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## Role of Islam in the Political History of Pakistan

### Abstract

*The emergence of political Islam while focusing on pre- and post-partition era. In a pre-partition era, the focus is on various contributors of political Islam, like Jamal-ul- din Afghani, who through theoretical and practical means tried to reform the Muslim society of the sub-continent. Later on, Allama Iqbal and other Ulema, mainly from Deoband contributed to it. In the post-partition era, the objective resolution and the Islamization of the society for political and strategic reasons by both political and military leadership have created confusion. During the 'bureaucratic coup' era, General Ayub's dictatorship, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's Islamic socialism, and Zia's Islamization policies have further radicalized and confused the society. The dichotomy between Islam and modern state structure and the ambivalent attitude of the state elites to declare Islamic system in Pakistan have contributed to the violent clashes between the religious-turned militants' organizations like Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Laskhar-e-Jhangvi (Lej) etc. and the security agencies. The rise of Muthahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) as a political force in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KP) and subsequent legislation of different laws have further Islamized society.*

**Keyword.** Political Islam, Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan, Deoband, Islamization, Islamic socialism

### Introduction

Many scholars believed that it was used in the 1940s by European powers in order to give name and symbols to anti-colonial forces which claimed Islamic orientation and outlook. The first organized movement of political Islam believed to be the "Muslim Brotherhood" in 1927. Hasan Al Bana, and later, Syed Qutab, is considered as the founders of Political Islam in the Middle East. Jamal- ul -Din Afghani and Allama Muhammad Iqbal are its founders in the sub-continent. It has two types. First one is the rightest expression which is based on intellectuals and is considered as a soft movement. The other one is the leftist expression (Ayoob, 2007). The former produced "Islamic fundamentalism", "Islamism", and "Neo-Islamism". While the later produced, "Islamic Socialism", "Baath Socialism", and "Arab Socialism/Nationalism". But the main point is that, the center of gravity was Islamic nationalism in order to deal with the Western dominancy. Interestingly, the main conflict in the Muslim world was between these two expressions instead of between Islamists and secularists.

During the cold war, the rightest expression was supported by the western powers as the leftist side joined the "Soviet camp". It is pertinent to mention, that rightest expression failed in gaining momentum till the 1970s, as pressed by the Muslim regimes. The death of jamal Nasir was the turning point for the rightest expression to upsurge. The "Afghan Jihad" joined by Pakistan, USA, and the KSA for its strategic interests strengthened the rightest expression. Enjoying this strength and popularity, they tried to bring "Islamic revolution" in many countries. Establishment of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan was the result of this powerful expression (Roy, 2002).

The west have mainly three perceptions about political Islam. First, political Islam is monolithic, second, political Islam is violent, and third, the composition of Islam is specific to Islam (Ayoob, 2007). Following these concepts, the west adopted different strategies which resulted anger, feeling of humiliation, and fundamentalism in the Muslim world. Movements in different areas of the Muslim world emerged in order to respond to western civilization, secularism, and military oppression. Now, the question arises that how political Islam emerged in Pakistan? The answer to this question lies in the Pan-Islamic

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ideology propounded by Jamal-ul-Din Afghani and Mohammad Iqbal Which served as the foundation of the creation of Pakistan.

### **Literature Review**

Stephen P Cohen in his book “The idea of Pakistan” which published in 2005 said that, two points encouraged Muslims of the sub-continent for separate homeland. I.e. fear of Hindu majority in democratic system and decolonization process. The scholars partially agree with him, because there were religious feelings, domination by western powers, humiliation after 1857 war of independence and emergence of political Islam mainly due Jamaluddin Afghani were the main reasons behind the creation of Pakistan.

Oliver Roy in his book “Failure of Political Islam” which was published in 1998 from Harvard university press said, that “Afghan Jihad” joined by Pakistan, US, and KSA for its strategic interests strengthened the rightest expression. Enjoying this strength and popularity they tried to bring “Islamic revolution” in many countries. Establishment of Taliban regime in Afghanistan, was the result of this powerful expression. I partially agree with him because there were many other reasons which strengthened rightest expression like objective resolution, discriminatory policies of the West, and the Pashtun culture which resembles Islam.

According to Mohammad Ayoob in his book, “The many faces of Political Islam” which was published by University of Michigan in 2007 said that, the first organized movement of the political Islam believed to be the “Muslim Brotherhood” in 1927. Hasan Al Bana, and later, Syed Qutab is considered as the founders of Political Islam in the Middle East. Jamal-ul-Din Afghani and Muhammad Iqbal are its founders in the sub-continent. It has two types. First one is the rightest expression which is based on intellectuals and considered as soft movement. The other one is the leftist expression. I partially agree with him because there are blend of these expressions are present in Pakistan, though divided on ideological grounds but unite against any attempt which can threaten Islamic principles.

Hussain Haqqani in his book “Pakistan between Mosque and military” which was published in

2005 in Washington said, “India’s Muslims demanded Pakistan without really knowing the results of that demand”, but according to my findings, India’s people knew what they were demanding. It were the westernized elites, who were confused about political, social, and economic system of Pakistan.

According to Manzoor din Ahmed in his book, “The political role of Ulema in the India-Pakistan subcontinent”, that the ulema from the Deoband and other Madrassas were the protagonists for the establishment of a state, where Islam is compatible with modern state systems will be guaranteed. But if we see, this idea came from a very respected and intellectual Afghan scholar, Jamal Ud Din Afghani, who proposed that reformism instead of rejectionism and Kemalist is the best strategy to review the Muslim rule? He was of the view that Muslims living in Afghanistan and subcontinent, should establish their own state, based on the golden principles of Islam. At the same time Muslims must embrace modernity as well.

Government of Pakistan. 1954. *Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances*, soon after the creation of Pakistan with Islam as it is defining feature and inclusion of the objective resolution and the confusion that whether the state would be an Islamic or not, has created the feelings of animosity among the people. They all lead towards the mass killings of Ahmadis in Lahore. The political Islam which was meant to establish the golden rules of Islam, unfortunately, claimed the lives of many at the very inception of the creation of Pakistan.

According to Roy Jackson in his book *Mawlana Maududi and Political Islam: Authority and the Islamic State*, Maulana Maududi and his followers have introduced the Islamization of politics in legal ways. The point is that we should analyze the impacts of that Islamization process. Islam is a religion having its own social, political, economic, and military ideals. But still, the confusion to implement Islam in its true sense or mixture with modern state apparatus, have created confusion in the society. The creation of Pakistan has strong Islam sentiments but the incapability of Ulema and the architects of the nascent state were failed to materialize the feelings of the nation in the constitution and implementation of sharia in its true sense.

According to Maqsood Jafri in his book, “The Ideals of Bhutto”, that Bhutto was interested to introduce Islamic system. But in practice, it was just a wishful thinking. Though he introduced certain Islamic laws and declared Ahmadis as Kafir, but still his Islamic socialism slogan was shallow

### **Pan Islamism in the Sub-Continent**

The complete subjugation by western powers, created feelings of anger and resentment among Muslims across the globe. Same was the case with the Muslims of the subcontinent. In order to protect the Muslims from the cultural and secular influence of the west, Jamal-ul-Din Afghani was the first to give the idea of pan-Islamism. He wanted modernity without being westernized. A state for Muslims should be created consisting of areas from central Asia to the Muslims majority areas in the sub-continent. Later on, Muhammad Iqbal, a prominent philosopher and a poet, also emphasized on this idea. The roots of political Islam in Pakistan, trace back to the idea's thinkers. When Pakistan movement started, these ideas have a considerable impact on it. In order to understand this ideological attachment, we need to dig out history critically from the very inception of Pakistan movement.

### **Political Islam in Pakistan**

In order to dig out the presence of political Islam in Pakistan, we need to have a deep understanding of the Pakistan movement and its impacts on Post-independence legal system and political discourse of the state

### **The Pakistan Movement**

Two points encouraged Muslims of the sub-continent for separate homeland. I.e. fear of Hindu majority in democratic system and decolonization process (Cohen, 2005). The Muslims of India feared cultural, political, economic and social domination by majority Hindus, thus they started struggle in the name of religion instead of territory. Thus the birth of "two-nation theory" took place (Pande, 2011).

#### **a) The Khilafat Movement**

This movement was the major event which parted ways of Muslims and Hindus. Gandhi firstly supported this movement but later on, disowned it. This situation compelled Jinnah to support "two-nation theory" wholeheartedly (Ziring, 2008). The failure of caliphate movement increased suspicion between Hindus and Muslims (Akbar, 2011). However, this movement failed as result of many reasons. Firstly, Looting of Hindus in the hands of the Mophlas of Malabar which shattered Hindu-Muslim unity. Secondly, the incident of Chaura Chauri, when 22 policemen were burnt down in retaliation. In reaction, Gandhi called off the Non-cooperation movement which further weakened the Khilafat movement. Thirdly, in October 1924, Turkey Grand Council, abolished Khilafat institution, thus Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad advised Muslims to focus on the problems nearer to them. This movement exposed Gandhi and Hindus' intentions and politics on the basis of religion started.

#### **b) 1937 elections when Muslim League was defeated**

The horrific defeat of the Muslim league in 1937 elections shocked Jinnah and other top leaders. Congress became stronger and threat was that Muslim league will cease to exist. Jinnah was secular Indian, who believed in the Hindu-Muslim unity, and was in favor of inter-religious communication and solidarity. But this defeat challenged his thoughts. He feared that Muslims will be converted to minority forever. Thus the "Islam in danger" chanted systematically in order to pursue their goals. This fear provided a way for Pakistan resolution 1940, in which separate homeland for the Muslims in the form of Pakistan was demanded.

#### **c) Islam in Politics**

In order to win the next election, Muslim league used religion as a tool to unify the Muslims in the name of Islam. That's why they won 1945-46 elections in almost all areas where Muslims were in majority. Thus the use of religion proved effective to achieve Pakistan, and this tradition started in the political architect of Pakistan. "India's Muslims demanded Pakistan without really knowing the results of that demand" (Haqqani, 2005).

The main support for Muslim league came from Hindu dominated provinces where Muslims considered themselves under threat from majority Hindus. Thus it was pertinent for Jinnah and Muslim league to show its strength in the Muslim majority areas in order to strengthen their claim. Such steps needed strong social support,

according to Jinnah, only religion can provide it. Jinnah used religion in order to unify Muslims (Jalal, 1999). Thus religious-political nexus emerged between Muslim league and religious parties. Maulana Shabir Usmani

made bandwagon in view of that Pakistan will be an Islamic state. They openly chanted the slogans that, opposing forces are evil/kafir and are against the interests of the Muslims. Other renowned Islamic scholars, like Mir of Manki Sharif, Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari and Maulana Abdul Kalam Niazi also supported the Muslim League cause and Jinnah also acknowledged their support.

**d) The Post-independence narrative**

Soon after independence, the struggle started for the implementation of Islamic Sharia. Thus the state of Pakistan inclined towards Islamic ideology (Haqqani, 2005: P.16). Thus the military and political elites tried to unite the masses in the name of Islam and fear of external threats which became overarching phenomenon in the political discourse of Pakistan (Haider, 2011). Pakistan's real threat in the form of India aggressiveness thus leaders of the newly born state used religion for national integration (Haqqani, 2004).

Apart from these factors, politicization of Islam continued for domestic, political and economic purposes. Military in order to legitimize its rule, has also been used religion. In order to fight proxy wars for strategic interests in Afghanistan and Kashmir, religion was used as dominant force (Wirsing, 2004).

**e) The objective resolution**

The objective resolution was the first to officially inculcate religion in the governance structure and political system. It was passed on March 07, 1949. All religious scholars accepted with enthusiasm while the minorities rejected it. Because some points like, ultimate sovereignty belongs to Allah and no rule should be framed which contradict the Quran and Sharia. This resolution also obliged that democracy, equality, freedom, tolerance and justice concepts will be based on the principles Islam has enunciated. The resolution also encouraged people to live their lives on the basis provided by Islam (Mehdi, 2012).

From the very inception of its creation, state elites faced pressure from religious scholars within and outside government to implement sharia as official system of governance. Jamat-i-Islami and Majlis-Ahrar-i-Islam were in leading position. In order to neutralize ethno-national movements, religion was used to provide social cement and it worked very constructively. Thus religion was used as a tool to provide security from external threats and to strengthen internal cohesion.

Interestingly, Liaqat Ali khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, who passed the objective resolution, belonged to India (Cohen, 2005). Majority of them were elected from the constituencies in which they were not domiciled like Liaqat Ali khan, Khan Abdul Qayyum khan, Maulana Shabir Usmani etc. In order to preserve their legitimacy, it was pertinent for these personalities, to use Islamic solidarity.

The Muslim were divided into two factions. First, the elites which represented elite cadre and Westernized in character, second group was influenced from religious rhetoric propagated by the then religious parties. At the time of creation of Pakistan, elite cadres were installed in power corridor and other mentioned cadres were also accommodated (Sayeed, 1998). But another big issue emerged, the elitist political cadre still remained in power, and the other majoritarian group which wanted Pakistan to become as pure Islamic state, was neglected. From that time religious pressure started to Islamize the state of Pakistan.

The Barelvi segment of Pakistan established their religious-political party, however, they never participated in electoral politics, due to dearth of its party. They presented subsequently three drafts of constitutions to Jinnah, which were Islamic in posture.

Other religious parties like Jamat-i-Islami, who was against the creation of Pakistan, rushed to make Pakistan as an Islamic state. "Maulana Maududi encouraged his followers to show allegiance to Pakistan, until, it adopts an Islamic constitution (Jacson, 2011). He started organized struggle for Islamization of the state in 1948. He delivered a series of impressive lectures at Law College Lahore in this regard. Apart from this, he exerted pressure on the then constituent assembly of Pakistan for the Islamization of the country and adoption of the constitution which must have an Islamic posture. In order to respond to these demands, a Sharia group was formed for the establishment of "Islamic order" in the country. Muslims used these Islamic sentiments for nation-building.

Due to these circumstances, objective resolution was adopted. Many scholars believe that objective resolution created the feelings of alienation, mistrust and insecurity among the minorities. The minorities came up with 17 amendments, and it is believed that all these were legal and could be adaptable (Khan, 2011).

**f) The rise of Vigilantism**

These religious feelings were aggravated and militant attacks started especially in Punjab against Ahmediyya community, who questions the belief that Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) is the last prophet. The agitated mob demanded declaration of Ahmadi community as non-Muslims, resignation of Zafarullah, an Ahmadi, from the position of Foreign Minister, and removal of all Ahmadi's from key positions in government. The government refused to entertain their demands and imposed Martial Law in Lahore and arrested many religious clerics which created feeling of resentment among this religious fabric) **Islamization of laws and Bhutto era**

In order to materialize the Islamic provisions, the two constitutions 1956, and 1962, both were abrogated later, to provide Islamic posture. Later on, in the 1973 constitution, many Islamic clauses were added. Some of them are the following

**Article 1** declared the country as Islamic Republic of Pakistan.

**Article 2** declared Islam as official state religion

**Article 2A** declared the objective Resolution as an integral part of the constitution

**Article 31, 37(H), 38(f) and 40** responsibilities of the state will be conducted in the religion of Islam  
**Article 31** bounds the state to provide opportunities to the Muslims to live life in accordance with the principles of Islam

**Article 37(h)** prohibits alcohol. However, for medical purposes and for non-Muslims it is allowed

**Article 38(f)** declares interest as forbidden

**Article 40** encourages the country to maintain good relations with Muslim states and strive for international peace.

**Article 41** Prohibit non-Muslim to become the President of the state

**Article 62(d)** any person who involves in contravention of Islamic injunction, shall not be allowed to be elected or selected as a Member of Parliament

**Article 62(e)** Member of the Parliament must have sufficient Islamic knowledge

**Article 227(2)** ensured that no laws should be made which contradict the Islamic injunctions.

**Article 228** President should made right and balanced Council of Islamic ideology

**Article 230** Council of Islamic ideology should guide the Muslims how to live their life in accordance with the principles of Islam

**h) Bhutto's era**

The religious parties again showed agitation against Ahmadi community. In order to appease pressure, Z. A Bhutto in the second Amendment in 1974, declared Ahmadi's as non-Muslims. In a new clause (3) to the article 260, it was declared that any person who don't believe in the finality of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), will be considered as a non-Muslim. In order to legalize its political rule, Bhutto chanted the slogan of "Islamic Socialism". He openly used to say that "Islam is our faith, democracy is our polity and socialism is our economy" (Jafri 2011). Soon after that Bhutto tried to appease the religious pressure and strived for concreteness of his mass political power. He made Nasrullah, a JI leader, an information secretary and special advisor on religious affairs.

**i) Zia Islamization policies**

General Zia took power in July 1977. In order to legitimize his rule, he used the Islamized legal system in the country constitution. Hudood ordinance and the Federal Sharia court was established to check laws

whether they meet the Islamic necessities or not (UNHCR, 2001). Initially this was integrated with four high courts branches and was in action to check laws whether they meet Hadood or not.

Numerous criminal law ordinances were approved in 1980s during Zia rule which includes blasphemy as a punishable act, punishment in case of desecration of Quran, no slang or insulting language should be used against Prophet (PBUH), his wives, his family, and his companions, and two other laws in order to check the activities of the Ahmadis. Restrictions were imposed on press and publications. Ahmadis were prohibited from practicing of Islamic codes and not to show themselves as Muslims. In case of violation, three years jail should be awarded to the Person. But all these laws, created religious intolerance and institutionalized discrimination against religious minorities.

#### **j) Mullah-Military alliance:**

##### **The rise of MMA**

The rise of religious parties in the political domain of Pakistan can be seen in the context of their official and unofficial alliance with the military which controlled the political and state affairs of Pakistan from the very inception of its creation. Zia legitimized his stay in power, constitutionally through these parties. The sudden death of Zia in 1988 created tension and difficulties for religious parties to stay in power as MRD movement exerted itself under the leadership of Benazir Bhutto. Their weakness could be seen in 1987, 1993, and 1996 elections. However, they again gained momentum as result of bloodless coup by Musharraf in 1999. This time, all religious parties formed alliance under the leadership of Fazl-ur-Rehman and gave surprise in 2002 elections. The success of MMA is seen by many scholars, as a pre-poll rigging by dominant military and ISI. They created conditions which paralyzed the mainstream political parties to campaign properly. It's believed that jihadi outfits were allowed to join MMA. At one point Maulana Azam Tariq, the then leader of Sipah-i-Sahaba, was offered to join it. Nusrat Mirza in his column in Nawa-e-waqt, believed that Musharraf did bargain of the rising Jihadists with the US. Traditional political parties and their activities were curtailed and provincial courts were ordered to withdraw cases against religious leaders who violated the elections codes and attributed MMA victory to Military and ISI. PPP senator Farhat Ullah Babar said that this victory meant to show The US that the only rulers after military are the Mullahs.

##### **MMA political strategy**

Before coming into power, MMA chose soft strategy to gain the sympathies of masses. They vowed to solve the Kashmir issue through dialogue according to Shimla accord, desired of establishing good relations with West and equal rights for minorities. Maulana Fazl-ur-Rehman said that "we want peaceful settlement of Kashmir issue under the UN resolution".

Their election manifesto indicated their soft attitude and hid their real agenda of educational segregation, status of women and implementation of Sharia. Soon they realized how important they were to one another.

**Baluchistan** Two reasons are crucial for the success of MMA in Baluchistan. Firstly, Soviet withdrawal created ideological vacuum for the Baloch nationalists. They were unable to fill the gap and as a result MMA, made their entry. Secondly, the US attack on Afghanistan left no space for Baloch or the liberal nationalists to justify it. That's why they agreed with Musharraf on many policies. MMA's anti-US rhetoric played a very effective role. And such situations further strengthened the Mullah-Military alliance and politicization of Islam reached to its peak.

**KP (NWFP)** The ethnic factor was badly exploited by MMA. They won seats from Pashtun- dominated areas. In this area ethnicity instead of religiosity, was the main factor behind victory of MMA. The US attack on Afghanistan was considered as a attack on Pashtuns and the Pashtuns of Pakistan aggressively condemned the attack. This anger was beautifully accommodated by MMA and Pashtuns considered MMA as the sole protector of the rights of Afghans. The Pashtun nationalists were seen as anti-Taliban and pro-US which were the reasons, ANP lost badly in that election. **Sindh** MMA came up with different strategy in Sindh. Though they only won 5 seats out 20

NA seats but they were close runner up in the remaining seats. They focused on two points. Firstly, anti-US rhetoric in which people demonstrated against the US raids. Secondly, they accommodated anti-MQM voices.



MMA in its entire campaign focused on local social issues like health, education, and anti-extortion which impressed shopkeepers and businessmen. MQM was barred from free elections by military and intelligence agencies and MMA openly campaigned which resulted increase influence on electoral politics.

#### **k) Lashkar-i-jhangvi**

A Sunni militant group, who played a key role in organizing Jalsas, and corner meetings for religious parties. It was the time when 9/11 happened and Musharraf was forced to do cosmetic crackdown against these militant outfits. As result he banned, LeJ, JeM, SSP, and TNSM.

In the April referendum, this Mullah-Military alliance further strengthened itself as a result, maximum turnout came from Rawalpindi, the strong base of Military and Jhang, the strong base of religious organizations. In order to dominate political scenes MMA utilized military support. Thus their interdependency, created situations which encouraged politicization of Islam and marginalization of the mainstream political parties which had no intentions of Islamizing politics.

#### **Marginalization of Mainstream political parties**

Marginalization of non-religious parties had sense, public, despite bad experience with Nawaz Sharif and Benazir would prefer them on religious parties. Thus in order to remain in power it was pertinent for Perviaz Musharraf to support them. Candidates from tribal areas were barred from elections on the bases of non-qualification. On the other hand, Mullahs having Madrasah qualification were allowed to participate in the elections. Benazir and Nawaz Sharif were exiled from the country in corruption charges as result their parties became directionless and showed poor performance.

#### **l) Prospects for Pakistan**

The rise of MMA is seen with enthusiasm and disappointment. Religious parties consider it as the victory of truth and justice over lies and injustices while the mainstream political parties see MMA's victory as an unholy alliance between Mosque and military which has devastating effect on the political discourse of Pakistan (Haqqani, 2011). MMA rule is considered as worst in the field of economy. This was the time when IMF and World Bank constantly demanded from Pakistan, the poverty alleviation and increase of GDP. Some socio-politico-economic issues were badly managed by MMA. Let's have a look at these issues.

#### **Sharia in KPK and Islamization of the Legal system**

Under the leadership of Akram Durrani in KPK, MMA tried to implement their own agenda. "Interest-free banks and Friday as an official holiday were their top agendas and they passed a resolution with majority in KPK assembly. This resolution demanded, Council of Islamic ideology in the Province" ((Haqqani, 2004-5). They established a committee which gave suggestions that death penalty must be awarded to a person who commits blasphemy, consumption of liqueur and stone death in case of adultery. As a result, the Chief Minister established Nifaz-i-Sharia court to help the government in implementing Sharia laws and regulation in the Province. Following these measures, MMA passed a bill on June 2, 2003 which ordered bureaucrats to observe prayers five times a day, probation on alcohol, educational segregation, and strictly enforcement of other Islamic laws. It was like a Taliban agenda.

This was in complete contrast with Islamabad. National Assembly had the right to amend any law, passed by Provincial assembly, but Musharraf was in comfort with it because he needed support of MMA. He just asked for distinction between Islamization and Talibanization of the laws.

Islamization of our legal system was present from the very creation of Pakistan. Zia's Islamization policies; the establishment of federal Sharia court, and other laws are a clear manifestation of Political Islam. In 1991, Sharia was considered as the sole law for land reforms.

#### **Anti-Americanism**

US attack on Afghanistan and later on Iraq, created strong feelings of anti-Americanism. Though these religious parties had their own differences but they united against US enmity. Attack on Angoor Adda, a territory within

Pakistan had intensified feelings of animosity among religious parties. Interference of the US intelligence agencies within Pakistan further worsened the situation. Qazi Hussain Ahmed openly said that, FBI is openly targeting madrassas, Mosques and other places and Pakistan is completely helpless against it. The electoral victory of MMA was seen as a clear manifestation of these resentments (The Daily Dawn 2002). Pervez Musharraf, the President of Pakistan said that how will we curtail the activities of these groups when the US is increasing its activities in Afghanistan and Iraq.

### **Jihadi Activities**

The slogan “Islam in danger” is deeply enrooted in the religious parties of Pakistan and their strategic elites. Afghanistan invasion, the defeat of Taliban, and US activities within Pakistan prepared ground for jihadi activities. The religious parties also gave call against the US throughout the world. MMA agenda quietly matched with the Jihadi narrative, thus Jihad was seen as a political instrument to achieve their ends. Musharraf on various occasions expressed his helplessness against mullahs who were openly demonstrating against the US. The sectarian violence decreased considerably because of unity of religious parties under one umbrella. They openly demonstrated that they have a common enemy the US and the friendly US regime in Pakistan and they have to put aside their differences and fight against these evil forces. In the subsequent years, this commitment showed its colors. Violent clashes, based on sectarianism, decreased and unity against common enemy increased.

This anti-Americanism turned against Pakistani state and routine car bombing and suicide bombing started. Those liberals who demanded liberal democracy were considered as suspicious and agents of the US. In KPK, the nationalist party, ANP was targeted on the basis of allegations that they were pro-Americans. “The religious feelings increased deep into the government level, into the army circles and at lower level, the police embarrassed it” (Kazmi, 2009). At that time, Pakistan had no effective counterterrorism policy. Religious parties were on the forefront to oppose the handing over of Raymond Davis.

In the current situation of Pakistan religious parties, especially TLP reasserted itself and surprised many. Many scholars believe that unless Mullah-Military alliance is broken, the country will face the same fate. TLP power increased from Faizabad sit-in. After meeting their demands, the serving military personals distributed rupees among protesters. Recently they called, a countrywide demonstration against Asia Bibi’s acquittal but the incumbent government dealt them with iron hands. Their leader, Khadim Rizvi arrested in charge of spreading hate speech and under ATA. In future political Islam will increase its influence at national, provincial and local level.

### **Conclusion**

Political Islam started in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Western domination, threat to traditional culture, religious impurity by secular west, capitalism and socialism were the main reasons for its emergence because Muslim thinkers considered this as a threat to their code of conduct. In different regions, different political thinkers interpreted and influenced this concept. In Middle East Hasan Bana and Syed Qutb laid the foundation for Political Islam. Currently, it exists in the form of Muslim brotherhood. In the Sub-continent, Jamaluddin Afghani was the first who gave the concept of political Islam. Later on, Mohammad Iqbal and other religious outfits inspired from him. Pakistan movement started by secular elites but they were never in a position to win without the support of religious sects which resulted influx of religious parties in the political discourse of Pakistan. From 1947-onwards, Pakistan has yet to decide whether it wants to be a secular or religious state. In the upcoming years, Political Islam will increase, as the elected Prime Minister Imran Khan, repeatedly saying about making the country as Madina State where peace prevails, justice will be for all and everyone will live life with peace and dignity.

### **Recommendations**

- 1) Religious and political parties must build consensus. And military should be limited to barracks instead of engineering elections.
- 2) The consensus within religious parties who belongs to different sects must be ensured.
- 3) Islam is progressive religion, it must be utilized in a way according to its teachings.

- Islamization for jihadi purposes must be avoided.
- 4) Islamization shouldn't extend to the point that it threatened minorities as it is against the teachings of Islam.
  - 5) Consensus between nationalist and religious leaders are very important as their ideological clash had devastating impact on Pakistan generally and KPK particularly.
  - 6) Better education and economic opportunities can provide inclusive space for the people.
  - 7) A debate between liberals and Islamists is the need of time. In order to materialize these things military must give up his support to militant outfits.

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