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Islamisation in Pakistan: An Attempt to Establish a New Identity and Its Consequences

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ABSTRACT

This research paper takes into account the creation of Pakistan and its quest to establish a national identity separate from that of India. It revolves around the India threat factor in Pakistan's perception. It seeks to trace the relationship of India and Pakistan since 1947. It attempts to understand and acknowledge the reason behind why Pakistan no longer desires to share its culture with India and wishes to establish a new identity through the process of Islamization. Besides studying what Islamization is and its impact it also studies how has this affected the Pakistani society as a whole. From the hostile environment between the two nations, it can be summed up as: Pakistan's fear of Indian hegemony in the region, Pakistan being called a 'failed nation' by the rest of the world and its support to the militant groups in the name of Islam has provoked it to chose the path of Islamization which has led to adverse effects on their society as well as the rest of the world and has also led to the spread of Jihad.

Keywords: *India, Pakistan, Islamisation, threat, identity, jihad.*

I. INTRODUCTION

India and Pakistan were once a single nation – Hindustan. The invasion of British rule in India led to a plethora of changes and their rule in India ended with bringing about a partition of the nation. The Partition of India has been the most important event in its history. This Partition led to the creation of a new nation of Muslim majority called Pakistan. The British had a major role in sowing the seeds of hatred between Hindus and Muslims. This created tensions between the two communities. As a result of this, the Muslims formed their own political party called the All- India Muslim League. The Muslim League aimed at protection and upliftment of the Muslim community in India as they feared that since it was a minor community, they would not be given the equal opportunity to be heard.

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This fear of theirs started to take shape when the communal differences between the Hindus and Muslims was being highlighted in the political front as well. There were two parties – Indian National Congress (INC) and the All India Muslim League. At that time, during the 1930s, Congress was the ruling party of India. It was then mutually decided that Muslims, though a minority in the nation, would be given appropriate representation in the Congress party. However, this decision was not adhered to in future. Important differences arose between the Congress and the Muslim League over the decision of representation of Muslims in future Assemblies. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a member of the Congress and also the Muslim League, was taken aback by this disparity in the decision of the Congress party. This led to a sudden change in his ideology and instead of promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, he rejected it and started to promote the idea of creating an independent Muslim majority state. This political disparity between the two party led to the foundation of creating a Muslim majority state and moreover, getting the complete support of Muhammad Ali Jinnah acts as a fuel in dividing India.

The decision of Partition of India was not taken overnight but instead a series of events led to the historic partition. One such event which solidified the partition of India and the genesis of Pakistan was the Lahore Resolution in 1940. Lahore Resolution, also known as the Pakistan Resolution was a political resolution planned between 22nd to 24th March, 1940 by the members of the All-India Muslim League and was adopted by them in their general meeting held at Lahore. The resolution asked for an independent Muslim majority state and the name ‘Pakistan’ was adopted and widely used. Ultimately, the nation got divided due to the decision of the Partition.

In 1940, in Lahore, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan, gave a speech highlighting the need for a separate state for Muslims. In his speech, Jinnah described India and Pakistan as two separate nations despite Hindus and Muslims having lived together prior to partition. He said, “It is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality.”²

He believed in the ‘Two Nation Theory’ and this had become the official Pakistani reason for the creation of the state and key to how Pakistan defines itself. Jinnah said, “Hindus and Muslims belong to two different religious philosophies, social customs and literary traditions. They neither intermarry nor eat together, and indeed they belong to two different civilisations which are based mainly in conflicting ideas and conceptions.”

²Jinnah’s speech reported in *The Statesman*, 25 October, 1947

Pakistan was perhaps the first country to be formed on the basis not of a common ethnicity or language, but religion. Yet at the same time it is not a theocracy. It is an Islamic Republic. Despite becoming two separate nations, both India and Pakistan have many similarities in their cultural, social and traditional aspects owing to their history. However, unfortunately, due to the political rivalry between India and Pakistan, this similarity is neglected by them and they no longer wish to share the same. Also, ever since Partition, Pakistan was never accepted as a country and was predicted to be a 'failed nation' by the rest of the world which would eventually become a part of India again. Such demotivation and a burning desire to compete against India provoked them to create a new and separate identity from that of India. They did not wish to be called 'Second hand Indians' according to Zia Ul Haq. As a result, Zia Ul Haq, started a new rift called "Islamization" which was described as an essential therapy to resolve a longstanding national crisis of identity.

(A) Aims and Objective

The aim of the researcher is to understand how the process of Islamization has made Pakistan an Islamic State and consequently increased militancy and Jihad in the country. Further, how has this ruined the image of Pakistan as a nation for the rest of the world.

The objective of the researcher is to study the main causes of Islamizing Pakistan and its impact and consequences.

(B) Research Questions

1. What is Islamization and why was it adopted by Pakistan?
2. What are the consequences of Islamization?
3. How does this weaken the Pakistani Society and what are the solutions to this?

(C) Research Methodology

The project will include information through research from various secondary sources. They include:

1. **Library Research:** The information will be gained after vast reading of various books available in the scholar library written by historian, scholars and noted authors
2. **Online Research Articles:** The information will also be included from various noted and trusted research articles.
3. **Journals and Reports:** Journals and reports of various reported scholars will also be taken into consideration.

(D) Literature Review**‘INSECURITY AND JIHAD’, REIMAGINING PAKISTAN BY HUSAIN HAQQANI**

Information for this research was extracted from the chapter ‘Insecurity and Jihad’ of the book ‘Reimagining Pakistan’ written by Husain Haqqani. In addition to serving as Pakistan’s ambassador to the United States from 2008 to 2011, Husain Haqqani was also an advisor to three Prime Ministers, including Nawaz Sharif and the late Benazir Bhutto. The book is a clear depiction of Haqqani’s ardent knowledge over Pakistan’s economy, foreign policies and politics. The chapter, ‘Insecurity and Jihad’ in particular focuses on Pakistan’s insecurity against India, as the name suggests. It covers the rivalry of the two nations over the Indus Water Treaty and over the disputed land of Kashmir. It has led to immense competition and cold war due to which Pakistan struggled to create a new identity for itself which is different from that of India. This paved the way for Islamization. ‘Islamization’ was a process which was first introduced by General Zia Ul Haq who believed it to be a solution to a longstanding national crisis of identity. Further the chapter also talks of the consequences of Islamization which deals with the belief of Pakistani nationalists in the Pakistan’s eternal conflict with India which has its reference in Hadith about Ghazwa-e-Hind (Battle of India) which ultimately fuelled the Jihad movement also.

‘THE MILITANT CHALLENGE’, COUNTERINSURGENCY IN PAKISTAN BY SETH.G.JONES AND C. CHRISTINE FAIR

Information for this research, specifically for the militancy and Jihad movement in Pakistan was extracted from the chapter, ‘The Militant Challenge’ of the book Counterinsurgency in Pakistan by Seth. G. Jones and C. Christine Fair. The chapter examines Pakistan’s historical practice of supporting militant groups to achieve foreign and domestic policy objectives. Pakistan’s support for such groups started in 1947 and has ever since increased after acquiring nuclear capability in 1990. Nuclearization permitted Pakistan to expand its scope, scale and geographic boundaries of asymmetric conflicts without fear of retaliation. Apart from this, the chapter is divided into four sections which leads to the conclusion. The first examines Pakistan’s historical use of militant groups. The second section explains the ways in which nuclearization helped Pakistan to expand the Jihad deeper into India and other countries, including Afghanistan. The third section argues about the U.S. policy that aims to curb Pakistan’s use of militant groups which are likely to be contended with the nuclear umbrella. The fourth describes the militancy in Pakistan and its connections with one another.

INDIA AS A DOMINANT SECURITY CONCERN TO PAKISTAN (1947-1980) BY

SANGIT SARITA DWIVEDI

The article takes into account the historical background of Indo-Pak relations. It seeks to trace out the history of their relationship ever since 1947 and goes up to 1980. It attempts to put together and analyze the various factors which were responsible for developing tensed relations between India and Pakistan. From the hostile political environment, the major sources of threat can be summed up as: Pakistan fear Indian hegemony in the region and is trying to strengthen its position by developing relations with third countries primarily China. The Indo-Pak confrontation on the Kashmir issue is the most revealing in this respect Pakistan's entire foreign policy is India (Kashmir) centric. Kashmir is the be all and end all of her foreign policy.

II. ANALYSIS**(A) Islamization**

Islamization or Sharization was policy first described by General. Muhammad Zia Ul Haq, President of Pakistan from 1977 to 1988. Islamization is the process of bringing someone or something under the influence of Islam or Islamic rule. During his reign, the government primarily focused on Islamization and saw it as an essential therapy to resolve a longstanding national crisis of identity. According to his interview in the New York Times, Zia ul Haq summed up the reason for introducing Islamization in Pakistan, 'If we are not Muslims, what are we? Second rated Indians?'

The main aim of Islamizing Pakistan by its politicians, civil servants and military officers was to consider Islam as an organising principle in confronting India, whom they deem Pakistan's 'permanent enemy'.³ Zia ul Haq dedicated himself into enforcing the interpretation of Nizam-e-Mustafa ("Rule of Prophet Mohamad") that means to establish an Islamic state and enforce sharia law. In order to do so, he established separate Shariat Judicial courts and court benches to give legal judgements according to Islamic principles. His rift of Islamization established new criminal offenses and punishments to the Pakistani law. Interest payments were replaced by profit and loss payments. Zakat, a charity giving practice in Islam treated as religious obligation became a 2.5% annual tax. School textbooks and libraries were made to remove unIslamic material. Prayer rooms were installed in every office, school and factory for people to offer prayers. Males and females were segregated. A Council of Islamic Ideology was created wherein conservative ulemas were made members. The activists of Jamaat-e-Islami party were appointed to government posts to ensure the continuation of his agenda. Reason

³ Dwivedi, S.(2008).India as a Dominant Security Concern to Pakistan (1947-1980).The Indian Journal of Political Science. Vol.69,Issue 4, pp-889-896.

behind the Islamization programme included the fact that Zia belonged to a religious background and the desire to fulfil the main motive behind the creation of Pakistan as an Islamic state. Since Zia, only one Prime Minister, Nawaz Sharif and one army chief, General Aslam Beg have espoused Islamist ideas bearing similarity to Zia's views.

In 1984, Zia's Islamization policy was given support and approval, however, protests were done against the laws and enforcement during and after Zia's reign. Even the most modern and westernized leaders like Benazir Bhutto and Pervez Musharraf, have failed to stop Pakistan from descending farther into an Islamist muddle. Part of the explanation of why personally secular leaders find it difficult to reverse even the most appalling obscurantism lies in their unwillingness to change Pakistan's collective view of its neighbour. All these new laws affected the needs of the modern society however, instead of focusing on its growth the state could not overcome and rather focused on the inculcated prejudice about 'Muslim Pakistan' being threatened by 'Hindu India' and by ethnic identities within the country.

Zia's Islamization policy was directly aimed towards India, whom they consider their competition and arch enemy and give an answer to all those who called Pakistan a 'failed nation' and predicted that it would become a part of India again. This policy clearly shows the frustration and struggle of Zia and the people of Pakistan to create a national identity separate to that of India.

(B) Insecurities against India

From its very inception, Pakistan has perceived India to be its biggest enemy since it has done every possible thing to weaken Pakistan. At the time of partition, India denied Pakistan its due share in financial assets, military hardware and water canals over which Pakistan had historic rights. The fear of a much larger and resourceful neighbour is also not exclusive to Pakistan, nor is the existence of disputes. What sets Pakistan apart is the belief that India has not accepted Pakistan's existence as a nation or state and is constantly conspiring to invalidate its creation.

Pakistan's threat perception trails back all the way to pre independence period in the form of hostility among the Hindus and the Muslims. When the All India Muslim League decided to create a Muslim majority state named Pakistan, it is said that Congress opposed this idea and were later convinced that Pakistan would soon cave in under the weight of its own folly and would return to the fold. According to senior government official, Aslam Siddiqui, Pakistan was born under inauspicious circumstances.⁴ Powerful forces were at work to cripple and thwart its very establishment as a viable state. Pakistan occupied a critical position in the region

⁴ Siddiqui, A.(1960). *Pakistan seeks Security*. Lahore: Longman & Greens.

as well as the world. Pakistan is surrounded by three of the world's largest nations, i.e. Soviet Union, China and India. It cannot therefore escape the strain of rivalries. Pakistan also has an ideology which entails certain preferences which is not liked by its neighbours. Explaining the reason behind why Pakistan is functioning the way it is functioning Siddiqui said that these factors combined to create problems for the young state of Pakistan and Pakistan's policies since Independence have only been a response to adverse conditions. This description of Pakistan's orientation can be found in virtually all explanations for Pakistan's sense of insecurity⁵.

Pakistani leaders cultivated the fear of an existential threat as a means of bringing their diverse peoples together, has been suppressed within Pakistan. The concept of an 'existential threat' helps in bypassing the complex issues of national identity and formulating a distinct culture. Soon after the creation of Pakistan, its founders insisted the Pakistani nation to unite around one faith i.e. Islam and one language i.e. Urdu. This was immediately challenged by East Pakistan which was a Bengali speaking region, demanding equal status for their language. 'Unity through diversity' was never accepted as a Pakistani ideal.

In less than two decades, India and Pakistan went to war in 1965 due to Pakistan's attempt to infiltrate into Kashmir. Pakistanis were brain washed to believe that India had attacked their country. They were made to believe that angels and saints were directing the Indian bombs away from Pakistan and tried to reinforce the conviction that Allah had a special design for Pakistan's protection. At the United Nations Security Council, Foreign Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto laid out Pakistan's view and stated that it is a small country facing a great monster and aggressor. Targeting India Bhutto said, 'Ever since 1947, India has followed the road of aggression. It has committed aggression against Pakistan and Pakistan, according to Indian leaders, is its enemy number one. Bhutto also said, 'We have always known that India is determined to annihilate Pakistan,' echoing a defining element of Pakistani nationalism.

The creation of Pakistan, in Bhutto's account, was inspired by the example of European countries that 'had to separate in order to get closer together', giving the example of Sweden and Norway. He believed that with the creation of Pakistan it would be easier to establish permanent peace and understanding between the people of India and Pakistan. However, it was India's aggression that made peace impossible. In less than six years, in December 1971, Bhutto was back in the United Nations to speak for Pakistan⁶ on the surrender of Pakistani

⁵ Haqqani, H. (2018). *Insecurity and Jihad. Reimagining Pakistan*. HarperCollins Publishers. pp 121-159.

⁶ Speech by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, 'India's Aggression', Speech in the UN Security Council, New York, 22 September, 1965.

forces in Bangladesh after yet another war. He cited an example of the rivalry between Rome and Carthage and threatened to destroy India by quoting, 'Carthage must be destroyed'.

Bhutto's grandiloquence to destroy India faded away when Pakistan's army surrendered in Bangladesh. He said that they would fight and 'will continue to fight for principles.' This promise of fighting for a thousand years did not prevent Bhutto from seeking compromise when he met Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi at Simla in 1972. The two nations signed the Simla Accord, agreeing to resolve all the issues including their dispute over Kashmir. The ceasefire line in Kashmir was redefined as the Line of Control. Within a few years, Pakistanis started arguing that the Simla Accord was signed under duress and tried restricting Pakistan from internationalizing the dispute. Considering that India had not invaded West Pakistan even after decisively defeating Pakistani forces in Bangladesh, the argument that India wanted to eliminate Pakistan sounded vague and unconvincing. Had it been India's goal to destroy Pakistan, it would have behaved differently.

Another factor that makes Pakistan constantly threatened by India is that India plans upon turning Pakistan into a desert by withholding its water or to cause floods by dumping more water into the rivers. Since most of the Pakistani rivers flow through the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir and due to the Indus Treaty signed between the two countries, the people of Pakistan fear that India might try to withhold or divert the supply of water downstream. This fear of theirs could be regarded as baseless since being a lower riparian nation, it is very rare to be alarmed by the intentions of the upper riparian to deprive it of water. It is Pakistan and not India who has lacked behind in constructing reservoirs and managing the water. However, these facts do not stop terrorist group leaders from threatening India of grave consequences and an establishment of a new Jihad.

The rise of Hindu nationalism in recent years in India has further deepened the ideology of hostility between Hindu India and Muslim Pakistan. Statements and assertions by post independence Indian leader, such as Jawaharlal Nehru, that India had accepted Pakistan in 'good faith' had little impact. In his speech at the Aligarh Muslim University in 1948, Nehru clearly said, 'Pakistan has come into being, rather unnaturally I think, nevertheless, it represents the urges of a large number of persons. I believe that this development has been a throw back, but we accepted it in good faith'⁷. According to Nehru, the allegations to crush and strangle Pakistan and to force it in to a reunion with India were simply based on fear and complete misunderstanding of our attitude. He recognized that there was 'no going back in history' and

⁷ Jawaharlal Nehru, 'Education is Meant to Free the Spirit of Man', Convocation address by Jawaharlal Nehru to AMU students on 24th January, 1948, New Delhi: Government of India, 1948.

it was 'to India's advantage that Pakistan should be a secure and prosperous State with which India could develop close and friendly relations.

Nehru's affirmation so soon after Independence did not prevent Pakistan's embrace of fear and insecurity as critical elements of its national identity. Pakistan's attitude towards perceived Indian threat has changed little over these past seventy years. Pakistani official's avowed fear of a decidedly more Hindu sentiment espoused by Prime Minister Narendra Modi in 2017 differs little from the vehement derision that characterized Nehru's overtures in 1948. In 2016, General Raheel Sharif said, 'We are aware of our enemies, know their tactics and to spoil their designs we would go beyond even the last limit. Pakistan's army was second to none and a battle hardened force'.

(C) Jihad

Many armies in history have been motivated to fight in the name of religion, but in the case of Pakistan, an entire theology has been evolved about the state and its army that means little to Muslims who are not Pakistani. This includes claims about the significance of the country's birth on the auspicious Lailatul Qadr in Ramadan, the belief that the army of believers will fight Hindus before Judgement Day and referring to Pakistan as 'Mamlakat-e- Khudadad', (the kingdom bestowed by God).

In recent years, the notion of God's special dispensation for Pakistan has widened its horizon. Several clerics have started claiming that the Quran and Hadith predicted the creation of Pakistan. Pakistan's Jihad against Hindu India is part of prophecies about the days preceding the end of the world. One of the most prominent exponents of ultra nationalist theology is Syed Zaid Hamid, a demagogue who presents a programme on national security issues on private television channels. It is believed that Hamid is close to ISI, even though he claims not to be an ISI officer. This can be proved by his lectures about Pakistan's eternal conflict with India and God's plan for Pakistan include frequent references to the Hadith about Ghazwa-e- Hind (Battle of India)⁸ a great battle in India between believers and nonbelievers before the end of time.

The South Asian region has a long history with Jihadi movements, dating back to the eighteenth century and now Pakistan has become the region's Jihad capital. During the 1980s, it became the staging ground for global jihad as a part of the internationally backed guerrilla war against Soviet Union in Afghanistan. This war also backed by the ancient prophecies of Khurasan which foreshadowed the appearance of the Mahdi or Messiah and the ultimate battle between

⁸ Jones, Fair (2010). *The Militant Challenge. Counter Insurgency in Pakistan*. RAND Publication. Pp-5-32

good (pure Islam) and evil before Judgement Day.

Just as the prophecies of Khurasan became popular during the wars in Afghanistan, the Ghazwa-e-Hind theory became an important part of the Islamist discourses after the launch of jihad in Indian controlled parts of Kashmir in 1989. Every major Pakistan-based jihadi group that launched terrorist attacks across the border claimed that their operations were a part of the battle for India promised by the Prophet. For example, Lashkar-e-Taiba has often spoken of Ghazwa-e-Hind as a means of liberating Kashmir from Indian control.

The discussion of the epic battle of India diminished in the jihadi discourses while strategies for the expulsion of Western influence from the Middle East took centre stage. However, the death of Osama bin Laden and the rise of ISIS, revived jihadist interest in Ghazwa-e-Hind. The militant Islamist group Jamaat-ul-Ahrar, a member of Tehrik-e-Taliban's coalition, has argued that Hind at the time of Prophet Muhammad referred to a very large area which today includes Pakistan, Kashmir, India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives, Sri Lanka and Burma. Jamaat-ul-Ahrar promised that their jihad will not stop till Pakistan is conquered but they will keep fighting until entire Hind is under the Sharia of Allah. They shall keep going and conquer every country in their path until they reach Filisteen(Palestine) and there they shall erect the black flags in al-Quds (Jerusalem).

The recent revival of interest in the Ghazwa-e-Hind prophecy reflects rivalry between competing jihadi groups- al Qaeda and ISIS. Al Qaeda appears to be attempting to maintain support among radical Islamist in the subcontinent by directing its ire at India through the formation of al Qaeda in the Indian Subcontinent (AQIS). Its leaders have been active in Afghanistan and Pakistan since the anti Soviet jihad of the 1980s and maintain close ties to the Pakistan supported Afghan Taliban and Kashmiri jihadi groups. By focusing on India, al Qaeda hoped to retain the support of the Pakistan backed groups, which interpret the Ghazwa-e-Hind Hadith to mean reconquest of Hindu India without hitting Muslim Pakistan. Even in Zawahiri's statement about AQIS, Pakistan was mentioned only as a country that needed to be brought under full shariat rule while Hindu India was portrayed as the enemy of Islam.

ISIS, on the other hand, accepted the allegiance of the groups that are violently opposed to both the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. ISIS affiliates appear to have opted for the alternative interpretation of Ghazwa-e-Hind, offered by groups such as the TTP, to pursue jihad in all parts of Hind.

Pakistan's efforts to consolidate itself by popularizing theology as national policy have unleashed violent forces that Pakistan is now contending with. Instead of strengthening the

country and raising the morale of its people in permanently confronting India, the ‘Ghazwa-e-Hind’ type of thinking has resulted in terrorist attacks within Pakistan and set the stage for divisions among jihadis that are hurting Pakistan’s security instead of enhancing it.

III. CONCLUSION

The whole process of Islamization was adopted by Pakistan to create its own national entity separate from that of India. In the garb of doing so, Pakistan failed to acknowledge the consequences of it. Constant support to militant groups and functioning of the nation been done according to Islam, only made their society weak and deepened malaise in the country. It is unfortunate to see that there are no major national political figures on the horizon who might wean Pakistan away from the illusions and conspiracy theories of Islamization towards a realistic assessment of its prospects and potential. This has put Pakistan into isolation from the rest of the developed world. This alienation could serve as a wake up call but, for the moment, a strategic embrace from China and Russia is serving as a distraction.

The poor social indicators and low international rankings receive little attention in Pakistan’s national discourse. Pakistan has survived for seventy years, defying predictions to the contrary, and the assumption that the same will remain true forever is the usual response of those who refuse to imagine a future for Pakistan different from its relatively short past.

Pakistan’s excessive focus on survival and resilience and its direction being set by men trained only to think of security may have sowed the seeds of its myriad problems. Pakistan could continue to survive as it has done so far and defy further negative predictions. But if it does not grow economically sufficiently, integrate globally and remain mired in ideological debates and crises, how would its next seven decades be any different from the past seventy years?
