 1969). One of their main themes was the indoctrination of Islam and the ideology of Pakistan as the *raison d'être* of the state. They repeatedly used the terms Islam and Pakistan interchangeably and insisted that any threat to the first would endanger the latter (Hijazi, 1969; Sulehri, 1969).

Pro-Islamist magazines were also critical of the efforts of modernists to modernize Islam by adopting Western ideas. Leftist endeavours were deemed un-Islamic and damaging to the cause of Islam (Chaudry, 1969). They castigated the leftists for their lack of religious understanding, for their being non-observant of religious practices and for fostering the environment of irreligiosity in society. They saw secularism as the gradual erosion of Islam which would damage the morals and values of society. They targeted the secular elements working in different domains of life in this regard (Chattan, 1970; Bakol, 1969).

### **Pro-Left Magazines and Islam**

The emphasis of pro-Islamist magazines on Islam in intellectual debates compelled the pro-left magazines to incorporate strands from Islamic discourse to counter the anti-religious accusation against them and sustain their legitimacy before the

### ***Cold War in Pakistan: Interdiscursivity in the Pro-leftist and Pro-Islamist Magazines***

masses. Pro-left magazines highlighted the reformist and revolutionary traditions and practices in Islamic history particularly concentrating on the importance that Islam gave to equality and social justice. They defined Islam as a progressive, modern, egalitarian, and vibrant religion misused by retrogressive Mullahs. Their discourse emphasized that Islam is a social movement to emancipate the oppressed from tyranny of all sorts. They stressed that Islam prohibits the concentration of wealth in a few hands, ensures the welfare of people, condemns the usury system, prioritizes collective interest over individual interest and discourages class distance. They drew support for these themes from the Quran, Sunnah and Islamic traditions (Mir, 1971; Lail-o-Nahar, 1970; Azad, 1970; Shaam, 1970). Their perspective offered a comparative vision of Islamic and communist thought in which both were compatible. By pondering on the shared aspects of political ideologies of Islam and communism, they asserted that both Islam and communism shared a hostile stance towards the exploitations by imperialism and capitalism (Al-Fateh, 1970; Jalees, 1970).

They further pointed to the notion that the concept of Islam has been manipulated by the right wing in Pakistan to serve their vested interests (Abid, 1969; Jalees, 1970). They particularly referred to the religious verdicts issued by Islamists to relegate socialist ideas among the populace (Shaam, 1970; Lail-o-Nahar, 1970). They also criticized the right wing for their misapplication of Islam to achieve national integration and overcome provincialism and ethnic problems. Pro-left magazines also castigated Islamist forces for using religious identities and symbols for excluding socialists from the framework of Islam (Hassan, 1957).

### **Socialism/Communism**

Socialism and communism were the most hotly discussed issues in journalistic discourse of that era. The debates on socialism and communism took place in an environment which was conducive to capitalism. It was one such discursive domain where propaganda was used freely against or in favour of socialism/communism in that era. Debates on socialism and communism were also polarized between pro-Islamist magazines and pro-left magazines.

### **Pro-Islamist Magazines and Socialism/Communism**

Pro-Islamist magazines were severe critics of socialism and communism and set themselves against these ideologies in Pakistani politics. The attitude that Islamist magazines adopted towards socialism and communism was based on total repudiation and intolerance of these theories. Socialism and communism were presented as atheist creeds that were anti-religious and violated religious traditions. They emphasized that there was no place for godless communism in God's kingdom. They renounced socialism for its seditious nature and rejection of religion. For this, they drew a line between Islam and socialism with the help of Islamic practices and rituals (Hijazi, 1969; Nizami, 1970). They argued that since

### *Ghulam Ghous*

Islam was a religion based on a belief system, therefore, it was not compatible with atheist ideologies of socialism and communism (Gareeb-e-shehar, 1969). They presented socialism and communism as materialistic philosophies that only stressed the pursuit of materialism and had no respect for the spiritual needs of man (Abdullah, 1969). They also presented socialism and communism as immoral and unethical ideologies that were harmful to the social fabric of any society (Gareeb-e-shehar, 1969). Interestingly they also claimed that socialism and communism were also religions like Islam. The presentation of socialism and communism as religion was provided to make Muslims realize that since these ideologies have a religious base, therefore, they would erode their religion (Gilani A., 1969).

Pro-Islamists contended with socialism and communism by making the argument that since Pakistan was founded on Islam, therefore, there was no room for atheistic ideologies there. They insisted that only Islam can save Pakistan and that socialism and communism would put the integrity of the country in danger and it would lose its freedom. Right-wing argued frequently that progressives, socialists and their ideas were the enemy of Pakistan, who would destabilize Pakistan (Hijazi, 1969; Sulehri, 1969). They also presented their ideological adversaries as a proxy of socialist/communist forces (Zulfiqar, 1969). They wrote about the flaws of socialism and communism to convince readers that they are flawed economic and social systems that did not suit their lives (Barq, 1969). They also presented socialism/communism and their adherents as violent constructs (Bakol, 1969).

Another aspect of the anti-communist discourse of pro-Islamists dealt with the threat of international communism faced by Pakistan as well as other Muslim countries. This apprehension must be seen in the context of socialist revolutions and their growing influence in Muslim countries across Asia and Africa and anti-communist efforts by Islamists to counter the growth of socialism and communism globally. They made a great hue and cry that flood of communism would drown the country and its economy as it had drowned the Arab world (Yahya, 1969).

They published the religious verdicts issued by Islamic religious scholars to denounce socialism as heresy. Voting for socialists and aiding them politically or financially was also deemed sacrilegious. These Fatwas also upheld the individual right to ownership and regarded those as rebels who intended to abolish it. They used socialism as a major issue in the elections of 1970 and resented it in their campaign. They denied any shared genealogy between Islam and communism and characterized PP's Islamic socialism as a fraudulent attempt to make socialism acceptable that was repugnant to Islam (Abid, 1969).

### **Pro-left Magazines and Socialism/Communism**

Pro-left denied the notion propagated by Islamists that Islam and socialism/communism are incompatible. Pro-left magazines insisted that socialism

### ***Cold War in Pakistan: Interdiscursivity in the Pro-leftist and Pro-Islamist Magazines***

or communism posed no threat to Islam as they viewed both as compatible with each other. They tried to convince the masses that socialism was not against the teachings of Islam. They even linked Islamic regimes of the past with socialism. They distanced themselves from the atheistic basis of socialism and insisted that socialism is theistic (Al-Fateh, 1970; Azad, 1970). They rejected the Fatwas against socialism/communism and castigated the Mullahs for issuing such religious decrees (Lail-o-Nahar, 1970). Pro-left magazines maintained that socialist practices e.g., nationalization and egalitarianism were consistent with the teachings of Islam. They further pointed to the notion that economic aspects of Islam and socialism/communism agree on the equitable distribution of wealth and opportunity for all (Mir, 1971; Azad, 1970).

They showed their solidarity with the international leftist movement and projected socialist forces and their ideals positively. Behind their discussions lay the conviction that Pakistan also needed a socialist system for the solution of its problems. They presented socialism/communism as systems that could change the fate of the masses. Socialist elements projected communism as a remedy to their frustrations, their discontents and their aspirations identifying it as the only means they can achieve satisfaction through. This was an effort to get support from dissatisfied sections of society (Rao, 1971; Zuberi, 1971).

### **Democracy/Capitalism**

Pakistan inherited a capitalistic-feudal mode of production upon its independence with/amidst hopes of the betterment of its poor masses. The leadership of the Muslim League that won independence for its people was comprised of feudalistic aristocracy and petty tradesmen/merchants. Pakistani rulers adopted an economic policy based on the doctrines of mercantilism and laissez-faire that guided the rise of capitalism in a state that was highly underdeveloped and under the influence of feudalistic relations. Though these capitalist policies increased the growth rate of the country, they also created inequalities and class contradictions (Rashid & Gardezi, 1983). As a result, alternative social imperatives stepped in to offer different versions of the economy. In the wake of the Cold War, both pro-Islamist and pro-left magazines offered their preferred visions of the suitable socio-economic system for the state. This subsection is segmented into two i.e., pro-Islamist magazines and democracy/capitalism, and pro-left magazines and democracy/capitalism.

### **Pro-Islamist Magazines and Democracy/Capitalism**

Pro-Islamist magazines had a consensus about the economic system of the country that was quite friendly to capitalism. Despite knowing the fact that mercantilism and capitalism are the pillars of Western democracy and exploitative of mankind, Islamists still preferred Western capitalistic democracy over Soviet and Chinese

communism (Sulehri, 1969). They accommodated the forces that opposed social change and supported

The status quo. They proclaimed that Islam and democracy/capitalism are alike systems that share many similarities (Hijazi, 1969). Islamists offered one of the reasons for their preference for Western democracy is the authoritarian nature of socialism/communism. They presented ideological war as a contention between two sides in which democracy and liberty were on one side whereas authoritarianism and communism/socialism were on the other. They capitalized on the benefits of freedom of expression and individual right to ownership which was absent in "tyrannical" leftist ideologies (Bakol, 1969). Their conviction lay in the theme that human beings also had non-materialistic and spiritual needs as economic needs were not enough. They criticized the policy of nationalization which was an essential part of socialism for it was repugnant to the basic Islamic right of individual ownership (Special-Correspondent, 1970; Shami, 1969).

Despite their severe opposition to the ideals of the left, pro-Islamist magazines nevertheless recognized the legitimacy of a few strands of leftists and called for the establishment of an Islamic society while accepting the exploitation by capitalism, inequality of economic and agronomic structure, prevailing bad economic conditions and the subsequent poor plight of masses, and inefficiency of the ruling elite (Qureshi, 1970).

### **Pro-Left Magazines and Democracy/Capitalism**

If Islam was the favourite point of debate for the Islamists, democracy/capitalism was the mark that the pro-left liked to hit again and again in their discourse. Their idea of democracy was a socialist democracy that was quite different from the Western conception of democracy. They targeted the shortcomings of democracy/capitalism to vilify it before the masses (Babar, 1958). They presented rightists as anti-democrats who had no respect for pluralist voices, democratic traditions and freedom of expression (Babar, 1958; Hassan, 1957).

One of their anti-capitalistic strands was to highlight the exploitations by capitalism by striking the anti-imperialist drum. They linked capitalism with neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism. They alleged that capitalism is pushing third-world countries towards neo-colonialism (Hamesh, 1970; Ansari, 1970). Pro-left magazines were critical of the imperialist and feudal system of the country for it had economically exploited the society and increased the economic disparity between the rich and the poor in Pakistani society. They argued that the capitalistic system was the reason for economic deterioration and the economic ill fate of the masses. They frequently highlighted the exploits and wrongdoings of capitalism in their issues. They condemned social injustice; economic cruelty and exploitation of the masses in a capitalistic system (Babar, 1957; Babar, 1958). They castigated the conspiracy of capitalists who used religion to denounce the struggle of peasants and labourers. They presented their Islamist opponents as beneficiaries of

### ***Cold War in Pakistan: Interdiscursivity in the Pro-leftist and Pro-Islamist Magazines***

capitalism and accused them of protecting the interests of capitalist forces. They also accused them of lasciviousness; acquisitiveness and lust due to their comfortable lifestyle (Bukhari, 1970; Azad, 1970).

As a result of industrial development, a new class of businessmen holding big enterprises was established. They earned large profits that concentrated the wealth of the nation in a few hands. Pro-left magazines particularly targeted these big industrialists and capitalists in their content (Rao, 1971; Zuberi, 1971). They associated themselves with the oppressed sections of society i.e., labourers, peasants and other marginalized sections and claimed to be their voice (Bukhari, 1970; Peshawari, 1970). Pro-left magazines urged the masses to join the struggle for a socialist revolution under the leadership of socialist forces. They also stressed the masses to create unity among them and show solidarity with their fellow brethren in their class struggle. Pro-left magazines blamed feudal and landed aristocracy for the exploitation of peasants and rural masses. Vast landholdings and absentee landlords became targets of critique. They demanded the eradication of feudalism through a mechanism of radical land reforms (also see 84). Pro-left magazines also demanded the nationalization of industry and the abolition of private property (Azad, 1970).

### **Conclusion**

This article aimed to select a suitable methodological approach to analyze the phenomenon of Cold War ideological conflict predominant in Pakistani politics. This goal required the understanding of several approaches to select the most relevant one. It employed two most frequently used approaches in CDA: Fairclough's SDA and ideological square from Dijk's SCA to highlight the complexities of critical discourse analysis at the discursive level. Drawing upon the interpretive level of analysis, it provided a larger explanation of ideological discourse in Pakistani media and politics amidst the Cold War. The ideological/sociopolitical differences in the presentation of ideological conflict showed polarization at a discursive level between pro-left and pro-Islamist magazines. Us vs. them dichotomy also revealed polarization of how pro-Islamist and pro-left media foregrounds the positive deeds of the in-group and backgrounds the negative deeds of the in-group on the one hand and backgrounds the positive deeds of the out-group and foregrounds its negative deeds on the other hand. Thus, positive self-projection and negative other projection are demonstrated in the representation of contrasting standpoints in the text of pro-Islamist and pro-left magazines.

On selection of topics, the targeted magazines selected the topics that were central to their ideological preferences and could influence the opinions of readers. This study expatiated on various topics which were selected and used by chosen magazines to take part in the ideological conflict and challenge the rival ideologies in society. Both pro-Islamist and pro-left magazines used similar topics to advance

their discussions in discourse. They used the ideologically charged discursive elements of literature, culture, nationalism, Islam, socialism/communism and democracy/capitalism to present their standpoints in a war of ideas. Both pro-Islamists and pro-leftists foregrounded topics to present in-group positively and out-group negatively. They did not background these or any of these topics and used these topics freely to describe their positions on critical issues.

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### ***Ghulam Ghous***

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