Pakistan: An Islamic State or a State for Muslims?
A Critical Appraisal of Islam’s Role in Pakistan

*Muqarrab Akbar

Abstract

The Islamic Nature of Pakistan has been a debatable question since the creation of Pakistan as an independent state. The society has divided opinion on nature of Pakistan as an Islamic state or a secular state. The polarisation is so engraved that one fraction of the society categorically emphases that Pakistan is an Islamic state whereas other segment of the society firmly describes it as a secular state created for the Muslims of Subcontinent. To critically analyse the debate, the paper explores the origin of Pakistan to find its foundations as an Islamic state or a secular state. The paper highlights the struggle amongst different schools of thought in making Pakistan an Islamic or secular state. The research also focuses on the role of Islam during different eras in Pakistan to analyse its importance in the country. The paper critically analyse the role of different rules in inculcating Islam in the political life of Pakistan. The paper concludes how important Islam is in the life of a common man in Pakistan? If further explores how successive governments used Islam to get their political objectives and to enhance their political power.

Keywords: Islam, Pakistan, Islamic State, Religion

Historical Background:

Muslims and Hindu had been living together since hundreds of years in the subcontinent peacefully under the policy of co-existence. The emergence of British power highlighted the Hindu-Muslim conflict. Although this conflict existed before the emergence of British power however the presence of British further intensified the Hindu-Muslim conflict by playing a role of a catalyst. Sayeed pointed that probably the Emperor Aurangzeb’s policy of Islamization in the sub-continent encouraged the Muslim-Hindu tension whereas many Muslim historians glorified the steps of Aurangzeb for promoting ideological and religious identity. The life of Indian Muslims transformed because of three major developments with the advent of British power in the sub-continent; 1) Muslims lost their empire where they ruled almost one thousand years, 2) They became a minority under the British imperial legacy where the number game mattered a lot and 3) The British did only come for political rule but also brought Western culture and civilization that threatened and challenged the Muslim culture and civilization in the sub-continent. The British policy proved to be a failure in bridging the gap between Muslim and Hindu Community. The struggle for power between Muslims and Hindus during imperial reign further aggravated the conflicts.

*Assistant Professor, Department of International Relations, B.Z University, Multan,
Although many attempts were made for Hindu-Muslim unity between 1916-1940 but failed to get desired results.\(^4\) The electoral reforms and ever increasing Muslim-Hindu religious division ended up with the evolution of two independent states; India for the Hindus of the sub-continent and Pakistan for the Muslims of the sub-continent.

**Pakistan’s Maiden Problem: Between Islamic and Secularism:**

Pakistan is composed of various ethnic groups divided in different regions and presents various regional cultures. These cultures neither can be identified as Islamic nor as un-Islamic. Adeel emphasised that Islam is considered as a vital part of these cultures but not the basis. However the ideology of rationalist Islam is the basis of Pakistan.\(^5\) However, the Islamic or secular nature of state has been a cause of struggle and point of contention between different factions of society.\(^6\) The public, ranging from business communities, political leaders and religious leaders to the state structure and state institutions, are involved in this contest by taking one or the other view point regarding state identity. Haqqani pointed that military officers, civil bureaucracy and the politicians used the Islamic card in the formative phase of Pakistan to “exacerbate the antagonism between Hindus and Muslims” so that “Islamic Pakistan” could pay resistance against “Hindu India.”\(^7\) Pakistanis are still debating what type of state Jinnah\(^8\) contested for.

Yasmeen, an expert on Islam and Pakistan, has also pointed out that, “Pakistan is currently engaged in multiple struggles: the dominant struggle between the militants and the government coexists with a parallel struggle on the meaning of Islam in Pakistan’s identity.”\(^10\) The individual’s views are shaped by multiple factors such as cultural, social, theological, economic and personal factors.\(^11\) Ahmad categorises this division as a struggle for supremacy between divine will and human will, and it is very difficult to oppose divine will.\(^12\) Furthermore, Khan opined that Jinnah contradictory statements contributed in creating this confusion regarding the Pakistan’s ideological basis as one time he emphasised on the role of Islam whereas the secularism and democracy on the other time.\(^13\)

Successive leaders interpreted the Jinnah’s vision to enhance their political power by manipulating it. Secular liberals and the religious both gave examples of Jinnah’s different speeches to favour their respective arguments.\(^14\) Many liberals take the view that Jinnah wanted a secular Pakistan\(^15\) because in his presidential address to the First Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, he stated,

“You are free; you are free to go to your temples, you are free to go to your mosques or to any other place or 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.”\(^16\)

Burki, while commenting on this address asks: How it is possible for the Muslims to cease as Muslims and Hindus to be ceased as Hindu when they belonged to two completely different ideologies and believes? Whether, for Jinnah, the two nation theory was ceased after the creation of an independent state? Was this address a message to the people of Pakistan that a state, which was created for the
preservation of Islamic identity of Muslims of the subcontinent, was to be run on secular ideas? Was Jinnah endorsing the views of his opponents that he used Islam as a political tool to create unity among different ethno lingual population to divide India and to get only an independent state? Moreover, this speech does not depict the secular thinking of Jinnah because Islam gives freedom to everyone to practise their religion, faith, ideology, rituals of worship or social customs, and the state would not interfere. However, Maududi, an Islamic scholar, claims that the rights and duties of non-Muslims are limited under an Islamic state.

In contrast, many Islamists believe that the foundation stone of Pakistan was laid on Islam that was embodied in a ‘Two-Nation theory’ based on the different religions of Hindus and Muslims. They support their arguments with different speeches of Quaid-e-Azam that clearly describe the Islamic nature of Pakistan. In 1940, he claimed, “Islam and Hinduism: are not religions in the strict sense of the word, but are, in fact, different and distinct social orders and it is a dream that the Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality...” Jinnah addressed the people of the United State of America,

“The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fair play.”

The issue of religious inculcation not only adversely affected the economic development of Pakistan but also badly affected the viability of the state having the heterogeneous ethnic composition of state. Islam was so inculcated in the life of people of Pakistan that they considered Kashmir as their integral part because majority of the population is Muslim and they had geographically important for Pakistan. After 1947 when Hindu Raja of Kashmir, in spite of Majority Muslim population, joined India, Pakistan sent troops to stop Indian annexation of Kashmir.

Adeel Khan pointed that the demand of Pakistan was purely a secular nationalistic demand because Muslims of subcontinent felt threatened by overwhelming Hindu majority, economically not religiously. If threat would have been purely religious based, the Muslim religious groups would have been first to demand a separate homeland but they were not in the favour of creation of Pakistan. Therefore, Alvi called it ‘the Pakistan movement was not a movement of Islam but of Muslims’.

Jinnah’s sudden death threw Pakistan into the debate without any concrete ideas and the contending stakeholders referred Quaid-e-Azam’s different statements to legitimise their own stance to guide the nature of Pakistan as an Islamic or secular state. In fact, Jinnah contested for the creation of Pakistan to achieve a state system based on tolerance and justice as key elements of an Islamic society with freedom of
religion with Western democratic norms. Allama Muhammad Iqbal, a proponent of the idea of an independent Muslim state and a stalwart of the ‘Two-Nation theory’, also emphasised the role of Islam in the religious, political and legal philosophy of Muslims. Iqbal emphasised the creation of a state based on Islamic principles by saying,

“Islam came with “legal concepts” with “civic significance,” with its “religious ideals” considered as inseparable from social order… therefore, the construction of a policy on national lines, if it means a displacement of the Islamic principle of solidarity, is simply unthinkable to a Muslim.”

He travelled, before the creation of Pakistan, to Turkey, Afghanistan and Egypt to promote greater Islamic political cooperation. Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address during All-India Muslim League Conference in Allahabad on 29 December 1930, “One lesson I have learnt from the history of Muslims. At critical moments in their history it is Islam that has saved Muslims and not vice versa.” So it is undoubtedly a fact that Pakistan’s foundations were laid upon an Islamic identity and Muslim unity. Similarly, Liaqat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, emphasised that Pakistan was created to promote closer cooperation among Muslim states. Moreover, Maulana Shabbir Ahmed Osmani, a member of the first Constituent Assembly, maintained the same stance in his address to the Constituent Assembly in 1949,

“Islam has never accepted the view that religion is a private matter between man and his creator and as such has no bearing on the social or political relations of human beings…The late Quaid-I-Azam marked in his letter to Gandhi in August 1944: The Quran is a complete code of life. It provides for all matters, religious or social, civil or criminal, military or penal, economic or commercial.”

The political party which created Pakistan, the Muslim League, was not a religious party and promulgated the two nation theory on the basis of different religions, cultures and traditions to unite the Muslims of the subcontinent. This unity created the mobilising force for the independence of the nation.

On the other hand, Islamic parties such as Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam and Jamaat-e-Islami were not in favour of creating an independent state for Muslims: rather, they were willing to create an Islamic state. Aziz noted that Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, founder of Jamaat-i-Islami, opposed Muslim nationalism and considered three fundamental principles of modern civilization, secularism, nationalism and democracy, are unislamic and evil. Moreover, they opined that democracy was not the Islamic system because the ultimate power lies with Allah, and Western democracy transfers the power of Allah’s sovereignty to the people. If the Muslims would accepted and practiced modern Western democracy they would be turning their backs on the Holy Quran. However, after the creation of Pakistan, these Islamic parties became the champions of the Islamic identity of the state by implementing ‘Sharia’ in Pakistan, Cohen opined. Moreover, these Islamic parties
adopted the course of political process by taking part in political process through elections.

The Jinnah’s leaning towards implementation of democratic norms embodied with Islamic principles further intensified the political discourse. In March 1949, Liaqat Ali Khan, first prime minister of Pakistan, moved a resolution that,

“sovereignty belonged to God, and that the authority He had delegated to the state of Pakistan, ‘through its people’ would be exercised ‘within the limits prescribed by Him’; that the state would fully observe the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance, and social justice as enunciated by Islam; and that it would enable Muslims to order their individual and collective lives according to the teachings and requirements of Islam as set forth in the *Quran* and *Sunnah*.

Pakistan was created for the Muslims to live by Islamic teachings and traditions.”

This statement was a clear cut explanation of role of Islam in the affairs of the state and society. Whereas, he emphasised that “the goal before Pakistan was ‘to build up a truly liberal Government where the greatest amount of freedom... (would) be given to all its members.’” Khan explained that the latter statement was added by Liaqat Ali Khan to pacify the non-Muslims and liberals who were in favour of a secular Pakistan. Although these two statements were contradictory and pulled the people further in confusion regarding role of Islam in Pakistan. However, in the Objective Resolution of 1949, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan decided that the future constitution of Pakistan would be based on the ideology of Islam and would be a combination of Western democracy and Islamic principles. This annoyed both the secular groups and Islamists as it had not, being semi Islamic and semi secular, fulfilled the desires of either of them. Practically, no one tried to implement Islamic principles in order to make Pakistan a real champion of Muslims: rather, Islam had always been used as a tool to fulfil political motives and to sustain and legalise the regimes of both military dictators and civilian rulers. Shaikh claimed that Islam, a force of unity, was converted into a source of ethnic and sectarian division among the people of Pakistan by religious and political leaders.

During his first visit to United States, Liaqat Ali Khan, first prime minister of Pakistan, emphatically emphasised that the foundation stone of Pakistan was laid down to enable the millions of Muslims to live their lives according to their opinion. He further added that there was no room for theocracy, religious intolerance and return to medievalism rather we believe in democracy, social justice, and equal economic opportunities for all citizens without any discrimination between any creed or race. He concluded that Islam was based on these teachings and these principles were part and parcel of Islam. Furthermore, these principles were embodied in the concept of Pakistan. He emphasized that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam and it had foundations on Islamic principles and democracy is one of the fundamental principles of Islam. Moreover, Begum Rana Liaqat Ali, wife of Liaqat Ali khan, also professed, “In Pakistan we attach a great deal of importance to
religion and we want to build up our country as an Islamic State. I must explain that we are not going in for any kind of domination by priests or fanaticism or intolerance.”

After Liaqat Ali Khan’s death, although some early rulers tried to delink religion from politics yet contrary to this, they used Islam to justify their reign and to validate their intimidating tactics to deal ethnic, lingual and social dissatisfactions. They thought that Islam could be a force of unity among different groups having divergent conflicting ethnic and lingual conflicts just like as that unity was created before 1947 to create an independent state for the Muslims of sub-continent. But this policy resulted into a further ideological wilderness among an already confused nation. Haqqani pointed that the different state instruments started to promote Islam as the state ideology in formative phase of Pakistan. Even United States also recognized the religious leaders as a threat to its national interests. On, July 1, 1952, the US Department of State announced that, “[a]part from Communism, the other main threat to American interests in Pakistan was from ‘reactionary groups of landholders and uneducated religious leaders’ who were opposed to the ‘present Western-minded government’ and ‘favor a return to primitive Islamic principles’.”

Many rules such Governor general Ghulam Muhammad, President Iskander Mirza it as a democratic, secular and not a theocratic state by warning that there would be chaos if religion was mixed with politics. Even, H. S. Suhrawardy, Prime minister, professed that two-nation theory had ceased to exist as soon as Pakistan was established. However, the first constitution of 1956 declared the state as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, and no laws could be made against the Quran and Sunnah. The constitution entailed many Islamic and un-Islamic provisions such as only a Muslim could become the head of the state whereas a non-Muslim could be the speaker of the assembly. Astonishingly, Islam was not declared as the official religion of the state. Similarly, successive governments and policy makers continued to struggle regarding the Islamic or non-Islamic nature of Pakistan. The role of Islam was minimised and almost diminished in the first draft of 1962 constitution of Pakistan particularly no provision was made that “the laws of the country would be brought in conformity with the principles of Islam.” President Ayub tried to name the country the ‘Republic of Pakistan,’ but due to pressure from Islamic parties he renamed it the ‘Islamic Republic of Pakistan’ in the 1962 constitution. Moreover the constitution was amended by stating that “all existing laws shall be brought in conformity with the Holy Quran and Sunnah.” Islam is so intensified in the society that Haqqani described the conflict between West and East Pakistan as the ‘Hindu versus Muslim’ war, and the troops were called Mujahideen, fighting against the enemies of Islam. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India at that time, admitted Indian support of Mukti Bahini and her confession justified Pakistan’s stance that it was a war against Hindus.

Later on, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, a liberal secular leader, increasingly emphasise on Islamic identity of state and promoted Pakistan’s Islamic ambitions in its foreign policy. The Pakistan’s role in making the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC) effective and developing relations with Islamic states and groups
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clearly indicated towards the Pakistan’s foreign policy on Islamic lines. Furthermore, it was Bhutto who started to support Islamists rebellions such as Gulbaden Hikmatyar and Ahmad Shah Massoud of Afghanistan to fight against the pro-Communist government. On domestic level, Bhutto also inculcated many Islamic provisions in the constitution of 1973 under pressure from Islamic parties. Islam was declared as the official state religion and freedom of the press and freedom of speech were also subject to consideration of the ‘glory of Islam.’ Additionally, the government was bound to Islamise the laws within nine years and a post of minister for religious affairs was created, for the first time in the history of Pakistan, in the central government. Ahmedi sects were declared non-Muslims, nights clubs were shut down, liquor and gambling was banned for Muslims and Friday was declared as weekly holiday instead of Sunday. Interestingly, Bhutto was westernised in his thoughts and outlook but he used the Islam more as compared to his forerunners to get more political power which was in danger after the disintegration of Pakistan. He introduced all Islamic provisions to facilitate and to make Islamic section of the society happy but at the end of his tenure all major political parties including Islamic political parties united against Bhutto to implement ‘Nizam-e-Mustafa’ under the banner of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA).

General Zia, the successor of Bhutto, emerged as the vanguard of Islam to gain support from Islamic parties in Pakistan. Zia’s alliance with Jamaat-e-Islami resulted in a reshaping of Pakistani identity along Islamic lines by amending the 1973 constitution. He declared, “Pakistan was achieved in the name of Islam, and Islam alone could provide the basis to run the government of the country and sustain its integrity... The present government would provide opportunity to others to serve the country after it achieved its objective... (but) no un-Islamic government would be allowed to succeed the present regime.”

Zia was also called the founder of Islamic Jihad in Pakistan as he supported the idea of use of Islamic card against the godless communist invasion over a bother Islamic state, Afghanistan. More than ten years of Zia’s regime made Pakistan a vital Islamic ideological state and center of the global Islamist movements by amending Pakistan’s educational and legal system on Islamic lines. Moreover, Zia overwhelmingly patronised the Islamic political parties, notably Jamaa’t-e-Islami (JI), to weaken the mainstream political parties. One of the reasons of Zia’s support against secular or liberal parties was the threat to his dictatorial regime from these parties. Akhtar pointed that the religious parties and jihadi militants enjoyed symbiotic relationship because religious parties were striving for implementation of Islamic agenda whereas jihadi militants were serving strategic and foreign policy agenda by acquiring a greater “Islamists” agenda. In addition to this, Haqqani identified that religious pressure groups were patronised and benefited by the civil and military bureaucracy because they see these forces as a powerful tool for military control over Pakistan’s foreign and defence policy. He called it an “alliance between the mosque and the military.” Proliferation of madrassas (religious seminaries) in Pakistan during Zia regime to facilitate and to recruit for Jihad in Afghanistan against godless Communism. Majority of the Pakistani poor population
preferred to send their children to the madrassas (Islamic religious schools). These schools are funded by the multiple donors such as Pakistani industrialists at home and abroad, Saudi Arabia, Gulf States and Iran. The teachings in these religious schools are purely based on religion and the students are not well versed in other social and economic issues. Maududi also criticised this in his book, First Principles of the Islamic State, by pointing, “those who choose the theological branch of learning generally keep themselves utterly ignorant of (secular subjects, thereby remaining) incapable of giving any lead to the people regarding modern political problems.” Moreover Moinuddin Haider, former Interior Minister of Pakistan emphatically criticised these Madrassas by pointing that, “the brand of Islam they are teaching is not good for Pakistan,… Some in the grab of religious training, are busy fanning sectarian violence, poisoning people’s minds.”

After Zia, the successive governments in Pakistan continued Islamic orientation of Pakistan’s foreign policy, notably its policy towards Afghanistan and its relations with Taliban. It is pertinent to mention that these political parties were not religious political parties rather secular or liberal parties. The religious political could not get popular support rather had small number of representation in parliament. October 2002 election was the only exception when an alliance of religious political parties, Mutahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA), won an unprecedented 52 of 272 seats (19%), assuring an Islamic broker role in central government while also gaining complete control in NWFP (Now KPK), a region adjacent to Afghanistan. The most important reason of this win was their anti-US and anti-war campaign. But these religious political parties, notably the Jamia’t-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) and the Jamaa’t-e-Islami (JI), could not show success in next election because they did not try, or probably unable, to introduce “Islamic revolution” or to stop government to take part in the war on terror.

Being an Ideological state, Islam has always been one of the critical and vital components of Pakistan’s foreign policy and its strategic culture. The Pakistan’s foreign and defence policy in the last 65 years had been Indian centric and shaped on the basis on the perception of Indian threat. The troubled relations and problems with Afghanistan and India developed acute insecurity in the early phases of Pakistan’s independence. Indian desire to become regional power further exacerbated the Pakistan’s sovereignty so Pakistan developed a close nexus between strategic goals, foreign policy, domestic policy and Islam. Haqqani categorically identified that overwhelming emphasis on its ideology and the role of religion in the matters of the state are two very vital factors that have been hurdle in the political and economic development of state and Pakistan, because of such policies notably towards Afghanistan and India, became a hub of extremist Islamic groups with radical thinking. Political Islam to counter the insecurities caused confusion among political and cultural Islam. This confusion lead the intelligentsia, policy makers and religious scholars into further ambiguity and disagreement on a “broadly acceptable definition of Pakistani culture.” Ahmad pointed that every ruler introduced its own brand of Islam such as ‘developmental Islam’ of Ayub khan, ‘nationalist Islam’ of Yahya Khan, ‘socialist populist Islam’ of Bhutto, and ‘revivalist-fundamentalist
Islam of Zia. Moreover Musharraf introduced a new brand as ‘enlightened moderate Islam.’

Therefore, Cohen describes, Indians argue that Pakistan can be viewed as “a state defined and driven by its religion.” In a 2013 Poll, 84% of Pakistani Muslims favour enshrining Sharia as official law which shows that majority of Pakistanis want to see Pakistan as an Islamic state. Similarly other indicators of this poll showed that majority of Pakistanis favoured an Islamic State. Furthermore in a 2009 poll, 76 percent showed agreement on giving Sharia a larger role in Pakistan and 69 percent of Pakistanis agreed with the ideology “to unify all Islamic countries into a single Islamic state or Caliphate. Almost 83 percent in Pakistan opined that Islamist political groups should participate in elections. Moreover, Ganon accused that “Radical Islamist ideology began to permeate the military and the influence of the most extreme groups crept into the army.” Hence many western scholars perceived Pakistan’s Afghan policy as a vital factor in providing a potential base for Islamic radicalism. However, in spite of all critical implications, Afghan policy was seemed to be in Pakistan’s geostrategic and geopolitical interests. It is important to analyse the Afghan geostrategic and geo-political situation and Afghanistan’s hostile policy towards Pakistan to understand why Pakistan had to adopt a particular policy of supporting Islamists in Afghanistan even before the Russian invasion of Afghanistan.

In contemporary world, some particular violent and extremists groups identifying themselves as the representatives of Islam emerged as a serious threat to Pakistan’s sovereignty, security, peace and integrity. Although these fundamentalist groups are not true representatives of Islam and overwhelming majority of population in Pakistan not only reject their claim but also called their thinking and policies completely against and contrary to the Islamic ideology and Islamic teachings. However these groups had some sympathies and support within the society but these supporters are very less and as well disliked by the common Pakistani. So this clearly shows that the overwhelming number of people in Pakistan are moderates and liberals.

Conclusion:
The love for Islam is a dilemma of Pakistani Muslims because majority of them want to impose Islamic laws and want to live an Islamic way of life in a purely Islamic country and society. However all major political parties, religious groups, intellectuals and leaders are failed to find an acceptable solution to this issue so that the people of Pakistan can live in peace and harmony among different religious groups. The implementation of realizable and identifiable goals to make Pakistan a peaceful place will eschew the debate of an Islamic state or a state for Muslims. This issue has always played role in politics of Pakistan in the past and if not resolved will also play a vital role in the future of Pakistani politics.

Islam was, indeed, a useful force of cohesion in a multi ethnic and multilingual society. Sometimes, Islam was used as a tool to address and to suppress the ethnic and regional dissatisfaction whereas on the other time it was used to enhance
the dictatorial power by the rulers. Islam is the integral part of these cultures and without Islam it is difficult to understand these cultural traditions. Islam is so engrained in the life of a common man in Pakistan that it has become a part and parcel of the everyday life of a large number of people in the state. Moreover state promoted the Islam as an ideology of the state and mostly successive governments used it as their tool to grab more and more power. These successive governments are reluctant to change any Islamic provisions due to fear of public reaction. The research concludes that instead of a unifying force, the relation between state and Islam always remained complicated.

References:

3 Op-cit., Khalid bin Sayeed, pp. 5-8.
4 For detailed analysis of such efforts, see ibid., pp. 34-102.
8 Jinnah was known as the Father of the Nation, Qauid-e-Azam, who led the nation and played a decisive role in the independence of Pakistan.
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15 To study this school of thought in detail see, Muhammad Munir, From Jinnah to Zia (Vanguard Books: Lahore, 1980).
20 For a detailed analysis, see Op-cit., Qureshi.
30 Sir Muhammad Iqbal in his presidential address during All-India Muslim League Conference in Allahabad on 29 December 1930.
33 Op-cit., Mawdudi, pp.13, 15–7, 38, 75–82.
35 Op-cit., Mawdudi, pp.13, 15–7, 38, 75–82. Ibid.
37 The Islamic Law.
41 Op-cit., Adeel Khan, p.177.
42 Objective resolution of 1949, accessed 15 July 2012, 
43 Ayaz Amir, “Clerics on the march,” The News, January 14, 2011, 
47 Ibid., pp.46.
48 Begum Rana Liaqat Ali address New York, Town Hall speech of 10 May 7950, New York.
49 Op-cit., Adeel Khan, pp.167-182,
54 Constitution of Pakistan 1956, Article 1.
55 Ibid., Article 198 (1).
56 Op-cit, Adeel Khan, pp.178-179.
58 Hussain Haqqani, former Pakistan’s Ambassador to US, is one of the liberals.
59 The conflict led to the dismemberment of Pakistan into two independent states.
61 The militant wing that played a role in the disintegration of Pakistan.
For example, the Ahmadiyya community were declared as non-Muslim and Islam was declared as the state religion. Ran Hirschl, *Constitutional Theocracy* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2010), 120-121; Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby (eds.) *Fundamentalisms Observed; Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), p. 16.


The system of Prophet (PBUH).


Hirschl, *Constitutional Theocracy*, pp.120-121


Ibid., p.116.

Op-cit., Husain Haqqani, p.88.

Ibid., p.89.


Ibid.


Op-cit., Adeel Khan, pp.181.


Ibid.

