

Demographics

Pakistan Muslim Politics

2022 version – part 2

1

Post-Partition:

- Pakistan had low resources (17.5.% of finance, 30% of defence of pre-Partition India).
- No money for development; provinces lose tax rights; centralised.
- Limited funds for basic social services (education, health, transport).
- Little industry: primarily foodstuff and raw material production.

2

Primary difficulties for Pakistan post-Partition:

demographics: power in Western Pakistan;

Bengalis were greater number = difficulties for bureaucracies, landlords, business people of west.

no national elections: dispute as to financial and political power separation

no judicial autonomy; bureaucratic-military elite.

3

1951 Liaquat Ali Khan (assassinated).

It took until 1956 for a constitution to be introduced, with a parliament controlling the Banned parties, purged politicians: 'controlled democracy' + economic development through international patronage (IMF, World Bank), funding reaching landlords and merchants; licences for senior military and civilian officials for development + top jobs .

Jalal, p.56
under President Iskander Mirza and Prime Minister Chaudhri Mohammad.

This was an effort to control a region with low resources, limited money for development, and an underdeveloped industrial base and infrastructure.

4

Dissatisfaction led to the declaration of martial law between 1958 and 1962 under **General Muhammad Ayub Khan**.

Political parties were banned, and economic development strictly regulated through patronage networks controlling money from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

'controlled democracy'

+ economic development through international patronage (IMF, World Bank),

funding reaching landlords and merchants;

licences for senior military and civilian officials for development + top jobs .

Jalal, p.56

5

After Partition, Pakistan's governments responded in different ways to changing pressures and interests relating to Islam.

Ta'limat-i-Islami, an Advisory Board of Islamic Teaching, fulfilled aspects of the 1956 Pakistan Constitution, abrogated in 1958 by Ayub Khan. .

6

1962 saw Ayub promote a constitution in which he became president, controlling constitutional assemblies in East and West Pakistan.

The 1962 Constitution included provision for the Advisory Islamic Ideology Council (renamed the Islamic Ideology Council [IIC] in 1973).

Constitutionally, the IIC was to include judges, academics, and at least one woman - its membership ranging from eight to twenty people.

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1956: state defined as 'an Islamic republic'.

1961: family law ordinances, safeguarding 'women's rights' in divorce & custody cases

1962: 'Islam' dropped from constitution; replaced a year later.
Ayub courts USA initially; then China during Indo-China war.

1965: Ayub leads government-sponsored Convention Muslim League. Wins first presidential election. Indo-Pakistan war inconclusive.

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1969: After rioting, Ayub hands over to General Yahya Khan, c-in-c, Pakistan army, who announced 1970 elections.

Awami League secure majority in east Pakistan, 160 out of 162 seats.

Pakistan People's Party, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 81 out of 138 W. Pakistan seats.

Awami League seeks autonomy. March 1971:

Yahya's regime orders military crackdown in E. Pakistan.

Declaration of Bangladesh.

Indian government sides with Bangladesh in December 1971.

9

East Pakistan, under the Awami League, declared independence and - after support from India and a sustained military campaign - Bangladesh emerged in 1972. Bhutto became president of (the remainder of) Pakistan.

Under a 1973 constitutional revival, Bhutto's role was transformed to that of Prime Minister, and during his first term his Pakistani People's Party (PPP) established mutual border control with India, recognised Bangladesh, brokered a cease-fire in Kashmir, and suppressed a revolt in Baluchistan.

Economic and educational reforms, based on socialist principles, were introduced in conjunction with PPP efforts to placate the ruling classes and landowners in Pakistan.

10

Pakistan

Selective utilisation of Islamic values for political ends has been evident throughout recent Pakistan history.

For example, **Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979)** promoted his interpretation of Islamic values from the foundation of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) in 1967, utilising Islamic imagery in the election campaign.

After election in 1970, his programme towards aspects of secularisation and socialism was given an Islamic basis, and the 1973 Constitution demonstrated that ritualistic aspects of practices of Islam were given a greater role in Pakistani society.

To emphasise this, the media, education, and hajj were given increased assistance to promote these aspects of Islam.



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Bhutto sought to increase links with other Muslim nations, and hosted the Second Islamic Summit Conference in Lahore in 1973.

This has been perceived in part as a response to the fragmentation of the unified East and West Pakistan in December 1971, after civil war, when East Pakistan (under Shaykh Mujibur al-Rahman) transformed into Bangladesh.

Jama'at-e Islami, under Abu al-a'la Mawdudi (1903-79), attributed this to God's displeasure because of the lack of Islamisation within Pakistan.



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Mawdudi had founded the Jama'at-e-Islami in 1941, emphasising the need for an Islamic state, and a return to the ideals of the early Muslim community led by the Prophet Muhammad in seventh century Medina.

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Bhutto administration denounce the Ahmadiyya sect as 'un-Islamic'.

Bhutto increased the emphasis on Islamic identification during the 1977 election campaign, in the face of accusations from the opposition Pakistan National Alliance that the PPP - and especially its leader - was 'un-Islamic'.

Bhutto implemented the Islamization of the legal system, and - accused of election fraud - in April 1977 imposed martial law after his 'victory' in the election.

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The coup d'etat in July 1977 by **General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1924-1988)** paved the way for an increase in the Islamization process (and the execution of Bhutto in 1979).

Zia introduced so-called 'Shari'a -based' punishments (based on an interpretation of Islamic Law) for specific crimes, and boosted the position of the then seventeen-member Islamic Ideology Council, which was to endeavour to bring the legal system into line with the Qur'an and Sunna.

'Islamic' symbolism and practices were drawn-upon, including dress-codes, Qur'an quotations on official buildings, close monitoring of Ramadan, promotion of the Hajj, and the designation of Friday as a weekly holiday.

In 1979, Shari'a legal benches were introduced.



15

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"The main function of these Islamic legal bodies was to exercise a form of Islamic judicial review, where any citizen could request the judiciary to declare a law either wholly or partially un-Islamic."

Mir Zohair Hussain, 62.

16

A 1980 Report from the Committee on Islamization, established by Zia, sought a gradual implementation of Islamization, through application of:

Zakat (alms)

'Islamic' interpretations of banking (especially relating to interest or riba) and taxation.

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The Islamization process, up to Zia's death in August 1988, demonstrates some practicalities and difficulties in reconciling the Qur'an and Sunna with contemporary issues.

The Islamic Ideology Council had particular problems conceptualising an interest-free economy (interest being deemed 'un-Islamic'), whilst the implementation of a Law of Evidence regarding women witnesses (Qanun-i-Shahadat) provoked strong opposition within and outside of Pakistan.

The need to reconcile Islamization policies with minority interests - both Muslim and non-Muslim - was demonstrated by the protests of Shi'a Muslims in Pakistan against what they perceived as Sunni-centred laws: an opt-out system was introduced for Shi'a Muslims.

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Critics questioned the authenticity of certain 'Islamic' laws, and suggest that they may well be perpetuating traditions oppressive to marginalized or suppressed groups within the population:

"Unfortunately in Pakistan, not only has religion been politicised, but religious sentiments and feelings are exploited to perpetuate un-Islamic laws, practices and laws. During the Islamization process, no legislation was passed on the pressing issues, such as corruption, inefficient and inadequate law enforcement, lack of legal redress, delay in deciding cases and lack of public facilities."

Source: R. Patel, "Socio-economic Political Status and Women and Law in Pakistan", (Karachi: Faiza publishers, 1991)

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Zia's reaction to opposition against himself was to suggest that it represented opposition to the Qur'an.

He managed to maintain links with Muslim countries reconciled to Pakistan receiving United States aid, whilst promoting aspects of pragmatic interpretations of Islam within Pakistan.

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Zia's rule came to an abrupt end when he died in a mysterious plane crash.

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Under his control, political activity was banned in Pakistan, which meant that members of the revived PPP (including Zulfikar's daughter Benazir, and his wife Nusrat) were forced into exile.

Whilst 'Islamic' constitutional 'reforms' were introduced, Zia courted the United States, which was keen to cultivate a strategic base next to Soviet controlled Afghanistan, through which military aid could be sent to Afghan resistance movements.

Zia established links with China, and sought to promote his position as a leader within the Muslim world.

Zia's death came at a time when he was planning elections in November 1988, in which - despite military opposition - Benazir Bhutto won enough seats to form a government.

22

Benazir Bhutto (1953-2007)



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Benazir Bhutto

Educated in Pakistan + Harvard + Oxford

Had been arrested/imprisoned during Zia's military coup

Exiled to Britain (until 1988)

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Islamic symbolism and forms of interpretation were to play significant roles in Benazir Bhutto's election rhetoric.

Benazir's defeat (1990), and subsequent re-election (1993-96), demonstrated the continuing currency of Islamic values for the PPP, as it faced Islamic opposition from parties such as the Islamic Democratic Alliance of several parties, Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI).

Benazir's defeat of the IJI coalition did not stop the 'Islamization' processes instigated by Zia.

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Benazir promoted her own 'Islamic' identity, through dress, her own 'arranged' marriage, and participation in the 'lesser pilgrimage' to Mecca.

The PPP did not have an effective majority to counter the IJI; the pro-militarist President Ghulam Ishaq Khan played off the PPP and IJI against each other.

Ethnic violence in the provinces exacerbated the situation for Benazir, and in August 1990 the president, on the grounds of corruption and misuse of power, dissolved government.

John L. Esposito & John O. Voll, Islam and Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 116

27

The Islamic Democratic Alliance (IJI) won the October election, and former Zia supporter Nawaz Sharif became Prime Minister.

The coalition included the Jama'at-e-Islami, and Sharif had to balance their demands with requirements of acquiring international economic assistance.

During the Gulf War, Sharif supported the Saudi Arabian-U.S. alliance, a move that did not find favour amongst members of the IJI coalition.

Sharif ultimately paid the price, when another election was called and Benazir was re-elected.

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After re-election, Benazir had to contend with diverse, often centred on 'Islamic' issues of interpretation.

Ethnic fighting within and between provinces intensified, notably in Benazir's home Sindh province, where the conflict between Urdu-speaking Muhajirs and Sindhis has led to violence.

The Muhajir National Movement (Muhair Qaumi Mahaz - MQM) has influenced national politics, promoting its ethnic identity, contributing to violence, and ultimately being driven into exile.

Whilst contending with this, Benazir also had 'border' problems - in Kashmir and Afghanistan: Pakistan military intelligence provided logistical and technical support to Afghan groups - including the Taliban.

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On November 5, 1996, President Farooq Legari dismissed Benazir from office - and elections were called for February 1997.

The interim Prime Minister was Malik Meraj Khalid, a former National Assembly speaker.

Benazir was accused of corruption, whilst her husband Asif Ali Zardari, other family members, and associates were implicated in the murder of her brother (and political rival) Murtaza Bhutto. Zardari was jailed between 1997-2004, and subsequently rearrested on charges of conspiracy.

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In 1998, Nawaz Sharif's Muslim League was re-elected to office under an Islamization mandate. Parties such as Jama'at-e Islami protested at the 'lack of progress' of Sharif and his government.

It was not the protests that directly forced the government's term of office a premature conclusion during 1999. Long-term violent internal conflict between Sunni and Shia factions was reaching a head, whilst levels of MQM initiated violence were maintained - especially in Karachi and Sindh.

Internationally, conflicts with India over Kashmir increased global concerns, because both India and Pakistan had been testing their nuclear capabilities.

Benazir was indicted on corruption charges and found guilty in absentia.

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In October 1999, the Pakistan army - under its chief of staff **General Pervez Musharraf** - ousted Nawaz Sharif's government; it was motivated by a need to prevent what the army perceived as destabilisation.

Sharif had earlier attempted to remove Musharraf from his post, dramatically attempting to prevent his return from a conference in Sri Lanka by blocking his aircraft's landing at Lahore airport.

Sharif was sentenced to life imprisonment in 2000 on charges including corruption and terrorism, and subsequently exiled to Saudi Arabia - and is prohibited from participating directly in Pakistani political affairs.

32

Musharraf made a number of statements for domestic and international audiences, including his understanding of 'Islamic values'.

Following 9-11, Musharraf sought to project himself as a 'moderate' Muslim leader and ally of the United States, causing substantial domestic pressure - especially during the campaigns in Afghanistan.

In 2002, Musharraf attempted to project legitimacy of his regime through a referendum and subsequent general election; this ended in deadlock between key political parties in Pakistan.

In 2004, negotiations with the Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal party enabled Musharraf to break the deadlock, and push through the Seventeenth Amendment, which retrospectively recognised Musharraf and his coup d'etat.

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"Islamic laws enacted during the Zia era have remained largely intact under the Musharraf regime.

"Despite General Musharraf's policy of "enlightened moderation," his regime's authoritarian rule backed by military coercion has further eroded the vestiges of Pakistan's civil institutions and governance based on the rule of law and on parliamentary supremacy.

"The military's sidelining of the mainstream secular-oriented PPP and the Muslim League has greatly benefited the Islamist groups, which remain among the best-organized political forces in Pakistan, although they lack the unity and common ideological platform necessary to challenge the military-dominated state."

Source: Hussain, Rizwan . "Pakistan." In The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World. Oxford Islamic Studies Online.
<http://egmsxy.bsd.uitsd.ac.uk:2112/article/opr/t236/a0616>

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"The Musharraf regime's attempts to curb Islamic militancy in Pakistan has accentuated the division between a relatively Westernized ruling elite and the growing number of Islamist groups.

"However, the Pakistani political elite's policy of selectively co-opting some of these groups within the state structures indicates its ambivalent attitude toward the so-called "Talibanization" of some segments of Pakistani society.

"The post-9/11 developments in Afghanistan and the army's attempt to curb Islamic extremism in Pakistan have created resentment and a sense of alienation among some Islamic groups that had received the patronage of the state during the preceding two decades."

Source: Hussain, Rizwan . "Pakistan." In The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Islamic World. Oxford Islamic Studies Online.
<http://egmsxy.bsd.uitsd.ac.uk:2112/article/opr/t236/a0616>

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Later, Bhutto is exiled in Dubai in 2000s

Returns to Pakistan for elections, 2007

Assassinated December 2007

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Nawaz Sharif

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif (1949-)

Back in power in 2013 (after six years in opposition) until 2017, disqualified after the Panama papers release

Policy towards financial stability/economic growth (struggling)

Seek to remove extremist groups in NWFP and elsewhere

Improved international relations (US, Russia, China) – poor relations with India (now improving)

Succeeded by Shahid Khaqan Abbasi (supporter of Sharif)

37

**Imran Khan**

(1952-)

cricketer, UK educated
chair: Tehreek-e-Insaf
(Movement for Justice)

"democracy on Islamic principles"



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Key Sources

URLs can be found on the PowerPoint

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