

History of Religious Extremism and Radicalization in Pakistan

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Abstract

The religious extremism has started in the region from the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan in 1979 and it was heat up when Pakistan had supported US-led ally forces in Afghanistan against Al-Qaeda and Taliban after 9/11 terrorist attacks.. The efforts for Islamic revitalization have been started in the beginning of 1700s in Indian Sub-Continent when Sha Waliullah had invited Nadir Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, to fight against the Marhatta in India. The movement for Islamic revival was heat up when Ulema had appealed the Muslims of Sub-Continent for jihad after the triumph of the East India Company in the war of Plassey in 1857for to defeat Nawab Saraj-ud- Daulah, the ruler of Bengal. The Ulema believed that the British were fixed upon wresting the power from Muslims rulers. The Muslims personalities such as Shah Waliullah, Syed Ismail and Syed Ahmad Barelvi made struggles against Sikhs and East India Company Government in Indian Sub-Continent in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries and they converted their struggles into jihad against Sikhs , Marhatta and East India Company. The hostile attitude of the British towards Muslims ran to the birth and growth of Islamic reformist movement in India against the British. The creator of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah who was a spoke man and ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity from 1907-1929 had recognized that Muslims could not live politically and “flourish economically in a Hindu-dominated India after independence from the British rule. He emphasized the Muslims to make struggles for the division of India for separate a home for securing themselves economically and politically. This research paper examines the dynamic and dimensions of the radicalization and extremism during the whole struggle for independence of Pakistan. It highlights that how Islam was used as tool in Pakistan freedom movement. This paper also highlights that during Zia Regime, the policies and act of the military dictator nourished the radicalization and it was heat up in Zia regime.

Keywords: History, Religious Extremism, Radicalization, and Pakistan.

Beginning and background of radicalism, violence and extremism in Pakistan begins with an in-depth insight into the history of the role of religion in struggles for independence and freedom from tyranny and foreign rules¹. The Muslims have been religion-oriented at all times and they have adopted a religious tint for their struggles in all wars, conquers and hard-hitting times. The Muslims have always shown Islamic signs and elevated Islamic Sayings (Allah-o-Akbar, God is Great) and struggled with religious spirit that originated from the notion of Jihad and Shahadat (Martyrdom). The zeal of jihad almost always believed flagrantly in all their fights. Khalid Bin Waleed who fought a Historical War against **Byzantine Empire**, the Eastern Half of the Roman Empire and defeated it² (August 20, 636 A.D.), Saad Bin Abi Waqas who fought a Historical war

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¹Elahi, N., *Terrorism in Pakistan*, (London: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd, 2019), 2.

²David Nicolle, *Yarmuk 636 A.D.: The Muslim Conquest of Syria*, (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 1994), 6. Also see in George F. Nafziger and Mark W. Walton, *Islam at war: A History*, (Westport: Praeger Publisher, 2003), 30. and also <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Battle-of-Yarmouk-636>. Access on March 12, 2016.

against Persian Empire and conquered Persia³ (651 A.D.), Tariq Bin Zayyad who fought a war against Roman Empire at Gibraltar and conquered Visigothic Hispania⁴ (Present day Spain and Portugal) in 711–718 A.D., Muhammad Bin Qasim who fought War against Raja Dahir of Sindh and defeated him and conqueror of Sindh and Multan⁵(712 A. D.), Saladin Ayyubi who recaptured of Jerusalem⁶(1187 A.D.), Yousaf Bin Tashfin who recaptured of Spain⁷(23 October 1086 A.D.) and Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi who hurled 17 up-and-coming attacks on India⁸(1001 -1026 A.D.), they all have displayed tangible religious enthusiasms or hues in their campaigns during the wars. Jihad literally means struggle. Jihad is Arabic word which means “striving or struggling in the way of God. Muslims should strive to know and do the will of God⁹”. Jihad has a vast notion and thought in Islam. The Jurists of Islam have explained and described Jihad in various ways. Karen Armstrong has described that the Muslim scholars have divided jihad into three stages and levels which are: “to warmly fight to purify one's soul of evil influences; to endeavor for justice or fight against cruelty through words and non-violent actions; and third level of jihad is to use of physical force in defense of Muslims against oppression and transgression by the enemies of Allah, Islam and Muslims¹⁰”. In fact, whether for freedom or an incursion either for the sake of occupying or for their constitutional rights, every struggle of Muslims throughout the world has always taken a religious run¹¹.

The majority of Muslims have usually understood that the security and defense of a Muslim state is Jihad and only state can declare jihad against any other country. The Muslim scholar Majid Khadduri says that “the standard pattern of bellum justum (Just War) in Islamic practice is self-protective in nature.” He explains that “the changes were done in Islamic bellum justum theory as time passed by and often there was the need of the Muslim states to make peace, but not on their own terms. Therefore, Muslim jurists began to reinterpret law and to justify the suspension of Jihad. They agreed on the necessity of the peace.¹²” Benazir Bhutto says that “some Muslim scholars and jurists have explained their point of views that the battles of Muhammad (PBUH) were self-protective and they have proved it from Quran-o-Sunnah, tradition and Islamic history¹³”. Mujtaba Muhammad Rathor describes that “if we go through the history of the life of Muhammad (PBUH) and the teaching of the Holy Prophet(PBUH) that from the beginning to the present context of the life of Muhammad the necessity for Jihad has always been for defensive

³ A.I. Akram Ch., *The Muslim Conquest of Persia*, (Lahore: Maktabah Publications, 2009), 5.

⁴Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, *A History of the Maghrib in the Islamic Period*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 71.

⁵ André Wink, *Al-Hind, the Making of the Indo-Islamic World: Early Medieval India and the Expansion of Islam 7Th-11th Centuries*, Vol.1, (Leiden: Brill Academic Pub 2002), 201-205.

⁶Runciman, Steven, *A History of the Crusades: The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Frankish East*, Vol. II, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1968), 458. Also see Thomas F. Madden, *A Concise History of the Crusades*, (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999), 38.

⁷ David Levering Lewis, *God's Crucible*, (New York: W & W Norton Inc, 2008), 364.

⁸ Ahmad Shaye Qassem, *Afghanistan's Political Stability: A Dream Unrealised*, (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2009), 19.

⁹ Charles A. Kimball, “Examining Islamic Militancy”, *The Christian Century*, (October 24-31, 2001), 20.

¹⁰ Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet*, (San Francisco: Harper, 1993), 56.

¹¹Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Masque and Military*, (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 67.

¹²Majid Khadduri, *The Law of War and Peace in Islam, 1941*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1941), 43.

¹³ Benazir Bhutto, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and West*, (London: Simon & Schuster UK Ltd, 2008), 24-25.

purpose¹⁴”. Mujtaba Muhammad Rathor further explains that “according to some scholars Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) fought offensive Jihad in some wars such as in Khyber or Ghazwa Tabuk¹⁵”. In both Ghazwas, the Holy Prophet(PBUH) had received information that they were planning to attack Medina and they were also involved in conspiracies against Muslims.

Those who believe in offensive jihad, say that those persons who encourage the notion that Islam gives permission only defensive war basically they only throw away the teachings of the Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) and hide the evidences of history. They manifest servility of mind, and their statements are unreliable¹⁶. The believers of offensive war or jihad totally reject this notion that the Holy Prophet (PBUH) fought defensive wars.

The efforts for Islamic revitalization have been started in the beginning of 1700s in Indian Sub-Continent when Sha Waliullah had invited Nadir Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, to fight against the Marhatta in India and Nadir Shah attacked India and fought third war of Panni Pat to defeat Marhatta. The movement for Islamic revival was heat up when Ulema had appealed the Muslims of Sub-Continent for jihad after the triumph of the East India Company in the war of Plassey in 1757 to defeat Nawab Saraj-ud- Daulah, the ruler of Bengal. The Ulema believed that the British were fixed upon wresting the power from Muslims rulers. The Muslims personalities such as Shah Waliullah, Syed Ismail and Syed Ahmad Barelvi made struggles against Sikhs and East India Company Government in Indian Sub-Continent in the eighteen and nineteenth centuries and they converted their struggles into jihad against Sikhs, Marhatta and East India Company. Syed Ismail and Syed Ahmad Barelvi had started fight against Sikhs in Punjab and Northern Provenge and both had to face threatening fight from Sikhs and some local tribes. Due to lack of equipment and weapons and the support of the local tribes to Sighs, Syed Ismail and Syed Ahmad Barelvi could not defeat Sikhs and both died in a battle with Sikhs on May 6, 1831. It is interesting to mention here that Malakand division and the surrounding areas, which was the center of Fazlullah-led terrorist activities, was battle field of Syed Ismail and Syed Ahmad Barelvi against Sikhs. The people of Malakand division and the surrounding areas who are demanding for enforcement of Shariat Laws under the banner of Sofi Muhammad had demanded and struggled for Shariat Muhammadi under the banner of Syed Ismail and Syed Ahmad Barelvi. The tribe’s heads deceived Syed Ismail and Syed Ahmad Barelvi who carried out their jihad against Sikhs and tribe’s heads helped Sikhs. The Muslim of India stood up against British and started war of independence in 1857 against British. Though, the Hindus and Muslims both equally participated in the war of independence against East India Company but after the failure of war, the Hindus had put all responsibilities to the Muslims. The British had adopted a hostile attitude towards the Muslims. They were deprived jobs and education facilities. The Muslims were not properly entertained by the British. Nonetheless, the British had treated the Muslims cruelly.

Dadu Mian and Titumir had initiated a tough struggle against British in Bengal after of the war of independence of 1857 and it was a tangible religious hues. They had started a strong peasant movement which was known as Faraizi Movement launched against British. The Sunni Hanafi Fiqh had established two separate Madrassas at Deobandi in 1867 and at Bareli in 1883 which later on established two new schools of thought in Muslim religion. Both Deobandi and Barelvi schools of thought had been the most religiously driven movements. The Deobandi and Barelvi had arisen for revitalizing the Islamic essence in the defeated and dejected Muslims. The Deobandi and Barelvi have been still the utmost widespread factions of Indian and Pakistani

¹⁴ Mujtaba Muhammad Rathor, *Jihad, Jhang aur Dehshat Gardi*, (Lahore: Zavia Foundation, 2009), 58.

¹⁵*Ibid*, 57.

¹⁶ Muhammad Idris Kandhalvi, *Dastur-i-Islam*, (Lahore: Talimi Press, n.d), 34.

Muslims. Anatol Lieven describes that “the Deoband and Barelvi Schools of thought, which resulted in the two most popular Muslim Sects in Indian Sub-Continent, also originated in the same era of British rule in India. Although the British considered these repeated revolts are restricted to Pathan areas, without seriously fearing its spill over to other areas of the India Empire, they were wary of these experiences¹⁷”. In 1842 during the East India Company rule, the Governor General of India, Lord Ellen Borough had written to the Duke of Wellington that “the Muslims have been deeply antagonistic towards the British rule in India and that their hate towards the government had been an established fact and after the failure of uprising movement of 1857, with its storm centers in the Muslim areas of Delhi and Oudh, further darkened the Muslim prospects. Therefore, they believed that the Muslim leadership of India converted a sepoy mutiny into war of independence in 1857¹⁸”. The hostile attitude of the British towards Muslims ran to the birth and growth of Islamic reformist movement in India against the British. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who was a great philosopher, reformist, a Muslim thinker, writer, and educationist, had presented Two Nation Theory and on basis of this theory, he declared that Muslims were a separate nation. He emphasized the Muslims to get western education and asked the Muslims not to participate in politics. He had forbidden Muslims not to join All India Congress. He realized the British that the Muslims were not their enemies and requested the British to provide equal opportunities to the Muslim like Hindus in education and other field of life. “Though his attitude was reconciliatory and improver, which pressed the Muslims to become the friends of the British, he stressed on the distinct identity of the Muslims of India. Although himself a deeply religious man, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan encouraged the need for Indian Muslims to cooperate with the British, and to acquire the system of Western modernism in order to advance as a people and compere successfully with the ascendant Hindus”. The large majority of Muslims of Indian Sub-Continent is religious and despite being religious, they had never permitted theocracy or Mullahcracy.

The sureness reposed in a contemporary leader like Muhammad Ali Jinnah rather than religious leader stated dimensions of the mindset of the Muslims of India who struggled for an autonomous motherland. The main objective of the struggle of Jinnah was to eradicate Hindu supremacy that could impede the development and liberty of the Muslim of India. While religious enthusiasm was noticeable during these difficult times, the Muslims had not followed any Mullah or religious leader for the purpose of following. From the independence movement to till now, religious parties could not get the majority votes of the mass except in 2002 when General Pervez Musharraf had managed the stage of elections for Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA); who succeeded to form its provincial government in Khyber Pakhtun Khwa. The religious parties could not get more than 5-8 % of the votes in general elections of 1970, 1977, 1988, 1993, 1997, 2008, 2013, and 2018. Those religious parties who opposed the Jinnah’s efforts for the division of United India for a separate homeland of Pakistan became the champion of Pakistan and had started to demand for the enforcement of Quran and Sunnah in Pakistan as Pakistan was emerged on the ideology of Islam. It is a fallacy that Pakistan had come into existence on the name of Islam to safeguard the identity of a religion. This is the understanding of a fundamentalist’s imagination. The creator of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, generally known as Quaid-e-Azam (the great leader) who was a spoke man and ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity from 1907-1929, had recognized that Muslims could not live politically and flourish economically in a Hindu-dominated India after independence from the British rule. He emphasized the Muslims to make

¹⁷ Anatol Lieven, *Pakistan: A Hard Country*, (London: Penguin, 2011), 67.

¹⁸ J. R. Metcalf, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, (New Delhi: Aghosh Publisher, 1965), 67.

struggles for the division of India for a separate homeland for securing themselves economically and politically. In majority Hindu India, they could not safeguard the political and economic survival. Jinnah did not demand a separate state of Pakistan on basis of this philosophy that Islam is in danger in united India. Hussain Haqqani describes that Jinnah did not want to create just another state; after all, even in his day they were many Muslim states. However, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was clear about the rationale of Pakistan's creation¹⁹.

Muhammad M. Qazi, says that the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah was a practical man who understood that it is reality that Pakistan was going to be the motherland of millions Muslims who would think the overview of Islamic rules to legalize their lives and systems. Infact, it occurred as Pakistan has become the first state formed as a homeland for Muslims. So, it was reason that early in its movement, Jinnah had permitted the religious personalities in the Muslim League to make usage of religious feelings and sentiments throughout the fight for the making of Pakistan. The widely held slogans sang during the struggle movement, Muslim hai to Muslim League Mein aa (If you are a Muslim, join Muslim League) and Pakistan ka matlab kya- La Ilaha Illallah (what is meaning of Pakistan- There no god but Allah), thrilled the mainstream of Muslims to help Pakistan with religious help. The slogan Pakistan ka matlab kya- La Ilaha Illallah had been elevated in the public gathering of the Muslim League at Lucknow. The slogan Pakistan ka matlab kya- La Ilaha Illallah had become so popular in the mass despite of this, it was not the part of any party's manifesto or any resolution²⁰. Syed Muhammad Ali says that the politics of religious identity was exploited by different quarters, with religious elements as the forefront, which started playing with the passions of faith²¹. Throughout the struggle movement for the creation of Pakistan, All India Muslim League had to depend deeply on religious personalities in All India Muslim League to activate people support for creation of Pakistan. When Pakistan was created on August 15, 1947 after a long struggle, the Pakistan Muslim League was totally failed to grow a strong grass-roots organization. J. R. Metcalf says that after the death of the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah on September 11, 1948, the leaders of the Pakistan Muslim League could not present and put onward a liberal or modern interpretation of Islam before masses. The people eventually have remained dependent on the Ulama, Madrassah and the clerics for understanding Islam owing to low rates of literacy and deserted education²².

There are various kinds and types of rising tendencies, shape, dynamic and design of extremism in Pakistan but all are interlinked with each other. Abdul Basit and Mujtaba Muhammad Rathore highlight that the origins of extremism and Islamic militancy in Pakistan can be drawn back to the starting of fierce religious partitions between the Shia and Sunni sects and to General Ziaul Haq's Islamization policies in the 1980s²³. Mubarak Ali says that the Islamic basis of Pakistan ideology had been fortified in the beginning mainly by a state-led dialogue followed by most of the Pakistani historians, religious scholars and educationists. The agenda of historiography in Pakistan was settled under the framework of the 'Pakistan Ideology,' which is based on the idea of a

¹⁹ Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), 56.

²⁰ Muhammad M. Qazi, *Hazarsalajd-o-Jehd-e-Azadi: Bre-e-Azeem Hind mein jannisarikayun mit Naqoosh(Urdu)*, (Lahore: Qazi & Qazi, 2009), 23..

²¹ Syed Muhammad Ali, "Development: Value of Reading", *The Daily Times*, (access January 26, 2010)

²² J. R. Metcalf, *From Plassey to Partition: A History of Modern India*, (New Delhi: Aghosh Publisher, 1965), 68.

²³ Abdul Basit and Mujtaba Muhammad Rathore, "Trends and Patterns of Radicalization in Pakistan", *Conflict and Peace Studies, A PIPS Research Journal*, 3, no.2, (APR-JUN, 2010), 11.

separate Muslim nationhood²⁴. Since 1947 after the creation of Pakistan, the religious political parties like the Majlis-e-Ahrar, Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Ulama of the Deoband, , and the Khaksars were promoting Islamic Nationalism and demanding for enforcement of Shariah Laws in Pakistani and they got grand victory when the first Constituent Assembly had passed a Resolution known as Objectives Resolution on March 12, 1949 which was presented by then Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in the Assembly. All these religious parties had opposed the creation of Pakistan and were highly critique of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and other leaders of All India Muslim League. They were opposing the division of United India and were not in favour of Pakistan. They issued Fatwas against Jinnah and raised question of his marriage with Ratti. Majority of the Deobandi Ulema supported All India Congress during struggle movement of Pakistan. The passing of the Objectives Resolution by the Pakistan Muslim League majority Assembly was a landmark in the political history of Pakistan which has exploded the role of religion in politics in Pakistan. After the passing of the Objectives Resolution by the first Constituent Assembly, the religious parties had started to demand for declaring Pakistan as an Islamic state which would govern according to the principles of Quran and Sunnah. The Ulema and religious parties had started openly discussion and declaring that Pakistan had been crated in the name of Islam and should be directed to Islamic ideology. In 1950, just one year after passing the Objectives Resolution, the Ulama Convention held in Karachi and majority of the Ulema from those religious parties participated in convention who had opposed the creation of Pakistan and supported All India Congress. At the end of the convention, it was demanded fifty points' agenda by the Ulema for complete enforcement of Islamic Shariah in Pakistan. During the Khawaja Nazimuddin regime in 1953, the Ulema had started a movement against Ahmadi to declare them non-Muslim. The Ulema also demanded to remove Qadyani Foreign Minister Sir Zaffarullah Khan from the portfolio of the minister. The anti-Ahmadi Movement was a landmark in the political history of Pakistan. The interim Martial was declared in Lahore to control the agitations. The agitators made three demands. 1-To declare Ahmadi as non-Muslim Community; 2- To remove Sir Zaffarullah Khan from Foreign Minister; 3- to remove all the Ahmadis from public offices. The Government refused to accept the demands and put in prisons all the agitators.

The military dictator General Ayub Khan had completely failed to keep away the religious political parties from politics and out of power for a long time despite of his liberal outlook and anti-theocratic approach. He banned all the political parties including religious parties like Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam and other parties. He had to cooperate with Jamaat-e-Islami for getting support of Arabs countries over the Kashmir dispute. In the initial version of 1962 Constitution, President General Muhammad Ayub Khan had removed the Word Islamic from Pakistan's Official Name as was given officially in 1956 Constitution. He replaced the official name to use as Republic of Pakistan. When the draft of the 1962 Constitution showing official name as Republic of Pakistan came in mass, the religious parties had agitated and demanded to include the word "Islamic". The official name Islamic Republic of Pakistan was returned again by President General Ayub Khan under the pressure of the religious political parties and Ulema. The President General Muhammad Ayub Khan had got help and support from the religious circles especially from Ulema to get Fatwa against Miss Fatima Jinnah, the younger sister of the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah in presidential election of January 1965. The Combined Opposition Parties Alliance (COP) had nominated Miss Fatima Jinnah combined presidential candidate of the opposition parties against General Muhammad Ayub. General Muhammad Ayub Khan was succeeded to get Fatwa from Ulema against the candidature of Miss Fatima Jinnah. The

²⁴ Mubarak Ali, "History, Ideology and Curriculum," in S. Akbar Zaidi (ed.), *Continuity and Change: Sociopolitical and Institutional Dynamics in Pakistan*, (Karachi: City Press, 2003), 55.

Ulema had issued a Fatwa (Religious Edict) that Islam has not allowed the women to contest election and to rule the government. General Muhammad Ayub Khan used this Fatwa (Religious Edict) against Miss Fatima Jinnah in election campaign.

There were some religious political parties like Jamaat-e-Islami and Jamiat-ul-Ulema Islam who completely supported Miss Fatima Jinnah. The religious political parties had started to participate in the politics openly during the Ayub regime. When Family Laws Ordinance 1961 was issued by President General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the religious political parties and Ulema had started agitation against those laws. This ordinance was issued to regulate the family matters and issues. The Family Laws Ordinance 1961 was designed by the government to control certain features of the domestic life of Muslims. The matters related to divorce, polygamy, minimum age of marriage, and registration of marriage, were managed and were controlled. The Ulema declared that the Family Laws Ordinance 1961 is un-Islamic and is against the teaching of Islam. The Ulema said that the Family Laws Ordinance 1961 is issued only to please the west. They demanded to withdraw it. The government did not border the agitation of the Ulema and religious political parties.

Nasim Ahmed Jawed has stated that though telling the results of a study accompanied in first seven months of 1969 in the East and West Pakistan, that 96 % Ulama professed national identity of Pakistan as an Islamic one²⁵. Nasim Ahmed Jawed describes when asked about desirability of an Islamic state all the Ulama in both, East Pakistan and West Pakistan said, of course, that the state should seek to serve Islamic ends²⁶. M. Abdul Qadeer identifies that Islamic refrains were laced into origin of Pakistan's nationalism. They endured mostly on the symbolic plane of Pakistan's public sphere during early periods of Pakistani history, though Islam as a religious and spiritual institution continued to be a critical element of national culture and people's identity. Almost all the consecutive governments since Pakistan's establishment have been providing assurances to its people that Pakistan is committed to the establishment of an Islamic democracy and Islamic social justice; the starting point was Objectives Resolution 1949. The Constitution Commission appointed by General Ayub Khan had found that 96.6 percent of the people whose opinion it consulted through questionnaire or interviews were in favour of adopting a preamble with Islamic provisions to the Constitution²⁷. In three Constitutions of Pakistan, the Objectives Resolution was incorporated as a preamble of the Constitution and after 8th Amendment; the Objectives Resolution has been become the part of 1973 Constitution under Article 2A.

Khalid B. Sayeed says that the Objectives Resolution was incorporated as a preamble in three constitutions of Pakistan but there are sharp and wide differences between the modernist elements and the traditionalist and fundamental (religious) groups with regard to the interpretation and enforcement of the preamble²⁸. The modernist elements and the traditionalist groups say that there is no role of the Objectives Resolution to use a preamble. This is only introductory. The fundamental (religious) groups emphasized that being preamble of the constitution, the Objectives Resolution will play a vital role and the draft of the Objectives Resolution should be implemented within its true spirit.

²⁵ Nasim Ahmed Jawed, *Islam's Political Culture: Religion and Politics in Pre-divided Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 15.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 57.

²⁷ *Report of the Constitution Commission*, Pakistan, (Karachi: 1962), 23-56.

²⁸ Khalid B. Sayeed, *The Political System of Pakistan*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967), 67.

Muhammad Munir describes that General Yahya Khan's (1969-71) Legal Framework also required that the National Assembly of Pakistan preserve the Islamic Ideology". He states that it was during Yahya's rule and electoral campaign that the term Islamic Ideology was explicitly used for the first time and acquired new meaning.²⁹ The spiritual philosophical clash strengthened during and after the Zulfqar Ali Bhutto regime (1971-1977). Hussain Haqqani says that "under the pressure of religious circles and the influence of the Ulema, even a liberal and irreligious democratic leader Z. A. Bhutto could not uphold the spirit of Jinnah's vision and yielded to the pressure of religious coterie for political advantages. He further describes that however, Z.A. Bhutto was first in Pakistan who first legally motivated towards making Pakistan an Islamic state, though he has done this for political reasons to appeal to the Islamists. He banned the sale and use of liquor, prohibited gambling and closed down nightclubs³⁰. Z. A. Bhutto was the architect of the Constitution of 1973 and this constitution gives more Islamic provisions than any earlier constitutions of Pakistan. Saeed Shafqat says that nevertheless, Z. A. Bhutto once more has become the bull's eye of Ulema, fundamentalists and traditional forces when Bhutto had tried to enforce socialism, which the religious forces took as a synonym for secularism which is opposed to the religion. He describes that to counter this agitation, Bhutto fell back on such ritualistic aspects of Islam, as inviting the Imam of Ka'aba to lead Friday prayers, enforcing prohibition, declaring Friday a holiday, instead of Sunday. These concessions did not appease the agitators, and this gave further impetus to the politics of Islamization in Pakistan³¹.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto who was Foreign Minister in General Ayub Cabinet and he tendered resignation from ministry in 1966 and launched an agitation movement against Ayub Khan. Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was arrested and was put into jail. Later on, he was released from jail and laid foundation of Pakistan People's Party on November 30, 1969 in Lahore. Z.A. Bhutto blamed General Muhammad Ayub that in Tashqund Agreement, General Ayub Khan had withdrawn from Kashmir and demanded to keep away from the Tashqund Agreement. He announced that Indian-held Kashmir is integral part of Pakistan when he gets power, he take it back from India with war. He announced that if he will have to fight with India for hundred year for taking of Kashmir, he do it. When Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had started gaining popularity in the mass, the opposite forces had espoused the strategy to rely on Islamic slogans which they used. Arif Nazami describes that the Information Minister of General Yayah regime, Nawabzada Sher Ali Khan had invented a new term "Nazria-e- Pakistan" (Ideology of Pakistan) which became popular and is still considered as if it were coined before the creation of Pakistan³². Islamic Provisions were introduced in three Constitutions of 1956, 1962 and 1973. Islam was declared the state religion in 1973 Constitution. The Islamic Laws were given protection in 1973 Constitution and it was given guarantee that no laws were farmed against Quran and Sunnah.

Pakistan's establishment had formed an alliance with religious forces after the collapse of Ayub Khan's government. In East Pakistan Jamaat-e- Islami actively supported the military operation in East Pakistan. During Bhutto's regime (December 20, 1970-July 5, 1977) not only this alliance was weakened but also the military was isolated from its socio-political base. The general elections for second time in Pakistan were held in 1977, Pakistan National Alliances (PNA) of nine parties including religious political parties had refused to accept the election results and alleged Z.

²⁹ Muhammad Munir, *From Jinnah to Zia*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1980), 84-85.

³⁰ Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), 23-56.

³¹ Saeed Shafqat, *Political System of Pakistan and Public Policy*, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989), 100.

³² Arif Nazami, "Paint the Quaid as he is", *The News international*, (August 14, 2010)

A. Bhutto for rigging. The Pakistan National Alliances (PNA) had had launched Nizam-e- Mustafa movement against Bhutto government. The negotiation rounds were held between government team headed by Bhutto and Opposition team head by Maulana Mufti Mehmood to resolve issue amicably. Both groups agreed to hold fresh elections and agreement was signed. The Saudi Ambassador took a major role for starting negotiation between government and opposition. The Saudi Government had played a role as an arbitrator.

The controversial election of 1977 provided a great opportunity to religious circle and military to come together against Bhutto government. The army Chief, General Zia-ul-Haq took the benefit of the propaganda created by the Islamists against Bhutto and he overthrew democratic government of Z.A. Bhutto. Third time the army came in power in Pakistan by toppling the civil government. The Chief of Army Staff, General Zia-Ul-Haq proclaimed third time Martial Law in Pakistan on July 5, 1977 and democratic government of Z.A. Bhutto was overthrown in the wake of a rising Islamic movement led by Pakistan National Alliances (PNA) of nine political parties i.e. the Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam, Jamiat Ulema -i-Pakistan, Khaksar Takeekthe, Pakistan Muslim League, Muslim Conference, National Democratic Party, Pakistan Democratic Party, and Tehreek-i-Istaqlal. Bhutto was hanged on April 4, 1979 in a murder case of his Party MNA Ahmad Raza Qasuri's father Nawab Muhammad Raza Qasuri. General Zia-ul-Haq had depended upon on Islam, religious political parties and Ulema to prolong, authenticate and continue his rule. The removal of Z.A. Bhutto government was a comprehensive junction of benefits amongst the religious political parties and Islamists and military leadership. In return, the religious parties were adjusted in government and General Zia-ul-Haq has assured the Ulema and religious political parties that their agenda would be implemented and Ulema would be adjusted in Advisory Boards and in decision making process. General Zia-ul-Haq had propagated that creation of Pakistan was based on the name of Islam and Islam should be given a special status in Pakistan. The Islamic Laws will be enforced in Pakistan. The laws will be framed according to Quran and Sunnah. The people should spend their lives according to Quran and Sunnah. Pakistan is an ideological state and this ideology will be implemented in the people lives and concrete measures and steps will be done for its implementation. Arif Nazami describes that an interesting episode of those days paints the situation quite aptly. The lounge suit won by the Quaid-e-Azam in his portrait hanging in the National Assembly was painted into an "Achkan"(Pakistan's National Dress), to give it a nationalist look. As Z. A. Sulehri, the editor of Pakistan Times and staunch nationalist, commented, Paint the Quaid as he is³³. Therefore, this conjugal of suitability between the religious political forces, Ulema and the grandiloquence of Islam as the basis of the creation of Pakistan laid the foundations for the beginning of Islamic extremism and radicalization. According to Muhammad Abdul Qadeer during the Zia-ul-Haq regime (1977-1988), Islam has been used as an important tool and instrument of inventing traditions and reorganizing social life³⁴. It means that Islam was only used to prolong and stable the regime. Islam gives a concept of welfare state not a rigid state. There were no steps and actions were taken by Zia regime for the welfare states and the steps which were done by Zia only converted Pakistan into a rigid and fundamentalist state. Islamic Studied and Pakistan Studies were introduced compulsory subjects at graduate level. The new chapter related to ideology of Pakistan was included into Pakistan Studies book. A close review of the textbooks particularly "Pakistan Studies" and "Islamic Studies: reveals that their writers believe that Pakistan ideology is indeed Islamic ideology which guides us in every sphere of life³⁵. The text Books were changed and Ideology of Pakistan, Jihad and other radical texts were included in the text books during the Zia regime. New curriculum was introduced which shows the real picture

³³ Arif Nazami, "Paint the Quaid as he is", *The News international*, (August 14, 2010), 7.

³⁴ Muhammad Abdul Qadeer, *Pakistan*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 36-154.

³⁵ *Quarterly Tareekh (Urdu)*, (Lahore: Thap Publications, April 2009), 79.

of Islamization in Pakistan. Pervez Hoodbhoy says that the procedure of founding an Islamic ideology for Pakistan was future extended to a wider theme of Islamization of state and society. The existing curriculum times back to almost a quarter century, when in 1981 the regime of General Zia-ul-Haq used the Ministry of Education and its Curriculum Wing to launch an ideological assault on a generation of children. It was transmitted onwards by the successive governments of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif to General Musharraf. While most of the emphasis is put on the institutions of religious education, madrassas, especially by the international media when it comes to discuss the causes of intolerance in Pakistani society, many scholars, however, don't rule out the role of Pakistan's public school system³⁶. Safiya Aftab contends that the public school system in Pakistan works on a basis of a curriculum that is highly likely to engender intolerance and promote the concept of conflict resolution through violence³⁷.

Equivalent to government institution the higher education also had the like tendencies of Islamization. The origin and roots of terrorism in Pakistan can be traced in role of Pakistan which she played twice in Afghanistan, first Pakistan supported Afghan Mujahideen in 1979 during the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan and secondly Pakistan has provided airports, space and logistic support to the United States of America in 2001 in war on terror against Al-Qaeda leader in Afghanistan. Pakistan had played a role as a front line state. Pakistan, US, Saudi Arabia and UAE had supported the Afghan Mujahideen. The University Grants Commission (UGC) which was the controlling authority of the higher education institutions of Pakistan had issued a directive in 1983 to text book writers that they should focus on the ideology of Pakistan in outline of the curriculum. The writers should not determine that the basis of Pakistan was not founded on racial, linguistic or geographical but on Islam.

The graduate classes of Islamic Jurisprudence, Islamic Law, Islamic Studies and Shariah Laws were started in Faisal Mosque building to teach Islamic values to the youth. The examination and Shariah Faculty was attached with Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. After three years, Shariah Faculty was converted into a full-fledged International Islamic University, Islamabad. This University was established with the collaboration of Saudi Government. The Saudis had provided funds for the University. The Saudis faculty and other staff were recruited. The University is administrated by the Saudi appointed administrator. General Zia-ul-Haq has issued Usher-Zakat and Salat Ordinance. Hadood Ordinance was introduced for the enforcement of Islamic punishment. The Madaris were provided funds from Zakat. The Islamic Ideology Council which was established under 1973 constitution had suggested a scheme of "Establishment of an Islamic Society in 1978 and this scheme was appreciated by General Zia-ul-Haq and he announced that it is his dream that complete Islamic laws would be enforced in Pakistan and Pakistani Society will be face of Islam. Saeed Shafqat says that the proposed Islamic Society wanted Islamization of enlightening, economic, legal system etc. of the country³⁸.

Hamza Alvi describes that tapered and prejudiced religiosity explicitly policies of the government had become a state policy during General Zia Regime from 1977-1988. A social order had been envisaged by Military Dictator General Zia-ul-Haq in which all the areas and parts of the society were controlled in accordance with Islamic precepts. Those steps of the General Zia-ul-Haq

³⁶ Pervez Hoodbhoy, "Education Reform in Pakistan: Challenges and Prospects," in Jennifer Bennett (ed.), *Pakistan: Haunting Shadows of Human Security*, (Dhaka: BISS, 2009), 58.

³⁷ Safiya Aftab, "Poverty and Militancy," *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 1, no. 1, (Islamabad: PIPS, 2008), 75.

³⁸ Saeed Shafqat, *Political System of Pakistan and Public Policy*, (Lahore: Progressive Publishers, 1989), 104.

had started extremism in religious terms which was brought up to as Islamization³⁹. The Government has issued notification that the Educational Institutions and government offices will manage the recital of after noon prayers and it was asked to offices to assign a special space for saying prayers and recitation of the Holy Quran. It is assumed that a person who will not say prayer would be considered as non-Muslim. Zia government issued a Som Ordinance through which Ramazan was implemented and people were not allowed to eat or drink publically. If anyone was found drinking or eating at public place would be proceeded according to Som Ordinance and will be punished under Had (Islamic Punishment). The women had been directed by the government to cover their head. The Women working on Pakistan Television were directed to cover their heads and dress modestly⁴⁰. Safiya Aftab says that possibly as a result of Zia's strategies, Pakistani society certainly enthused towards becoming more traditional in terms of the public practice of social and cultural mores over the last three decades⁴¹. In April 1978, Communists took over power in Afghanistan which must have the USA as well as credible sources revealed that the CIA had started its operation in Afghanistan with the support of ISI well before the arrival of the USSR troops. In 1979, Iranian Revolution further damaged the USA's influence in the region. Two revolution regimes were now sitting on Pakistan's western side of her border. The Former Foreign Secretary of the USA Hilary Clinton expressed that let's remember here... the people we are fighting today; we funded them twenty years ago... and we did it because we were locked in a struggle with the Soviet Union⁴². On other side in Pakistan, the military ruler General Zia had adopted the same strategy and players to quell the rising momentum of democratic forces. He unleashed Sipah –e- Sahaba- an anti-Shia and anti-democracy terrorist organization, which later played a crucial role in the formation of the Talban both in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In Sindh, he succeeded to create ethnic organization Mahajir Qomi Movement and he fervently promoted narrow nationalist and fascist groups.

General Zia-ul-Haq knew very well that the majority of Pakistani people are religious and they like Islamic Laws and Islamic ways of lives so General Zia-ul-Haq had introduced Islamization process in Pakistan. The Islamization process had not only helped Zia but also legitimized his rule in Pakistan. The politics of Islamization had provided him great opportunities to have friendly relations and develop solidarity with Islamic World particularly with Saudi Arabia. During the Soviet invasion into Afghanistan and in so-called Islamic Jihad Saudi Arabai, Arab Countries and United States of America were very close with Zia-ul-Haq which helped to prolong his regime and also work on his so-called Islamic Agenda.

On the basis of Islam for the first time in Pakistan history, normative and organizational changes in Pakistani political system were introduced by General Zia-ul-Haq. Zia had announced and enforced criminal offences, Haddoo, Islamic punishment in Pakistan. He set up Shariah Courts and Shariah Benches in High Court and Supreme Court to precede the cases according to Islamic Jurisprudence and Quran and Sunnah. For the Islamization of economy of Pakistan, General Zia issued Zakat and Usher Ordinance on February 10, 1979⁴³. This ordinance had made it compulsory for every Muslim in Pakistan to pay 2.5% Zakat on his/her unused or spare wealth or money or assets etc. Similarly this ordinance had bounded to every Muslim to pay 10% Usher of his/her

³⁹ Ishtiaq Ahmed, "Radicalization and De-Radicalization in Singapore and Pakistan: A Comparison," *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 2, no., (Islamabad: PIPS, 2009), 54.

⁴⁰ Arif Hasan, "The Roots of Elite Alienation," in Zaidi, S. Akbar (ed.), *Continuity and Change: Socio-political and Institutional Dynamics in Pakistan*, (Karachi: City Press, 2003), 120.

⁴¹ Safiya Aftab, "Poverty and Militancy," *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 1, no.1, (Islamabad: PIPS, 2008), 65.

⁴² *Global Research*, (June 1, 2013), 67.

⁴³ *The Pakistan Times*, (access February 11, 1979).

agricultural produce to Zakat Fund of the government. The Banks have started to cut Zakat at the rate of 2.5% from the accounts of the citizen. The Shia Sect refused to pay Zakat and Usher and announced to launch an agitation movement and government announced that Shia sect is exempted from Zakat and Usher Ordinance of 1979. They were asked to submit Judicial Affidavit for exemption of Zakat in Banks. Many Sunni had started to submit this affidavit to the banks. This has heat up sectarianism in Pakistan. General Zia had introduced Interest Free Banking in Pakistan. Manzooruddin Ahmed says that Interest free banking is landmark in the economic history of Pakistan. He said that the Interest free banking was announced and was greeted as a major stage towards emerging a basis for Islamic economy⁴⁴. The critiques of General Zia-ul-Haq say that the Islamization process of Zia had promoted sectarianism in Pakistan. Muhammad Abdul Qadeer has highlights that from occasional local disputes about religious beliefs and customs in the 1960s and the 1970s, sectarian differences have evolved into attacks on individuals and institutions of other sects by the 1990s and 2000s⁴⁵. During General Zia-ul-Haq's regime from 1979 to 1988, Pakistan remained involved with Afghan Jihad. Pakistan had trained the Mujahideen and provided every facility against Soviet troops. Pakistan's cultural, social, economic and religious fabric was badly affected by its support to the United States of America proxy war against the Soviet Union invasion into Afghanistan in 1979⁴⁶. Pakistan had supported the Mujahideen in Afghanistan and provided training in Pakistan it had raised a new wave of militancy in Pakistan. Najam- U- Din asserts that Pakistani mainstream media has been a source of great confusion among populace regarding the issues of terrorism and extremism⁴⁷. During Zia regime radicalization and sectarianism were on peak. Shia Sunni conflict has lost many lives which promoted the religious ethnicity. The Mujahideen from all over world joined Afghani jihad and they got training in Pakistani Training camps. Pakistani Madaris had also provided space and residences to the Afghan Mujahideen in Pakistan. The flow of the foreigners was not checked in Pakistan. There were no restrictions for their entries from Afghanistan to Pakistan. This situation was alarming for Pakistan. It was reported that more than 35000 Mujahideen had joined Afghan jihad from 1979 to 1989⁴⁸. After the Zia regime in 1988 when Soviet Union had withdrawn her troops from Afghanistan, Pakistan had become a hub of extremism and a cultural badlands in social and academic terms. During the Zia regime, Pakistan had got a lot of cultural and social loss due his Islamization. Arif Hassan describes that the opposition to Zia was essentially a political one and did not touch upon the cultural and social damage that his regime inflicted upon the country⁴⁹. General Pervez Musharraf, who ruled Pakistan from 1999 to 2008, modeled himself as a liberal, modern and secular face but he had relied on the religious parties and Ulema. It was first time in the history of Pakistan during his regime in 2000 General Elections, the religious Alliances, Muttahida Majlis-e- Amal had got grand victory in Khyber Pakhtun Khwa Province and ruled for five years.

The wave of religious ethnicity which was geared up during the Zia regime had grown in Musharraf regime. Extremism and radicalization had changed into full-fledged terrorism as terrorist acts and suicide bombing in Musharraf era. Both military dictators General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-

⁴⁴ Manzooruddin Ahmed, *Contemporary Pakistan: Politics, Economy, and Society*, (Durham: Carolina Academic Press, 1980), 27-37.

⁴⁵ Muhammad Abdul Qadeer, *Pakistan*, (London: Routledge, 2006), 179.

⁴⁶ Khurshid Khan and Afifa Kiran, "Emerging tendencies of radicalization in Pakistan: a proposed counter-radicalization strategy", *Strategic Studies*, 32, no 2, (Summer & Autumn 2012), 2.

⁴⁷ Najam- U- Din, "Approach and Impact of Militants' Print Media in Pakistan", address in a seminar (18 November 2009) in Lahore, Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS).

⁴⁸ Ahmad Rashid, *Taliban: The Story of the afghan Warlords*, (London: Pan Books, 2001), 9.

⁴⁹ Arif Hasan, "The Roots of Elite Alienation," in S. Akbar Zaidi (ed.), *Continuity and Change: Socio-political and Institutional Dynamics in Pakistan*, (Karachi: City Press, 2003), 122.

1988) and General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008) were responsible for sectarianism, extremism, radicalization and suicide bombings. Islamic militancy and radicalization and subsequently terrorist acts and suicide bombing bloomed and transformed into full-fledged terrorism in the eras of Military dictatorships of General Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988) and General Pervez Musharraf (1999-2008).

Both the dictators took the chances ascending from the crunches in Afghanistan and got US funding to govern with license and put the democracy at dustbin in coming back to aid the US attain its purposes to stop communism in 1979 and rein Taliban and Al-Qaeda in 2001 in Afghanistan, respectively. General Zia-ul-Haq had created Mujahideen for the war of Afghanistan with the financial aid by USA to fight against the Soviet forces in Afghanistan and General Pervez Musharraf fidgeted with Taliban, Al-Qaeda and home-grown Taliban till they have become uncontrollable and an existential threat to Pakistan and a serious threat to the whole world. All throughout the 1990s, the military and intelligence services of Pakistan continued to provide support and train the fighters of the Taliban, and even supported the rise of various insurgent groups. It is possible that there was a belief within the establishment that once the Pashtun nationalist threat had petered out, the traditional social system in Afghanistan could be restored. However, the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) believed that there was great potential and long term utility, in terms of both domestic and foreign policy, in the radicalization of Afghanistan, and thus continued to maintain the situation there.

After 9/11 terrorist attacks on United States of America, Pakistan was compelled by the political pressure from the United States and internal assessments to withdraw its support from Afghan Taliban. Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirate (UAE), had diplomatic relations with Afghanistan Taliban government. Jones Seth G says that even subsequently official policy destined these acquaintances⁵⁰, there has been marvelous unwillingness on the part of the state to take active action against their former allies. This transformation is not yet over. Pakistan's socio-cultural structure is changing.

Prod. Dr. Tariq. Rahman has stated that complex processes of social transformation are underway. But the problem is the direction of change which is positive only partly, and negative in general. Something has gone wrong with the process of change. The change tends to be more in favour of the radical forces than peaceful socio-cultural agents⁵¹. Hussain Naqi, stated that a part of Pakistan's mainstream media has been manifesting an approach that is very close to the militants' media, and media barons of Pakistan can't be excluded from this 'responsibility' of creating and promoting an extreme religious or ideological view in the country⁵²

The Council of Islamic Ideology had prepared a detailed report for the function and performance of the media from 1962 to 1993 and this report was submitted to President for implementation of the recommendations. Zafrullah Khan has discussed its main features and aspects of the report on media. The Council of Islamic Ideology mentioned in her report how to include Islamic ethos in media discourses⁵³. During the Islamization period of Zia, media had undergone

⁵⁰ Jones Seth G., "Pakistan's Dangerous Game", *Survival*, 49, no. 1, (2007), 19.

⁵¹ Muhammad Azam, "Radicalization in Pakistan: Sociocultural Realities," *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 2, no.1, (Islamabad: PIPS, 2009), 47.

⁵² Hussain Naqi, "Approach and Impact of Militants' Print Media in Pakistan", address in a seminar (18 November 2009) in Lahore, Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS).

⁵³ Zafrullah Khan, "Understanding the 'Jihad Print Media' in Pakistan and its Impact", Address in a seminar on held on 20 October 2009 in Islamabad Pak Institute for Peace Studies (PIPS), access on (july12, 2019), <http://www.sanpips.com/index.php?action=events&id=56>.

some odd vicissitudes. The women television announcers were not allowed to announce without covering their heads. It was compulsory for women television announcers to cover their heads.

The Classical music and dancing were not allowed to present on Pakistan Television and those were totally banned to caste. The films were not shown on the television and similarly the films songs were not presented and were banned. The media establishment had undergone a new change and a new guard had taken over⁵⁴. The Islamization process of General Zia-ul-Haq was attached with jihadi sentiments during Afghan Jihad against Soviet Union in 1979. Thousands recruitments were made from Pakistani Madaris and refugee camp. They were trained in the training camps and were sent to Afghanistan to fight against Soviet forces. Jamat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) had published material which supported the Jihad in Afghanistan. The literature emphasized that it is compulsory for Muslims to participate in to Afghan jihad. Jamat-e-Islami, had frequently published Jihadi literature and also published Monthly Terjuman-ul-Quran, weekly Asia and daily Jasarat. Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam also published jihadi supportive materials and also published monthly Al-Haq and Al-Jamiahand those publications were on the forefront⁵⁵.

Conclusion:

The Muslims have been religion-oriented at all times and they have adopted a religious tint for their struggles in all wars, conquers and hard-hitting times. The Muslims have always shown Islamic signs and elevated Islamic Sayings (Allah-o-Akbar, God is Great) and struggled with religious spirit that originated from the notion of Jihad and Shahadat (Martyrdom). The zeal of jihad almost always believed flagrantly in all their fights. The majority of Muslims have usually understood that the security and defense of a Muslim state is Jihad and only state can declare jihad against any other country. The efforts for Islamic revitalization have been started in the beginning of 1700s in Indian Sub-Continent when Sha Waliullah had invited Nadir Shah, the ruler of Afghanistan, to fight against the Marhatta in India and Nadir Shah attacked India and fought third war of Panni Pat to defeat Marhatta. The movement for Islamic revival was heat up when Ulema had appealed the Muslims of Sub-Continent for jihad after the triumph of the East India Company in the war of Plassey in 1757for to defeat Nawab Saraj-ud- Daulah, the ruler of Bengal. The Ulema believed that the British were fixed upon wresting the power from Muslims rulers. The hostile attitude of the British towards Muslims ran to the birth and growth of Islamic reformist movement in India against the British. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had presented Two Nation Theory and on basis of this theory, he declared that Muslims were a separate nation. The main objective of the struggle of Jinnah was to eradicate Hindu supremacy that could impede the development and liberty of the Muslim of India. While religious enthusiasm was noticeable during these difficult times, the Muslims had not followed any Mullah or religious leader for the purpose of following. From the independence movement to till now, religious parties could not get the majority votes of the mass except in 2002 when General Pervez Musharraf had managed the stage of elections for Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA); who succeeded to form its provincial government in Khyber Pakhtun Khwa. The religious parties could not get more than 5-8 % of the votes in general elections of 1970, 1977, 1988, 1993,1997,2008,2013, and 2018. Those religious parties who opposed the Jinnah's efforts for the division of United India for a separate homeland of Pakistan became the champion of Pakistan and had started to demand for the enforcement of Quran and Sunnah in Pakistan as Pakistan was emerged on the ideology of Islam. The creator of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, was a spoke man and ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity from 1907-1929, had

⁵⁴ Arif Hasan, "The Roots of Elite Alienation," in S. Akbar Zaidi (ed.), *Continuity and Change: Socio-political and Institutional Dynamics in Pakistan*, (Karachi: City Press, 2003), 120-122.

⁵⁵ Muhammad Amir Rana, "Jihadi Print Media in Pakistan: An Overview," *Conflict and Peace Studies*, 1,no. 1, (Islamabad: PIPS, 2008), 7.

recognized that Muslims could not live politically and flourish economically in a Hindu-dominated India after independence from the British rule. He emphasized the Muslims to make struggles for the division of India for separate a home for securing themselves economically and politically. Since 1947 after the creation of Pakistan, the religious political parties like the Majlis-e-Ahrar, Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, Ulama of the Deoband, , and the Khaksars were promoting Islamic Nationalism and demanding for enforcement of Shariah Laws in Pakistani and they got grand victory when the first Constituent Assembly had passed a Resolution known as Objectives Resolution on March 12, 1949. The Radicalization has been a great threat and challenge for the security and the stability of Pakistan. Pakistan has been facing radicalization since 1979. Pakistan should have to develop concrete and solid planning and strategies to address the causes of radicalization and extremism. Pakistan is fighting a war on terror against terrorist organizations like Tehreek –e-Taliban of Pakistan , Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan, SSP, Harkatul Jihad Islami Farooqi Group, Lashar-e-Jhangvi (LeJ), , Jaish-e-Muhammad (JeM), Tehreek Taliban Pakistan Qari Obaid Group, Harkatul Mujahideen, Lashkar-e-Tayyabe (LeT), Sipah-e-Muhammad Pakistan (SMP), Al Qaeda (AQ), Jamaat-Ul-Furqan, and Punjabi Taliban.