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Origins and Growth Patterns of Islamic Organizations in Pakistan

During the flurry of scholarly studies after September 11, 2001, researchers typically focused on investigation into Quranic teachings, analysis of *jihad* and jihadis and interpretations of the “Muslim mind” in general. This approach was sometimes put in a larger context of the perceived clash of civilizations. The specific Islamic civilization was characterized as a relatively emotive, undisciplined, medievalist and essentially irrational force inherently disruptive of the modern civilization led by the West. Often, jihadi parties and groups, topped by the erstwhile Taliban and its ally al-Qaeda operating in the region surrounding Pakistan, provided the basic material for outlining the emergence of a self-propelling motivating force in the form of Islamic organizations. According to this approach, this inner state of mind of Muslim terrorists inspired by jihadist teachings lies at the heart of the problem.

Paul Brass distinguishes this so-called primordial approach from the instrumentalist or circumstantialist approach, which considers Islamic ideology as a social construct sponsored by the elite in pursuit

of political objectives.¹ While the primordial approach stresses the innate mobilizing and inspiring strength of the appeal of Islamic values and norms, the circumstantialist approach focuses on state policies and organizational goals. The latter approach has been an obvious casualty in the heat of debate during the war against terror. It has been generally discounted as irrelevant and inapplicable to the current Muslim challenge to the world peace and stability. For example, in a recent opinion poll in the United States, 82 percent of people believed that terrorism was not related to public policy as pursued by Washington. In most Muslim countries, including Pakistan, there are estimated to be as many people or even more who would believe otherwise. In other words, the Muslim self-statement is rooted in the circumstantialist approach to Islamic militancy. According to this, it is the perceived unjust policies of the United States that should be held responsible for the emergence of anti-American feelings throughout the Muslim world. It is argued that the content and style of Islamic organizational activities can be most fruitfully evaluated in a contextual framework.

We propose to look at the issue of Islamic militancy in Pakistan with reference to the postcolonial state, which cultivated Islam as a supreme source of legitimacy. In addition, we shall discuss the emergence of political Islam as an electoral force, a quarter of a century after independence. Similarly, we want to analyze the political role of sectarian organizations along with their madrassa-based educational and training activities. Finally, we shall discuss the input of international Islamic networks in the emergence of the militant thought and practice.

State and Islam

IN THE CONTEXT OF THE POPULAR RESPONSE to Western policies or to policies of pro-Western regimes in the Muslim world, there can be fundamental differences in the potential of Islamic movements to challenge, reshape or topple the ruling set-up. This depends largely on the nature of a specific Muslim state. On the one hand, there are the

1. See Paul Brass, "Elite Groups, Symbol Manipulation and Ethnic Identity among the Muslims of South Asia," in D. D. Taylor and Malcolm Yapp, eds., *Political Identity in South Asia* (Surrey, 1979), 47-48.

ex-British colonial societies including India, Sri Lanka, Kenya and Ghana as well as Muslim states such as Malaysia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sudan, and Nigeria. Here, a kind of “tutelary democracy” prevailed at the time of independence, comprising objectified sources of authority in the sense of rule of law and rule of public representatives on the one hand and the power base of traditional elite operating in the modern state sector through electoral politics on the other.² No populist revolution has upturned a government in any of the Commonwealth countries in the postwar era, from either religious or class perspective.

On the other hand, there are non-ex-British colonies such as Vietnam, Kampuchea, Angola, Mozambique and Muslim states of Algeria and Indonesia. Here, the second component of the British colonial legacy, i.e., the traditional elite acting as a broker between the state and society, was missing. As the “assimilationist” policies of colonial governments co-opted the local elite, the latter lost legitimacy in the public eye and thus rendered initiative into the hands of radical urban intelligentsia. Following the pattern of their modern predecessors who had fought against the French colonial rule, Islamic groups in Algeria ran a populist election campaign and almost captured the state in the aborted 1993 elections.

At the other end, Muslim countries with a non-colonial past, including Iran, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Iraq and Syria, lacked the first component of the colonial state, i.e., objectification of the sources of authority in the form of constitutional rule. Here, the state depended in the last resort on a “community of trust” represented by Pehlavi dynasty, Kabul nobility, House of Saud, Takritis and Alavis, respectively.³ The process of modernization, postwar communication explosion and horizontal mobility—especially urbanization—created enormous pressures on these states. They lacked an internally differentiated legal-institutional mechanism to keep the oppositional movements decentralized as well as de-ideologized. Iran and Afghanistan collapsed in the face of these movements, while Saudi Arabia faces

2. Myron Weiner, “Empirical Democratic Theory,” in Myron Weiner and Ergun Ozbudun, eds., *Competitive Elections in Developing Countries* (Duke University Press, 1987), 4–5.

3. Charles Tripp, “Islam and the State in the Middle East” (paper presented at the Conference on Sectarianism and the Secular State, ICES, Colombo, 1992), 3.

grim prospects of a populist challenge in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

Pakistan is a constitutional state, with a colonial legacy deeply rooted in the rule of law as well as electoral democracy, which was disrupted by four stints of military rule. Paradoxically, the new state was carved out of India as a Muslim state in the teeth of opposition from some Islamic groups and parties led by Jamiat Ulema Hind (JUH). However, certain lesser Islamic groups became part of the Pakistan movement and later emerged as an in-built pressure group within the post-independence state system. We can outline four major currents of Islamic thinking and activity in British India that together formed the Islamic tradition as part of the political culture of Pakistan in its early phase: mass agitation such as the Khilafat movement and Hijrat movement (1920–24); institutions of Islamic learning such as at Deoband, Breilly and Lucknow, which provided a framework for the Muslim self-statement about classical values and norms of Islam and the contemporary response of Muslim societies to Western domination; Islamic revivalist movements led by Wahabis at one end and Ahmadis at the other, with organizations such as Tableeq and Tanzim operating in the middle for restoring the glory of Islam; and mulla activism in the Pakhtun tribal area adjoining Afghanistan, which characterized the local rebellion against a remote, impersonal and alien state in a narodnik spirit.⁴ Islam in Pakistan has represented all four trends represented by street agitation, anti-Western intellectual discourse, religious scholarship of madrassas and the potential for a xenophobic tribal rebellion in the North West Frontier Province (NWFP), respectively. While the general public displayed these strands of Islamic thought and action, the official Islam focused on the “two-nation theory” and later Pakistan ideology as sources of state legitimacy and profile of national destiny.

For a quarter of a century after independence, the modernist Muslim elite kept the reigns of government firmly in its own hands. The logic of Partition as fulfillment of the demand for a separate Muslim homeland carved out of British India kept Islam at the center of the nationalist discourse. Additionally, the migrant-led ruling

4. D. Reetz, “Muslim Concepts of Local Power and Resistance: Islamic Militants in the Indian Frontier Province before Independence” (paper presented at the Fourteenth European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Copenhagen, 21–24 August 1996), 2.

elite—including the first governor general Jinnah and the first prime minister Liaqat, who came from Bombay and United Provinces (UP) in India, respectively—opted for a model of centralist rule sometimes described as the viceregal system.⁵ Governments used Islamic ideology to counter the demand for provincial autonomy in pursuit of their agenda for national unity. Ulema and Islamists in general occupied a secondary role in public life. While operating from the madrasa and the pulpit of the mosque, they demanded rule of shari'a in Pakistan. Under successive parliamentary governments (1947–58) followed by General Ayub's military—and later presidential—rule (1958–69), the ruling elite adopted various strategies to control, cajole or co-opt Islamist elements. The latter condemned the former for being lackeys of the secular West.

Emergence of Political Islam

THE 1970 ELECTION WAS A TURNING POINT in the history of Islamist groups and parties. General Yahya's military government (1969–71) faced the leftist challenge from Zulfikar Ali (Z.A.) Bhutto in West Pakistan and the Bengali nationalist challenge from Mujiburrehman in East Pakistan. It decided to back Islamist elements in both wings to stem the tide of anti-establishment feelings. The 1970 election is generally identified with the emergence of politics of the Left in West Pakistan, not the least because it led to the formation of Bhutto's populist government in Islamabad.⁶ However, the 1970 election also ushered in an era of politics of Islam. Ulema moved out of their mosques and madrasas, and managed to get eighteen out of three hundred seats in the national assembly (NA). Surprisingly, the conservative Jamiat Ulema Islam (JUI)—based on the Deobandi sect—got seven NA seats in the Pakhtun tribal belt of NWFP and Baluchistan. It formed coalition governments in the two provinces and even got chief ministership for itself in NWFP. The relatively less strict Jamiat Ulema Pakistan (JUP)—based on the Brelvi sect—also got seven seats, while the Jamaat-i-Islami (JI)—the essentialist party of university graduates—won four seats.

5. See K. B. Sayeed, *The Political System in Pakistan* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1968).

6. For example, see S. J. Burki and Craig Baxter, "Socioeconomic Indicators of the People's Party Vote in the Punjab: A Study at the Tehsil Level," in W. H. Wriggins, ed., *Pakistan in Transition* (Islamabad: 1975), 64–67.

While politics of the Left represented the popular wave under Z.A. Bhutto, the opposition politics took a turn in the 1970s in favor of Islamic parties. First, they moved from a mere pressure group to becoming stakeholders in the political system itself, and sought to Islamize the system from within. Second, they formed coalition governments in the two provincial governments and thus got a share in state power in terms of resource allocation to their constituents. Third, in the event of a total defeat of the mainstream Pakistan Muslim League (PML) factions in the 1970 elections, the mantle of legitimacy for the role of opposition through the media and public forums fell on the JI-JUI-JUP representatives in and outside legislatures. They consistently criticized Bhutto for his un-Islamic (read “socialist”) policies and introduced a comprehensive Islamic discourse for discussing the national agenda in public. Finally, they lent a religious character to the anti-Bhutto movement after the controversial elections of 1977. The relatively secular ethnic elite and liberal mainstream politicians in the opposition’s Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) felt obliged to accept the ideological leadership of Islamic parties, not the least because the latter mobilized thousands of madrassa students to bring demonstrations out in the street and used mosques for propagating war against an “infidel” Bhutto.

Islamism almost forced itself as a source of legitimacy for the new military leader General Zia (1977–88). The more the Pakistan People’s Party (PPP) leader Bhutto displayed his potential to challenge Zia from jail, the more Zia manipulated Islamic ideology for stabilizing his regime. He issued the controversial Hudood Ordinances shortly before hanging Bhutto ostensibly to pre-empt the much-feared agitation from his party. Zia castigated democracy as an importation from the West and instead upheld Islam as a source of legitimacy. The Islamic parties JI, JUI and JUP joined Zia’s military government in an all-out effort to stop Bhutto’s party from coming back to power in the event of elections. Cooperation between army and Islamic parties that started under Yahya came to fruition under Zia. The JI earned the dubious title of Martial Law’s B team. Islam and democracy appeared to be incompatible entities.

During the Zia period, Islamist groups and parties gained immensely in terms of building an image of street power. The first major agitation of Islamist elements in the 1953 anti-Ahmadiya movement had brought down the Daultana government in Punjab

and subsequently the Nazimuddin government in the Center. In the following decades, several governments took to their heels in the face of a threat of Islamic agitation.

In 1962, Ayub accepted the demand from the Islamist group for changing the name of the country from Republic of Pakistan to Islamic Republic of Pakistan. In 1974, Z.A. Bhutto obliged Islamists by declaring Ahmadis—his erstwhile allies in the 1970 elections—a religious minority. In 1981, Zia conceded to the Shia activists by exempting Shias from payment of Zakat, which was generally identified with Sunni jurisprudence. In 1995, Benazir Bhutto withdrew her decision to audit the finances of madrassas, stop guerrilla training of their students and reform their hate-based curricula in the face of a nationwide strike. In 1998, Nawaz Sharif met the same fate when he wanted to implement these reforms. In 2000, General Musharraf withdrew his proposal to reform the procedural aspects of the Blasphemy Law in the face of a threat of street agitation from Islamists. In this way Islamic parties demonstrated their street power whenever their interests were threatened.

The war in Afghanistan, which was initiated, financed and sponsored by Islamabad and, indirectly but more effectively, by Washington, took Islamic politics into its militant mode of operation. Afghan mujahideen and their counterparts from Pakistan embraced the ideology of jihad against the Soviet Union. Islamic parties, especially JI but also JUI with its base among the tribal Pathan population in the vicinity of the war theater, accumulated immense financial resources, gained access to the diplomatic world and got hold of lethal weapons in large numbers. However, these parties progressively lost electoral space. Their combined vote came down from 21.5 percent in 1970 to 6.7 percent in 1993. In 1997, all Islamic parties put together got two out of 207 National Assembly seats. It was clear that their real strength and agenda had moved outside the narrow confines of electoral politics and even the territorial limits of Pakistan.

The armed might of jihadist parties was rendered ineffective during the U.S.-led war against terrorism in 2001–02. The loss of direction for Islamists, combined with despondency, led to reworking of links with ideological allies at home and abroad. As Pakistan moved to elections in October 2002, the anti-American sentiment provided a rallying ground for Islamic parties.

Sectarian Dimension

ALMOST ALL ISLAMIC PARTIES and groups in Pakistan are based in specific sects and subjects. Only JI, along with its student body Islamic Jamiat Talba (IJT), is supra-sectarian in approach and activity.⁷ This party represented the Islamist conservative section of the urban middle class, educated in colleges and universities. JI has no constituency in rural areas, few pockets of support among industrial workers and a limited electoral strength. It has essentially operated as a pressure group for Islamizing the state and implementing Sharia. It produced Islamic literature in the Urdu language, which tried to grapple with modern issues of politics and administration, education and health, and manners and morals. JI aimed at Islamizing the state system of Pakistan through electoral democracy, using the instrument of law. It established its student wings in the institutions of higher learning throughout the country. The military elite often used the JI's endemic presence in professions—e.g., Urdu press, as well as colleges and universities—to destabilize an incumbent government, especially a PPP government. The party enjoyed its heyday under Zia who turned its intellectual, organizational and ideological resources into a great asset for his agenda to deflect democratic challenges at home and regulate the support mechanism for the war in Afghanistan. Being educated in colleges and universities, JI-oriented men and women have a strong job orientation and indeed already have a considerable presence within the power-wielding institutions of the state.

However, a sectarian party is the prototype of Islamic organization today.⁸ Pakistanis are predominantly Sunni and followers of the Hanafi school of thought (as opposed to the relatively more strict Hanbali, Maliki and Shafi schools popular in several Arab countries). Sunni-Hanafis have their center of gravity in the Indo-Muslim civilization, especially in the two seminaries at Breilly and Deoband in northern India. Brelvis encourage saint-worship and shrine-worship, indulge in superstitious practices and uphold the tradition of Sufi orders established over centuries. They represent the majority in Pakistan, with a large base in the peasant culture of Punjab. JUP, as

7. For details, see Vali R. Nasr, *The Vanguard of Islamic Revolution: The Jamat Islami of Pakistan* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1995).

8. Mohammad Waseem, "Sectarian Conflict in Pakistan," in K. M. de Silva, ed., *Conflict and Violence in South Asia* (Kandy, 2000), 71–74.

the leading Brelvi party, is typically non-militant. Brelvi ulema allow separation between church and state inasmuch as their followers vote for local influentials who may not be JUI nominees. JUP has generally kept a low profile, except during the 1977 anti-Bhutto movement. It held an all-Pakistan Sunni conference in 2000. As an offshoot of JUP in Karachi, the Sunni Tehrik represents a diehard approach to the Sunni agenda.

While Brelvis represent oral orthodoxy cushioned by devotional practices, Deobandis represent literate orthodoxy with a strict adherence to the classical texts of Islam. This sect has produced several organizations: JUH in the 1920s, Ahrars and Majlis Tahaffuz Khatm e Nubawat (MTKN) in the 1940s and its leading party in Pakistan JUI, which was sometimes divided into rival factions, such as Hazarvi versus Thanvi groups and Fazlurrehman versus Samiul Haq groups. As JUI(s) embraced militant politics during the Zia period, the Sipah-i Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) emerged as its sectarian outfit. The latter in turn gave birth to a terrorist group Lashkar-i Jhangvi (LJ), which had a clear mandate to kill Shias and destroy their infrastructure. As the main anti-Shia groups for the last two decades, SSP and LJ were widely held responsible for sectarian terrorism. Nawaz Sharif introduced an Anti-Sectarian Bill in the national assembly in 1993 to control their activities. But the bill was allowed to lapse, ostensibly for the fear of alienating the pro-Nawaz Sunni establishment. General Musharraf finally banned LJ in 2001.

In Punjab, the appeal of Deobandis has been limited to some lower middle class sections of the population. However, Pakhtuns of NWFP and also Baluchistan emerged as natural followers of Deobandism. The rigid adherence to Pakhtun tribal customs amply correlated with textual rigidity and puritanical behavior preached by Deoband. The popular Deobandi institution of Tablighi Jamat was concerned with proselytization, correct ritual practice and a jihad of soul through peaceful means rather than through militant action against non-believers. On the other hand, the Pakhtun Deobandism, and later Afghan Deobandism, flourished under war against communist infidels.⁹ When the chief of the seminary at Deoband and his entourage visited NWFP in 2001 to participate in the 150th anniversary

9. Barbara Metcalf, "Piety, Persuasion and Politics: Deoband's Model of Islamic Activism" (working paper), 5.

of their school, they were reportedly alienated by the deafening sound of gunfire that welcomed them. Deobandism, along with tribalism rooted in the Pakhtun segmentary lineage system, produced a jihadi culture that soon spilled over to various areas of Punjab and Sindh. A thriving gun industry in the tribal area and the U.S.-supplied arms in the hands of Afghan mujahideen built the new jihadi infrastructure in northwest Pakistan.

Another Sunni subsect called Wahabi, or Salafi, has recently gained ground in major cities of Pakistan. Jamiat Ahle Hadith (JAH) remains the major Wahabi party. It is widely known that Salafis represent and safeguard Saudi Arabian interests in Pakistan. Being very strict about Islamic teachings and disallowing liberal and modern interpretations of the Quran and Sunna, this sect has a limited appeal beyond certain commercial and professional middle class sections. After the 1991 Gulf War, when most of Islamic parties and groups opposed the U.S.-led coalition against Saddam Hussein, Saudi Arabia felt obliged to shift its patronage away from parties such as JI and created a string of Salafi establishments in Pakistan. In the backdrop of the continuing war in Afghanistan and the emergence of jihadist struggle in Indian-held Kashmir, the new Salafi outfit Dawat-ul-Irshad (DI) established guerrilla training camps such as Ma'skar Tayaba in Kunar province in Afghanistan and Markaz Tayaba in Muridke near Lahore. Their guerrilla force, Lashkar Tayaba, claimed several activities in Indian Kashmir. Salafis are ultra-fundamentalists in their approach to theological matters.¹⁰

The Shia-Sunni conflict has occupied the center stage in terms of sectarian strife during the last two decades. The Shia, as a minority at 15 percent of the population, became overtly political in the late 1970s. First, Zia's largely Sunni-based Islamization program shook the Shia community out of complacency and caused widespread mobilization in the pursuit of sectarian ends. Secondly, Khomeini's revolution in Iran reinvigorated Shia minorities everywhere, especially in Pakistan. Shias formed a new party, Tehrik Nifaz Fiqh-i Jafaria (TNFJ), in a bid to safeguard their religious and economic interests, and establish an Islamic state in Pakistan. The murder of the Shia revolutionary leader Ariful Hussaini, allegedly at the hands of Sunnis, was followed by revenge killings on both sides. SSP led a vehement

10. See Guilain Denooux, "The Forgotten Swamp: Navigating Political Islam," *Middle East Policy* 9, no. 2 (June 2002).

campaign for declaring Pakistan a Sunni state, and carried out numerous acts of terrorism against Shias. Some younger Shias formed their own militant organization, Sipah Muhammed (SM), which, however, soon lost ground.

One can distinguish between the two generations of Islamists in Pakistan's history. The first-generation Islamists, who were generally supra-sectarian, aimed at changing the law of the land, struggled to enter the state through elections, operated through the printed word and dabbled in conceptualizing the West, modernity, science, public morality and statehood. The second-generation Islamists were sectarian, localist and militant. They lacked intellectual tools for understanding the dynamics of the state, the region, and the world at large. They focused on simple polarities such as Islam and the West as good and evil, respectively. They prepared themselves for war against the perceived domination of Christians and Jews over the Muslim World. The liberal intelligentsia often criticized the first generation for trying to turn the wheel of history backwards. It condemned the second generation for attempting to change the rules of game from ballot to bullet and "externalizing" the public agenda in terms of a grand polarity between Islam and the West in the world at large.

Institutional Setting

ISLAMIC SEMINARIES (MADRASSAS) have made news headlines ever since mujahideen organized resistance against the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan. The number of madrassas in Pakistan increased from around 700 in both East and West wings to 868 in Punjab alone in 1975 to 3,874 in the whole country in 1995. In 2002, more than 5,000 madrassas were supposed to be active on the ground.¹¹

In the 1980s, thousands of new madrassas were opened in the backdrop of state incentives such as allocation of funds through the Zakat Foundation. Many of these madrassas operated as base camps for recruiting and training Afghan mujahideen. Typically, madrassas have been socially embedded in sectarian communities. The five major federations or associations of madrassas in charge of their organizational and infrastructural requirements belong to Deobandi, Brelvi, Salafi and Shia sects, and JI. Apart from a few centers of excel-

11. Waseem, "Sectarian Conflict," 66–70.

lence in Islamic teaching, these madrassas generally lack in quality. Saudi Arabia and Iran allegedly provided financial and infrastructural support to Sunni and Shia madrassas, respectively, and thus waged a proxy war on the soil of Pakistan. Students of madrassas typically belonged to families living at the edge of the society in terms of poverty, suppression, economic breakdown and migration from rural to urban areas. Students were socialized along the message of hostility toward others, including institutional and sectarian rivals and religious enemies, especially Hindus and Jews, the Westernized ruling elite in Pakistan and the West. There are many respectable madrassas, such as Jamia Ashrafia, Jamia Rashidia and Madrassa Khairul Ulem, which impart classical knowledge of Islam. Indeed, madrassas generally remained confined to teaching religious classics and preaching piety in their respective localities. However, a minority of these madrassas was engaged in the jihadist activities, especially in the backdrop of mujahideen's war in Afghanistan, followed by Taliban's rule in Kabul from 1996 to 2001.

Benazir and Nawaz Sharif balked over the issue of regulating madrassas for the fear of inviting the wrath of Islamist groups. The Musharraf government issued a Madrassa Registration Ordinance in June 2002 to control foreign funding, improve curricula and disallow training in the use of arms.¹² An umbrella organization of madrassas, Jamiat Ittehad Ulama (JIU), rejected the ordinance and opted for a general strike. Its predecessor had been active against all official attempts at regulation of madrassas from 1995 onward.

The thinking in official circles and in the educated middle class about madrassas revolves around the idea of bringing them into the mainstream education program. For that purpose, it has been suggested to introduce computers, science education and other practical arts in madrassas to enable them to produce students with the potential for productive participation in public life. However, a parallel mode of thinking points out that such a policy will further strengthen madrassa people in pursuit of their primitive goals through militant activity with the help of modern organizational and technological means. At the heart of the problem lies the inefficiency and inability of the state to improve the regular school system and

12. *Dawn* (19 June 2002).

link the educational and manpower policies to curb unemployment and improve social services.

International Dimension

CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS have internalized the technological dynamics of globalization. The speed and style as well as content of messages sent across the world have multiplied the impact and scope of Islamic movement everywhere. We can outline three major aspects of this phenomenon. First and foremost, it is the worldview of Pakistani decision makers (as well as opinion makers) that provides the conceptual framework for intellectual activity of local Muslims. The articulate sections of the population in Pakistan have a worldview characterized by an Indo-centric foreign policy, on-again, off-again suspicion of the West, and a world of Islam perspective. The unresolved Kashmir Conflict has kept Indo-Pakistan relations at a boiling point for most of the post-independence period. For eighteen years after the emergence of Bangladesh, Kashmir remained on the back burner of Pakistan's foreign policy. As the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan, Kashmir emerged as the new area of Muslim struggle against the non-Muslim rule in India. A decade of jihad, which pushed Moscow out of Afghanistan, gave birth to a new doctrine of armed struggle in pursuit of the goal of national self-determination. The fact that it was a proxy war between the two superpowers and that it was the U.S. commitment of financial, military and diplomatic resources that decisively turned the tide in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union did not represent the central point of understanding of the mujahideen's victory in Kabul, either in Afghanistan or in Pakistan. A decade of mujahideen struggle in Kashmir started, which occasionally brought India and Pakistan to the brink of war.

Large sections of Islamic groups and madrassa-trained students emerged as the new generation of mujahideen committed to rid Kashmir of Hindu rule. The new pattern of armed activity in Indian Kashmir produced a variety of militant organizations. Some were affiliated with Islamic parties in Pakistan, such as Hizbe-ul Mujahideen with JI, and Lashkar Tauheed and Salafi Group for Call and Combat with JAH. Others had Arab, Central Asian and Afghan connections, such as Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, al-Jihad based in Egypt, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, al-Qaeda Islamic Army,

Taliban Islamic Movement and Harkat-i-Islami. Similarly, al-Badr, Jamiat al-Mujahideen, Harkatul Ansar (renamed Harkatul Mujahideen) and Jaish-e-Muhammed (renamed al-Furqan) operated in Indian Kashmir but cultivated close relations in Pakistan and other Muslim countries. Various new groups have emerged in the triangle of crisis comprising Kashmir, Pakistan and Afghanistan, including al-Uzman, al-Omar and al-Saiqa. Others were charity organizations such as Wafa Humanitarian Organization and al-Rashid Trust, as well as the controversial Ummat Tameer Nau, led by an ex-chief of Atomic Energy Commission of Pakistan. One can also mention smaller outfits such as Karwan-i-Khalid, Zarb-Momin and Zarb-Islami. These organizations operated in the three countries of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan in pursuit of shared foreign policy and strategic objectives, which were ideologically embedded in the larger civilizational goals.

Confusion, conflict and suspicion of the West in Pakistan draw on the colonial past, the historical legacy of the Crusades and, more recently, the Arab-Israel conflict. All Muslims, Arab and non-Arab, liberal and conservative, educated and non-educated, share the agony of humiliation in the form of Israel's occupation of Palestinian territories. Public opinion in Pakistan, as elsewhere in Muslim countries, holds the West, especially the United States, responsible for this grave aggression against a classical Muslim land. Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has done more damage to relations of Islam with the West than has any other issue during the last three and a half decades. Other Muslim causes such as Kashmir, Chechnya, Bosnia and Kosovo belonged to communities that were once part of Muslim empires but became politically unprotected after the frontiers of Islam shrank over the centuries. The dichotomous model of the world, along the lines of Islam and the West, has taken root in Muslim societies everywhere, even as their governing elite continue to look toward the West for financial and diplomatic support as well as national security. This attitude has crystallized into an Islam perspective whereby Muslims operate in a mini world of their own and seek to establish institutional networks to unite this world against the wider world presided by the West.

Secondly, transnational Islamic networking is a major development in the non-state sector in recent decades. One can outline several

nodal points of contact between Muslim activists throughout the world. First, Islamic militant groups from Muslim societies bear grievances against the West for causing damage to their territorial interests such as in Palestine. Second, historical Muslim minorities struggle to safeguard their cultural, religious, economic and political interests against policies of their respective majority-based states such as Russia, India and China. Third, Muslim expatriates in Western countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France and Germany feel marginalized in terms of employment, cultural autonomy and racial harmony. For example, the second-generation Pakistanis in Britain experienced multiple setbacks, including loss of identity, loss of culture, and loss of status. Against odds of all kinds, Islamic identity operates as irreducible minima for Muslim migrants in the West, who suffer gross alienation from their respective state systems and mainstream educational, cultural and media systems.¹³

The response of Muslims in all these situations is the recourse to the cause of Muslim unity, solidarity and fraternity. There is a reworking of the Muslim project in process, which was initially started by the Muslim Brotherhood in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁴ Islamic militants in Pakistan, as well as among British Pakistanis and across the border in Indian Kashmir, tend to see their counterparts in Hezbollah of Lebanon, Islamic Jihad of Egypt and Hamas of Palestine. While terrorism in the West is perceived as disruption of a just society by unjust means, Islamic militants understand terrorism as a form of mandatory war against the unjust global society presided by the United States.

Pakistani activist groups and individuals have frequently interacted with their counterparts in Western societies as well as in other Muslim communities. In comparison, there is far less activity by way of transnational networking among civil society activists from universities and the media, as well as lawyers, engineers, doctors, artists, writers and human rights activists. While globalization is progressing

13. See Yunas Samad, "The Plural Guises of Multiculturalism: Conceptualizing a Fragmented Paradigm," in Tariq Modood and Prina Werbner, eds., *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the New Europe: Racism, Identity and Community* (London: Zed Books, 1997).

14. Laden Boroumand and Roya Boroumand, "Terror, Islam and Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 2 (April 2002).

rapidly through the communications explosion, the integrative and assimilative activities in the cultural, educational and political fields have failed to keep pace. The United States is widely criticized by the liberal intelligentsia in Pakistan, as elsewhere in the Muslim world, for hoisting a military dictator on top of the nation and for paying lip service to the cause of democracy.

Thirdly, the self-statement of the West in terms of the perceived clash of civilizations has not helped matters. The Western input in the emergence and activation of the dichotomous worldview among Muslims can be understood in terms of a continuing preoccupation with the "otherness" of Islam. For example, terrorism is conceived as a state of (Muslim) mind rather than as an issue related to U.S. public policy. Similarly, there is rampant cynicism in Muslim countries rooted in the injustice syndrome, drawing heavily on unresolved conflicts such as Palestine and Kashmir. Policies, or indeed non-policies, about the issue of settlement of millions of Palestinian and Afghan refugees, among others, have turned their temporary settlements into breeding houses of hatred and frustration. Similarly, the policy of rendering Muslim countries as rogue states and thus pushing them to exit from the world system has mobilized a large number of people in Muslim countries belonging to South and Southeast Asia, Central Asia, and the Middle East, as well as historical Muslim minorities and the Muslim expatriate community in the West.

Over the centuries, Pakistanis have lacked a continuous identity that would have served as a wellspring of territorial nationalism in the country. They are by definition pan-Islamic in their vision. The process of moving away from Hindu-dominated Indian civilization, which started in 1947 and acquired a new impetus in 1971 after the emergence of Bangladesh, has got Pakistan deeply involved in the destiny of the Islamic nations and groups the world over. Islamic organizations in Pakistan thrive on their transnational vision and networks operating within a dichotomous framework of world politics.

Conclusion

OUR OBSERVATIONS POINT to the complex origins and patterns of growth of Islamic organizations in Pakistan. We have discussed the way Islamic ideology functioned as the supreme source of legitimacy for the state, and defined the parameters of the political context that eventually laid down the turf for politics of identity. The Islamic movement changed its character from a pressure group for establishing the rule of shari'a in the first quarter of a century after independence, to an electoral and then a militant force in the second quarter. The regional input in the form of the war in Afghanistan combined with Zia's vehement pursuit of the Islamization program in the 1980s to produce a dynamic pan-Islamic agenda and a vast Islamic network at home and abroad based on sectarian parties and madrassas.

The army-dominated state apparatus in Pakistan has militated against providing social, cultural, economic and political space to the civil society in general and public representatives in particular. On the other hand, Islamic parties and groups enjoyed a relatively free hand to operate in the educational, cultural and, increasingly, political fields. Even more significantly, the state elite sought to provide a role for Islamist groups against various political forces identified with the Left, ethnolinguistic communities, provincial autonomy activists and the liberal intelligentsia. The involvement of Islamic militants in the wars in Afghanistan and Kashmir contributed to privatization of foreign policy and militarization of Islamic activists. The international Islamic networks finally provided a global agenda for the movement in terms of endemic anti-Americanism. The unresolved conflicts around the world involving Muslim communities, especially in Palestine, sharpened the boundaries of the conflict. We can conclude by observing that state policies, regional instability and non-resolution of conflicts involving Muslims in the region and in the world at large are the leading determinants of the nature and direction of Islamic organizations in Pakistan.