

# An Assessment of Role of *Úlemā* in Democratization Process in Pakistan

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## Abstract

The *Úlemā* are always recognized as having a high degree of competence and they are able to deal with matters of religion. Historically, it has been proved that the *Úlemā* always played a crucial role in the development and functions of Islamic societies. *Úlemā* had also been the architects of the Islamic education system. The role of *Úlemā* had been significantly debated and contested during pre-modern and modern periods. *Úlemā* of Pakistan is politically and legally have sound positions. *Úlemā* are vocal and have influence in their areas. They are blamed for the backwardness and conservativeness of the Muslims. But at the time of the elections it is difficult to make a winning alliance without the help of *Úlemā*. In different regimes either civil or military they remained active in the politics of Pakistan. One could see their crucial role from the Objectives resolution to the recent past Lawyer's movement of 2007 where the *Úlemā* stood by the civil society and other groups for the restoration of Judiciary in Pakistan. In this article the researcher has tried to find out role of *Úlemā* in democratization process in Pakistan. This study will be important to evaluate the performance of *Úlemā* in different eras.

**Keywords:** *Úlemā*, Democratization, Movements, Parliamentary democracy, Islamic system, Islamization.

## Introduction:

"*Úlemā* are the plural of Arabic word *alim*, one who possesses the quality of *ilm* knowledge, learning, science in the widest sense"<sup>1</sup>. The term "*Úlemā*" refers to those persons who have sufficient command in the disciplines like law (*fiqh*), theology (*kalam*), exegesis (*tafsīr*), traditions of the Prophet (*Hadith*) and some other associated sub-disciplines. The *Úlemā* are always recognized as having a high degree of competence and they are able to deal with matters of religion. Historically, it has been proved that the *Úlemā* always played a crucial role in the development and functions of Islamic societies. During the pre-modern period, Islamic jurisprudence was developed by *Úlemā*. They being judges administered rule of law at the same time, they work as administrator to alms and donations. *Úlemā* had also been as the architects of the Islamic education system and they had the reins of its provision. The role of *Úlemā* had been significantly debated and contested during pre-modern and modern periods. *Úlemā* provided the institutional basis for the ideological framework for Muslim societies under the light of institutional basis had been provided by *Úlemā*<sup>2</sup>.

*Úlemā* of Pakistan are politically and legally have sound positions. *Úlemā* are vocal and have influence in their areas. They are blamed for the backwardness and conservativeness of the Muslims. But at the time of the elections it is difficult to make a winning alliance without the help of *Úlemā*. As Pakistan is a democratic republic and

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<sup>1</sup> Akhtar, Rai Shakeel. Media, Religion, and Politics in Pakistan. (Karachi: Oxford, 2000)

<sup>2</sup> Butt, Atif Ikram. *Úlemā Agents for Social Chang: Muslim Scholars Speak for Mothers Rights*. Bloomberg : Published by Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, 2010

Islam is declared as state religion. Parliamentary democracy is practiced in Pakistan. It is important to see to what extent *Ulemā* accepted this system and played their role in democratization process. Mobilized democracy creates common interest in the society that generates economic and social equality in the society. Without the sense of common interest democracy will not flourish. It is true in all sense that the strength available is not enough to increase the life of democracy.

*Ulemās* accepted the democratic political system of Pakistan, now the question is how they contributed for the democracy in the political history of Pakistan. It is also important to see what are the attributes of democracy and how the process of democratization can be explained. Huntington gives extreme remarks that it is difficult to give single common variable that can elaborate causes of democratization. Different reasons are found for different countries for democratization. Are the causes of democratization found in political culture values and attitudes and sometimes in historical factors and social structure and it is also a question whether the size of the country and geographical location play its role for democratization?<sup>3</sup> If we want to elaborate the ingredients of democratization we have to examine the political history of Pakistan. There is a need to study the factors that are adversely affecting the process of democratization. Pakistani political system is dominated by the feudal class and other fractions who are not interested in democracy. Frequent Military take overs and absence of free and fair elections adversely affected the political system of Pakistan. Democracy gives emphasis on principles like accountability, equality and justice. Liberty, good governance and responsibility are also important factors in the process of democratization. If the leaders do not practise these principles of democracy, it does not mean that people are not fit for democracy<sup>4</sup>.

Another important factor that casts its influence on the electoral politics of Pakistan is shrine politics or *Pirs*. Political culture of the areas comprising West Wing was dominated by feudal lords, religious persons who were custodian of the shrines. These pirs have large land holdings and have close nexus with the feudal elites. Some of these feudal had the seats of spiritual power due to their divine lineage which helped them to gain religious affiliation of the people. The *Pirs* belong to powerful group that exert significant impact on their followers. In Pakistan the religious parties had never got complete political power. *Jamat-e-Islami* had been a strong pressure group on governments. Religious parties had been influential and created restraints several times against the government in the history of Pakistan<sup>5</sup>.

Process of democratizations requires the development and strengthening of the institutions. Institutional development in Pakistan has been weak and the factor that makes such institutions strong did not work in a harmonized manner. Quality of democracy suffers when leaders come in power and do not give importance to participatory democracy. These leaders raise verbal slogans but do not realize the spirit of true democracy. Elected bodies and elected governments are not fully empowered, elite hold the strings in the power structure and elections are used to legitimize the rule.

<sup>3</sup> Vanhanen, Tatu. Democratization A comparative analysis of 170 countries. (London: Vanhanen Routledge, 2003).

<sup>4</sup> Mahmood, Safdar. Pakistan Political Roots & Development 1947-1999. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>5</sup> Hussain, Asaf. Elite Politics in an Ideological State the Case of Pakistan. (England: Wm Dawson and Sons Ltd, 1979).

“Democratization a process of transition as a country attempts to move from authoritarian form of government to a democratic one”<sup>6</sup>.

### **Role of *Úlemā* in Democratization**

Pakistan presents a fine example of fusion of political opposition and Islamic figures. Although creation of Pakistan was interpreted differently by different segments of society yet it was a nation state for the Muslims. Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Muhammad Iqbal got this land for the Muslims. The *Úlemā* seemed divided on the creation of Pakistan. The political life of Pakistan confirms continuous support of Braveli for the creation of Pakistan. All religious authorities developed consensus on the idea of a Muslim Nation<sup>7</sup>. It is a fact that Pakistan was perceived as separate homeland for the Muslims. The constitution of 1956 proclaimed in article 1, “Pakistan shall be a federal republic to be known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan”. In the first constitution of 1956 the article 25 clearly states that steps should be taken to make the people live their lives according to Quran and Sunnah which is called Directive Principles of State Policy Pakistan<sup>8</sup>. *Úlemā* started to be a part of the political system and deliberated in Constitution making. In the Constitution of 1962 it is stated that no law shall prevail against Quran and Sunnah. First victory of *Úlemā* was the first amendment in the constitution, name of the country is changed from Republic of Pakistan to Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 1963.

Therefore It is important to see that those *Úlemā* who were not opposed to Pakistan’s coming into being or who supported its concept, men like Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, soon after the creation of Pakistan demanded Islamization of laws when they were involved in the processes of constitution making as well as in the process of law making. These *Úlemā* were joined by some others who were either earlier opposed to the concept of the new state or had remained neutral. The pressure of the *Úlemā* was exerted on the government through public statements, speeches in pro religious movements and through public relations with the highest functionaries of the government. The *Úlemā* received valuable support from Mawdudi and his *Jam’at-I Islami*, who, however, kept his programs and organization quite separate from that of the *Úlemā*. The main adversary of the *Úlemā* was and had been the Westernized upper middle class elite which had governed Pakistan through politicians, the civil services, and the armed forces. The first dialogue between the *Úlemā* and the Westernized elite took place through the board of *Talimat-I Islamiyya* in which the *Úlemā* scored one point at least, that the Head of the State must be a Muslim<sup>9</sup>.

Maulana Usmani and Maulana Maududi were influencing the content of the Objectives Resolution which was approved by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in March 1949. The two speeches delivered by Jinnah on the occasions of 11<sup>th</sup> August and day of independence were countered by The Objectives Resolution. The Parliamentary democracy on the model of Westminster for Pakistan can be foreseen from these

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<sup>6</sup> Janda, Kenneth, Jefferey M Berry, and Jerry Goldman. The Challenge of Democracy American Government in a Global World. (America: Wadsworth cengage learning America, 2009).

<sup>7</sup> Cesari, Jocelyne. The Awakening of Muslim Democracy: Religion, Modernity, and the State. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press America, 2014).

<sup>8</sup> Shah, Niaz A. Women, the Koran and international human right law: the experience of Pakistan: (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Ahmad, Aziz. “Activism of Ulama in Pakistan.” In Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East Since 1500, by Nikki R. Keddie, (California: University California Press, 1972), 257-274.

speeches. After the creation of Pakistan, the religious segments engaged themselves in a debate whether Pakistan should be a Muslim state or an Islamic state by organizing themselves under the banner of political parties<sup>10</sup>.

The major step regarding reforms in madaris was taken by Ayub Khan who planned to bring changes in the curriculum of Madrassa and he also imposed restrictions on the sources of funding<sup>11</sup>. The underlying objectives of these reforms were to docile opponents of his regime. The political scenario at the time of Ayub's coup was that there was going intense battle between those wanted to keep religion away from the political setting and those who wanted to see sufficient role of Islam in the politics of Pakistan. Without the help of *Ulemā*, efforts have been planned and implemented to reform the setting by the governments. The issues of Islamic education and interpretation of Islam carry major concerns in politics of Pakistan. Soon after the birth of Pakistan, the debate revolving around the role of Islam in the political and governance started<sup>12</sup>.

Some believe that Jinnah was modernist while some view him on the other side. Islamic radicals had surely some arguments in their favour. Mr. Jinnah wrote a letter to Mr. Ghandhi in August 1944 and gave his observations in following words. The Quran is a complete code of life it provides solution for all matters either it is religious or social, civil or criminal, military or penal, economic or commercial<sup>13</sup>.

According to other school of thought the vision about the state was that it should not be a theocratic state, Lawrance Ziring a Western writer said, "In April 1948, Mohammad Ali Jinnah had discussed his vision of a secular Pakistan state. Pakistan, he said, "is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission." In 1949, Liaquat Ali Khan repeated and elaborated on this statement. Rule by priests, he declared, was "absolutely foreign to Islam"<sup>14</sup>. An important successful effort from the *Ulemā* side was seen on the legislation of Objectives Resolution.

With reference to role of *Ulemā* in the Constitution of Pakistan, An important legal document was presented in 1949 with the name of Objectives Resolution assumed enormous worth. It was made clear that any law contradictory to Islamic teachings would not be declared as part of legislation. The Muslim League included the *Ulemās* as part of committee working on the constitution of Pakistan and they were authorised to filter and approve provisions in the light of Islamic teachings. The *Ulemā* demanded veto power in the legislative affairs to stop any measure repugnant to Islamic teachings and the demand was articulated simultaneously by Deobandi and Jamiat *Ulemā*<sup>15</sup>. Objectives Resolution

<sup>10</sup>Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. The Ulama in Contemporary Islam Custodians of Change. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Khalid Rahman, Syed Rashad Bukhari. "Religious Education Institutions (REIs): Present Situation and the Future Strategy." <http://www.ips.org.pk/>. <http://www.ips.org.pk/madrassa-education/1114-religious-education-institutions-reis-present-situation-and-the-future-strategy.html> (accessed January 2017)

<sup>12</sup>Riaz, Ali. Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press New Brunswick, 2008).

<sup>13</sup>Jones, Owen Bennett. Pakistan Eye of the Storm. (Bolton: Northern Photo type setting Co. Ltd, 2006).

<sup>14</sup>Ziring, Lawrence. Pakistan: At the Crosscurrent of History. (England: One world Publications Oxford, 2003).

<sup>15</sup>Kukreja, Veena, and M.P Singh. Pakistan Democracy, Development and Security Issues. (New Delhi: Sage Publications India Pvt Ltd, 2005).

became preamble of the successive constitutions and incorporated as operative part of the constitution in 1985. Equal fundamental rights were assured for Muslims and non-Muslims according to this document. It looks federalism; democracy and popular sovereignty were combined in this document<sup>16</sup>.

**Objectives Resolution an Important milestone:**

Objectives Resolution is considered as an important milestone in the constitutional history of Pakistan. This draft says that State of Pakistan will follow Islamic Ideals and democratic principles for representation. Principles of democracy, tolerance, equality and social justice are part of the constitution of Pakistan. Pakistan came into existence in 1947 and first constitution was drafted in 1956 so it took almost nine years to make a constitution for a newly formed state. Idea of Pakistan was discussed in Objectives Resolution. It was mentioned in the constitution that the country would be a federation and it would be an Islamic entity. Secularism or status of seculars is not discussed in the Constitution<sup>17</sup>.

Some issues were arisen at the time of independence as either the constitution would be Islamic or secular. Liaqat Ali Khan who was the first Prime Minister of Pakistan and have support of majority had views that Pakistan would not be a theocracy. Subsequent governments of different regimes compromise with Islamists and rights are also given to Muslims and non-Muslim. No one seemed serious about the implementations of Islam. Ayub Khan had enmity with the Islamist Parties. *Jammat Islami* was banned and Mawdudi renowned Islamic Scholar was imprisoned. The government was pitting the conservative *Ulemā*, *Jamaat* and its political allies for supporting Jinnah's sister in supporting Presidential elections of 1965. First compromise was seen between the seculars and *Islamises* on the Objectives Resolution in 1949. Its Preamble read: "Sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust"<sup>18</sup>.

Jamaat-e-Islami supported Fatima Jinnah in Presidential elections of 1965 against Ayub Khan. Jamiat *Ulemā*-e-Islam opposed her as being a woman<sup>19</sup>. However, Ayub had not been successful in eliminating the gains of *Ulemā* in fifties through their influence in general and from the constitution in particular. During that time, the Religio- political parties came to realize the facts that there was no alternative than accepting phenomenon like political campaigning, elections, parliament and political organization. The said phenomenon was employed by *Ulemā* to throw Ayub out of power in the elections of 1964 but their efforts were failed. The *Ulemā* acknowledged the worth of political process and took part in the election of 1970<sup>20</sup>.

Newly formed state had a challenge of making a legal framework for its governance. Under the agreement of Britain's independence Act, both the countries were allowed to make their own constitution. At the time of creation

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<sup>16</sup>Newberg, Paula R. Judging the state Courts and constitutional politics in Pakistan. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

<sup>17</sup>Cohen, Stephen Philip. The Idea of Pakistan. Washington, (D.C: The brookings Institution, 2004).

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Akhtar, Rai Shakil. Media, Religion, and Politics In Pakistan. (Karachi: Oxford, 2000).

<sup>20</sup>Shah, Syed Mujawar Hussain. "RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE PAKISTAN 1972-1988." (Islamabad: Unpublished thesis for Doctor of Philosophy, Quaid e Azam University, 1994).

Pakistan did not have constitution of its own so Government of India Act 1935 was adopted as working constitution. On 12 March 1949 under the leadership of Liaquat Ali Khan Pakistan made its first constitutional draft Objectives Resolution. This document worked as a foundation for the new constitution and also called Magna Carta of Pakistan's constitutional history. According to Objectives Resolution State of Pakistan would follow Islamic Ideals and democratic principles for representation.

*“Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed; wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Qur'an and Sunna; wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to progress and practice their religions and develop their cultures”<sup>21</sup>*

Basic principles committee was leading the Constituent Assembly which was formed to make the constitution and ratify it as this assembly was also a legislative assembly. Working of the assembly was very slow as Liaquat Ali Khan Prime Minister was not in a position to achieve a base for consensus on the constitution.

#### **Debate of Making Pakistan as an Islamic State:**

This situation gave idea to the *Ulemā* to make the Muslim majority state as Islamic state. Thus all those who were against the creation of Pakistan on the ground that it would not be an Islamic state took an about turn. Within the few months after the creation of Pakistan; they raised their 22 points demands for the establishment of an Islamic state. “Meanwhile, the bureaucrats recognized in these religious agitators potential allies in their efforts to subdue the politicians, particularly those belonging to the majority province of East Bengal”<sup>22</sup>.

It has always remained an important question that how Islam deals with the banking system. *Ulemā* have given their views about the interest in the banking system and introduced Islamic banking. Debate on Islamic punishments and Islamic system of justice is very old in Pakistan. *Ulemā* of Pakistan still try to increase their follower's by conducting debates on the topic like place of Islam in the life of people. They were remained on forefront in different movements. Still the *Ulemā* have been seen as the protectors of traditions of Islam<sup>23</sup>. Early discussions of making Pakistan an Islamic state was started between Politician rather than *Ulemā*. Leaders of Muslim League had some changed form of Westernized concept of nationalist theory. *Ulemā* were not able to reconcile nationalism and Islam. One can distinguish a certain level of uneasiness among the *Ulemā* and the idea of Pakistan as an Islamic State. “At best, it is only the *Ulama* as in the aftermath of the Abbasid caliphate who can give unity, continuity, and divine guidance to that part of the Islamic community which resides in Pakistan. All that is

<sup>21</sup> Wynbrandt, James. A Brief History of Pakistan. (New York: Facts on file, Inc. 2009).

<sup>22</sup> Hasan, Shazia. “Military-Bureaucracy Robbed Politicians of Legitimacy by Discrediting Election System.” Dawn, 07 May 2014.

<sup>23</sup> Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. The Ulama in Contemporary Islam Custodians of Change. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

required of the government is that it recognizes the Institution and function of the *Ulama*”<sup>24</sup>.

The Munir Report of 1954 carries great significance as it shows a lack of consensus among the *Ulemā* of the various schools of thought on the issues of Islamic beliefs and principles and how these beliefs are applied to a modern state<sup>25</sup>. *Ulemā* remained active in all the political movements that were seen in the political arena of this country. *Ulemā* showed their concern about the riots in 1953. A move against the dismissal of Khawaja Nazimuddin was started and the problem of food shortage aggravated the situation. Khawaja Nazimuddin refused to dismiss Sir Zafrullah Khan who was an Ahmadi. Maulana Maudaudi supported this agitation move but he remained on his primary stance that was Islamization of whole system. Role of *Ulemā* in society had been established because of the prevailing influence of Islam in all aspects of life. During Ayub Khan’s era (1958-69) JUI opposed the Muslim Family Law Ordinance promulgated by President Ayub Khan in 1961 on the grounds that the restrictions of seeking permission for a second marriage in the presence of an existing marriage were un-Islamic<sup>26</sup>.

If we discuss the role of different religious parties in the electoral politics of Pakistan we see that the role of *Jamiyyat al Ulemā –i Islam* in electoral and in the politics of agitation has been important. Its role during anti-Ahmadi agitations in 1953 and 1974 had been very crucial. It remained successful in forming a coalition government in the Northwest Frontier province 1971, 1973; and in 1977. It also participated in the *Tahrik – I- Nizam-i- Mustafa*, a multiparty electoral alliance formed against the government of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and the Pakistan People’s Party<sup>27</sup>.

The active role of the *Ulemā* in Pakistan can best be studied in viewing their activities in chronological historical context. It shows that many of them were at the outset against the establishment of Pakistan. The minority that supported the concept of the new Muslim state as well as some of the former opponents immigrated to Pakistan and soon busied themselves with processes of politics and of constitution making in the country in various ways. One of the founders of *Deoband*, who had been involved in the mutiny earlier, disliked Sayyid Ahmad Khan’s movement. The leaders of both the Deoband school and the Nadwatul al *Ulemā* in the 1930s and 1940s, decades of Pakistan movement’s incubation and momentum, namely Hussain Ahmad Madni and Sayyid Sulayman Nadwi, respectively, identified themselves with the *Jamiyyat al Ulemāi Hind*, allied to the Indian National Congress<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> Binder, Leonard. Religion and Politics in Pakistan. (California: University of California Press, Berkely and Los Angeles, 1961).

<sup>25</sup> Shah, Syed Mujawar Hussain. “RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE PAKISTAN 1972-1988.” (Islamabad: Unpublished thesis for Doctor of Philosophy, Quaid e Azam University, 1994).

<sup>26</sup> Moj, Muhammad. The Deoband Madrassah Movement: Countercultural Trends and Tendencies. (London: Anthem Press London, 2015).

<sup>27</sup> Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. The Ulama in Contemporary Islam Custodians of Change. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

<sup>28</sup> Ahmad, Aziz. “Activism of Ulama in Pakistan .” In Scholars, Saints, and Sufis: Muslim Religious Institutions in the Middle East Since 1500, by Nikki R. Keddie, (California: University California Press , 1972), 257-274.

With the passage of time, these two Deobandi stream became disheartened about the possibility of formation of an Islamic state under the name of Pakistan. The focus of the Deobandi *Madaris* Movement (DMM) on the establishment of Pakistan became even narrower. The old Deobandi goal regarding formation of an Islamic state became a distant dream. In this scenario, Deobandi politicians following a more pragmatic approach developed alliances with sectarian, liberal and secular parties. Therefore, JUI became a political party which had politicians of Deobandi School. In the wake of JUI's pragmatic politics, the leadership became involved in the movements like anti *Qadiyani* of the 1950s and the socialism controversy for the decade of 1960<sup>29</sup>.

Although some of the religious parties could not enter themselves into the corridor of power yet their role as Pressure Group could not be minimized. The parties manipulated mass media to pursue their agenda. As mass media had been under influence of some ideology so it could not escape themselves from their influence. As these groups were part of pressure politics and have influence on media so their role cannot be diminished in grave concerns. These groups assume enormous worth when some religious issue arises<sup>30</sup>.

#### **Role of *Ulemā* during Zia era and after Zia:**

Military takeover is a common feature in many countries who gained independence from their colonial rulers<sup>31</sup>. Zia politics directed at achieve two major objectives: Firstly, he wanted to keep the tempo of the agitation movement launched by the *Ulemā* against Bhutto. Secondly, he wanted to deny the masses elections as well as parliamentary democracy. Army had been the constituency of General Zia ul Haq but he utilized the tool of Islamization to pursue two major objectives. On the one hand he wanted to gain legitimacy of general public on the other hand he also wanted to gain loyalties of religious class of the Pakistani society. The ordinances issued by him and public rhetoric worked effectively against the critics of his authoritarian rule and he was also able to keep the major political parties like the Pakistan People's Party away from the political ring<sup>32</sup>.

Defence and security are the only fields for which the military was limited since from inception of Pakistan, It is obligatory upon the military to come for help whenever civilian governments call upon to do as<sup>33</sup>. Zia tried to give a new Islamic orientation to the army which had long been an organization in line with British tradition. He expanded the role of the army to defend the ideological frontier of the country in addition to the geographical borders. A Directorate of Religious instruction was established to educate

<sup>29</sup> Moj, Muhammad. *The Deoband Madrassah Movement: Countercultural Trends and Tendencies*. (London: Anthem Press London, 2015).

<sup>30</sup> Iqbal, Zafar. *Mass Media, The Politics and the Politicians: A Mismatched Troika of Pakistan*. (Islamabad: Higher Education Commission Islamabad, 2011).

<sup>31</sup> Khan, M. Asghar. *WE 'VE LEARNT NOTHING FROM HISTORY Pakistan: PAKISTAN: POLITICS AND MILITARY POWER*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013).

<sup>32</sup> Shah, Syed Mujawar Hussain. "RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE PAKISTAN 1972-1988." (Islamabad: Unpublished thesis for Doctor of Philosophy, Quaid e Azam University, 1994).

<sup>33</sup> Rizvi, Hassan Askari. *Democracy in Pakistan*. n.d. <http://www.democracy-asia.org/qa/pakistan/Hasan%20Askari.pdf> (accessed 06 24, 2014).



the officer corps on Islam who was taught to be not just professional soldiers but soldiers of Islam<sup>34</sup>.

Some of the groups of *Úlemās* were not in favour of Benazir. In 1988 religious groups questioned the election of Benazir as Prime Minister on religious grounds. Weekly Takbeer an investigative newspaper faced violence in October 1991; residence of its editor was set on fire. Printer of this paper refused to give its services for printing. The newspaper published in Lahore and distributed under the protection of police in Karachi. The entire journalist, representative bodies remained silent against the violence. No collective efforts were seen to back the standing of the newspaper. At that crucial point only a religious party JamatIslami came forward and raised voice for this newspaper<sup>35</sup>.

In 1993 revivalists and traditionalist both entered into electoral understanding with Benazir and supported her. Traditionalist even accepted ministerial posts at province level in Frontier province by making an alliance with Peoples Party<sup>36</sup>. Islamic Jumhuri Ittihad made by the Nawaz Shareef the leader of Pakistan Muslim League and other political parties against the Pakistan People's Party (PPP). Islamic Jumhuri Ittihad got victory against the PPP in the elections. This alliance had strong support of *Úlemā* and these *Úlemā* were criticizing PPP for their lack of Islamic commitment. Nawaz Shareef tried to enforce Sharia in his first government; the enforcement of Sharia Act was introduced in May 1991. In 1993 first government of Nawaz Shareef was dismissed in 1993. Benazir remained in power after Nawaz Shareef, then again from 1997-99 Shareef got power with more force in the Parliament. In his second tenure, Nawaz Shareef reassured his promise of implementing Sharia with a forceful way<sup>37</sup>.

#### ***Úlemā* Role after 9/11:**

In October 1999 democratically elected government was overthrown by Musharraf. Some of the representative of the civil society welcomed Musharraf with open arms. They collaborated with Musharraf and even joined his cabinet<sup>38</sup>. The alliance

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<sup>34</sup> Moj, Muhammad. The Deoband Madrassah Movement: Countercultural Trends and Tendencies. (London: Anthem Press London, 2015).

<sup>35</sup> Iqbal, Zafar. Mass Media, The Politics and the Politicians: A Mismatched Troika of Pakistan. (Islamabad: Higher Education Commission Islamabad, 2011).

<sup>36</sup> Akhtar, Rai Shakil. Media, Religion, And Politics In Pakistan. (Karachi: Oxford, 2000).

<sup>37</sup> Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. The Ulama in Contemporary Islam Custodians of Change. (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2002).

<sup>38</sup> Zaidi, S Akbar. Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan. (Lahore: Vanguard Books Lahore, 2011).

of the religious parties were very strong under the leadership of Maulana Fazlur Rahman belongs to JUI in 2002. The alliance was consisted of these parties; Jamaat-e-Islami, JUI, the Shias, Brelvis and Ahl-e-Hadith. After the elections of 2002 MMA emerged as a strongest block in the parliament. In the province of Baluchistan, MMA emerged as the largest party in the parliament. Their shares of seats were largest in Provincial and National Legislatures. The anti-American sentiments of the religious parties resounded fully with the electorate, especially in the provinces regional parties could not get the desired results. Musharraf imposed restriction on the main parties like Pakistan Peoples Party and Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz to take part in the elections. He made his King's party with the name of Pakistan Muslim League (Q). He was not willing to act against the extremists in Pakistan but Operation Lal Mosque was a severe action that was taken and produced a new wave of extremism in Pakistan. Mutihida Majlise Amal might not get victory in the elections if Musharraf did not impose restrictions upon the main stream parties<sup>39</sup>. Main stream parties were also looked helpless in front of this mighty religious alliance. Heavy bombing at Afghanistan at that time created anti American sentiments and religious parties got benefit of this impression in the elections<sup>40</sup>.

*Hasba* Bill was proposed by MMA an alliance of six religious political parties in 2005 with the objective to ensure the execution of Sharia in the North West Frontier Province, now KPK. The Bill was referred to the Council by the Governor. It is also interesting to see the response of *Ulemās* on other legislation. Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961 was the result of successful campaign by All Pakistan Women Association against polygamy. Pakistani society has been remained divided since the implementation of this legislation. The reformist groups favoured these reforms. The religious groups strictly opposed them<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> Zaidi, S Akbar. *Military, Civil Society and Democratization in Pakistan*. (Lahore: Vanguard Books Lahore, 2011).

<sup>40</sup> Ahmad, Mumtaz. "Islamic Education in Pakistan: Second Year Report : A Preliminary Draft." *iiu.edu.pk*. 05 July 2007. <http://www.iiu.edu.pk/wp-content/uploads/downloads/ird/downloads/madrassa-education-in-pakistan-second-year-report.pdf> (accessed 03 16, 2016).

<sup>41</sup> Masud, Dr Khalid. "The Role of the Council of Islamic Ideology in the Islamization of Laws in Pakistan." (Adelaide: University of South Australia, , 06 July 2015).

Musharraf took secular root to modernize the nation as same effort was done by Ayub Khan. Terrorist attacks in America in 2001 proved turning point for Musharraf. He joined War against Terror and the world community lifted restrictions upon the Musharraf's government. Musharraf neglected Pakistan People's Party which had its roots at local level. Jamat Islami was leading the alliance of *MutahidaMajlis Amal* (MMA). Musharraf promised to resign from the military post after the elections of 2002.

Contrary to prevalent belief, the initiatives taken by Musharraf were not new. He put the agenda of reforming madrassah education at top when he assumed power. In his first speech as Head of Government on 17 October 1999 Musharraf warned against the use of religion. This set the Musharraf regime's tone toward the madrassahs, militancy, and the role of Islam in Pakistani politics. Commensurate with the position outlined in Musharraf's speech, the government promulgated the 'Pakistan Madrassah Education (Establishment and Affiliation of Model Deeni Madaris) Board'<sup>42</sup>.

General Musharraf was in favour of Enlightened Moderation for the political system of Pakistan. He got help from the Islamic political parties with the name of *Muttahida-i-Majlis-i-Amal* (MMA). Musharraf used this conglomerate of Islamic parties for staying in power<sup>43</sup>. Deobandi *Úlemā* were playing significant role in the political scenario of Pakistan as they had large number of madrassas throughout the country. These madrassas had great influence in rural areas and born the expenses of students, mess and residence was free in these kinds of Madrassas. Estimated range of these madrassas in the country is about 40,000. In 2006 Benazir wanted to come back and contest the next elections. At this situation when contemporary political parties were trying to eradicate undemocratic government the alliance of MMA was supporting Musharraf<sup>44</sup>.

In recent scenario government recognized the importance of *Úlemā* in the process of eradication of extremism in Pakistan. A Fatwa was given in Favour of Operation ZarbeAzab in 2014 by Hundred *Úlemās*. Prime Minister Nawaz Shareef urged on the religious leaders to come forward and portray the real image of Islam. It was also said

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<sup>42</sup> Riaz, Ali. Faithful Education Madrassahs in South Asia. (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press New Brunswick, 2008).

<sup>43</sup> Rizvi, Hassan Askari. Democracy in Pakistan. n.d. <http://www.democracy-asia.org/qa/pakistan/Hasan%20Askari.pdf> (accessed 06 24, 2014).

<sup>44</sup> Mandaville, Peter. Global Political Islam. (New York: Routledge, 2007).

that a message of tolerance and peace should be given from the religious segments. (Religious scholars must play role in countering terrorism , 2014)

There remained scarcity of discourse between religion and politics. While analysing the role of *Úlemā* before partition one can see that *Úlemā* seemed divided on the creation of Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan different sects of *Úlemās* played their role in active politics and try to Islamize the laws in Pakistan. An important legal document presented in 1949 with the name of Objectives Resolution assumed enormous worth. It was made clear that any law contradictory to Islamic teachings would not be declared as part of legislation. On every occasion in the political history of Pakistan they gave their stance on the issues and even resisted in front of dictatorial regimes. They remained on forefront in different movements. The pressure of the *Úlemā* was exerted on the government through public statements, speeches in pro religious movements and through public relations with the highest functionaries of the government. Debate on Islamic punishments and Islamic system of justice was very old in Pakistan. *Úlemā* were playing significant role in the political scenario of Pakistan as they had large number of madrassas throughout the country. *Úlemā* of Pakistan still try to increase their follower's by conducting debates on the topic like place of Islam in the life of people. Still the *Úlemā* had been seen as the protectors of traditions of Islam.