

PANACEA OR FRANKENSTEIN: THE IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN AND ITS ROLE IN THE CURRENT PREDICAMENT OF THE LAND OF THE PURE

Mohammad Azaharuddin Ansari*

ABSTRACT

Demand for a separate homeland for South Asian Muslims was made on the basis of two-nation theory. After carving-out of larger India, Pakistan had to confront with “identity deficit”. Justifying its existence and separateness was a puzzle to the early leadership. The puzzle was decided to be solved through the ideology of Pakistan that was devised by the country’s elite as a defining, unifying and justifying tool. But soon, the ideology itself proved to be a Pandora’s box of several other problems. Far from meeting its ends, it became a site of perennial struggle over its contour; a struggle that sunk Pakistan into a quagmire coming out of which is a challenge. Several domestic actors are still fighting for defining the ideology on their own terms. The aim of this paper is to inquire into the role of this ideology of Pakistan in the current predicament of Pakistan.

Keywords: Ideology, Islamic state, Sectarianism, Identity, Hindu Fundamentalism.

INTRODUCTION

A state is a human community and what makes it different from other collectivities is its claim of the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within its territory. Like any other collectivities, it comprises of members of diverse origins, backgrounds, cultures, faiths, interests etc. Thus a sense of solidarity, unity and shared identity becomes inevitable that may justify state’s *raison d’être*, provide a consciousness of companionship to its fellow members. These crucial functions are performed, in any state, by an ideology that claims to represent the composite identity of the concerned state.

As such every state needs its cohesive, unifying, justifying and defining ideology. The idea or ideology of any state is product of a long, historical and evolutionary process that is embedded deeply in the citizens’ psyche but a new state that has carved out of a larger state lacks this advantage. It has to create and construct its own ideology that suits its interests. Inventing state’s ideology for a newly born state carved out of any existing state is by nature justificatory; a justification of going through a painful process of separation. Justification of demand for a separate sovereign state must target both the external world including existing country against which separation is strived and supporters of separation. An ideology or idea of state, apart from being justificatory by nature, is conservative also. It is conservative because it needs continuously same configuration of definition, such facts, environment, incidents which vindicate its *raison d’être* otherwise it ceases to exist at all. It neither allows any change to the ideology nor does it want to see any change in its birth-giving factors. As such, custodians of state’s ideology are averse to such developments that may lead to the reconfiguration of the very factors which justify the ideology.

As we discussed above that ideology of any state is based on a long tradition, evolution and this is the very juncture where history is inevitable. Problem arises where it is the very history against which a newly born state had confronted for a long time. To overcome this conundrum reconstruction of history is resorted. It is worth noting here that the option of reconstruction of history is not resorted for inventing only any newly born state’s ideology, on the contrary it could also be opted by the different governments of a country.

*Research Scholar, Department of Political Science, University of Allahabad. India. aazahar3@gmail.c

NEED OF THE IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN

Pakistan too had to grapple with this problem. After creation Pakistan faced two major problems. First, how to treat the Indian past and second, how to justify partition. Resolution to these two issues was assigned to the 'Ideology of Pakistan'. After coming into existence, history of Pakistan hitherto has been a history of perennial search for identity and security. Diverse forces ranging from religious zealots to the military to political establishment have been in continuous struggle to define Pakistan in such a way that may suit their respective cult. Despite of disagreement over various issues, what is common thread among these contestants of the ideology of Pakistan is their emphasis on religion (Islam) as a nation building tool. Soon after Pakistan's creation, its leaders had to explain *raison d'être* of this newly born country. And religion was seen to be most effective tool for defining this conundrum. What role should be assigned to religion in public sphere became one of the fundamental questions that Pakistan had to confront with. Answer to this question, amazingly, shaped the forthcoming events and effect of that answer has been lasting even till today. As for as country's first Governor- General Muhammad Ali Jinnah was concerned, he was much clear in his conception of Pakistan as it was substantiated by his famous constituent assembly opening speech of 11 August 1947. Jinnah unambiguously declared, "You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place of worship in this State of Pakistan. You may belong to any religion or caste or creed- that has nothing to do with the business of the state....."¹

Apart from this, against the demand of Islamist forces, Jinnah had chosen Zafarullah Khan, an Ahmadi Muslim, as Pakistan's first foreign minister and a Hindu, Jogendar Nath Mandal, as the first law minister of Pakistan. Appointment of Jogendar Nath Mandal as the first law minister of Pakistan was seen an attempt to affirm that secular lawyers and not theologians would run Pakistan's legal system.² As thus, Quaid-e-Azam conceived a modern, liberal and secular Pakistan. But this vision soon evaporated along with the demise of Jinnah. Jinnah's demise proved to be a tragedy for the Ideology of Pakistan. Soon after Jinnah's death, Islamists headed by Maulana Abul Ala Maududi, the founder of the Jamaat-e-Islami and Mufti Sabbir Ahmed Usmani, a cleric affiliated to the Muslim League and member of constituent assembly started campaign for the transformation of Pakistan into an Islamic state.

Since nothing is in vain, human actions can be defined by taking the environmental/contextual settings into consideration. As such, in order to understand human/community action, we must delve into the very context with which that man/community interacts. What we deem futile or meaningless is so because of our failure to contextualize that so-called "meaningless". By the same logic, construction of the ideology of Pakistan by country's elites at the time of its dawn, fulfils some exigency. Pakistan was born into a very tense environment. The advent of Pakistan as a sovereign state brought, apart from other thing, some issues home that still remain as crucial for Pakistan as they were 70 years ago. A limited war with India on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir just after its creation; bitter relationship with another neighboring state of Afghanistan on the issue of Pakhtuns and the UN's membership; ascendance of the air of the Cold War, issues concerning with the integration of country etc. constituted the very environment into which Pakistan came into being. In this context, question of the survival of newly born country received overwhelming attention. This environment compelled country's elite to employ such a weapon that could successfully resolve all these issues. Apart from these strategic and security concerns, another challenge was there with which the founding fathers of Pakistan had to encounter. And that another challenge was regarding how to justify Pakistan *raison d'être*. The founding fathers of the newly born state found a sole and most reliable tool; the ideology of Pakistan that is also state ideology, to counter both of these above mentioned concerns.

Here, it would be reasonable to say that declaring Pakistan an Islamic country was preferred not because the founding fathers were religious zealots but because of a compulsion. Moreover, the most fundamental factor behind defining Pakistan in Islamic terms instead of a secular one was political calculation. After the demise of the father of the nation, Mohammad Ali Jinnah, country's political elite's apprehension was justifiable to some extent that declaring Pakistan a secular state could benefit secular

allies of the Congress at the expense of the Muslim League.³ The heartland of the Muslim League, the vanguard of the Pakistan movement, had always been the areas of central North India during the colonial period. To put it another way, what geographical areas constituted Pakistan had been unfamiliar to the leadership of the Muslim League, except Jinnah, consequently in newly born state of Pakistan the Muslim League had no roots. That was the reason why the pivot of the Muslim League revolved around Jinnah. But as Jinnah passed away, the leadership of the League felt desperately the need of such strategy that could fill this gap of legitimacy deficit. The ideology of Pakistan was constructed to achieve this end.

Jinnah's famous speech of 11 August, 1947 which Hector Bolitho has called "the greatest speech of his life" was not well received by the leadership of the Muslim League. Since, Jinnah's speech conceived newly born country to be a plural, liberal, democratic and most importantly secular nation; it was enough to disappoint both the close allies of Jinnah within the League and the Islamists outside of the Muslim League. This was so because the speech was completely contradictory in contrast to the Lahore presidential address of Jinnah that was delivered on 22 March, 1940. Discomfort of the League's cadre with this speech can be understood well by the fact that many leaders of the Muslim League made an unsuccessful attempt to hamper Jinnah's speech from getting published in newspapers. It is manifest well from the Lahore speech of 22 March, 1940 that the difference, according to Mohammad Ali Jinnah, between the Hinduism and Islam is not constructed consciously by the adherents (human actors) that may be bridged by actors as and when they wish. On the contrary, this incongruity between two civilizations is structural which shapes human consciousness. If it is so then question naturally arises that how this structural difference between these two communities would be bridged by just creating a separate state. In his inaugural address to the constituent assembly on 11 August 1947, Jinnah veered away from his earlier view on the issues of multiculturalism and ethnicity. What is worth mentioning here is this unexpected turn taken by Jinnah to which as much attention has not been paid in academic in the context of its impact on the future course of the newly born country as it deserves. To a large extent, the contour and content of the Objectives Resolution adopted by the Pakistan constituent assembly on 12 March, 1949 was structured by this unexpected turn taken by Jinnah. In fact, content of the Objectives Resolution was a move to pacify the Islamist Groups (core vote bank of the Muslim League) who were suspicious of the Jinnah's constituent assembly address.

Jinnah's speech proposed equal footing for everyone regardless of his religion, region, ethnicity etc. This call for equality of ethnic and religious groups was perceived by the Punjabi landed elite and Muhajir dominated Muslim League and bureaucracy as a threat to their interests for it would automatically have translated into the Bengalis becoming the main ruling group.⁴ During the Pakistan movement, Islam was used as a welding tool through which diversities in Muslim community could be overcome so that idea of a separate homeland for Muslims could garner overwhelming moral as well as material endorsement. But what is important here is to mention that using Islam to form a coherent nation was not confined to the pre-partition era only, rather use of this tactic by the country's leadership continues even after the realization of the idea of Pakistan.

THE IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN AND ITS INGREDIENTS

Books of Pakistan Studies⁵ begin with the straightforward statement that Pakistan is an ideological state. Apart from this, schedule III of the constitution prescribes a statement to be recited while swearing-in by the constitutional dignitaries as "*will strive to preserve the Islamic Ideology which is the basis for the creation of Pakistan.*"⁶ Every successive government of Pakistan, Islamist groups, opposition leaders and even the military have been frequently calling for the preservation of the ideology of Pakistan. The million dollar question is what this ideology is and what the fundamental assumptions of this ideology are. This section of research paper aims at exploring the politico-strategic, cultural, sociological and other relevant terrains to answers to above asked questions.

Pakistan defines itself as an ideological state which means it has been created not on the basis of territory, ethnicity, language etc. rather on the basis of a particular ideology that is Islam. The ideology of Pakistan is the basis of Pakistani nationhood. The same can be said of Islam which is also perceived as foundation of nationhood, therefore, the ideology of Pakistan and Islam are intertwined in a way that

cannot be separated. Simply put, the ideology of Pakistan and Islam are the two sides of the same coin, at least in the context of Pakistan. It is contended that the ideology of Pakistan precedes the state of Pakistan because it was only in 1947 when Pakistan came into being but, on the contrary, the ideology that prompted part of the subcontinent Muslims to carve out a separate homeland of their own was relatively old. As such, according to the advocates of the ideology of Pakistan, it is not Pakistan which forged its ideology rather it is this ideology itself that bred the state of Pakistan. Since, this ideology is the foundation or soul of Pakistan, as its guardians claim, therefore, Pakistan can only survive as long as its ideology is preserved or secured. The ideology of Pakistan is, in fact, an extension of the Two- Nation Theory.

The ideology of Pakistan, like any other ideology, is accepted by its advocates as a source of divine rays in the light of which every question is to be answered. To put it in other words, the ideology of Pakistan is treated as a panacea; once you embraced it you do not need democracy, liberalism, secularism, socialism or even social justice just because this ideology, like panacea, itself contains all these 'isms'. As Javid Iqbal has penned, "Islam does not recognize the distinction between the 'spiritual' and the 'profane'. According to Islam, spiritual and temporal obligations are not only connected with each other but it is incumbent on every Muslim to constantly endeavour to realize the spiritual values while performing his temporal obligations. Hence 'secularism' as large-hearted tolerance and maintenance of neutrality respecting faiths other than Islam, is an integral part of Islam and it is for this reason that the Islamic State is expected to assimilate of an ideal secular state."⁷ The same is true of other cherished values i.e. democracy, justice, human rights etc.

The idea that India could not ever reconcile to the idea of an Independent Pakistan has continuously been propagated by various means. Chanting "*akhand Bharat (undivided India)*" at times by some Indian Hindu fundamentalists reinforces this propaganda of Pakistan. According to the '*guardians*' of the ideology, the ideology of Pakistan needs to be protected by its enemies. Thus, the ideology of Pakistan stands for the robust defence mechanism through which any manoeuvre by '*enemies*' directed towards Pakistan can be retaliated at every cost.

With this entire halo, the ideology of Pakistan is both totalitarian and authoritarian. First, it is totalitarian in that it covers every aspects of life, whether it be of individual, society or the state. The ideology of Pakistan is supposed to guide both mundane and spiritual domain of individual life. The discourse of the ideology of Pakistan possesses disciplinary power to make a subject "politically correct" and ultimately punish those who deviate or dare to deviate from its norms. This ideology, again like any other ideology of the earth, delegates its custodians the power to punish and it is this delegated power to punish that puts its custodians themselves into perennial struggle which aims either to force all the deviants to walk in accordance with "politically correct" path or ultimately, to purify the land of the pure by silencing them all. Apart from being totalitarian, its being authoritarian is substantiated from the fact that it demands complete and absolute submission while does not tolerate any so-called 'anti' elements or voices. It suppresses or thrives to suppress all those voices that do not fit into its predefined framework.

The ideology of Pakistan has been devised to replace all the regional, ethnic and parochial consciousness with a nationalist one; which is the consciousness of Islamic nationalism. Advocates of the ideology of Pakistan opine, "*The real factor which sustains the state of Pakistan is the existence of a consciousness among the people of belonging to each other because a large majority of them adheres to a common spiritual aspiration, i.e. faith in Islam.*"⁸ It is obvious that the essence of the ideology of Pakistan is Islam. In the context of Pakistan, Islamic nationalism and Pakistani nationalism becomes the same which means Ideology of Islam and Ideology of Pakistan are not two things. This is why any perceived threat to Pakistan has been frequently portrayed as a threat to Islam also. Again stretching the same derivation further, any belief including western Christianity, custom or act contrary to the teachings of Islam is interpreted as not only against the Islam but also against Pakistan.

THE IDEOLOGY OF PAKISTAN AND PAKISTAN'S CURRENT PREDICAMENT

Ideologies are necessarily made up of some mythical narratives which are aimed at recruiting the maximum possible number of people. And for that reason an ideology ceases to breathe if it fails to appeal the masses. An Ideology can only flourish when it is injected into mass consciousness successfully through the process of socialization. Simply put, an ideology exists as long as mass consciousness adheres it. This deduction decodes the relentless efforts of governments of almost every state regardless of their nature; to control, regulate and manipulate the means of socialization i.e. educational curricula, radio, social media, news paper, television and public spiritual and national symbols that ultimately shape mass consciousness. Since, any kind of incongruity between the assumptions of ideology and mass consciousness may lead to obsolescence of the ideology, thus socialization ensures mass's legitimacy regarding ideology.

In the case of Pakistan, for the first time it was Ayub's government [that] engaged the entire apparatus of the state to consolidate and protect Pakistan's ideology. Pakistan's educational system became an obvious tool of Ayub's government, and it remains an important means of propagating and protecting the ideology of the state.⁹ Official propaganda regarding contour of the ideology of Pakistan, its protection and its enemies, have been introduced to the students and common man of country. This state sponsored propaganda is the prime tool of presenting distorted picture of reality as "common sense" and it is this dynamics which affects both the internal pace of Pakistan's political development and its relationship with other sovereign countries.

It is paradox of the ideology of Pakistan that Islam was, and has been invoked to assimilate the factors of regionalism, sectarianism from which Muslim community was suffering during the colonial period and ultimately to unite the scattered Muslim populace but, on the contrary, this day dreaming contrivance transformed into a nightmare that still haunts Pakistan. It is the very ideology of Pakistan that led to the bifurcation of Pakistan in form of Independent Bangladesh (former East Pakistan). In Independent Pakistan, it is the very invocation of Islam as the basis of nationalism that breeds sectarianism, regionalism and extremism and has sunk the country into quagmire of innumerable challenges.

Communities, individuals in Pakistan that fail or are not keen of looking at the world with the eyes of the "custodians of the ideology of Pakistan" are condemned to be silenced. As such, Jinnah's declaration that "*you are free..... You may belong to any religion or caste or creed*" becomes like a mirage to all those who want to be "*free*". In fact, the ideology of Pakistan reinforces the perquisite of the Punjabi-Muhajir dominated ruling class and the military. All those issues, processes and demands that are perceived to have potential to dismantle this perquisite of these privileged classes are frequently portrayed as inimical to the ideology of Pakistan. Demands of provincial autonomy, recognition of language, ethnicity and secularism are perceived as threats to both the political class and the military. Muhammad Safdar, a member of the National Assembly and son-in-law of former prime minister of Pakistan, Nawaz Sharif, lashed out against Ahmadis while speaking in the National Assembly as "*these people (Ahmadis) are a threat to this country, its constitution and ideology.*"¹⁰ This corollary evinces that although apparently it seems as the ideology of Pakistan, but virtually it is nothing more than but an ideology of the Punjabis, Muhajirs and finally the military.

Although it was Ayub Khan who is credited with having extended the role of the military as guardian of not only territorial frontiers but also '*ideological frontiers*', yet this image of the military was deeply entrenched and institutionalized during relatively short span of Yahya Khan's regime. "The ideological indoctrination undertaken during Yahya Khan's rule- which lasted less than three years- deeply influenced the Pakistani military. As explained by Brigadier A.R. Siddiqi, who was then serving as head of the military's public relations arm, Inter-services Public Relations, the professional military image was replaced by a "politico-ideological image". Expressions like the "ideology of Pakistan" and the "glory of Islam" used by the military high command were becoming stock phrases. Messages issued by the service chiefs and the president on the occasion of Defense Day reflected the ideological overtones. They sounded more like high priests than soldiers when they urged the men to rededicate themselves to the sacred cause of ensuring the "security, solidarity, integrity of the country and its ideology."¹¹ What is worth mentioning

that although the regimes of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan indulged in protecting the ideology of Pakistan, though it was not through legal-constitutional means. It was only President Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq who opted the way of legal-statutory path for the promotion, propagation and preservation of the ideology of Pakistan.

The ideology of Pakistan is very oppressive by its nature for religious minorities, individual or province that demand recognition, rights, autonomy or decentralization of power and persons who seek cordial relationship with '*Hindu India*' have been suspected as the foe of the ideology of Pakistan. This is the prime reason why the rise of regional identities under the rubric of regional political parties has always been perceived by "*the guardians of the ideology*" as being a threat to the unity and integrity of Pakistan. Any nationalist ideology, leave aside Pakistan's, which reflects exclusively the identity of majoritarian group is doomed to be turned into a suppression tool in the hands of concerned majoritarian group and at times into '*lynching license*' in the name of which even ethnic cleansings are justified. Examples, apart from of Pakistan, of Sri Lanka, Myanmar and to some extent of today's India substantiate it.

In practice, the official ideology of any country claims to reflect country's identity. In fact, it is not any coherent and fixed identity that is reflected by ideology; on the contrary it is identity itself that is constructed deliberately by ideology which involves various processes and actors. And construction of identity does not take place in vacuum since identity is always contextual /referential. Simply put, identity construction always needs some reference point in contrast to which it has to be constructed. It is interesting to mention here that persistency of the reference/ context is valued otherwise the entire configuration of identity would need reconstruction in contrast to any new reference/ context. Moreover, construction of identity, like of reality, often accomplished in binary opposition i.e. we saint/they satanic, black/white, false/true, pure/impure, Pakistan/India, Hindu/Muslim and so on. In every binary opposition, according to the context, one is privileged over another. Locating the case of Pakistan within this conceptual framework help us to demystify the identity crisis to which Pakistan has been suffering since her inception.

The ideology of Pakistan constructs the identity of country in binary opposition of Hindu India/ Islamic Pakistan; therefore, "the creation of Pakistan is regarded as a victory against the Hindus and not against the British."¹² The ideology of Pakistan, which is based on the idea of a separate Muslim nationhood, justifies the Partition of India. As such, Pakistan's *raison d'être* is projected with the prism of the ideology of Pakistan. In this context, a perennial '*Hindu India*' can be regarded as heartbeats of the *raison d'être* of Pakistan as propounded by the ideology of Pakistan. Thus, any move taken towards radicalization of India by the Hindu fundamentalist groups legitimizes the idea of Pakistan as a separate homeland for South Asian Muslims. This is why recent ascendancy of the right wing Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in India is portrayed rigorously to validate the stand of the ideology of Pakistan. For example, Pakistan's most widely circulated newspaper, the Dawn, made a headline as "*Hindutva unmasked: Yogi Adityanath, BJP's most strident face, will be its chief minister in UP.*"¹³ One may ask naturally the relevance of such news headlines because in this headline nothing is false. It may create merely an image issue abroad for the BJP and India at large but in the context of Pakistan, the impact of such headlines goes beyond it. In Pakistan, such headlines fulfill the ends that the very "*guardians of the ideology of Pakistan*" thrive to accomplish that too through their own resources. In simple words, such headlines complement the official history of Pakistan that is ingrained in mass consciousness.

It is well established that the demand of Pakistan was based on the two-nation theory according to which Pakistan was supposed to be a separate homeland for South Asian Muslims where they arrange their lives according to their faith without being in a permanent minority status. It is noteworthy here that Jinnah conceived Pakistan to be a Muslim homeland rather than an Islamic state. Jinnah made it clear that "*You may belong to any religion or 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 citizens of one state.*" He never talked of an Islamic state but of such a state where Muslims with their fellow citizens belong to religions other than Islam could live together. But on the contrary, the guardians of the ideology of Pakistan want to

see Pakistan as an Islamic state. “The discourse on Pakistan’s religious identity has been shaped by a battle between parties who argued that Pakistan was created as a state for Muslims and those who argued that Pakistan should be defined by a particular interpretation of Islam, and hence be an Islamic state.”¹⁴ Soon after Independence, a movement of Islamists led by Jamaat- e- Islami was launched to pressurize the government to declare Ahmadi community non Muslim and Pakistan an Islamic state. The impact of this clamour reflected on the drafting of the Objectives Resolution of Pakistan and ultimately country’s first much-awaited constitution in which Pakistan was declared an Islamic Republic. Although Pakistan is officially named an Islamic Republic, but in practice it is far from being a theocracy for it is not running in accordance with religious scriptures and not headed by the theologians or religious leaders. Despite of being declared an Islamic republic, Pakistan’s ruling elite, whether it be civil or military, never wished to share political power with the clerics. Islamic fundamentalists contend that Pakistan should be governed through sharia principles for it was founded on the basis of Islam and should be declared an Islamic country and for that reason they are keen to transform Pakistan into a true Islamic state based on a “*particular interpretation of Islam*”. Unfortunately, such dreams turn into violent conflict for there are various sects within Islam with their own respective interpretations. Hence, this desire of the Islamists regarding “*particular interpretation of Islam*” often translates into violent competition among different sects of the Islam living in Pakistan. In such situation, coercion and violence is regarded as reliable means to win this competition regarding the particular interpretation of Islam. Within the framework of a specific interpretation of Islam, even some Muslim sects, forget about non- Muslims, like Shia and Ahmadi do not qualify to be Islamic. Those sects / communities who do not conform this exclusive interpretation of Islam, are awarded by violence. The persecution of the Hazara Shias of Balochistan, Ahmadis and Hindus by extremist outfits vividly validates it. Since 2001, about 2684 Shia Muslims have been killed in several targeted attacks and bombing in Pakistan.¹⁵

Hence, the ideology of Pakistan stimulates the demands of those forces of Pakistan’s society, along with the Pakistan Taliban, that want to see a Pakistan run by the “*true Muslims*” because only these “*true Muslims*” know what Islam and Sunnah are. Article 227(1) of the constitution of Pakistan reads as: “*all existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the injunctions of Islam as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah, in this part referred to as the injunctions of Islam, and no law shall be enacted which is repugnant to such injunctions.*” As such it is palpable that this contemplation of the ideology of Pakistan assigns central role to the class of cleric in state functioning. An ideology proposes a defined path to be pursued and several goals to be achieved. The above mentioned restriction imposed on law making power of legislature is also just one of many goals prescribed by the ideology of Pakistan. This prohibition laid down by the ideology of Pakistan necessitates to authorize any individual or body of individuals (Ulema in case of Pakistan) to determine whether the laws enacted by the state are in conformity with the injunctions of Islam or not. Contrary to this, in practice, power elite of Pakistan always kept the clerics at a distance and this fact prepares a fertile soil for clash, often violent, between the Islamists and the state of Pakistan. A recent confrontation which lasted from 6 November 2017 to 27 November 2017, between an Islamic party, the Tehreek-i-Labaik Ya Rasool Allah (TLYR) and the government over the alleged amendment to the Khatam-e-Nabuwat oath (an oath, that is taken by public representatives as to belief in the finality of the prophethood) clause in the Election (Amendment) act 2017 validates this fact.

One of the most far-reaching by-products of the ideology of Pakistan can be seen in the uninterrupted struggle of numerous extremist outfits, among which the Taliban is at forefront, for purifying “*the land of the pure*”. Undoubtedly, the Taliban ideology has been based on religious nationalism that conceives a greater role for religion in both the private and public life. Corollary of it means greater role for the clerics in Pakistan because if a nation is to be run in accordance to the religious principles, then cleric becomes unavoidable in terms of interpretation of religious texts. While on the other hand, it has been an irony that in Pakistan, despite of being an Islamic country, the power establishment, never feels comfortable in assigning greater role to the clerics. Husain Haqqani succinctly put it “Ayub Khan wanted the state to exercise the function of religious interpretation and wanted an Islamic Ideology that would help him in the ‘defence and security and development and the ‘welding of Pakistan’s different forces into a unified whole.’”¹⁶ Pakistan’s power elite’s effort to keep away the cleric class from the country’s political as well as administrative landscape has been most fundamental reason behind the permanent war of the

Taliban against the state of Pakistan. As the ideology of Pakistan conceives country's socio-political structure, the Taliban is keen to see Pakistan run as per true Islamic principles or Sharia that would be logical to the declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic country. Soon after the creation of Pakistan, it had to confront numerous challenges to the unity and integration of country, like the issues of Balochistan, national language, resistance of NWFP (present-day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) regarding accession to Pakistan. To overcome these discords, early leadership of the country underscored the need of a robust central government. It was common perception among ruling elite that decentralization in newly born country like Pakistan would result in chaos; on the other hand centralization of power at the centre would be the only strategy through which country's survival could be ensured by both internal and external centrifugal forces. This perception of Pakistan's elite accorded top most priority to the concern of national security and survival which in turn necessitated a stout defence mechanism. Assigning utmost importance to the defence of Pakistan has proved to be a Frankenstein's monster in the context of Pakistan. This obsession of early leadership with national security and survival reflected in Pakistan's first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan's statement on 08 October 1948 when he made clear that for Pakistan, "the defence of the state is our foremost consideration. It dominates all other government activities. We will not grudge any amount on the defence of our country."¹⁷ It is leadership's this feeling of insecurity which crystallized in the allocation of more than half of the national spending to defence sector. Corollary of this imbalanced priority resulted in inadequate resources and consideration for several developmental issues and this trend continues till today. Thus, perennial search for security breeds vicious cycle of underdevelopment and insecurity getting rid of which is a major challenge for Pakistan.

Different forces invoke the ideology of Pakistan for strengthening and forwarding their respective vested interests. In addition to this, the ideology of Pakistan provides a common platform, paradoxically, to forge a nexus of these vested interests comprised of Islamists, political elite and the military. As Haqqani writes in reference to pre-election period of 1970, "several ulema of different schools of thought had been persuaded by the IB to sign a joint fatwa declaring socialism and secularism as kufr (disbelief)."¹⁸ Political history of Pakistan is full of such occasions when non-state actors joined hand with the state apparatus in the name of protection of the ideology of Pakistan and it is this nexus which poses threats to the security and stability of Pakistan and even entire region. Moreover, if any single institution in Pakistan is to be marked which has been most benefited from the ideology of Pakistan, it would obviously be the military. Accusation of undermining the ideology of Pakistan becomes a reliable justification for the supra-constitutional status of the Pakistan military.

CONCLUSION

When a particular ideology receives patronage from the state apparatuses it becomes the official ideology of the concerned state. If we accept this dictum that politics is a struggle of different social groups for getting their respective basket of values/interests accorded priority in the process of "*authoritative allocation of values*", then the winner will be those who enjoy authority or enjoy close relationship with the "authority". It is true at least in the context of the countries with structurally undifferentiated society which F.W. Riggs has called "*the prismatic society*." Pakistan is the best example of this. For example, take the military that not only protects territorial frontiers of Pakistan but also performs multiple jobs ranging from running vast economic empire to protecting the ideological/Islamic frontier to declaring Jihad against the enemy of Islam and obviously the ideology of Pakistan is helpful in legitimatizing and maintaining its hegemony over several non-military structures. The same could be said of other custodians of the ideology of Pakistan. As our deconstruction of the ideology of Pakistan shows that what is projected as the ideology of whole Pakistan is in fact, the ideology of the military and Punjabi- Muhajir dominated ruling class.

Since ideology of any state is the foundation of nationalism, it can best be defined as citizen's shared consciousness regarding country's heritage, identity, citizenship etc. If so, it must be inclusive so that it could encompass traditions, cultures, regions, religions of all inhabitants otherwise it causes discrimination, deprivation, suppression and eventually violent confrontation. Unfortunately, we are passing through an age wherein extremism has become a universal phenomenon regardless of the traditional

East and West dichotomy. Deliberate attempts of the contemporary states coupled with the culture of neoliberalism are empowering populism and the far-right around the world and Pakistan too is not exception to this phenomenon.

It has become obvious that the ideology of Pakistan has done more harm than good as to Pakistan. What had once devised to overcome the challenges has today itself become a major source of challenges and threats to Pakistan. Issues and challenges confronting Pakistan today needs to be resolved through accommodation, participation, recognition and assimilation, otherwise Pakistan would be condemned to repeat its past. The exclusiveness of the idea of Pakistani nationhood renders the entire state apparatuses in strain where concern of national unity and integrity becomes questionable which again compels the state to be obsessed with the issues of national/state security. Since, it concerns with the issue of Pakistani nationhood and identity, any move to liberalize it must be endogenous because past experiences show that exogenous pressures have only deteriorated the condition. History of Pakistan has several evidences when civil society, members of judiciary, media fraternity opted courageous move of movements against predatory regimes and pushed Pakistan a step forward. These actors have potential to become the vanguard of a 'soft revolution' aims at widening the scope of the Pakistani nationhood.

REFERENCES

1. Muhammad Ali Jinnah's first Presidential Address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (August 11, 1947), speech available online
http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00islamlinks/txt_jinnah_assembly_1947.html
2. Farahnaz Ispahani, *Purifying the Land of the Pure: Pakistan's Religious Minorities* (India: HarperCollins Publisher, 2015), 29.
3. Ibid, 48.
4. Nadeem F. Paracha, "The Pakistan Ideology: History of a Grand Concoction." *Dawn*, 29 August, 2013, available online <https://www.dawn.com/news/1038961> (accessed on 08 November, 2017).
5. Pakistan Studies is a compulsory subject that is taught from class IX to the Graduate level. It was introduced by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto government in the 1970s.
6. Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. 1973
7. Javid Iqbal, *Ideology of Pakistan* (Karachi: Ferozsons, 1971), 4.
8. Ibid, 1.
9. C. Christine Fair, "The Army's Embrace of the Ideology of Pakistan" *The Friday Times*, 11 July, 2014, available online
<http://www.thefridaytimes.com/tft/the-armys-embrace-of-the-ideology-of-pakistan/> (accessed on 10 October, 2017).
10. "PML-N's Capt Safdar Lashes out Against Ahmadis, Faces Backlash on Social Media" *Dawn*, 10 October, 2017, available online <https://www.dawn.com/news/1362922> (accessed on 12 November, 2017).
11. Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 55.
12. Mubarak Ali, *Pakistan in Search of Identity* (Islamabad: Dost Publications, 2009), 69.

13. “Hindutva Unmasked: Yogi Adityanath, BJP’s Most Strident Face, will be its Chief Minister in UP” *Dawn*, 18 March, 2017, available online <https://www.dawn.com/news/1321295> (accessed on 3 November, 2017).
14. Mona Kanwal Sheikh, *Guardians of God: Inside the Religious Mind of the Pakistani Taliban* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2016), 51.
15. “Shia Killed in Pakistan Since 2001”, *South Asian Terrorism Portal*, available online http://www.satp.org/satporgetp/countries/pakistan/database/Shia_killing_Data.htm (accessed on 20 October, 2017).
16. Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, 41.
17. Paul M. McGarr, *The Cold War in South Asia: Britain, the United States and the Indian Subcontinent, 1945-1965* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 21.
18. Husain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, 58.