



Ideological Underpinnings for Pakistan (1947 Onwards)

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Abstract

Starting with Islam to base the framework and working of a nation state and then leading the state based on varying interpretations of the same ideology (Islam) including liberal interpretations, socialism, sharia, moderate version of it- Pakistan is one of those states which have been basing its national narrative on ideology. Ideology thus brought more challenges than achieving national objectives and national interests. Additionally, ideological underpinnings and its various indices made it easy for political elite to further their schema and safeties and get people's backing as legitimacy for their vested political interests. This respective paper anticipates to analyze this very attitude of political elite as they counted on and exploited ideological beliefs of masses along with manipulating their belief for own peculiar interests and get backing for their flawed domestic and foreign policies. Furthermore, this paper aims at assessing how political elite managed to fragment the social and political fabric with their vague reliance on ideological indexes, thus fetching national security challenges.

Key Words: Ideology, Manifestations, Vested Political Interests, National Security, Challenges, National Interests, Strategic Appraisal, and Legitimacy

Introduction

Ideology has always been an impressive driving force, a motivating factor and has been capable of bringing the believers together in order to achieve what matters to them. The Muslims of Indian Subcontinent who were in dire need to get themselves free from the oppression bestowed upon them by the English colonizers and subsequently by Hindu fellow men. Among them were the people who were ready to garner the fruit of political struggle of independence and also those who were reluctant to stand against the captivity and oppression.

Ideology was best used to serve the purpose. From Syed Ahmad to Muhammad Iqbal and also to Muhammad Ali Jinnah, ideology of Islam and faith into the Two Nation theory was promoted and projected at every step of that political struggle for the movement to unite the Muslims for a greater cause. When Muslim needed power to rule, they used the notion of Islam and its purity vis-à-vis Hindus of India and English settlers, to mobilize the Muslims of India

and to gain support to get a separate homeland.

So, the foundation of Islamic Republic of Pakistan was successfully laid on the ideology of Islam in form of Two Nation Theory. This perhaps provided the upcoming Pakistani rulers to use "Islam Card", manipulate ideology for vested interests and political gains. The legitimacy to use Islam and its various manifestations according to the understanding of the leadership to get support from the masses, was get from the ancestors. However, in order to harmonize the heterogeneous population, the use of ideology did not turn that well as it was speculated, or it can be said that it was not speculated properly.

Ideology seems perhaps the easy way to mobilize people and gain support. This can be true but for the homogenous population. Relying on Ideology for a heterogeneous population proved to be a tough call. It was believed to be the cure to every problem faced by newly formed state, from nation integration, setting national objectives, dealing with the issues of national interests, an alternate of national security to

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gain internal and foreign political objectives. In case of Pakistan, the various interpretations were used by series of leaders (apparently to keep the country united and harmonized), but the course of history talks on the contrary, as heterogeneous factor of the population was overlooked, their aspirations to bounce back was not measured, the respective interests of their community were not considered, and the possible cost in the form of negative externality were never calculated; which resulted into shaking the domestic political system, crafting new realities and unleashing them to the domestic political system, moreover generated challenges for every aspect of the national security and broader national interest.

This respective paper aims to analyze the reliance of Pakistani leadership on Ideology in various form and for many purposes. Additionally, it aims to analyze how Pakistan which relies on basic ideology of Islam lost its ideological argument by its own people and matters of its own politics, and also how the same ideological manifestation of Islam that meant to unite the people, fragmented them actually. Furthermore, this paper intends to analyze covert vested political interests behind the ideological underpinnings of Pakistan that put the national security and national interests at stake and also how Pakistan is still bearing the ramifications of those miscalculations.

Constructivism, for the purpose would best serve the interest for this intended analysis. As it talks about the construction of realities based on one's own interpretation and experiences of the world. Starting from the objective resolution which actually structured the framework for running the nation state afterwards, which was a proper show of learning from the experience and environment and creating realities on that basis. It was believed that pre-partition masses were mobilized by Ideological preferences and this would happen again. Later on the successor did the same, therefore, Pakistan experienced a variety of interpretations of Islam based on their respective understandings and subsequent events resulting from the political decisions, vested political interests which utilized ideological basis for attaining them.

The study uses the primary and secondary data in form of research articles, news stories and documents from the websites for the content analysis. This respective research work would provide the longitudinal analysis over the ideological underpinnings for Pakistan.

Understanding Ideology

Ideology is understood as the set of ideals, beliefs and

ideas, which provide foundation for social and political theory. Additionally, it upholds and it attributes to the people who follow and believe in these ideas. Moreover, ideology is described as "abstract conceptions that populate an imaginary world of ideas independent of material life" by Marx and Engels. Ideology provides underpinning to base one's identity, determine future direction and also believers carry these ideals with them whatever it takes. As far as ideology in context of Pakistan is concerned, it is the set of ideas and beliefs mainly based on Islamic set of beliefs which were constructed by the leaders then, which provided a foundation for Muslim unity in order to achieve their one greater interest i.e. a separate homeland. The ideology of Pakistan was a reflection of Islamic beliefs that constructed the reality that Muslims are different from Hindus and cannot survive together without a separate homeland for both the nations. Hence, it propagated the construction of "Two Nations Theory" as an ideology or a belief to base their political struggle on in Indo-Pak sub-continent. This constructed set of beliefs i.e. ideology (Two Nations theory) were aimed at being the driving force to determine the social and political dimension ahead and also provided identity to that specific group of people i.e. Muslims of India.

Later after independence of Pakistan, the set of beliefs were continued to be taken along by the leaders to determine the future direction of state that got independence in the name of ideology of Islam. Ideology, however, became the main characteristic of political outplay and provided a level playing field for the coming rulers to manipulate the ideological beliefs of masses to get recognized and their policies legitimized resultantly in the name of ideology.

Political Ancestors Setting the Ground for Ideological Underpinnings

The political turbulence of the pre-partition era in Sub-continent made Muslim leaders to go for uniting their people and channel their power and energies towards the greater cause of an independent state. Many scholars believe that Islam was not directly used in this context for political purposes but Pakistan is a product of a theory, "Two Nations Theory", which cannot be said as wrong. However, the debate here is that Islam has been used for political purposes, though not in its original form but its various manifestation and interpretations according to the interests and understanding of relevant leadership and then caused many challenges for national security later on.

Two Nation Theory was launched for the Muslims of India to question their presence in an oppressed situation. They were made realized that they are different from their fellow Hindu Community based on basic Islamic principles and code of conduct. It resonated well with the Muslims.

There is not any single problem with the ideological underpinnings of Pakistan. While we are setting a stage for analysis of post partition era, by discussing the level of interest, manipulations and confusion into the minds of political elites. Jinnah had vision of Pakistan as a plural and Democratic state and his speech at the Constituent Assembly reflected that when he said: "You may belong to any religion, caste or creed. That has nothing to do with the business of the state. We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of the state. We should keep that in front of us as our ideals and you will find that in the course of time Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense because that is personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense, as citizens of the state". While on the other hand Jinnah said that it is the ideology of Islam which would keep Eastern part of the country together which is far by a thousand miles. Here again the notion of Islam was used for one greater cause of national integration so that state remains intact. Scholars believe Jinnah to be a secular and aiming at a liberal state. Well, Jinnah had a secular vision of a state whose basis were relying on Islamic ideals in order to mobilize people for the independence movement first, and then preventing the state (whose two wings are miles apart) from collapsing later. However, this certainly leads to the notion that it was Muhammad Ali Jinnah along with his many companions who relied on Islam and its manifestations for greater political causes.

Ideology has always been used as the face saving due to the political inabilities and greater political interest. Sensing this from the political ancestors and also the founder of Pakistan, it however provided the coming lot of leaders with the idea and legitimacy to use the very ideology for political purposes and saving face. Therefore, from constitution and internal politics to foreign policy, every aspect of nation state has always been contaminated by ideological displays.

Legacies of Ideological Underpinnings of Pakistan (1947 onwards)

The matter of ideology is complex. An image of

ideological underpinning with its causes and motives has been reflected in the earlier part, but for a state as an actor in international world with such immense internal (ethnic, economic and political) and external (border security and foreign policy) issues, there was a need for a firm political understanding, national character along with the carefully crafting national interests and national objectives to devise the way forward. Having faith in the reality that Islamic principles have once unified the Muslims, it would better do the same job again. Therefore, the Objective Resolution of 1949 was reflecting the basic principles of Islam to project intended domestic and foreign policy, where the government was to be run with faith in Sovereignty of Allah and brotherly relations were to be formulated with Muslim states. Even before the Objective Resolution, a concrete national security issue was to keep both the wings (East and West) going smoothly and for the purpose, Islamic ideals were depicted as a base for this unity when Jinnah said that it is Islamic identity which is keeping both the wings together despite they are a thousand miles away.

Ideological displays have been used in a portion suitable to then political interest. Therefore, Islamic principles were used for formulation of early constitutional scenario of the democratic state while it was made clear that theology is not going to be the fate of the country. Liaquat Ali Khan said, "Sir, I just now said that the people are real recipients of power. This, naturally, eliminates any danger of establishment of a theocracy".

In order to cover the inabilities of the government to resolve the issues of national security, ideologies have been abundantly used in Pakistan. A very clear show of this manipulation was seen in Bengali Language Movement which erupted in 1952 in East Pakistan. It was successful and then leaders could not find a way to resolve the matter so they came up with the notion being Islam in danger and a counter argument was constructed saying that they cannot be Baluchis, Pathans and Bengalis but Pakistani and Muslim. There should have been attempts to form a nation, based on sense of collective good, social, economic, political and ethnic security but all Bengalis were given was a lame ideological stance to be united. The social turbulence and the very matter of internal security was dealt with ideological underpinning, that had to be due to the inability of the rulers to come up with some political and social solutions ideological underpinnings have always been short term solutions with long term national security challenges, while the

irony is that leaders never realized the fatality of miscalculated impulsive and short-termed solutions in the form of ideological reinforcements.

Just relying on Islamic ideology to strengthen the social fabric and bringing Eastern wing into national integration was a lame attempt, as it paved the way for future national security challenges when it made the Eastern borders and the minds of masses there vulnerable. The ideological dose was never sufficient for major social and ethnic issues and for the issue of identity, especially for a state whose two parts are miles apart with a rival state in between. That is how, border security was put at stake along with insecure social fabric, that caused Bengalis to get support from Indian sympathizers in the war of 1971 and get themselves separated. Before that East Pakistanis were deprived of economic security as their resources were spent on Western wing, their political security was undermined when Sheikh Mujeeb won clear majority in eastern wing. This was all because the ruling elite found it appropriate and sufficient to feed ideological underpinning to win the loyalties. Neglecting these issues of national security brought a major blow. It was a major blow on Pakistan's national security and it all began with the false use of ideology out of covering the inabilities of government to resolve the issues.

By overlooking the pros and cons of the decisions, Islamic ideological imprints were manipulated, Islamic sentiments were artificially heightened by the ruling elites in order to get political advantages and win national security goals. Like the notion of Jihad (which finds its foundation in Syed Ahmad's notion of Jihad against Sikhs) was used to fight against Indian Army in Kashmir in 1948. Religious scholars were called on by the government to issue fatwas that would support the fight. Ayesha Jalal writes about that when Islamic sentiments were used and an officer of ISPR said; "There was a spurt of gallantry stories, of divine help, of superhuman resistance and of unrivalled professional excellence in the face of overwhelming odds"

1950- 1960s

A constant fabricated effort has been used by using Islamic ideological displays to win legitimacy for the decisions in nearly every aspect of national security. Initially, ideological underpinnings were used to win national security goals later the short sightedness of the rulers and leadership and using ideological excuses resulted into generating the major national security challenges. For instance, Islamic ideology which

became a cause of unity first, later started to generate consequences when people were on streets chanting and demanding to declare Ahmadis as non-Muslims. Ideology is a complex thing to play on and in case of Pakistan (ethnically heterogeneous), the subjectivity of religion when started to bringing consequences, it just added to the already existing challenges to the internal security thus causing fragmentation in the social fabric. At one front the fragmentation in social fabric was restricted with Islamic ideological sentiments, while on the other front the same ideology's subjectivity caused a threat to the social fabric (Ahmadis v/s rest of Muslim population plus Sectarian divide which was yet to come in coming decades).

However, consuming, quashing and manipulating of various Islamic interpretations were majorly for securing vested political interests along with covering inabilities of the government plus promoting their agenda and gaining support in the world. As the importance of the real issues have not been realized and leaders continued with their preferences and vested interest covered in ideological foil thus damaging National Security of Pakistan.

Ideologies' use in Pakistan's political arena has been there for broader sense of national integration, unity and security from internal and external threat. Therefore, realizing the threat of disharmony, religio-political movement of Maududi and concerns of leftists forced to formulate the constitution of Pakistan, it was a remarkable try to overcome the challenges resulting from the use of Islam as ideological underpinning for a multiethnic heterogeneous society and a liberal notion was fabricated to incorporate leftists into the national arena, moreover it retained the name of the country as Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The political interests and concerns of religious parties were incorporated and the issues of national security were tried to deal well. Nonetheless, this was also manipulated and devastated for vested interests of President Sikandar Mirza this time by calling the constitution of 1956 as "prostitution of Islam for political ends". These personal biases, interests and opposing ideological belief had grim repercussion for National Security (if talked in the context of political security) which had long lasting impact and further challenges on political structure and democracy of Pakistan.

The irony of ideological play is that every successor disagrees with former's use of ideological expressions and tries to play differently, while ends up

using another interpretation of Islam of his own kind to keep his political agendas going. Field Marshall who exiled President Mirza, opted for a liberal version of Islam, to whom most considered as secular. The liberal notion supported by Advisory Council on Islamic Ideology plus Islamic Research institute. History shows no doubt over his devotion towards science and technology along with economic revolution, but as mentioned earlier every successor has manipulated the spirit of basic ideology of Islam for vested political interest. Same goes for General Ayub Khan who being claimant of liberalism and secularism could not restrain himself from using Islam for political purposes, when fatwa was used against Fatima Jinnah's campaign that Islam does not allow a female head of a state. This was indeed a direct and clear threat on the political security just because of an individual's vested political interests and own sort of ideological indices for greater national good.

General Ayub Khan improved the Muslim family laws to end polygamy and publicized the family laws ordinance in 1961 with the aim to project Pakistan as modern secular state allowing liberation to women. Religious factions found it un-Islamic. Ulama's agitation was initially suppressed while general Ayub later realized the necessity to compromise and keeping up Islamic appearance for political legitimacy.

For most part, various interpretations of Islam as an ideological basis to run the state were used to get the legitimacy for the leadership and their bizarre political choices. Ideologies have been used as playing ground for selling one's political harvests, win legitimacy and get a place where one should stand out and be recognized. For instance, Jamat-e-Islami (JI) was the same political party who opposed Jinnah's movement for separate homeland, while in order to get legitimacy, political recognition in newly formed state and support, they turned to be flag-bearers of Sharia as Pakistan was built in the name of Islam. Therefore, JI opposed progressive, liberal and said to be secular ideology of Ayub and also found Socialism of Bhutto as abomination. This was all an attempt to get political recognition irrespective of the fact that it was just deteriorating the already fragile political structure of Pakistan. This was proved when JI became an ally of General Yahya Khan and participated in the elections.

The Era of Socialism

While discussing the national security challenges emerged in the backdrop of ideological underpinnings of Pakistan for gaining political objectives, national

integration was never truly meant to be achieved rather ideologies and various manifestations of Islam have been used as a tool and national interests as an excuse for gaining the vested political objectives.

Socialist era of Bhutto was no different. When Eastern wing got separation, the Two Nation Theory, Islamic brotherhood and the claim of Islam overpowering the multi-ethnicity became void. Socialist era started with the claim of socialist economy, democratic polity and Quranic way of life, but when faced a rigid opposition in the form of NAP alliance, had to turn into rightist where Bhutto had to ask his parliamentarians to remove the point saying "Pakistan's economy will be socialist". This surely raises a question that what made an egoistic, aristocratic and flamboyant natured man like Zulfikar Ali Bhutto transform his very ideology? Was the opposition this powerful? This was all because he wanted his tenure to last long, he made ideological changes in order to incorporate opposition's interest, and also to win foreign allies so that the economy flourishes and his government might be able to earn validity and support resultantly.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's believed to be a socialist, but his tenure depicts a complex show of ideological interplay for getting the intended political objectives envisioned by him and his party, in order to get more of legitimacy and recognition. However, this ideological interplay for securing political objectives, has caused challenges for National Security issues of Pakistan, as Bhutto's allegiance with Riyadh for economic assistance (in the backdrop of Petro-dollar) has caused him to bend on many levels. For instance, adding Islamic points in the constitution of 1973, turning the state in accordance to the Wahabism, including Arabic into the school courses and thus getting economic benefits. This allegiance with Riyadh cast challenges for National Security of Pakistan where Pakistan's foreign policy is highly affected by the likes and dislikes of the Kingdom. Their overt and covert dictations have caused Pakistan to mold their foreign policy in a way suitable for Riyadh as Islamabad pulled out of Malaysia Summit because of the concerns of Riyadh. It still is happening, which takes us to argument that it is the shortsightedness of leadership for political gains that decisions (based on ideology) made for securing national security objectives turn out to be a threat to national security on some other level. This time with Riyadh, ideology was used to get economic security and assistance, the price has to be paid by losing sort of political independence.

Civil disorder was already there when Ahmadis

and young Punjabis were quarreling, this got only intense and a stamp on future social fragmentation with the declaration of Ahmadis as non-Muslims. Ideological underpinnings in Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's era in form of Socialism and then transforming it into Islamic Socialism was all about Bhutto's own political interests.

On one hand where Islamic hue of foreign policy aimed at getting economic assistance from Riyadh, Bhutto on the other hand collaborated with Afghanistan's Islamic militias including Gulbadin Hikmatyar and Burhanuddin Rabbani over the border issues just to have an upper hand over Kabul. Instead of solving the issue of border security on diplomatic front, Bhutto opted for asymmetric nature of problem solving that led to the defaming of Pakistan for supporting militias. This particular issue laid the foundation for coming government to become ally with militants for greater political objectives in the name of national security and national interests, without calculating the possible consequences as Zia participated in Afghan War and Pakistan is still facing the national security challenges of various kinds.

The Era of Islamization

The focus on Ideological underpinnings for national integration and forming the unifying stage for a multiethnic, heterogeneous society in previous decades had affected the social and political fabric of the state for all wrong reasons. Merely relying on ideology and not solving the basic social, ethnic, political and economic issues caused the separation of eastern wing. It seemed ethnic diversity would overpower the national integration so Islamic ideology was again relied upon to save the remaining provinces from foreign and internal effects after the Islamic ideology had lost its validation with separation of East Pakistan. Even the foreign policy could not resist the allure of Islamization and laid the foundation for future challenges in form of border security and weakened sovereignty, but the more fatal challenges were yet to come as a result of Islamization of Zia regime.

Zia past the ideological imprints to unify or defend the state, but as a road to salvation was added to the agenda. Additionally, for a dictator who came to power via *coup d'etat*, internal and external legitimacy was indispensable. Employing the Islamic connotation, allying with the religio-political parties i.e. Jamat-e-Islami (opponent of Zia's predecessor Bhutto) and mobilizing Washington with willingness to play Islamic proxies in Kabul against ungodly Soviets

came to play. Zia institutionalized Islam, unlike his predecessors, this was a more conservative imprint. The external factors supporting the cause included; attempt to strengthen the Islamic identity, gaining funds from foreign Muslim nations for propagation of Islam, and enhance military ties with Muslim Nations.

The political and social reasons for Islamizing the regime by Zia unleashed unbelievable predicaments for each aspect of National Security. Zia won alliance of religio-political community in the name of employing Sharia- the true spirit of Islam in the societal affairs and by mobilizing their hatred for secularist and leftist parties. Therefore, along with education, society, justice system, foreign policy- military could not save itself from machination of Islamization as the slogan for Pakistan Military was changed to "Iman, Taqwa and Jihad fi Sabil Lillah". This was a try to incorporate the sense into military that they are the soldiers of Islam, this was believed to bring the motivation to fight more selflessly and with immense motivation.

Although Islamic notions were inflicted in form of penal code, Sharia Benches, Zakat, Ushr, Islamic banking, prayer breaks during office timings, adding Islamic studies to the syllabus, and Islamic university, but the existing problems of social deprivation, poverty, economic exploitation and political domination went unnoticed. Exacting the ideological underpinnings was quite superficial thus not taking real issues of national security in concern. This occurred because posturing of social values according to Islam fulfilled two objectives. First, it explicitly showed the regime's effort to live up to its devotion to impose Nizam-e-Mustafa and win public support for the regime. Secondly, it just focused on superficial level and not on structural level as he did not want to threaten and challenge the bureaucracy which could result unfavorably for Zia regime.

With the Sharia laws in effect, women were tried to restrict within a four wall boundary wearing Chaddar. Unsurprisingly, regression was an outcome of Zia's interpretation of Islam where women were tried to be deprived from their choices for themselves. It clearly threatened personal security of women (the security for them to take decisions for their social life).

The education system suffered the fruit of Islamization as Federal Cabinet in 1979 decided to interdict the instituting of English medium Schools and opening of "Madaris" and "Maktabs" instead. English medium schools had to alter their medium of coaching to Urdu. Degree from Madaris was declared equivalent to the Master's degree from a university.

Additionally, Deobandi Madaris were being installed along with the organizations such as Sipah-e-Sahaba. Madaris mushroomed as scholars take it as Zia's aspiration to utilize the youth for the greater cause to fight proxy termed as Jihad in Afghanistan. However, Islam was an easy driving force to get a support for colossal political aspirations. The education system infested as with the initiation of Madaris, these became the cradle for fundamentalism, where young minds were coached to develop thinking that Islam is the most superior force and they need to fight anything ungodly which is for now Soviet Union in Afghanistan. Pakistan still bearing repercussion of infested institutions face the challenge of extremism. Madaris keep injecting obscurantist thought of Jihad (as the sole purpose of life), instead of fueling the true spirit of Islam and propagating peace efforts.

Fundamentalism

Zia vehemently participated in Afghan war and recruited Mujahedeen, the Islamic connotation for political purpose seemed essential as the motive was to get legitimacy for their involvement into a war that was not Islamabad's own. Moreover, alliance with Hizb-e-Islami's Hikmatyar came into effect with thought that Hikmatyar would prove much helpful after the war ends and to garner a strong influence in Kabul. However, the prophecy about gone allies leaving Islamabad with fundamentalism, extremism, Afghan refugees, Taliban, and no more economic assistance was overlooked by the imprudence and political slipups of the leadership.

Kalashnikov culture introduced in the tribal areas legitimized in the name of Jihad has borne repercussions for Pakistan. Islamabad remained victim of terrorism and tribal areas as their sanctuaries. Taliban being the product of Afghan Jihad motivated and fueled by Zia and his Arab and American allies respectively jeopardized the National security of Pakistan, where extremism is still costing innocents' lives. Furthermore, children cannot go to school as either their schools are devastated by the terrorists or the fear of being killed in a random terrorist attack prohibit them. The social system of affected areas is confounded, religious places, market, institutions, hotel have been victimized by terrorists. While many people were forced to leave their homes. These predicaments are those which were not premeditated and Pakistan has borne years after Zia's regime as an aftermath of legitimizing the proxies in the name of Islam.

Sectarianism

Zia bearing the thoughts of Maududi School thus incorporating religio-political parties for legitimization of his non-democratic regime, imposed Sharia to the governing of state. However, the issue emerged that the laws were made according to the Hanafi School, with which Jafariah School was highly displeased. Latter arranged meetings to plan protests against the government. Therefore, Shi'ite were allowed to run their affairs according to their belief but the former sentiment was catalyzed by the Iranian revolution. Shias at home looked up to Khomeini, listened to his teachings which infiltrated the sense of protest against the government. This fear led Arab Monarchs and Ziato reinforce anti-Shia sects such as Ahl-e-Hadith and Deoband. Moreover, Zia regime aided the establishment of many sectarian offshoot of religio-political parties thus including Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP), Sipah-e-Muhammad, Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Jafariah, and even a militant offshoot of SSP named as Lashkar-e-Jhangvi. Instituting religious militant groups provided another constituent for already fragmented society. Sectarian killing were started then as 1987 witnessed the killing of Allama Elahi Zaheer and Habib-ur-Rehman Yazdani. The series of sectarian violence has not stopped yet as in May 2015, 40 people were killed in a bus carrying Ismaili Shia's in Karachi. In 2018, 12 incidents of Sectarian violence were also reported. Infiltrating Sectarian rage, providing platform to cast vengeance to bigoted clutches by the government for all self-satisfying political gains, was definitely a demoralizing attempt and also had overwhelming effect on human security (challenges that Pakistan is still bearing).

The Role of Religio-Political Parties in Zia Regime

Religio-political parties including Jamat-e-Islami (JI) and Jamiyat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) had always chanted for the imposition of sharia law thus supported Zia's rhetoric of Islamic political system and provide him with the legitimacy required for the regime. However, the role of Islamic parties is not free from trivia as they too injected their efforts for the same superficial mottos i.e. personal morality. They mobilized resources to stop women's hockey team from participating in Asian games, spoke against music concerts, co-education, chanted for Women University, and also wrote majorly on the issues of personal morality instead of focusing and rooting for movement against press censorship and restricted powers of judiciary. Neither religious factions showed

interest in the issues pertaining to tax evasion, corruption, bureaucratic controls, illiteracy, environmental degeneration and other socio-economic glitches.

Religio-political factions failed the nation when they sought the issues of personal interests, understanding and of personal satisfaction while they had the opportunity to bargain the imposition of true spirit of Islam in form of equality, honesty, oppression free society, free will and social justice with the legitimacy for Zia regime. They needed part in the government so were made cabinet members, were against Bhutto's socialism so were cashed in the name of Nizam-e- Mustafa. They were made to see imposition of Islamic contours just as they viewed as conservative society.

Trivia here is that these religious factions have always been oblivious of issue of national concerns, national objectives and national security at large while they base their political agendas merely on their limited understanding of Islam. Ideology has been used as a mean to gaining political objectives. Incongruous understanding of Islamic values of unity, discipline, peace, Jihad, and social justice by the religio political factions led them to miss opportunity for national integration thus led the country to today's mainstream challenges like fundamentalism, sectarianism, violence, inequality, injustice, poverty, social deprivation, social fragmentation and corruption.

The Decade Bridging Islamization with Modern Enlightenment

Amid the national security vulnerabilities at hand, Islamic, Secular, military and civilian political faction tussled to gain the control of the government, utilizing and manipulating ideology for legitimization after Zia's sudden demise. Democratic endeavors were poisoned while the irony stood as the political elites quarreled over who manages the Zia's legacy of Islamization more effectively, rather than sorting out national security challenges now faced by the nation including, poverty, corruption, fundamentalism, sectarianism, national disintegration, and weaponized mujahedeen at home and in neighborhood.

The decade 1988-1999 marked the era of revival of democracy where secular political institution, Islamist forces, military and civilian politicians struggled to restore the power. Civilian politician endeavored to move the national rhetoric away from Islamism, while the military and Islamist forces tended

to revive Zia's Islamism. Islami Jamhori Itehad (IJI) of pro-Zia forces aimed at reviving Zia's teachings through democracy this time thus opposing secular Pakistan People's Party (PPP).

The political struggle to champion one's own kind of interests with relevance to Islamic ideology restricted democratic process from flourishing. However, the game of gaining the legitimacy at the time when democratic process is feeble, corruption is ruing the state system, political elites quarrelling over power, bitter legacies of Afghan war on the floor, economic crisis at hand overlooked the real issues of concern. Zia's protégé Nawaz Sharif who initially allied with Islamist forces against Benazir Bhutto, later parted his ways from them. Sharif claiming to carry Islamic and democratic values side by side, managed to win the elections. To gain the power, and win against fundamentalist religio-political factions, PML was portrayed as a moderate and modern force thus championing both democracy and Islam. Interestingly, the Sharif's narrative was bought even by the Islamic vote bank.

The notion of gaining legitimacy did not lagged behind but carried by both the main democratic parties, where they incorporated religious faction into the state affairs for that they should not mess with former's political objectives. For instance, PPP appointed the Secretary General of JUIF having links with Anjuman Sipah Sahaba. The notion of legitimacy does not go wrong for PMLN, as conservative Muhammad Tarrar was appointed as the President of Pakistan. With the nuclear test and freezing of foreign accounts in return, frustration over failure to internationalize the issue of Kashmir eroded Nawaz's credibility. U.S. attack on terrorist basis in Afghanistan just added fuel to the fire as Sharif was reported to have known about the attack already. Amid these national security issues in and outside the country, Sharif was more concerned about his politics which he tended to save through Islamization in form of 14th Amendment and Islamization Bill.

The use of Islamic connotation for gaining legitimacy have been the code of Pakistani politics thus provided power hungry factions level playing field regardless of the fact how bitterly core national interest, development, state affairs and security have been compromised. The decade after Zia's demise had much importance to nip the national security challenges in the bud at the time when these challenges were emerging and had the potential to be controlled. Rather military was more concerned about their part in the mainstream politics than potential

terrorist threat from former Mujahedeen based in Afghanistan. This obliviousness led them to operationalize the Islamist factions in the form of Taliban in neighboring Afghanistan with the help of Hikmatyar that later emerged as the greatest threat faced by Pakistan. The empowerment of Taliban in Afghanistan was believed to strengthen the reign of extremist with the same Islamic ideology. Military at that time believed that Taliban's brand of Islamism which won them in Afghanistan, similarly extremism would serve their political purposes to win the domestic politics.

Hence, strategic appraisal was not evaluated, potential threat for national security were either not considered or mistaken as opportunity and opportunities were missed all for self-satisfying personal political interests that evidently nourished predicaments and greater national security challenges for future.

Modern Enlightenment (EM)

The last decade of 20th century presented the opportunity to strengthen democracy in the country, carve out national objectives based on national interests and lead the country with collective endeavour. Contrarily, political interests of factions and manipulation of ideology for the purpose could not let democracy flourish, envision challenges, and restructuring national interests and objectives accordingly after evaluating the strategic appraisal thus paved the way for another military coup.

Possessing liberal attitude, General Musharraf when came into power had to gain legitimacy for his coup. Strategic appraisal made it evident that manipulation and employment of Islamic ideology has harvested repercussions, thus modern Enlightenment was believed to be best thing to offer. Failing democracy, obsession with Islamic fundamentals, increased sectarianism, and extremism made modern enlightenment more appealing. However, the incident of 9-11, and subsequent demands for cooperation in War on terror by livid U.S. further registered Musharraf's ideology of modern enlightenment. It became important to realize the world that Islamabad is no enemy in these difficult times, had no links with the extremist, and no fundamentalist ideology is in play domestically.

Musharraf was claimant that Pakistan has rejected the fundamentalist nature of Islamic ideology bestowed by Zia, and is to be replaced by "Modern" and "Moderate Islam". Moreover, where the

legitimacy at home is concerned, Islamic parties had potential to cause trouble. The policy of EM came under question when extended support was provided to religious factions. After establishment of model madrasah, when Ulema argued that reforms are doomed to fail because they were not consulted in this regard, Musharraf accommodated Zia's acquaintances Atiya Inayat Ullah and Sharif Ud Din Pirzada in his government to show that Musharraf looks at Zia as a role model. Additionally, viewing that the legitimacy of PML Q and National Alliance was being challenged by masses, they prepared religious parties for elections of 2002. Therefore, to save politics and power at home, religio-political parties were incorporated regardless of the fact how much difference stood in both stances.

Apart from the personal belief of liberalism, the circumstances which Musharraf faced forced him to continue with "Enlightened Modernism" to get the legitimacy outside the country as well. Although he tried to execute modernism in many aspects including registration of madrasahs, reforming their curriculum, ban on many militant groups, and liberty of choice of clothing for women and towards media. Therefore, personal security, freedom of speech, education were modernized, while the ideology of modern enlightenment was not executed in letter and spirit, as it allowed some militant groups to stay and continue proxies i.e. Lashkar-e-Taiba for Kashmir cause. The political security was highly undermined in the time when democracy was required to grow and the two mainstream political giants Bhutto and Sharif were abandoned thus Islamic parties made their way to Parliament.

At one hand where support was further for militant factions, to prove their allegiance for Washington and sustenance of the ideology of Modern Enlightenment, U.S. was allowed to carry out attacks to counter militancy in tribal areas of Pakistan on the other hand. However, just because of gaining the legitimacy from outside world state's sovereignty was undermined, security of people in tribal areas was risked, and social structure of tribal areas was devastated consequently thus putting many aspects of national security at stake.

Regardless of personal liberal belief, EM was furthered to gain political objectives at home and to get the legitimacy from Washington by establishing the ground for EM, proving allegiance for Washington and restricting support for fundamentals. However, the ideology of EM came into play for legitimization of Musharraf regime both at home and abroad, by

incorporating religio-political parties and also taking part in war on terrorism, hence bringing severe repercussions later on.

That was the time, when regime was required to evaluate national objectives and national interests along with highlighting the threats faced by nation. Militants were relied instead of diplomatically resolving the Kashmir issue. Moreover, government-initiated peace deals led militants turn their training inward thus causing clerics and youth squads to endeavour for enforcing Islamic morality. Hence, paving the way for extremism. Support for war on terror and allowance to Washington to carry out drone attack was provided without evaluating the consequences that emerged in the form of many national security challenges (mentioned above) along with talibanization and increased terrorism.

It is flawed underpinnings of Islam as national narrative for integration, national security and nation building that had been commandeered by the extremists and fundamentalists for various motives including quest of new Islamic orders, which had led to many mainstream problems of Pakistan.

Instead of tackling national security issue in form of economic inequity, poverty, health security, better living conditions, the government relied on religious or ideological underpinnings, thus generating greater national security challenges. Hence, ideological notion was used by fundamentalists too, as an antidote for all these disparities. For instance, the conflict in Swat-where enduring movement for execution of Sharia law, powered by resentment at fragmented system of justice along with manipulative landed class heated over with TTP support. However, governments had a series of agreements with militants about implementation of Sharia Law in exchange for cease fire.

Apart from these militant factions thus being tackled by the armed forces of Pakistan, religious parties that gained much power during military regimes, thus becoming unsupported with the no military support in 2008 elections, still cause problem for the process of effective democratization.

The Role Religious Parties in Post Musharraf Era

The capability of Pakistan's region-political thus radical factions has mounted, which can cast a potentially violent opposition for the government, thus challenging the democracy. Islamization and further support by military regimes have provided them strength and political identity and apparatus that they

can influence the policies far afar their numerical power. Such religio-political parties' function in this political system but sometimes aim to replace it with fundamental and discriminatory construal of Islam. Contradiction in their stance is key characteristic of their politics where on one side they intend to insist on their distinction from militants yet at the same time breed them in madrasahs and also admit to share the notion of Sharia with them.

Actually, as the military regime came to an end with Musharraf's tenure in 2008, they found no support. While these parties need their share in power no matter how do they get it. Once they gained that in relation to military rule, later militancy and then with democratic parties like PPP and PMLN. While these parties use the notion of Islam as an agenda to base their politics on, but end up with mounting national security problems like intra-religious violence.

One of the mainstream examples of mounted power of religio-political parties advancing in the name of ideology with vested political interests and eventually putting national security at stake is Tehreek-e-Labaik Pakistan (TLP). TLP's leader Khadim Hussain Rizvi along with its comrades and followers took the streets of Islamabad in 2017 against the amendment made in Icten Act 2017. They kept capital hostage for about 3 weeks. State had to live up to their demands and provide them with safe exit. TLP's leader asked its followers to contest election (showing their political interests) and they also get aggressive for whoever they find raising voice even for the fundamental rights of the oppressed or minority community. For instance in the case of Jibran Nasir- a Karachi based lawyer who was independent candidate, along with his followers was stoned (thus putting personal and life security of people at stake) as he snubbed to toe the line he was being uttered to.

In a nut shell, religious parties have got immense audacity, potential and power to stand against the state in the name of Islam, or whatever ideology suits them, thus aligning with the status quo, all for the accomplishment of vested political interests, regardless of the consequences i.e. national disintegration, sectarianism, political violence, law and enforcement situation at stake, personal security under threat and seizure or entire city, thus paralyzing the system of the state.

Ideological Underpinnings of Incumbent Government

For a state established in the name of ideology, run

based on various interpretations of Islamic ideology throughout the course of history, thus generating many national security challenges; ideological underpinning is still not obsolete. Aforementioned ideology as the most capable driving force, additionally has been utilized to garner legitimacy for the political decisions of the ruling elites, Imran Khan's PTI hold such stance. PTI maintains the ideology to make Pakistani society as welfare society modeled in a manner same to that of welfare state of Medina established by Holy Prophet (SAWW). Such society would work on the principles of equality, redistribution, end of poverty and others.

Interestingly, the political elite had clearly read and analyzed what manifestation of ideology would be sold according to the need of time and understanding of the people, but they could not evaluate the strategic appraisal, the need of the state and real aspirations and fundamental requirements of the people. While the realities of status quo and regimes and them manipulating ideologies in the name of Socialist Islam, Islamization and Modern Enlightenment were unfolded, Imran Khan turned out to as no to be a status quo or traditional politician with liberal politics with agenda welfare state. The notion of model society like the state of Medina with the characteristics of basic human rights coming from a liberal and not traditional politician was best sold in the elections of 2018 and after that. The point here is that even if the current government is living up to their claim, they still utilized the notion of ideology to get political recognition among masses and are being judged by the people on same basis.

However, if the political and social attitudes and trends persist the way they have been and currently are, future beholds nothing different than continued ideological manipulation by the ruling elite (driven by their vested political interests and inefficiency) and thus offering people a society not with improvised and enhanced national security conditions but a society based on perfect Islamic ideology.

Recommendations

So Islamic ideology and ideological underpinnings have always been and continue to be the characteristics of Pakistani politics, where power aspirants manipulate people's faith in ideology to garner their interests by ignoring national security interests and challenges, thus paving way for the mainstream problems faced by the people and the state at large.

- The need of time is to restructure and reestablish the basis of the state, this time based on people's interests, where state is led by national interest and national objectives instead of political interests based on ideology.
- And while ideology is concerned it should be for the unity and national integration, while the direction of the state should be dictated by greater national interests based in democracy.
- Democratic government should limit the essence and power of religio-political parties and bind them with law and jurisdiction.
- Need for national security policy making structure should be realized so that strategic appraisal is evaluated by professionals and national objectives are established based in greater national interests.
- People should realize the power of their voices and they need to voice against any attempt made to utilize ideological underpinnings to manipulate their support for political causes irrespective of their personal dissent.
- Religious parties should overcome their difference, as if they all seek system based on sharia- then they need to first converge their thoughts on the subject, instead of pursuing their own sort of Islam thus causing disintegration among masses.
- Religious parties need to clear their identity as if they are to pursue the politics then they must but by declaring them as merely political.
- Religio-political parties need to realize provisions of democracy which are related to Islam i.e. equality, justice, human security, life security, protection of the rights of minority and peace.
- Religio-political parties need to collaborate their efforts with democratic parties for greater good, instead of causing hindrance in state affairs thus causing national security challenges.
- Ideology should be restricted to the foundation only, while the affairs of the state should be run merely on democratic foundations.
- It needs to be realized that modern world has modern problems which require a lot more than mere reliance on ideological notions.

Conclusion

Basing political objectives supposedly national objectives on ideology has roots in founding fathers'

way of politicizing the ideology i.e. Two Nation Theory. Manipulation of Ideology has been the characteristic of Pakistani politics, thus caused national security challenges, though it initially aimed at getting national security objectives. Every coming man in power used Islam and its varying interpretations based on the vested interests for political gains. From 1948's Kashmir war to 1965's soldiers blowing them up under tanks, from 1971'a war against the threat to Islamic identity of Pakistan by Bengali- India nexus to ever changing interpretations after that, previous decisions led to new ones that just accelerated the previous threats to national security.

Politicization of Islamic parties is still threatening. A trend initiated by Zia regime now bringing fruit in form of Khadim Hussain Rizvi. The irony of ideologization in Pakistan is- starting aimingly with new interpretation but it resulted the same, thus collecting damages of old decisions and making more mistakes to cater earlier ones. Hence political interests wrapped in Islamic foil brought more damages as most of Pakistan's mainstream problems i.e. sectarianism, social fragmentation, national disintegration, denying

security for minorities, fundamentalism, terrorism, economic low-down, poverty are the repercussions of leaders' mere reliance on Ideology for their vague personal bias, domestic and foreign policies at a time when nation state required properly evaluate national security policy to tackle challenges of all sorts.

Time needs democracy to be strengthened, to realize national security challenges, and giving national interests importance more than personal biases, thus resulting in establishing national security policy making structure for efficient evaluation of strategic appraisal and devising national interests, goals and objectives to direct the state. This is the time for the nation to realize how they have been manipulated by the status quo in the name of ideology and voice their concerns over it. They need to make government realize that what they need is the national security in form of health, food, political security, life security, poverty eradication, non-discrimination based on democracy instead of ever increasing disintegration and national security challenges resulting from superficial reliance on ideology for vested political interests.

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