

Topology of Extremism: Implication on the Contemporary Politics of Pakistan

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Abstract

The study of extremism topology is not only applicable to the past and present situation but also defines its roots in the future extremism. It is important to investigate that how Pakistani society engulfed in extremism? All phases are required to be investigated with the analysis of causes and their implication within the global political structure. The present study focuses to explore the nature of issue in the case of Pakistan. Pakistan has adopted many policies to counter the activities by the extremist groups. Reforms in education system and focus on youth can be helpful in managing the issue.

Key Words: Terror, Implemented devises, Cross border terrorism, Militancy and extremism, strategy.

Introduction

Extremism means holding acute political and religious views or taking of extreme actions on the basis of their beliefs. When these views and beliefs are transformed into actions, several plans and strategies are devised and implemented. This implementation brings about the situation of fear and terror, which influences the opponent to accept whatever it is not ready to accept otherwise. In this way, extremism emerges within a structural mechanism. It will be further illustrated through the following figure,

views → beliefs → actions → implemented devises → fear → terror

The Structural Mechanism of Extremism

Topology means the relationship between different properties unaffected by the continuous change of their dimensions. The topology of extremism can be explained through the relationship between the above mentioned contributors and factors of extremism that their linking relationship is unaffected by any physical change in their dimensional features. There is a natural relationship between these components. Hence, the study of extremism topology is not only applicable to the past and present situation but also defines its roots in the future extremism. It is important to investigate that how Pakistani society engulfed in extremism? All phases are required to be investigated with the analysis of causes and their implication within the global political structure.

Topology commonly is employed to characterize political orientation. It locates the direction of development of a concept or a belief. The topology of political orientation distinguishes the relational thinking of a group or nation, as progressive and reactionary, liberal and totalitarians, liberal and constructive or orthodox and fundamentalist. All these

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concepts have their roots in the Western thoughts, while there is a dire need to develop such topologies in the Islamic concepts and among the Muslim societies. There is a need to investigate and put together the linking edges behind the extreme beliefs and actions. Without such an exhaustive effort no rational strategy can be brought forward and implemented to eliminate extremism.

In Muslim societies the dominating form of political thoughts are the political secularists, the political Islamists and the modernists. Under the political secularist's approach, Islam is undesirable and irrelevant to the statecraft. They consider religion as a personal matter of the citizens. The political Islamists believe that Islam is indispensable for the statecraft, as Islam argues for certain measures and arrangements for sustainable and progressive state. While, the modernists believe in the process of re-interpretation of Islamic rules, especially the legal aspects according to their own need and understanding. They prescribe analytical reasoning for determining the Islamic laws. (Basu, 2007, p.95) It is worth noticing that none of the above mentioned groups reflect any linking clue of extremism, but on the other hand the Muslim societies also provide ample space for who differentiate or divert from the basic tenet of Islam. The topology of extremism can be distinguished from these groups on the basis of different components and various reasons, which are based on contemporary trends within a complex structure to explore. (Fox, 2007, p.43)

The Case of Pakistan

The study of extremism and its implication on Pakistan reveals some unique reasons behind its present situation. Pakistan has become a laboratory for the study of topology of extremism. This study will be analyzed through every decade with regard to the national and international political scenario of Pakistan.

Islam was the principle element behind the mobilization of masses during Pakistan's movement under charismatic leadership of Jinnah, who molded masses sentiments into an impressive voice. Pakistan emerged as response to the public aspirations in a legal and concrete manner. The Two Nation Theory was the indicator of Muslim nationalism in India while, the Islamic ideology was the motivational force behind it. (Butt, 2010, pp. 9-38) Pakistan's voyage reveals the shift from the Two Nation Theory and nationalism to the Islamic ideology and theology. (Waseem, 2011, p.3)

Muslim League as a political party provided the grounds for amalgamation of Islamic ideology with the political interests. This blend was unacceptable for the fundamentalists 'Ulema' of India, however they joined Pakistan movement in the later stages and served as an in-built pressure group that was desirous for Islamization. This was the initiating point by the religious groups that have later transformed into different types of fanatic clusters in the political history of Pakistan. (Abbas, 2005, p. 19; Riaz, 2010, pp. 122-129) If viable, democratic system could be carried out it would be clear chance of submerging these controversies into a workable consensus and interest free nationalism but unfortunately, democratic values could not be flourished and right after the death of Jinnah, Pakistan suffered from a huge gap of leadership. Nonetheless, the political gap was filled up by the

military and bureaucracy, as the prevailing regional security scenario also demanded military balance with India. We can further enhance the study by dividing the constitutional history of Pakistan in two parts. (Riaz, 2010, p.123; Cohen, 2012, p. 200)

- Pre 80's Era
- Post 80's Era

In both periods, the stress will be laid down on the role of the state, and the political and religious groups, analyzing their response to the challenges and issues posed by extremism. While extremism will be cultivated in order to detect the initiating circumstances, implementing actions and terror affect that contributed in the enrichment of extremism in the country. However, according to the political history of the Pakistan, none of the constitutional governments supported the religious extremism neither, it compromised with the final authority to any religious group. There is a separate mechanism that contributed in the enhancement of these groups and parties. They paved their way under the broader perspective of Islam to attain their power politics agenda.

Pre 80's Era

The Power of Bureaucracy-The Decade of 50's

Pakistan came into being in the name of religion, equality and autonomy. There was quest of religious freedom, communal equality and political autonomy among the Muslims of the Sub-Continent against the aggressive and dominating Hindu majority. They struggled to attain their independence from the British colonial power that carved Pakistan out of the Indian Sub-Continent. The chronological history has its share in reshaping the views and beliefs of the Muslims of the Sub-Continent. Without considering these realities, we can never analyze the logic of pressure groups that were embedded within the structure of Muslim League before independence. Initially these religious parties were against the concept of Pakistan, but in the later part of Pakistan movement they joined Muslim League under the agenda of 'Sharia' imposition in the newly born state. Their demand reveals the political interests and the urge for power attainment. (Parthu, 2007, pp.96-97)

Jinnah the founding father of Pakistan, in his inaugural speech on August 11, 1947 had stated clearly that religion would be private affair of the individual and he also emphasized on the equality and freedom of religion. This was the original spirit behind the creation of Pakistan. The religious groups that vowed for Pakistan with Muslim League put all their efforts in declaring Pakistan an Islamic state. The debate for an Islamic state extended after partition that shaped the Objective Resolution on March 7, 1949 to draft an Islamic Constitution. However, the modernists maintained their presence within the bureaucratic structure, but after the secession of East Pakistan the conservative groups incorporated Islamic injunction in the constitutional composition in order to attain their wild quest of identity. (Hashmi, 2009, p.5)

Roots of Issue

The roots of Islamization and secularization debate have been originated with concept of Pakistan. The early days emerged with dire need to choice structure of state apparatus, but unfortunately no efforts were done in this direction. The pursuit of fundamentalist ideology had affected the structure of state apparatus and success of polity. Although, there was a strong realization amongst the modernists of Muslim League that religion is indispensable ingredient for their legitimacy. The conception was contrary to modernist's school of thought that believed in western democracy under the British model, they were not ready to bring any change in their political culture. They wanted to continue with the same modern state apparatus under the Islamic legitimacy. To bring justice between both ends, they opted for Consensus (Ijmah), which has been visualized by Dr. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, the contributor of the early 20th century Arab modernist's tradition. Iqbal stressed on the use of consensus, which is the third source of Islamic law after Quran and Hadith. (Mahmood, 1995, pp. 267-268) The modernists were of the view that the contemporary interpretation of law would be the responsibility of the elected Muslim members through the use of consensus. Their stance was that it is not necessary to bind the state apparatus structure with medieval Islamic law. The consensus was thought sufficient to craft Pakistan as an Islamic state and to legitimize the assemblies under the Islamic law. On the other hand, the religious and fundamentalists were not fully satisfied with proposed arrangements but, they settled due to certain points that the Law of Quran is considered as the Supreme Law and the Muslims will be secure under their separate identity from non-Muslims.

The Constitution of 1956

The Constitution of 1956 emerged as the first compromise between the modernists and the conservatives; it paved the way for the state dominance while the Ulema remained in minority that restricted them from attaining the sensitive positions in the newly born state. The wave of dissatisfaction forced them to create political parties in order to attain receptive positions in the state apparatus. They initiated under the religious agenda promotion among the masses. They were undersized as compare to the modernists but they had far reaching impact on the political culture of Pakistan. Parties like Jamat Islami, Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI), Jamiat Ulema Pakistan (JUP), etc. have played their role by bearing religious overtones to their demands. They succeeded at many occasions in getting their demands fulfilled by their opponents. As the uprisings against the Ahmadies in 1953, that reveals the first alliance between the Ulema and the fundamentalists. The opposition came forth in reaction of the presence of Ahmadies in all influential government posts. The later part of 50's reveals the nexus between Jamaat-e-Islami and other likeminded influential groups. Under the collective efforts they instigated the public for the Ahmadies schism. The hype proves the initiation of exclusionary politics in Pakistan by the conservatives. The 1956 Constitution could not survive more; it was abrogated by Ayub Khan's d'état. If the constitution was sustained, it would lay down the bases of sound political culture. Yet again

the power politics through corrosive means brought the system down and a repentant saga was set by the Army which successfully followed by the predecessors. (Hashmi, 2009, p.6)

Military in Power-The Decade of 60s

Since independence, the religious parties have served as an effective opposition within the political system of Pakistan. The state catered their demands and many steps have been successfully implemented under their agenda. Objective Resolution pledged to form constitution in conformity with the religion. Although, the Constitution of 1956, inculcated the religious parties' aspirations and demands, but the political scenario took another turn after the coup d'état of Ayub Khan. He contributed with loud measures that incurred the displeasure of the right winged fundamentalists. Firstly, they dropped the word 'Islamic' from the nomenclature of the state. Yet under the immense pressure of Ulema, in 1963 the first Constitutional Amendment Bill was passed wherein the name of the state as an Islamic Republic of Pakistan was restored. The Family Law Ordinance of 1961 was another move that confirmed his secular credentials. However, the Ulema went for a loud clamor against Ayub Khan's Policies, but they were faced by effective state restricted policies. Ayub Khan made minimal concessions to the Ulema, neither the ideological differences led to any prevailing unrest in the state. He kept on going in the direction of a progressive state. However, this trend could not undermine the religious parties' memorandum. (Abbas, 2009, pp. 36-37) The elections of 1965 brought break through for the Ulema when even Ayub Khan did not hesitate to play Islamic card. Ayub Khan sought 'Fatwa' from the Ulema to nullify the appointment of female as the head of state, in order to gain strength against Mohterma Fatima Jinnah. In mid 60's Ayub Khan virtually cultivated the Pir and Mashaikhs in order to get legitimacy for his authoritarian rule, while the religious parties and groups were nurturing their roots among the masses. Hence, the religious penetration was quite influential to create disruption at any time they want. The Ulema realized that they can't meet their goals under authoritarian rule of Ayub Khan, so they stood in agitation against the government. They vowed for a democratic system to transform their agendas into an effective policies. Ayub Khan was forced to relinquish the charge of the President of Pakistan. He passed the authority to Yahya Khan, which pushed Pakistan once again in the hands of Army. (Mahmood, 1995, p. 272)

Democracy in Action-The Decade of 70's

The early years of this decade witnessed some tragic incidents. Pakistan faced some serious challenges that could not get mature handling. After the pronouncement of 1970's elections, the political parties had their fair share in the electoral process. However, no doubt that the elections were just but they shook the very base of the state. The Eastern wing became more vocal, due to the injustice that they have suffered right from the beginning. The majority represented party has the principal right to govern the state but Yahya Khan under his military regime annulled the legitimate results and banned 'Awami League' in East

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Pakistan. The frail scenario contributed in mass agitation and weak administration to deal with it. The chaotic circumstances gave the opportunity to Jamaat-e-Islami to reach the corridors of power. In order to suppress the opposition in East Pakistan Jamaat-e-Islami created terror squads 'Al-Badar' and 'Al-Shamas'. (Butt, 2010, pp. 28-29) They spent their entire dynamism to support military action in East Pakistan. The factual base reveals the game of power politics, which was veiled under the slogan of ideology of religion resultantly, brutal killing of the Bengali intellectuals and skilled learned people. (Amin, 2012, pp.4, 12)

In 1971 Pakistan lost one of its wings and East Pakistan emerged as a separate state. The power politics among different parties and groups could not contribute for the consolidation of the state. The loss of Eastern wing made West Pakistan totally shattered and in deep sense of trouncing. It is unfortunate that even after such a big tragedy, the political actors could not learn a lesson. 1971 is also marked for the constitutional framing that accompanied the religious parties' pressure. They were spending all of their efforts to pronounce the nomenclature of the state as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The purpose behind this vigorous campaign was never any service to religion but their underline motive was to get constitutional space for their sinister agenda. Once they are holding constitutional space, they will get legitimized support for their agendas and controlling all public and private affairs of the masses in conformity with Deobandi ideology. Nonetheless, the unstable scenario laid down the basis of rivalry among different sects.

After the dismemberment of Pakistan, PPP had formed the government under the elected democratic Prime Minister Z.A Bhutto. He introduced 'Islamic Socialism', which in fact means populism. Z.A Bhutto also used religion to whip up the nation in whatever direction he wanted. The concept of socialism was re-baptized as Musawat-e-Muhammadi. He laid special emphasis on Islam, while framing the Constitution of Pakistan 1973. He introduced Islamic reforms as banning liquor shops, gambling, horse racing, night clubs etc. He initiated this campaign in order to save his legitimacy and writ of his government. Moreover, he changed the weekly holiday from Sunday to Friday. Precisely, the modern and liberal administration used religion to establish their legitimacy and the theocratic and fundamentalist groups used religion to establish their basis in the system. In both cases it was religion that misused and misinterpreted. Z.A Bhutto also managed to host the summit of Organization of Islamic Conference in 1974, in order to substantiate the religious roots in the prevailing political structure. (Ali, 2001, p. 93) However, in this way he legitimized himself internationally and earned recognition in the name of religion for Pakistan among the other states. Bhutto's compromise with the religious parties gradually drifted him in a difficult situation. There was serious criticism on his nationalization policies (Hussain, Hussain, 1993: 3). He could not move the system and the state in the modernizing direction but it went in ditch of fundamentalism. He declared Ahmadies as non-Muslims; the opted policy drew a line among the Muslims (Hussain, Hussain, 1993: 26). This line of distinction brought changes in the constitutional status of the citizens as well. Consequently, he was trapped in a legislative, political and constitutional impasse. The Pakistan National Alliance (PAN) a right wing coalition blamed wriggling in the 1977's elections and demanded the implementation of 'Sharia' Law. The anti-government agitation reached to the height that

Bhutto's government was toppled by the Army. The coup d'état has initiated a new era in the political and constitutional history of Pakistan.

Military in Action-2nd Term-The Decade of 80's

General Zia's era is considered as the most crucial phase for the study of extremism. In this totalitarian regime the fanatics and fundamentalist groups acquired power and resources to thrust their agenda and to challenge the power of the state in future. The nexus between extremists and the state ended with the effectiveness of the former. The undue support to the religious groups and parties gradually undermined the role of state and emerged as the driving and principal actors in all decisions and policies of the state.

As matter of fact, the tussle between modernists and the conservatives was going on right from independence, but Zia's era is held the sole responsible for Islamization of legal system in Pakistan. He used Islam as a tool for the legitimization of his autocratic military rule. He has accomplished the task with such rigor that he gradually became responsible of strengthening Islamists elements. The extremists and interest oriented elements has nothing to do with the golden teachings of Islam, instead they used part of Islamic injunctions to legitimize their aggressive moves of controlling different segments of society and components of power. (Mahmood, 1995, pp.275-276)

Zia was a sympathizer of Jamaat-e-Islami. These sympathies may have harbored fundamentalist conceptions so can safely be made responsible for this phenomenon (Shah, 2012; 314). If the system created by him is studied minutely it becomes clear that he had established a dual system of Anglo-Indian type modernist law where Sharia Law was relegated to a minor role. For example there were very strict limits on the application of Decrees related to Sharia. They were limited to the few domains of criminal law. The prominent punishments were stoning to death or whipping for adultery, amputation for theft, whipping for the use of intoxicant, prison or death penalty for blasphemy. There was a strict criteria of evidence maintained against these punishments. Beside this, he introduced two conical religious taxes Zakat and Ushar, and for the criminal proceedings only rules of evidence was changed (Shah, 2012; 315-317)

The Islamic agenda of Zia administration was entrusted with political expediency. His Islamic trends were totally different from his other two military predecessors Gen. Ayub Khan and Gen. Yahya Khan. Zia's administration intentionally brought an alliance between military and Islam supporting political parties. The Ameer-e-Jamaat-e-Islami Mian Muhammad Tufail was his uncle; due to this factor Jamaat-e-Islami became more vocal and effective in this era. Amid this scenario the major regional and global incident of Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, actually provided the institutional support to these fundamentalist groups and parties. Prior to this incident these parties and groups were vocal but there was no trend of militancy in them. The alliance between military and Islam supporting parties was now being facilitated by both CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and ISI (Inter Services Intelligence). This alliance was now conditional with the propaganda of Jihad; at this point the basis of militancy was laid. These groups were given agenda and resources with the financial incentives. The amalgamation of money, politics, power, and religion brought

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havoc in the region. Both ISI and ICI trained thousand of Pakistanis and Arab volunteers to become diehard Jehadies. This training induced both homicidal and suicidal tendencies within the structure of Jehadies. Madrasahs and religious institutions were used as nurseries for the Jihad breed. The engineers of this strategy probably were unaware of the fact that once this trend was established, it would become fatal for the coming generations for decades and decades. (Mir, 2009, p. 364; Hashmi, 2009, p.11; Ahmed, 2002, p.231)

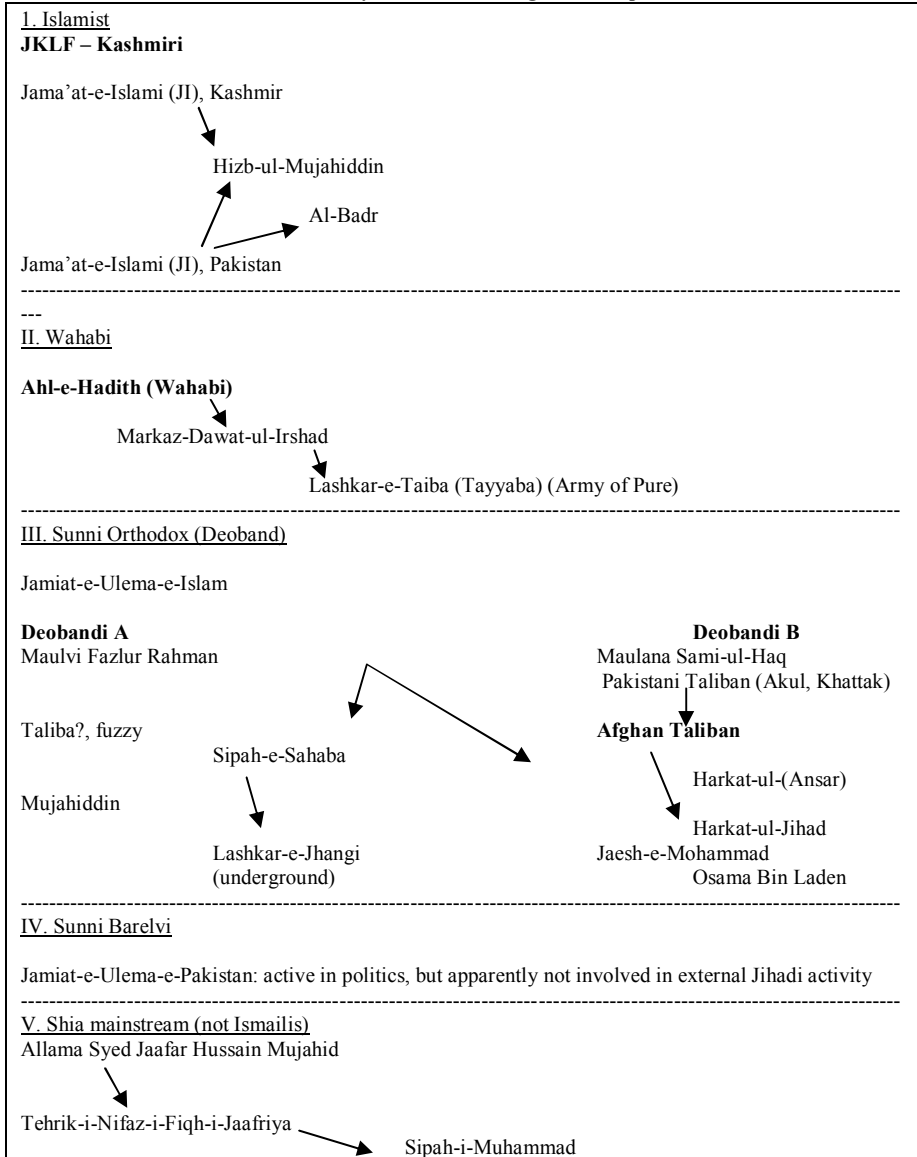
At that time religion was not only used for the domestic political purposes, but it was also exploited at the regional front. Moreover, Islam had been used as a dominating instrument in Zia administration's foreign policy. Relations were strengthened and re-established with the Islamic countries. Due to such adopted policies, the regional and global level attracted, counter forces and over all thinking patterns, that has been affected by these developments. Although, these fundamentalists and neo-totalitarian Muslim's movements got no obvious global support, yet they succeeded in framing an image of Islam throughout the world. The Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan, Muslim Brotherhood in Arab, Sharekat Islam in Indonesia and the Islamic Government of post-revolutionary Iran could not attract the majority of workers, peasants and intelligentsia because they were contrary to the culture and historical traditions of the masses. Analytically, extremism can never be a choice of common people living in a compromised set up of different languages, religions and backgrounds.

Objectives of Islamization

The main objective of Islamization in Zia's era was to create a strategic front against the Soviet invasion '1979' in Afghanistan. (Ahmer, 2008, p.1) The slogan 'Islam in danger' was adopted and propagated in the perspective of Soviet invasion. This is an open secret that US interests were mainly involved behind this propaganda. Jihad was used as an instrument to wage a proxy war against Soviet Union; on the other hand the Jihadi element was militarizing the Pakistani society. (Rana, 2010, p.5) It was an open exploitation of religion and there was no effective voice to counter this drift. The militancy once injected in these smaller fundamentalist groups, it became malicious for the entire nation and for the structure of Islam. The Deobandi - Wahabi sects Madrasahs were sponsored by the state during Zia's era, and it kept spending on their nourishment in unregulated manner. These Madrasahs served as the breeding grounds of Jihadis in Soviet Afghan war and afterwards, they carried on with the same hatred and intolerance against other sects that contributed in the Shia-Sunni conflict, which is the glaring reality of the time. This culture of intolerance and conflict has made these sects to create their private militias. Nevertheless, it is the poor class that has their siblings in these religious Madrasahs, and this is the place where malice thinking and ideology is injected in their minds, which teaches them to fight out the ruling elite class and all other groups who go against their ideology. (Hoodbhoy, 2009, p. 6; Rikonen, 2007, p.1) They also believe and learn that they are part of a noble universal agenda of lord's war, which are fighting to build worldwide governance under their ideology. (Kennedy& Botteron, 2006, p. 232; Nasr, 2000, p. 145)

They have produced such an intolerant anti-West and anti-democracy breed, which is not ready to talk on the negotiating terms, as they have left no room for compromise between them and the rest of the world. They are heading with the wrong thinking, that their ideology is the only savior and protector of the world. (Ahmed, 2002, p. 212)

Hierarchy of Pakistani Religious Groups



Source: Fair, C. Christine. Malhotra, Neil and Shapiro, Jacob N. (2010). *Islam, Militancy, and Politics in Pakistan: Insights from a National Sample*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Post 80's Era

From independence till the end of Zia era, things have become more challenging and complicated. The Country faced two long terms of military dictatorship and dismemberment of the Eastern wing. Three constitutions were specified, out of them 1973's Constitution is still serving but with drastic changes that have altered the essence of the original vision. Pakistan was founded for the safeguard of the religious, economic and political rights of the Muslims, neither for the adaptation of theocracy. The founding father was clear about the progressive outlook of the state. Afterwards, it was the quest of power politics that used religion as tool to exploit the situations at every stage in the political history of Pakistan. The religious parties or right wing used the religion as a tool for the acquisition of power, while the modernists or left wing used the religion for the consolidation of their rule and legitimization of their administration. In the middle of these grim and wretched affairs, the Soviet Afghan war played pivotal role in the militarization of the right wing parties and groups. They were not only strengthened by means of weapons, but mainly they have been disillusioned under a false ideology. Unfortunately, that wrong ideology was presented to them in the name of Jihad and under the title of Islam. It was considered as the extreme ideology in the 80's, and it is still considered as the extreme ideology even today, but the exploiting elements have changed. It is false to say that they are fighting for Islam, and it is a delusion that they are contributing for the promotion of Islam as religion. (Firdous, 2009, pp.112-129)

The trends set up by the predecessors have been followed by the coming administrations in the decade of 90's. The disintegration of USSR contributed in USA's disengagement from Pakistan. Later, their concerns enhanced along with the international community after Pakistan's nuclearization. In presence of New World Order and in entirely changed global political scenario, a wise strategy was required to move the country forward in a right direction. (Michael, 2007, p.36) Unfortunately, the state remained occupied by the inherited power politics and tussle between leftists and rightists wings. They actually provided chances to the rest of the world to raise word against the short sighted policies of the state. On the other hand the state was under immense influence of the right wing parties and groups who have become more strong and effective against the writ of the state. A brief analysis of the process of Islamization will be made in order to understand the current scenario. It is actually in the post 80s era the topology of extremism becomes obvious. There are gradual occurrences of different incidents that are responsible for the hype of extremism. In each phase a particular incident or happening will be analyzed that added a dimension in the topology of extremism. The simple demand of the implementation of Sharia has taken many turns. This demand first turned into power quest and then indulged in the process of militarization. In this development the intellectual segment was totally missing and it was replaced with the intolerant and extremist militia leadership. Currently this extremist leadership is intentionally and openly exploiting the religion Islam. It is fulfilling its agenda through coercive means while it has completely lost the mass support.

Experimentation with Democracy -The Decade of 90's

The Jihad against Communism and Zia's religious policies transformed the society from a tolerant Muslim society to a hijacked society by the Deobandi – Wahabi mindsets that led by the Taliban. Religion was deeply embedded in the structure of Pakistani society but militarization and power politics led to its violent manifestation. In the beginning of the 90's decade the global political setting required a very strong and legitimate administration that could stand and shoulder the responsibilities of the New World Order. Contrary to this, the decade of 90's in Pakistan started with shaky and vulnerable administration that has weak writ and less effectiveness. In 1989 Benazir Bhutto elected as the Prime Minister of Pakistan, her troika government could not completely do away with Zia's Islamization legacy. As matter of fact the advance religious legislation was the part of lingering effects of Bhutto and Zia's Islamization policies. This process was started for the sustenance of particular administrations, but their effects kept on going for a longer period of time. Consequently, during the first term of Benazir Bhutto a modified version of the Shariat Bill was passed. This Bill lapsed due to the desolation of assembly; in her administration, she could not repel the anti women Hudood laws. It was in the 1990's that the Qisas and Diyat Ordinances were passed on medieval models. Throughout her stay in the administration Benazir Bhutto had to face challenges from rightist wing. Nawaz Sharif started the task of Islamization right from the point, where Zia left. In 1991 his administration got the Shariat Bill passed from the National Assembly. A major development was the amendment in the Blasphemy law of 1986. This law made the minorities vulnerable and insecure and later on this law was used against them. Politicization and institutionalization of the religious laws brought about discrimination and sectarian segregation. Such policies were not occasional but they were now perpetual part of policies. (Partha, 2007, pp. 103-105)

The second term of Benazir Bhutto started in 1993; it was similar to the previous uneven and complicated term. She had to face stern opposition by Jamaat-e-Islami, the Deobandi School of thought does not regard the rule of women as lawful according to Sharia. (Weaver, 2002, p. 192) There were violent protests against her administration in 1996. It is ironical to note that Jamaat-e-Islami reserved only 1% votes in the general elections of 1993 while in the next general elections of 1996 Nawaz Sharif wins through majority. The intricate scenario led to a crucial era, while the Eastern and the Western boarders were also under immense pressure. Afghan administration was not getting recognition in United Nations and her internal affairs were going in the hands of extremists. Taliban had appeared as notorious as dangerous within the international community because of her intolerant policies and harsh laws. On the other hand India was increasing pressure on the Eastern border every now and then. (Hassan, 2012, p. 6, 12) In 1998 the Vajpayee administration conducted atomic explosions and it was exerting pressure on Pakistan with full force. It was the time for Pakistan to conduct atomic explosions but many other measures were required beside the line. A very strong backup was required by the administration in the form of viable and strong policies for keeping and maintaining the nuclear arsenals. As the consequence of nuclear explosions, Pakistan has to face economic sanctions by US and that could increase the difficulties for the government. However, due

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to the autocratic rule of Nawas Sharif protests have been arisen in different segments of the state. Nawas Sharif like his predecessors used the Islamic card to face the challenging situations. In 1998, the 15th Amendment was made in the Constitution of Pakistan and Sharia was declared as the supreme law of the state.

This was considered as a big step that supported the extremist elements in the societal structure. The implementation of this law would have thrust a cruel type of religious dictatorship within the state. Nonetheless, despite of immense pressure from the religious lobby the supremacy of Sharia has not led to widening its application. Islam might have been used to attract the political support but the final deeds and wording in every matter still rests with the state. (Ahmed, 2002, p. 239)

Military under Enlightenment and Moderation- New Millennium

In this study of religious extremism and its topology, this phase is considered as most supportive to the religious groups and parties; they were confronted by the military administration that nurtured them. The global situation was changing rapidly, and after overt nuclearization and growing tension on the both Eastern and Western borders the issue of nuclear security and proliferation became quite serious and intense. The '9/11' terrorist attack on the World Trade Center brought the entire world at one single point focusing on 'War on Terror'. Al-Qaida was the main suspect and target, therefore the US military operation started in Iraq and Afghanistan. The same Jihadis who were trained by CIA and ISI were now under the wrath of US forces. After '9/11', Pakistan was under real trouble, when there was no way out left for the Musharraf's administration then to take a turn on the policies regarding Afghanistan and Taliban. (Mir, 2009, p.1)

Pakistan was forced to take action against these militant organizations. The process of topology is quite applicable that shows the relationship between different actors unaffected by the continuous change of their dimensions. Pakistan as a frontline state in the War on Terror has to locate and defeat these extremist elements under the US pressure and in combine action of both armies. For further study, it is important to understand the structure and concept of Taliban. Taliban that are regarded as the terrorist elements, are divided into four groups;

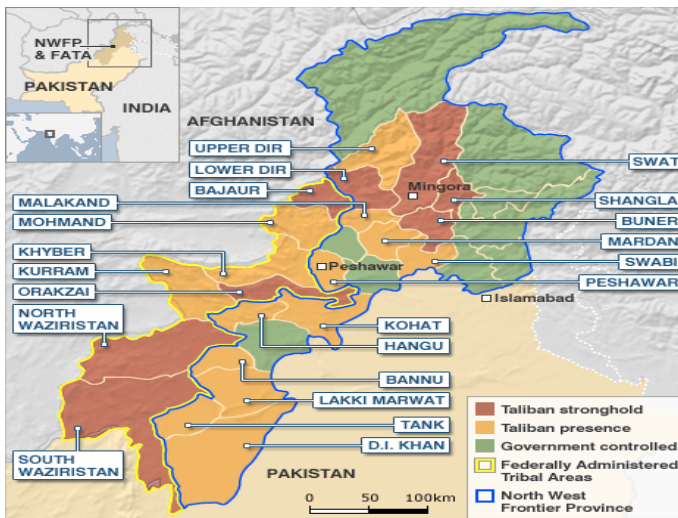
- First: they are domestic sectarian groups like Sipah-e-Sahaba and Sipah-e-Muhammad. Both are respectively off shoots of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Shia Tehrik-e-Jafria.
- Second: they are disguised in the terrorist outfits that operate with Pakistan Army and ISI support in Afghan war.
- Third: they are Pushtun oriented Taliban residing in the areas of Pakistan.
- Fourth: Al-Qaida involved elements.

All the above mentioned groups have generally taken sanctuary in FATA and in North Waziristan. Since, the initiation of War on Terror, they have become a major challenge for the security of Pakistan. They have serious implications on security of Pakistan's strategic assets. The topology of extremism is synonym to the topology of Taliban. Their breeding grounds are the Madrasahs, which are inculcating the suitable interoperation of Islam according to their purposes. They are in a strong linking network with the criminals and

warlords that have their own global political agenda. The following is a brief description of how they are structured, as explained below;

1. In first stage they were regarded as a supporting and pro-Pakistani group in Afghanistan. This stage extends from 1987 to 1992. Till 2001, Pakistan had backed their rule in Afghanistan.
2. Second phase of Talibanization extends from 2001-2007. In this phase the Afghan fugitive had taken refuge in FATA and Swat Valley and started their activities in Pakistan.
3. Third phase has started from 2007 onward, in this phase they had actually started their actions against their targets in Pakistan.(Abbas, 2009, pp.227-228; Siddiq, 2009, pp. 4-6)

Stronghold of Taliban-South Waziristan-FATA



Source : [News:bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8046577.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8046577.stm)

Islamic groups and militancy has deeply affected the internal pattern of power struggle in Pakistan. In the early phase of independence religious intellectuals have offered great scholarly services in the conceptualization and operationalization of Islamic society. They reached the position of an effective political actor in making constitution and defining the policies of the state. They were remained vocal but their tendencies were not extremists and they were not militants in nature.

Table: Militant Groups in Pakistan

	Domestic organization	Transnational organization	Extremist Groups
1	Lashkar-e-Omar LoE	Hizb-ul-Mjahideen (HM)	Al-Rashid Trust
2	Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan. (SSP)	Harkat-ul-Ansaar	Al-Akhtar Trust
3	Tehreek-E- Jafria Pakistan. (TJP)	Lashkar-e-Toiba	Rabita Trust
4	Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Shariat-e-Muhammadi	Jesh-e-Muhammad (JeM)	Ummah Tamir-e-Nau
5	Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ)	Harkat-ul-Mujahideen	
6	Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP)	Al Badr	
7	Muttahida Quami Movement	Jamiat-ul-Mujahideen (JuM)	

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	(MQM)		
8	Haqiqi Muhajir Quami Movement (MQM-H)	Lashkar-e-Jabbar (LeJ)	
9	Baluch People's Liberation Front (BPLF)	Harkat-ul-Jehadi-i-Islami	
1	Baluch Students' Organization (BSO)	Muttahida Jihad Council (MJC)	
1	Jamaat-ul-Fuqra	Al Barq	
1	Nadeem Commando	Tehrik-ul-Mujahideen	
1	Popular Front of Armed Resistance	Al Barq	
1	Muslim United Army	Tehrik-ul-Mujahideen	
1	Harkat-ul-Mujahideen Ai-alami	Al Jihad	
1	Baluch Students' Orgnasation-Awami (BSO-A)	Jammu & Kashmir National Liberation Army	
1		People's League	
1		Muslim Janbaz Force	
1		Kashmir Jihad Force	
2		Al Jihad Force	
2		Al Umar Mujahideen	
2		Mahaz-e-Azadi	
2		Islami Jamaat-i-Tulba	
		J&K Students Liberation Front	
		Ikhwan-ul-Mujahideen	
		Islamic Student League	
		Tehrik-e-Hurriat-e-Kashmir	

Source: www.satp.org/satporgtp/countries/pakistan/terroristoutfits/index.html

There is a proliferation of Madrasahs (religious seminaries) that has been observed throughout Pakistan especially, in r area of Punjab, Karachi and Pakhtuns. In the beginning, these religious groups were without any militant agendas against the army or the state. There was a sound relationship between the army and the religious groups. The element of militancy started only after the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. The induced element of militancy provided them an opportunity to make their agenda enforced by the use of weapons. These groups and organizations mainly have been used by the warlords that are controlling and utilizing them through the provision of money and weapons. The manpower and ideology have been provided by the Madrasahs teachings that are also working under their supervision. (Kennedy, 2006, p. 230)

Pakistan has adopted many policies to counter the activities of theses militant groups. The most important was 'Reforming the Madrasahs'. Madrasahs Regulation Act was promulgated in June 2002. This project was to be completed with the financial support of USA. This act has not performed as was expected. Although, the government threatened to stop the funds for Madaris but this was of no use, as these Madaris were not operating with the government funding. In 2004 some changes in the Islamiyat syllabus were proposed. It was suggested the verses on Jihad should be substituted with other verses but this was also not handled practically. (Iqbal, 2004) Many Madaris did not get government registration till 2005.

Table: Registered and Unregistered Madrasahs in Pakistan

Provinces	Total No. of Madaris	Registered	unregistered	Total Students Enrolled
Punjab	5,468	3,293	2,175	490,120
Sindh	2,100	1,030	1,070	277,805
NWFP	1,724	777	947	19,275
Balochistan	621	296	325	-
FATA	367	30	337	54,690
Northern Areas	860	322	538	33,429
AJK	665	385	280	50,000

Source: Klasra, M. R. (January 2005). Interior and Religious Ministries Wrangle Over Madrasahs. *Friday Times*

The government efforts were challenged mainly due to two main reasons, 1) the political interests of these organizations, and the young students, who can be used as political instruments to influence government. 2) The militant elements could be utilized against the Indian aggression in order to avoid conventional war. Although, government has emphasized on the dialogue process for the resolution of Kashmir dispute, but the development on both sides are not very fruitful. Musharraf floated many proposals in 2004 and in 2006 but they had not succeeded. All these efforts were part of reducing the ratio of militancy. In 2004 a seven region formula was offered and in 2006 four steps were proposed for the joint management of the disputed state. (Musharraf, 2006, p.302) In 2007 and onward the militant groups had started attacks on the Pakistani military. The continuous attacks added another dimension in the existing threats. These attacks have further deteriorated the security situation in the country and amplified the concerns of the state's policy makers.

Bits and Pieces- A Challenge for Democracy- 2008 Onwards

The general elections held in 2008, it provided the opportunity for the democratic forces to come forward and take responsibility. The religious parties have played a significant role in the Musharraf's era. JI boycotted the elections and JUI-F lost most of its parliamentary clout. As the street power of the right wing parties have always been very strong, they reserve the ability to derail the procedure of reforms through mobilization street power. After the 2008 elections the circumstances became dependent on the modernist parties to consolidate the democratic transition and to ensure building of consensus for reforms.

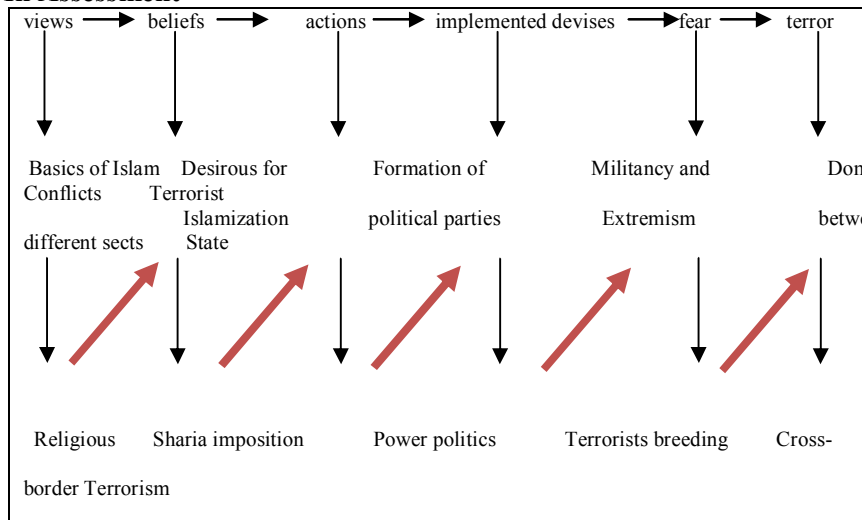
The policies of PPP administration have not gained much popularity in the public and the role of political parties has also not been that effective as it was required for a visible change. The role of state is still not that effective as, it should be to face extremism and

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aggression. The trends that are followed throughout the previous decades of maladministration have omitted the role of the state. The government is yet not confident enough to take a hard step against extremism. The government is still depending on the religious parties for the strength and legitimacy of its rule. For example the PPP government made overtures to the JUI-F for Zardari's Presidential candidacy as coalition between PPP and PML-N has broken in August 2008. In response PPP has promised to reopen the Jamia Faridia Madrasah in Islamabad. This Madrasah was closed in 2007 due to its involvement in Lal Masjid incident; it was reopened on 1st September 2008.

The sympathetic feelings for Taliban is unaffected by the continuous change of their dimensions. On May 31, 2008 Darul Uloom Deoband, which is situated in India, issued a fatwa against the suicide bombing and terrorism. This fatwa is endorsed by the JUI-F but the party's Khaiber Pakhtunkha secretary did not implement as the same issue as 'definition and application of the term terrorist'. The new democratic government is laying stress on the modern education to get rid of extremism phenomenon. For example, Punjab government has targeted such areas for building model public schools. This strategy is more effective than the policy of providing funds for the upgrading of Madrasahs. The content of the syllabus is also being revised and more compromising and realistic material is being added. All these policies require a considerable time for their effectiveness as the errors and miscalculations that have done throughout the decades cannot be removed in the span of days. (Kennedy, 2006, pp. 247-250)

An Assessment



Extremism is an important issue to every state and society. It reflects constraints and poses threat to harmony and stability in every society. The religious, political, ethnic and sectarian type of extremism became the major concern of government in multinational societies. Now extremism has become a more complex issue which must be tackled with a different strategy

The Pakistan governments must try to opt a multilayered approach to tackle the issue

1. First define the nature of problems

2. Try to distinguish different groups involved in such activities with their agendas
3. Try to understand the intensity of issue and its future implications.
4. Try to have a special task force, information system involvement of local police.
5. Enhance the capabilities and abilities of Police force.
6. The reforms in educational system and focus on youth can be helpful to manage the issue.

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