



Centre Français de Recherche sur le Renseignement

***ISLAMIST RADICALIZATION
IN SOUTH ASIA :
ORIGINS, IDEOLOGIES AND
SIGNIFICANCE OF RADICAL ISLAMIST
VIOLENT NON-STATE ACTORS***

Research Paper n°10 - April 2014

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Dr FARHAN ZAHID, PhD

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AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Dr Farhan Zahid earned his PhD in Counter Terrorism from Vrije University Brussels (VUB), Brussels, Belgium. By profession, he is Superintendent of Police in Police Service of Pakistan (PSP). Dr Zahid has authored over 10 papers on terrorism, counter terrorism, Islamism, Afghanistan and Al-Qaeda.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Roots of radical Islamist ideologies could be traced back from the times of Moghal Emperor Akbar the Great (1556-1605). Akbar's secular policies deeply offended Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi a radical Islamist cleric. Sirhindi staged a revolt against the Emperor and since then we see a persistent trend of radical Islamist movements in South Asia. Later we see Emperor Aurengzeb's Islamist policies resulting in the downfall of Moghal Empire. Sirhindi-inspired Shah Waliullah presented his politico-religious thesis, paving the way for Islamists forces to revolt against the British.

During the heydays of British Raj we see another phase of Islamist movements, all eventually defeated because of lack of popular support behind them. During the independence movement against the British, again, we see Islamist tendencies amongst some political parties, striving to reinforce their Islamist agendas. Jamaat-e-Islami, Khaksar and Jamiat-e-Ulema Hind were some of those trying to cajole the masses with Islamist ideologies. Apart from Islamo-political parties, proselytizing parties like Tablighi Jamaat also came up with their quasi religio-political programs to reform the 'Muslims' of sub-continent.

The Islamist parties migrated to Pakistan after the independence of Pakistan and India. The Islamist violent non-state actors in today's Pakistan have historic roots of violence. The Islamist movements gained strength during 1971 Civil War, and later during Bhutto and Zia eras.

The current Islamist violent non-state actors in Pakistan have splintered out of Islamist parties. The radical Islamist forces have always had the support of a tiny minority of Muslims in South Asian sub-continent. They have always had some level of presence in the society since the times of Akbar the Great but their support and influence remained restricted to a very narrow sphere. Part I of the monograph aims to discuss origins of the radical Islamist movements where as Part II focuses on radical Islamism during the British Raj, finally Part III discusses the radical Islamist movements and their activities after the independence of Pakistan.

RÉSUMÉ

Les origines des idéologies islamistes radicales en Asie du Sud remontent au temps de l'empereur moghol Akbar le Grand (1556-1605). La politique laïque conduite par ce souverain offensa profondément cheikh Ahmad Sirhindi, un clerc islamiste radical, qui organisa une révolte contre l'empereur. Depuis cet événement, les mouvements islamistes radicaux se sont développés Asie du Sud. Quelques dizaines d'années plus tard, c'est la politique islamiste de l'empereur Aurengzeb qui provoquera la chute de l'empire moghol. Puis Shah Waliullah développera sa thèse politico-religieuse inspirée de Sirhindi, préparant ainsi la voie aux forces islamistes qui se révolteront contre les Britanniques.

A l'occasion de la colonisation britannique commence une autre phase pour les mouvements islamistes, qui sont tous vaincus en raison d'un manque de soutien populaire. Mais durant la lutte pour d'indépendance contre les Britanniques des tendances islamistes réapparaissent au sein de certains partis politiques. Jamaat -e-Islami, Khaksar et Jamiat-e-Ulema Hind essayèrent d'amadouer les masses par le biais de discours islamistes. Des mouvements prosélytes comme le Tablighi Jamaat s'employèrent également, à travers leurs programmes politico-religieux, à mobiliser les musulmans du sous- continent.

Les partis islamistes émigrèrent au Pakistan lors l'indépendance et de la partition de l'empire britannique des Indes. Les groupes islamistes violents de ce pays ont donc des racines violentes très anciennes. Ils se renforcèrent à l'occasion de la guerre civile de 1971 la guerre civile et plus tard sous les mandats de Bhutto et de Zia.

Puis, les groupes islamistes violents contemporains se sont séparés des partis islamistes du Pakistan, mais ont continué à bénéficier du soutien d'une minorité de musulmans du sous-continent indien. Ces mouvements ont toujours été présents dans la société locale depuis l'époque de Akbar le Grand. Toutefois, leur soutien et leur influence demeure limités à des cercles très étroits. Ce rapport a d'abord pour but de présenter les origines des mouvements islamistes radicaux, avant de se concentrer sur l'islamisme radical pendant la période britannique. Enfin, il aborde les mouvements groupes islamistes radicaux et leurs activités après l'indépendance du Pakistan.

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1. ORIGINS OF THE RADICAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS

Introduction and Historical Background

A quick glance at Islamic history may provide a picture of radical movements surfacing time and again with different sets of agendas and extremist mindsets. Many of these movements fizzled out after taking roots for some period of time and eventually diluted either by the rigidity of their thoughts or by the moderate forces. Events had taken similar course during the period of Muslim rule in Indian sub-continent.

The Indian sub-continent had been invaded many times long before the Muslim invasions of India. In classical antiquity India was invaded by nomadic European tribes (Aryans) and later by the Greeks, and by the Central Asians in middle ages. By and large South Asia remained the centre of invasions from all directions both by neighboring states and forces from far flung regions.

The advent of Islamic civilization in South Asia began with the invasions of Arab forces during the reign of second Caliph Umar the Great (Second Caliph of Muslims Empire after the death of Holy Prophet Mohammad PBUH) and then during the Umayyad dynasty (680-750). The raids continued afterwards and Afghan warlords Mahmud of Ghazni and Mohammad of Ghor were prominent among many others in raiding and plundering rich Indian states. Invaders of such kind were not interested in establishing their rule over the conquered territories rather their only motive was loot.

The dominant Indian religions of that era were Hinduism and Buddhism. Hundreds of thousands of adherents of Buddhism and Hinduism embraced Islam in years following the first invasion by Muslim mystics called Sufis who had migrated to India from Persia, central Asia, Arabia and Mesopotamia. The different branches of Sunni-Sufis Orders (Qadris, Chistis, Suharwardis and Naqshbanis) preached and propagated Islam not only in India but also in East Indies (present day Indonesia and Malaysia). Thus from the beginning, the Sufi Islam remained the dominant religious outlook of Indian Muslims. Even to this day majority of 500 million Muslims in South Asia remain adherents of Sufi Islam.

Muslims have always been a minority in India. Their percentage in the overall population never exceeded 35 percent but due to secular, tolerant policies of ruling Muslim dynasties they managed to rule over majority Hindus. Balkanization of empire quickly followed whenever a shift in this policy occurred.

The establishment of Muslim rule was not puritanical but more secular in outlook. With the establishment of first government (the Slave dynasty) the Muslim elites continued to rule over most of Indian Sub-continent only to be dethroned by the British in mid-eighteenth century. There had been a number of ruling dynasties since the beginning:

- Slave Dynasty, founded by a general of Mohammad of Ghor, his slave (1206-1290)
- Khilji dynasty (1290-1320)

- Tughlaq dynasty (1320-1413)
- Sayyid dynasty (1414-1451)
- Lodhi dynasty (1451-1526)
- Mughal dynasty (1526-1857)

The Mughals ruled longer than any other dynasty and during their period the radical Islamists mullahs started to gear up against the moderates. Historians divide Mughal dynastic rule in two distinct periods. The first period comprises of first six great Mughal Emperors. The rule was characterized by complete control over the state affairs. The second period was ruled by emperors of the same family with a lesser or no level of authority over the administrative affairs of the empire. This period started after the death of Emperor Aurengzeb.

The Mughal Empire touched its zenith during the period of Emperor Akbar the great (1542-1605). His 49-year rule is still regarded as one of the best periods of religious harmony. The period was not only remembered for great victories and annexation of further territories but also an era of cultural achievements and inter-religious tolerance which was the cornerstone of Mughal Emperor Akbar's domestic and religious policies. But the same period also witnessed some religious discomforts propagated by radical clerics like Shaikh Ahmad Sihindi (AKA: Mujjadid Alf Sani). To this day his opposition to Akbar's tolerant religious policies remains an inspiration for present day radical Islamists of South Asia especially in Pakistan as he is certainly considered as a prelude to subsequent radical and extremist movements. His movement was reactionary to Akbar's policies which he deemed heretic and inconsistent with orthodox Islam, such as:

- Akbar was an adherent of Sufi Islam and thus believed in saints and sufi mystics. He used to visit shrines (he also adopted the concept of Sulh-e-kul or truce with every other religion: a concept of Islamic mysticism) and offer his respect
- Abolished Jizya (tax on non-Muslims or protection money)
- Inducted many Hindus, and other non-Muslim subjects into his administration at high places
- Removed all restrictions previously imposed upon his Hindu subjects with regard to their practice of religion (such as building temples etc)
- Allowed Shia sect of Islam (considered heretical in the eyes of orthodox Sunni sect of Islam) to profess their teachings and appointed many Shia advisors
- Formed a synthesized religious order Din-i-Ilahi (religion of God) which was considered a blasphemous act for fundamentalists and a new religious doctrine for reconciliation of relations amongst all religions of India

Adding insult to injury for fundamentalists was his marriage to the daughter of a Hindu warlord of Punjab province. Akbar was definitely living ahead of his times and his policies were too hard to be digested by the extremist clerics of his period. Even to this day, he is hated by Islamists all over India, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi's Opposition

Akbar's policies deeply offended Ahmad Sirhindi, a Muslim cleric from Punjab province. If Akbar was the first liberal monarch in Indian history then his contemporary Sirhindi was definitely the first ultra orthodox radical cleric. According to one Indian

historian, *"to Indian Islam the rigid and conservative stamp it bears today."*¹

Sirhindi firmly opposed Akbar's tolerant policies towards the people of other faiths and rallied Muslim populace against his rule. He even declared Akbar a heretic and Kafir (unbeliever) and issued a Fatwa (religious decree) against him. Offended by Sirhindi's opposition Akbar imprisoned him for some period but the Sirhindi-led movement left behind its footprints and made him a torchbearer of fundamentalist/radical schools of thought. Sirhindi's views could be summarized as:

- He wrote and professed against tolerant Sufi Islam prevalent amongst Indian Muslims, considered it an innovation and rejected it. He said *"what is outside the path shown by the Sharia (Islamic traditions) is forbidden."*
- Professed strict policies against the majority Hindu community by declaring *"Cow-sacrifice in India as the noblest of Islamic practices. The kafirs may probably agree to pay jiziya but they shall never concede to cow-sacrifice."*²
- His views were extremely intolerant not only against Hindus but every other religion being practiced in Indian sub-continent
- Declared Shias (another sect) as heretics and regarded their practices un-Islamic.

Sirhindi's views were reactionary to Akbar's reformist and harmonizing policies. It is also evident that he was deeply intolerant towards any other mode of religious practice which was not at par with his own views. He denounced Muslims and non-Muslims alike and that places him alongside modern radicals and fanatics. He was called 'reviver of the second millennium' by his followers for his efforts to "revive the lost spirit". He introduced concepts of violence, intolerance and fanaticism in his writings still prevalent today.

Another thing to note here that the only versions of Islam present in the Indian sub-continent during Akbar's reign and even during the Mughal Empire era were Shia Islam and Sunni-Sufi Islam. Sirhindi belonged to one of the sub-sects of Sunni-Sufi Islam called Naqhbandia, which was considered most radical and conservative amongst other mild and moderate sects of Islam. Centuries later, clerics from Naqshbandia branch of Sufi-Sunni sect joined hands with Wahabi/Salafi movement of Arabia.

Emperor Aurengzeb's Fundamentalism

Mughal rulers were not Indian. They came from Central Asia where their ancestors ruled over the valleys of Samarkand and Bukhara. From their paternal side the Mughals were grand children of Temerlane (Temurid Dynasty) and their maternal lineage made them successors of great Mongol warriors (Changez Khan and his dynasty). Mughals defeated vastly superior forces of Ibrahim Lodhi of Lodhi Dynasty and established their rule in 1526 in the First Battle of Panipat. It was Zaheer ud Din Babar (1483-1531) who founded the Mughal Empire but it reached its apex and stability only during Akbar's reign (1542-1605). The period could be termed as pax-Mughliana. It was Akbar's iron grip and governance over state affairs that made the empire last for another two centuries. Descendents of Akbar ruled over comfortably (Jehangir and Shah Jehan). It was only after the succession of Aurengzeb (Shah Jehan's son) that things once again started to take a different track.

One of Emperor Shah Jehan's (1592-1666) five sons Aurengzeb had never been

¹ Aziz Ahmad, *Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment*, Oxford University Press, 1964, p.189

² letter No. 81 of MaktiibCtt-i-Imdm Rabbani (Shaikh Sirhindi's letters)

able to get into the good books of his father, mostly because of his extremist views regarding the treatment of non-Muslims and his attitude towards Shia Muslims. Perhaps because of his tutors who were mostly orthodox Arabs rather than traditional tutors from Persia and Central Asia. From the beginning the paramount influence on Aurengzeb's thinking was Sarhindi's thoughts". *"Over the years the letters and tracts of Sarhindi written in Persian worked as ideological mascot for the Islamic revival movements launched after the collapse of Islamic rule in India. His letters exercised great influence on successive Mogul emperors after Akbar particularly at the time of Aurengzeb. It is said that Aurengzeb was so much impressed by those letters that he not only adopted hard-line Islamism but also became a disciple of Khawaja Mohammad Masum, (the son and successor of Sarhindi). His letters recommending revival of Jizya were the height of his hate-Hindu campaign."*¹

Ruthless to the core he killed all of his brothers in cold blood during wars of succession and dethroned and blinded his own father. After taking over the throne and proclaiming himself the sixth Mughal Emperor, Aurengzeb wasted no time in implementing his religious agenda. Overall his policies resulted in the birth of hostile relations amongst the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and are hitherto relevant as :

- He re-imposed Jizya (religious tax) on all of his non-Muslim subjects
- Believed in the strict imposition of Sharia (Islamic laws) and that too in a very conservative manner
- All form of music and use of musical instrument and all forms of performing arts were thoroughly banned and violators were severely punished (dancing and music was in Sufi-Islam as well as a religious norm of Hindu religion)
- Issued his famous Fatawa-e-Alamgiri (religious edicts) representing his conservative religious views
- Ordered destruction of Hindu temples on many occasions and stopped all form of missionary activities by Christian priests
- His extreme religious policies finally resulted with Marhata uprisings (Hindu farmers) in southern provinces, led by Shivaji who fought against Aurengzeb for the establishment of Hindu rule. The Hindu awakening was a big blow to consistent Muslim rule and the result was emergence of small Hindu kingdoms in the south. Even after Aurengzeb the same pattern continued and more and more governors proclaimed independence from Delhi (the capital of Mughal Empire) as a result the empire started to shrink and balkanize.
- It was not only the Hindus of southern provinces who revolted against the tyrannical rule of Aurengzeb Shia Muslims also resisted his increasing hostilities. Aurengzeb also executed his anti-Shia policies and banned many of their religious activities.

If 49-years rule of Akbar had brought in many liberal reforms then the same number of years ruled by Aurengzeb ruined everything Akbar had worked for. These two rulers were poles apart with respect to the state affairs and policies measures. Despite of having resistance from Sirhindi, Akbar strengthened the Mughal rule in India whereas Aurengzeb's hostile religious policies finally resulted in weakening of Mughal Empire which never remained the same after his death in 1707. That year onwards the empire only saw a steep decline which continued to disintegrate at a rapid pace. Had there been no Aurengzeb with such religious extremist the empire would have remained integrated and lasted for more years.

¹ R. Upadhyaya, "Violence on Minorities in Pakistan: The Historical Legacy of Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi", *South Asia Analysis Group, Paper no. 4025*

Shah Waliullah's Religio-Political Thoughts and its Impact

Aurengzeb's religious intolerance towards people of other faiths shook the foundations of once mighty Mughal Empire, and the empire started to crumble after his death. His policies coupled with the incompetence of his descendents had led to the beginning of fall of the Empire. Aurengzeb died in 1707 and after him no emperor could dare to control the rebelling governors and the whole empire was falling like a house of cards.

In such chaotic situation some followers of Sirhindi called for implementation of Islamist reforms. Most prominent amongst them was Shah Waliullah. An Arab by descent Wali ullah was ethnocentric and took pride in his ancestry. To him the real Islam could only be based upon Arab-dominated culture and norms: Arabized Islam; completely dipped in Arab culture and tribal values. He wrote voluminously on the subjects most importantly on revival of jihad. In fact for him the solution for all the problems of Mughal state was in implementation of Sharia through jihad. His father Shaikh Abdul Rahim (1644-1718) established a religious seminary Madressha Rahimiya in Delhi eventually taken over by him. Shah Waliullah is still considered as first Muslim reformer of India in radical Islamist circles (primarily because of the inspiration he sought from the Muslim reformation movement of Abdul Wahab of Saudi Arabia).

For Shah Waliullah (1703-1762) the declining Muslim rule was because of Muslims' turning away from the 'real spirit' of Islam which according to him was fundamentals. His religious doctrines were similar to Sirhindi's. Shah Waliullah in his famous fatwas (religious decrees) declared India Dar-ul-Harb (abode of war) rather than Dar-ul-Islam (adobe of Islam) and for him the only solution was Jihad against the infidels (unbelievers). According to Ayesha Jalal, *"the writings of the redoubtable Delhi-based scholar Shah Waliullah (1703-1762), known for his enunciation of the most systematic theory of jihad in South Asia, must be read in this historical context. His career bridged the pre-colonial and colonial eras of South Asian history. Hailed as being at once a Muslim modernist and the architect of Sunni orthodoxy, Waliullah left an intellectual legacy that casts a long shadow over all subsequent explications of jihad in theory and attempts to translate in into practice."*¹

Waliullah's writings are precursors for providing sources for radicalism and violence. He gave a distinct political thought previously absent in Muslim political thought prevailing during the times of semi-secular Mughal dominated India.

Disgusted from the declining state of affairs of Mughal Empire he wrote letters to neighboring Muslim monarch asking them to invade India and 'cleansed' it from all the dangers emanating from non-Muslim revolting communities and put them back under the thumb of Muslim rule. Afghan warlord Ahmad Shah Durrani even paid heed to his invitation and invaded India in 1748. He defeated the Marhatta forces at the famous Third Battle of Panipat (1761) but against the wishes of Shah Waliullah neither did he stay long enough nor did he take control over the reigns of government. His invasion turned out to be a looting and plundering spree of the riches of Delhi, Lahore and many other cities. Abdali returned to his fiefdom the present day Afghanistan without consolidating his rule in India against the wishes of Waliullah. His adventure was disastrous for already declining Mughal Empire and even worse for the Muslims of India, who became the victims of his forces more than anyone else, courtesy Shah Waliullah.

¹ Ayesha Jalal, *"Partisans of Allah: Jihad in South Asia"*, Sang-e-Meel Publications, Lahore, pages 15-16

According to Indian historian R. Upadhyay, *“Shah Wali Ullah realized the political rise of non-Muslims like Marhata, Jat, and Sikh powers and the fading glory of Islamic rule as danger to Islam and therefore, any loss of political heritage of Muslims were unbearable to him. He was the first Arab scion in India, who raised Islamic war cry for stalling the diminishing glory of Mogul Empire. His religio-political theory inspired a large number of successive Muslim scholars, who carried forward his mission and resultantly gave birth to Islamic politics in India. The slogan of ‘Islam is in danger’-is profoundly embedded to his hate-non-Muslim ideology.”*¹

Waliullah was inspired from Wahabi Movement of Arabia. In fact he was a contemporary of Ibn-al-Wahab, the leader of 18th century radical Arabian Islamist movement. Wahab and his followers had already revolted against the Ottoman rule in Arabia. Waliullah had personally come across Wahab while on pilgrimage to Arabia. Wahab’s writings and thoughts greatly inspired him. *“On principle Wali Ullah had no difference with his contemporary Islamic thinker Abd-al-Wahab (1703-1787) of Saudi Arabia, who had also launched an Islamic revivalist movement. Wahab, who is regarded as one of the most radical Islamists had a wide range of followers in India.”*²

Shah Waliullah belonged to a family of aristocrats and scholars. Preserving the status quo was indeed in his best interest. Therefore he took practical steps to safeguard a falling system. His intentions were of getting back the glory and might of Muslim rule, were in fact a personal agenda. All of his efforts in this regards backfired miserably and Ahmad Shah Durrani’s invasion was one the worst things that happened to India.

Nonetheless Shah Wali Ullah inspired many amongst Indian Muslims, both scholars and laymen. He managed to gather a large following especially the Muslims of Delhi and of nobility. His sons continued the same path even after his death and one his grandsons became part of the one indigenous jihad movements.

Jihad Movement of Syed Ahmad Bareilvi

As discussed above that Shah Wali Ullah’s jihadi thoughts had inspired many Indian Muslim scholars and continued to gain momentum amongst Indian Muslims. Syed Ahmad of Bareli (United Province, India) became the first to not only interpret but also execute Waliullah’s jihadi dreams. Syed Ahmad was no scholar; neither did he belong to Indian Muslim nobility. He was a commoner and soldier in the army of a small Indian state (State of Tonk). Waliullah’s grand son also joined Ahmad in his jihadi adventures. Ahmad was also inspired by the teachings of Waliullah’s son Shah Ismail, who took over his father’s position after his death.

Ahmad visited Hijaz (Mecca and Medina) in 1820 where he sought Wahabi ideas from the European inspired Wahabi ‘reformation’. After coming back to his home town in India he started preaching the same thoughts but did not receive any welcoming response from local Muslims who were adherents of either Sufi-Sunni or Shia sects of Islam.

¹ R. Upadhyay, “Shah Wali Ullah’s Political Thought: Still a Major Obstacle against Modernization of Indian Muslims”, *South Asia Analysis Group, Paper no. 629*

² *Ibid*

Syed Ahmad then decided to wage jihad against the Sikh Kingdom of Lahore¹ in western India (present day Pakistan). For that very reason he started a campaign of raising an army of volunteers but managed to recruit only a small number of volunteers. He then left for Peshawar and camped in nearby district of Manshera. Syed Ahmad received some military aid and reservists from Pashtun tribes of that region in his 'jihad' against the Sikhs (the rulers of that region) not because of any enmity with the Sikhs but due to the reason that their rival tribes had joined hands with Sikhs. For Pashtun tribes it wasn't a jihad as they were fighting for the sake of rivalry. During the battles against Sikhs and their allied Pashtun tribes Syed Ahmad managed to secure few military victories and carved out a kingdom of his own spread over a small territory with Peshawar as its capital. With that achievement he became the first jihadi to translate the ideas of Shah Waliullah and continued to impress the latter generations of Islamists and jihadist in South Asia.

The small caliphate he founded soon became the hub of fanaticism and a miniature Wahabi-styled Saudi Arabia. There he implemented the thoughts of Shah Waliullah by creating a theocratic government with strict laws based upon Wahabi-inspired Sharia. Centuries later the same model was implemented by Taliban in their reign over Afghanistan (1996-2001). Syed Ahmad declared himself Amir-ul-Momineen (Commander of the Faithful) with Shah Ismail as his deputy.

The kingdom lasted for five years (1826-1831) when Syed Ahmad's army was finally defeated and he himself was killed in battle against a Sikh force at Balakot (small town near Manshera district). After his death some of his followers continued the 'jihad' against Sikhs and later against the British when they took over the region from Sikhs. His followers invented a new sect based upon Wahabi guided principles of Arab culture and called themselves Ahl-e-Hadis.

There had been striking similarities between Syed Ahmad's jihad movement and his radical-puritanical rule and the Taliban rule in recent past (1996-2001). Just to have a brief idea some of those were:

- Literal interpretations of Quran and Sunnah without context and laws based upon such literal interpretations
- Destruction of shrines and rejection of all sects of Islam including the predominant Sufi sect
- Strict punishment were carried out such as lashing idolaters, chopping off hands of thieves which were very similar to Taliban's code of conduct
- Laws related to women were also similar to Taliban era
- Persecution and declaring of Shia Muslims as heretics and unbelievers

Syed Ahmad's jihad movement was short-lived but his initial victories and the state he founded remained in the minds of his followers as a model state of puritanical practices. He is even to this day hailed as first Indian jihadist and highly revered amongst the Islamist radicals. He provided the ideas for future jihadist to create a type of rule he managed to establish, and is still considered by many as the 'ideal Muslim state'. Although he lost the battle but his legacy of violence and puritanical rule continue to carry on. Many radical organizations of present day Pakistan consider him the hallmark of Islamist rule.

¹ Ranjeet Singh established the kingdom in early 19th century spread over Punjab, Kashmir, and Pashtun dominated areas previously under Mughal Empire

Growth of Religious Radicalism during British Rule

The British came to India primarily for trade and commerce during the period of Mughal Emperor Jehangir (son of Akbar the great) in 1612. The successful trade relations with Indian rulers allowed the British East India Company to penetrate further. But it was only after more than hundred years that British started to play their political role by using military might. It was mainly because of the declining state of affairs of Mughal Empire that once powerful empire was crippling at a fast pace.

The emergence of smaller states and principalities across India also made the job easier. The East India Company had started to control coastal towns such as Bombay (1687), Madras (1640) and Calcutta (1690, known as Presidency towns, during that era and with in next fifty years (after 1707: death of Mughal Emperor Aurengzeb) the Company was the most powerful single entity in India. The British government was behind every move the Company had made in India and provided all means of support that made possible the successful march of Company everywhere.

The rich state of Bengal had already parted ways from Mughal Empire and was ruled by the Nawab of Bengal (Duke). The Company had been eyeing over the Bengal because of this state's vast area, population and potential for becoming a sound base for further expansion. In 1757 Company forces thoroughly defeated the forces of Nawab Siraj ud Dula of Bengal (Battle of Plassey) and installed their man as Nawab. As per plan the province provided a sound footing and expansion began. In another battle (Battle of Buxar, 1764) the British soundly defeated the combined forces of Bengali Nawab, Nawab of Oudh (small neighboring state) and Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. The battle was decisive as there was no one left to challenge the British military might.

The Company rule with support from British government continued to expand at a very rapid rate. After dealing with some troublemakers such as Sultan Tipu of Mysore state (1799), the Anglo-Marhatta Wars, the Anglo-Sikh Wars, and the Carnatic Wars the British finally faced with a revolt in 1857 but managed to curb it. There after the British government had come directly stepped into the Indian affairs and replaced the East India Company with direct Crown Rule and India officially became part of British Empire in 1858. The British thus became the sole masters of India with their empire divided into provinces and princely states (whose ruler swore oath of British loyalty). This period of British rule is referred to as British Raj in India (1858-1947).

The British Raj period did face some unsuccessful rebellions that continued to surface and some of these had the roots in Muslim radicalism based upon the doctrines of previously mentioned Muslim scholars and jihadis like Shah Wali Ullah, and Syed Ahmad.

The British also managed to annex the Sikh Empire (Kingdom of Lahore, ruled over by Ranjeet Singh dynasty and spread over Punjab, Kashmir, and Frontier provinces) in 1846 as a result of Anglo-Sikh Wars and then the troubled territory had become part of British Indian Empire.

Syed Ahmad's jihad movement was crushed by Sikh-Pashtun forces at Balakot (present day northern Pakistan) and he was killed in action along with some 600 followers. But some remnants of his radical movement managed to survive and continued to create trouble for British up till 1860. Allying with the rebel Pashtun tribes they formed a new base in Sittana district of northern region. Some Pashtun nationalists continued to remain a problem for the British in the tribal areas, bordering Afghanistan. According to Norwegian scholar Anne Stenersen: "*In Pashtun border areas between*

*Afghanistan and Pakistan, such uprisings were dubbed 'mad mullah movements' by the British colonial administration. The Taliban's leader Mullah Omar has frequently been compared to the charismatic mullahs of the 19th and early 20th century, such as Mullah Hadda (who started the Great Pashtun Revolt of 1897) and the Fakir of Ipi (who led a guerilla war against the British India in the 1930s and 1940s)."*¹

Some of Ahmad's original followers who accompanied him from central India also survived and made a new base at Patna (city in Indian province of Bihar). They kept on sending jihadists to the northern territories of British Empire. The spirit of that new jihadi movement were two brothers from Patna city namely Inayat Ali and Wilayat Ali, who considered Syed Ahmad as their spiritual guide and believed that Ahmad did not die in the battle but had gone in hiding. They propagated the rumors and conspiracy theories about Syed Ahmad's spiritual powers and gathered many followers and kept sending them to their base in Sittana town in northern parts of empire. According to British historian, W.W. Hunter: *"Hindus and English were alike infidels in the eyes of the Sittana Host, and as such, were to be exterminated by the sword. The disorders which we had connived at, or at least viewed with indifference, upon the Sikh Frontier, now descended as a bitter inheritance to ourselves. The records of the Patna Court show that the Vice Regents early established a character for themselves on the Frontier as fanatical firebrands. In 1847, Sir Henry Lawrence recorded a proceeding to the effect that they were well known as fighters for religion in the Punjab; and as such they were forwarded under the custody to their homes in Patna."*²

The resumption of jihadi activities in the north led British to send their forces to crush the rebellion and from 1850-1863 they sent around 33,000 to 60,000 regular troops aided with police and paramilitary to root out the revolt. Moreover the Patna camp of conspiracies and recruitment was also busted and the conspirators were tried and convicted by the court of law.

Meanwhile another radical movement started in Bengal province which had also fallen under the British control. This movement was led by Titu Mir, a follower of Syed Ahmad's jihad ideology.³

Titu Mir's movement was more of social struggle against the Hindu feudal lords of Bengal but he disguised it under the garb of religion and professed radical views similar to Syed Ahmad's. His revolt also became troublesome for British and again troops were sent to crush his movement. Titu Mir's radical forces destroyed many Hindu temples and had created a lot of havoc. According to Hunter, *"On the 6th November they marched out to the number of 500 fighting men, attacked a small town, and after murdering the priest, slaughtered two cows (the sacred animal of the Hindus), with whose blood they defiled a Hindu temple, and whose carcasses they scoffingly hung up before the idol. They then proclaimed the extinction of the English Rule, and the re-establishment of the Muhammadan Power.....they were equally bitter, however, against any Muhammadan who would not join their sect, and on one occasion, in sacking the house of a wealthy and obdurate Musalman, varied the proceedings by forcibly marrying his daughter to the head of their band."*⁴

¹ Anne Stenersen, "The Taliban insurgency in Afghanistan—Organization, Leadership and Worldview", *Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (FFI)*, February 2010, page 14

² W W Hunter, *"The Indian Musalmans"*, Trubner and Company, London, 1872, page 22

³ *Ibid* p.45

⁴ *Ibid* p.46

Titu Mir was finally killed by an expeditionary force sent by the British and his forces were crushed; many of his followers were also arrested and tried and his deputy was sentenced to death by the court.

While Syed Ahmad was busy in his jihad movement in northern India, another like minded jihadi started his activities in East Bengal. Haji Shariatullah (1781-1840) was another graduate of Madressah Rahimiya (Shah Wali Ullah's madressah in Delhi), and with the same bent of mind. Shariatullah was basically inspired from the Wahabi movement of Saudi Arabia. He went to Arabia for pilgrimage and influenced by the radical ideas of Ibn-e-Wahab, the founder. He lived there in Arabia for more than 20 years and after his return to Bengal he immediately implemented the agenda of radical reforms. Shariatullah called his movement Fariazis (essentials or fundamentals) and preached his followers to adopt only those practices of Islam which were essential in 'his view' (mostly Wahabi practices). The target of Fariazis was mostly Bengali landlord against whom Shariatullah and his followers revolted. Moreover he also convinced his followers to boycott British goods and payment of tax.

According to W.W. Hunter, *"The fanatical Musalmans of the delta bear the name not of Wahabis, but of Faraizis, or rejection of all glosses and non-essential parts of Islam. They call themselves the New Musalmans, and muster in vast numbers in the districts east of Calcutta... in 1843 the sect had attained such dangerous proportions as to form a subject of special inquiry by government."*¹

After Shariatullah's death, his son Dahdu Miyan took over the command of the movement and continued to work on the same lines. But the movement could not last for long as the traditional Muslims (Sunni-Sufi) very soon rejected the radical ideas of Faraizis. The jihad movement of Syed Ahmad and his descendents, Titu Mir's movement in Bengal and Faraizis of Eastern Bengal were indeed all Wahabi-inspired movements. That was the very reason both British and Indian Muslims called them Wahabis of India and although in the very first move, every time they somehow managed to manipulate some people but their moves never lasted long enough to take a large number of Indian Muslims into their fold. It was not only that the British launched military and police operations against them but the local Muslim population became so antagonized by their radical methodology that they also turned against them.

The Deoband Movement: Beginning of organized radical Islamism

War of Independence of 1857 (British historians called it the Mutiny) was the last ditch effort of the remnants of aristocracy (both Hindu and Muslim), religious leaders (Ulema) and some rulers of independent states to oust the British. They had endeavored to do this only with the help of Indian soldiers of British legions (defectors and that was the reason British called it Mutiny) who sided with them. The Mutiny was crushed swiftly by the British in no time. The rebel regiments were from Merith (district in Central India) and Calcutta, Bengal; but very soon British moved in troops from Punjab, more loyal and trusted ones, and curbed the rebellion. This also ended the Company Rule which was then replaced by the proper British Raj (Crown Rule and India became one of the overseas dominions). The British had become invincible in the eyes of all their opponents.

¹ *Ibid*, p.100

In this newly emerged scenario a group of disillusioned Ulemas (religious clerics) who had been part of the Mutiny resorted to other means. They believed in reviving the spirit of lost glory of Muslim rule in India and had firm beliefs in Shah Waliullah's politico-religious philosophy. They considered Islamic revival was only possible by going back to the fundamentals of Islam and thought of achieving back the lost pride by professing the scholarship and changing the mindset of Muslim youth. They decided not to profess the message of jihad for a while (although it remained in the list of their agenda items) because of the military might of British wit which they could not compete with.

The lynchpins of this movement were Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, Qasim Nanotvi, and Haji Imdadullah. All of them belonged to Naqshbandia branch of Sufi-Sunni Islam and staunch proponents of Shah Waliullah and his ideology. Together they established a new Madressah 'Darul Uloom' in 1867 in the small town of Deoband in the outskirts of Saharanpur district of central Indian province of Uttar Pradesh (then called United Province). In later years they started calling themselves Deobandis or at occasions reformers. The motive of Deobandis was to correct the 'incorrect practices of traditional Muslims', according to their belief because of which the Muslims had lost their glory in India. According to Barbara Daly Metcalf, *"The goal of the school was to train well-educated Ulema who would be dedicated to reformed Islam. Such Ulema would become prayer leaders, writers, preachers, and school teachers, and thus disseminate their learning in turn."*¹

These Ulemas as earlier mentioned were strong opponents of British rule since the beginning and had fought against them during the Mutiny. Some of them also remained in prisons for some period of time and had idealistic jihadi beliefs in turning back the course of history once again set in the Muslim rule in India. They were not abreast of changing times and although they called themselves reformists but they were conservative to the core and it was only because of their consecutive military defeats at the hands of British that they started to believe in other way outs. Their anti-Hindu and anti-British thoughts were not hidden as well but they were left with this option of only resorting to teaching and disseminating their radical thoughts to the up coming generations of Muslim youth.

The response of the Muslim community was not as warm as they expected but they were well received in some urban districts. The oldest and traditional madressah system at time was in the hands of Ulema of Farangi Mahal Lucknow, a madressah established in 1695 and had continued to produce Islamic scholars and prayer leaders. The Farangi Mahal Ulema were followers of Sunni-Sufi Islam and believed in traditional and moderate Islam and they also preached the same in their centuries old traditions. The Deobandis borrowed many ideas from their system of learning but relied heavily on Shah Waliullah's model (which in turn inspired from the Wahabism of Saudi Arabia). *"The School taught basically the dars-e-nizami, the curriculum evolved at Farangi Mahal in the eighteen century.....indeed, there was actual opposition, led by Rashid Ahmad, to teaching the rational sciences of logic, philosophy, and jurisprudence at all. These subjects were 'rational' in the sense that they represented exercise of men's minds on the material provided by the revealed sources."*²

¹ Barbara Daly Metcalf, *"Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband, 1860-1900"*, Royal Book Company, p.100

² *Ibid*, p.100-101

Very soon the students graduated from the madressah began to be known as Deobandis and that made them part of a new sub-sect (maslak) of Sunni Islam and they also took pride in it in a move to dissociate with traditional Sunni-Sufi Islam of India. *“The Ulema and their schools were deobandi. Increasingly, the name of Deoband came to represent a distinct style, a maslak, of Indian Islam. by roughly 1880, there were over a dozen schools that identified themselves as Deobandi; by the end of the century, at least three times that many, some in places as distant as Chittagong, Madras, and Peshawar. By the celebration of the school’s centennial in 1967, there were said to be 8,934 Deobandi schools.”*¹

In religious perspective the Deobandis called themselves Reformists and compared themselves to Christian Protestant; but very soon they were confronted with Counter Reformists: the Bareilvis.

The Bareilvi school of thought was founded by Ahmad Raza Khan (not the same Bareli of Syed Ahmad, but in the same province in Central India) another city of British United Province (UP). The Barelvis upheld the traditional values of Islam and condemned the practices and teachings of Deobandis. Their movement achieved far greater success especially in rural areas. They restricted the Deobandi influence to urban areas. The Barelvis-Deobandi confrontation is hitherto a feature of Muslim sectarian issues in South Asia (both India and Pakistan).

Meanwhile, the Deobandi schools continued to produce teachers, prayer leaders and scholars throughout the rest of 19th century (after the foundation of school in 1867) but it was only after the first generation of Deobandis that the second generation once again resorted to violence and started to flex their political muscles. Ubaidullah Sindhi and Mahmud ul Hasan along with like minded leaders hatched a conspiracy to overthrow the British Rule. They sought help from Ottoman Turks during the First World War. The plan was to once again use the tribal areas (northern regions of British Empire) for waging jihad against the British government. For this plan Ubaidullah managed to seek some help from Afghanistan government where as Mahmud ul Hasan (who was also the principal of Deoband) went to Turkey to take financial assistance from the Ottomans and Germans (the Central Powers in WW-I). The mode of secret communication was letters written on silk handkerchiefs. The conspiracy was soon uncovered and all the involved were taken into custody. That was a failed attempt but it had shown the British rulers the desperate attempt made by the Deobandis. The conspiracy once again disgraced Muslims of India under British rule who were striving hard to prove their loyalty to the government. It had already taken years to come out of perceived mistrust of British rulers.

The unearthing of their plan and arrest of the culprits also disclosed the temporally non-violent stances of Deobandi scholars. Their failed conspiracy had also made them traitors both in the eyes of Muslims of India and of course the British government. Muslims did not want to associate with them where as the British were alarmed and conscious about their goals and activities. In lieu of such developments the Deobandis then turned to active politics.

Mahmad ul Hasan the leading Deobandi scholar founded Jamiat-e-Ulema-Hind (JUH: Party of Indian Scholars) along with other Deobandi scholars in 1919. The JUH was formed from the Deoband Madressah platform with a manifesto of guiding Muslims under the light of Islamic teachings and to play an active role in Indian politics. Since the beginning the party followed an anti-British agenda and joined hands with Indian

¹ *Ibid*, p.136

National Congress, another like minded but secular party.

JUH started his political career with Non-Cooperation/Civil Disobedience Movement, and Khilafat Movement (for the restoration of Ottoman Sultan as Caliph of Muslim world) in 1919, along with Indian National Congress (INC). Both the movements failed miserably as INC leader Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi discontinued the disobedience movement without taking JUH leaders in confidence and Turk leader Mustafa Kemal rejected Caliphate for a modern and democratic Turkey.

The JUH continued to have a lukewarm support amongst the Indian Muslims but failed to achieve desired objectives. The Indian Muslims were more tilted towards either INC or All India Muslim League. The AIML demanded for a separate country for the Muslim dominated provinces of India, a demand, which JUH rejected and strongly opposed the partition of India. The only role then remained for JUH was to become a sister concern of Congress and rally Muslim support for it. The JUH split into factions after the creation of Pakistan and India and in Pakistan it changed its name of Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI).

Ahl-e-Hadis and Ahl-e-Quran Movements

Two other religious movements had emerged during the same period of time juxtaposing to Deobandi and Bareilvi were Ahl-e-Hadis and Ahl-e-Quran. The Ahl-e-Hadis were more radical and conservative in approach when compared with the Deobandis. The Ulemas of Ahl-e-Hadis traced their roots from the Syed Ahmad's jihad movement of early 19th century. They were strict adherents of interpretation of literal Quran and Hadis (traditions of Holy Prophet PBUH). Most of the leaders and followers belonged to the landed aristocracy and bureaucracy. Unlike other sub-sects of Sunni Islam, the Ahl-e-Hadis isolated themselves by not considering any school of jurisprudence. According to Barbara Daly Metcalf, *"The Ahl-e-Hadis justified their focus on hadis by denying the legitimacy of the classic works of the four major law school that, with the commentaries and compilations of fatawa based on them, had been the standard source of legal guidance for the Sunni community since the ninth century."*¹

The Ahl-e-Hadis were opposed by all other sects because of their radicalism of highest order and their close resemblance with Saudi Wahabis led others to call them Indian Wahabis. Despite the fact that this sect had managed to influence mostly affluent Muslims of India it remained a tiny minority to this day mostly because of their orthodox and literal interpretation of Islamic texts and by rejecting all other sects.

Another sect that was an offshoot of Ahl-e-Hadis was Ahl-e-Quran. The sect failed miserably to attract any following and wiped out after some period of time, mainly because of their rejection of almost every text other than Quran. *"Jurisprudentially, it was even more extreme than the Ahl-e-Hadis, denying the excessive emphasis that they put on Hadis and accusing them of creating two kinds of revelation. The Ahl-e-Quran opted to use only the revealed statements of the Quran, treating the Hadis as relevant only to the human situation of the Prophet (PBUH) and taking only the injunctions of Quran as compulsory."*²

Both of these movements had similarities. Ahl-e-Hadis though continued to grow but largely remained a gathering of select few but influential and financially strong

¹ *Ibid*, Metcalf, page, 270

² *Ibid*, p.289.

people, well-connected with their like minded Arabian-Wahabi fellows. One of the internationally declared terrorist organizations belonging to the Ahl-e-Hadis school of thought is Lashkar-e-Taiba, which is being operated by Pakistani militants but sponsored by their Arabian financiers of Gulf States.

2. RADICAL ISLAMISM DURING THE BRITISH RAJ

The part 2 aims to discuss politico-religious thoughts of radical Islamist movements in pre-partition India (British Raj) and during movement for Pakistan¹.

Quintan Wiktorowicz, an eminent scholar on Islamism, classifies three types of Islamist movements: Purist, politicians and jihadists². All subscribe to Salafist-Wahabist-Deobandi brand of Islam³, but the difference is of method and time frame for materializing the goals⁴. The same patterns exist amongst the Islamist movements in Indian subcontinent during pre-independence period.

During mid-19th century British India when newly emerged Islamist Deobandi movement⁵ was taking its roots and challenging the traditional and tolerant Sufi¹ brand

¹ The Pakistan Movement refers to the period of Indian history when the All India Muslim League presented its demands before the British for a separate homeland on the basis of Muslim nationalism, and creation of a state comprising of Muslim-majority provinces of British India.

² According to Wiktorowicz the Purists are preaching and proselytizing parties such as Tablighi Jamaat, which are apolitical, and Politicos are Islamist parties actively involved in the realm of politics in many countries such as Muslim Brotherhood and Jamaat-e-Islami, whereas the third category comprising of Jihadists believe in armed struggle against the 'apostate Muslim states' and rely on violent methods. By virtue of their creed and basic ideologies all three are adherents of Deobandi-Wahabi-Salafi versions of Islam and believe in the same notions of Islamism.

³ Wahabism/Salafism has its roots in 17th century Arab revolt against the Ottoman Turks inspired by the puritanical teachings of Mohammad Ibn ul Wahab, and his politico-religious alliance with tribal leader Mohammad Ibn al Saud (House of Saud). The adherents of the said movement described themselves as Salafi (followers of the earliest generations of Islamic period) whereas their opponents because of their destructive spree across Arabia derogatively addressed them as Wahabi (followers of Ibn ul Wahab). The South Asian version of Wahabism (inspired of Wahabism of Arabian peninsula) is called Ahl-e-Hadith (followers of Hadith). Deobandi movement is named after the town of Deoband, a small town in Central India, where the first religious seminary was established by scholars inspired of Saudi Wahabi thoughts. The Deobandis and Wahabis differ on some religious issues but agree on 'reforming' the society in a puritanical fashion and imposition of strict Sharia laws. Both the movements despite some difference share political ambitions. One good example could be of relationship between Taliban and Al-Qaeda. The Taliban are Deobandis whereas Al-Qaeda is purely a Wahabi/Salafi organization, and both agreed in principle on issues ranging from religious to political matters. In fact with the support of Taliban, Al-Qaeda could not have survived.

⁴ Quintan Wiktorowicz, "Anatomy of Salafist Movement", *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*, Routledge, 29:207-239, Washington DC, 2006

⁵ Deobandi movement is a South Asian revivalist movement, inspired by the politico-religious (Islamist) thoughts of 17th Century Indian scholar Shah Waliullah. The movement was founded by two scholars Rashid Ahmad Gangohi and Qasim Nanotawi for 'reforming' Indian Muslims as they deemed British Rule had corrupted the Islamic religion. The movement was founded as a result of founding of madrasah at the town of Deoband in Central India. Though Hanafi-Sunnis by sect of Islam, the Deobandis are puritanical and orthodox by virtue of their teachings and character. To oppose organized and disciplined Deobandism, the Sufi scholars also founded Bareilvism, endeavoring to revive the traditional and tolerant Islam, being practiced in South Asia for centuries. Around 15 percent people in Pakistan are adherents of Deobandi sect of Islam. More than 200 million Muslims in South Asia are followers of Bareilvi sect of Islam.

of Islam (adherents of traditional Sufi Islam), Jamal ud Din Afghani an Iranian by birth laid the foundations of Pan-Islamism and modern Islamist thoughts.²

Mainly because of his academic abilities and intellectual charms he was patronized by Iranian and Afghan heads of states. Moreover Islamist scholars of his era paid considerable heed to his religio-political thoughts which kept growing in later generation of Islamists. His thoughts could be summarized as:

- Jamal ud Din was a mildly radical Islamist, and he believed in the unity of all Muslim states, negating the modern idea of nationalism.
- He gave a concept of Ittihad-e-Islami (Islamic Unity) amongst all of Muslim countries amid the growing threat of colonization from Britain and other European nations.
- He believed that the British had already conquered India and now their would-be targets were Iran and the Middle East.
- He wrote letters to Muslim heads of states to galvanize support in order to materialize his ideas
- Jamal ud Din called himself a semi-modern Muslim and at times considered the only way out to counter western imperialism was scientific education. He refuted the thoughts of ultra-radical Ulemas of India and elsewhere of rejecting the complete western modernization. Instead he believed in modernism in conjunction with Islamism. We could say he believed in and impressed with the scientific advancements happening in the west but wanted to adapt in his own manner. Moreover he never approved of traditional Islam.
- He strived to diffuse tensions amongst Sunni, Shia and other sects of Islam and called for the unity against the 'European Imperialism'.
- Another of his concept was to build a new Islamic model on the basis of modern Islamic philosophy; he explained it in great detail in his book *"The Refutation of the Materialists"*³.

His concept of Ittihad-e-Islami had far reaching affects on the later generation of Islamist scholars and thinkers. Although it was not a new idea but the way he presented it in his books, lectures, articles and interviews and at such juncture of time that gained him influence. He was not an Indian and only lived in India for some early years of his life but his religio-political thought had made a great impact on Indian thinkers. Indian political thinkers of early 20th century like Mohammad Iqbal, Abul-Kalam Azad regarded him in high esteem. Afghani's ideas were heavily borrowed by Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt⁴ and in British India Jamaat-e-Islami founder Abul ala Maududi also influenced by his thoughts.

¹ Islamic mysticism, the beliefs and practices of an ascetic, retiring, and mystical sect in Islam or followers of the mystical doctrines of Sufis of different Orders.

² Born in Asadabad, (Hamdan province of Iran) in 1838 to a religious and scholarly family that soon moved to India where he continued his studies. He kept on shuttling between Afghanistan and India and wrote many politico-religious treatises and in later years he traveled to Ottoman Turkey, Paris, London and other parts of Europe. In Paris he stayed on for a while and published a magazine al-Urwat al-Wuthqa or the Firmest Robe. He was later appointed as Afghan King Dost Mohammad's advisor in Kabul but had to leave after the fall of King. In 1886 he became special advisor to Iranian King Shah Nasir ud Din but could not continue because of his criticism of Shah's policies. When the Shah was murdered Afghani was also allegedly suspected for his role in the conspiracy. He spent later years of his life in Istanbul where he remained in good books of Sultan Abdul Hamid II of Ottoman Empire. Afghani was a prolific reader and wrote extensively on many subjects related to religion and politics. He died in Istanbul in 1897.

³ "Afghani Jamal uddin (1838-97)", Islamic Encyclopedia

⁴ Through the writings of Mohammad Abduh and Rashid Rida, both disciples of Afghani, and influenced the founder of MB, Hasan al Bana.

One of the founders of radical Islamism in India, Abul alla Maududi, was able to merge Afghani's ideas in his politico-religious writings and turning those into militant jihadist. Maududi founded his Jamaat-e-Islami in 1941 and to this day his party is disseminating his political agenda far more pan-Islamist than Afghani could ever have thought of.

One of Afghani's follower and student was an Egyptian Mohammad Abduh, who after Afghani's death took over his mission. Abduh had lived with Afghani in Paris. He wrote extensively on European colonization of Muslim lands in Asia and Africa. Abduh's thoughts were not as radical as his mentor Afghani. He professed the introduction of modern sciences in the curricula of schools and colleges when he had assumed the charge of Grand Mufti of Egypt in 1899. While teaching at Al-Azhar University, Cairo he continued to deliver the same ideas. He was more of a semi-modernist of that era but advocated the ideas of 'Islamic Unity' as pronounced by Afghani.

Mohammad Abduh and Jamal ud Din Afghani were not conservative-traditional Muslim scholars neither did they adhere to westernization of Muslim countries. They were semi-Islamist radicals and in a way confused about safeguarding the interests which were more of nationalistic nature. Both never professed violence and aggression.

Closest to Abduh was his disciple Rashid Rida, a very conservative and highly radical person. While Afghani had tried to fuse together different schools of thoughts, Rida like other Islamist radicals rejected Sufi-Islam and ruthlessly criticized Shia sect of Islam¹. On one hand he was against colonialism but stressed over the global Caliphate by colonizing other Muslim majority states as the only solution for the problems of Muslims worldwide. For him it's only through the implementation of Sharia (Islamic laws) that a 'perfect society' could be established².

Rashid Rida died in 1935 but even before his death, his ideas had already been interpreted by Hasan al-Bana who established Muslim Brotherhood in 1926. That was the very first step towards the path of radicalism and growth of violence.

Afghani, Abduh, Rida and Bana's writings and their political thoughts did manage to influence the Indian Muslim scholars, during the times of independence movement. Their fundamentalist ideas, influenced from Wahabi-Salafi movement of Arabian scholar Mohammad Ibn al Wahab, already had roots in South Asia.

Islamist parties during the Independence Movement

After the failed Mutiny of 1857 the British were considered invincible by a great majority of Islamist forces in Indian subcontinent. The Islamists then adopted Christian missionary style for teaching and proselytization. The sole objective was to radicalize the tolerant and traditional Muslims. Hundreds of madressahs were founded across India to maximize support base but albeit all of their tremendous efforts their followings remained limited.

The movement for independence from British colonial rule had started with the founding of Indian National Congress (INC) in 1885 by secular Indian Muslims and Hindus³. The INC by first quarter of 20th century had become the most popular political

¹ Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, I B Taurus, p.69

² Ibid p.70

³ For details see, S R Mehrotra, *A History of the Indian National Congress: 1885-1918*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1995

party of Hindus, Muslims and other religious communities. With the establishment of All India Muslim League (AIML) in 1906 from the platform of Muslim Educational Society (founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Muslim educationist and reformer) was considered a great leap forward for the rights of Muslim community of India¹. It was only in 1930s that it started to gain some level of popular support and started to challenge the INC on issues related to Muslim representation in separate electorate².

AIML was established by Muslim aristocracy and feudal lords in order to have a political voice at the Indian political landscape. All of the prominent figures in the party belonged to Muslim aristocracy and pro-British landlords. The AIML was a center-right party and had no Islamist agenda as that of madressah-educated, glorious past-seeker jihadists. The acceptance of AIML by Muslim masses in fact antagonized the Deobandi Ulemas who indeed thought of them as the 'only and true representatives of Islam' and Indian Muslims. After seeing the limited success of AIML and its recognition as a political force by much bigger INC the religious clerics had decided to form their own party to serve their interests.

It took them some years to contemplate for the nature of politico-religious party they wanted to form. The very first party Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind (JUH) was established in 1919 by the Deobandi Ulema of Darul-Uloom Deoband. Other parties were formed in upcoming years with different political objectives.

Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Hind (JUH) (Party of Islamic Scholars of India)

To counter the growing influence of AIML the religious clerics launched their own party in 1920. Simply put it was unacceptable for them to rally behind secular, western-educated modern Muslims, at the leadership of AIML. Although it was primarily dominated by clerics of Deobandi school of thought but some clerics from the Farangi Mahal seminary (traditional Sufis) were also amongst the founding members. The lynchpin of JUH was Mahmud ul Hasan, principal of Deoband madressah, and one of most prominent Deobandi leaders³.

In its initial years the JUH took part alongside INC and AIML in the Khilafat Movement (movement of Indian Muslims for the restoration of Ottoman Caliphate after World War-II). The movement failed and but the JUH leadership came close to INC in opposition to AIML. Since its inception the JUH was against a separate homeland for Muslims of India. The Deobandi clerics believed that it would weaken the solidarity of Indian Muslims, who were already a minority before vast Hindu majority. In 1940, when All India Muslim League under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah (founder of Pakistan) demanded a separate homeland for the Muslims north-western and Bengal provinces of India, the divide deepened between JUH and AIML.

After independence the JUH stood divided and its Pakistani branch became Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam that eventually provided foot soldiers from its chain of madressahs to Taliban movement in the last decade of 20th century. The JUH remained

¹ For details about the All India Muslim League and its role in Pakistan Movement see, I.H Quereshi, *The Struggle for Pakistan*, University of Karachi Press, 1958

² Initially INC and AIML worked together. Both parties held joint sessions and INC accepted the AIML's demand of separate electorate for Muslim community. The INC-AIML agreement was called Lucknow Pact, signed by both the parties' high command in 1916. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, a veteran INC leader rejected the separate electorate demand of AIML in his Nehru Report which he presented in 1928, allowing both parties to part ways.

³ "History and Founders", see the Official Website of Jamiat-e-Ulema-i-Hind, available at: <http://www.jamiatulamaiahind.net/History%20&%20Founders.htm>

even to this day a conservative Islamist party of adherents of Deobandi school of thought in India.

The Tablighi Jamaat (proselytizing movement)

After their consecutive failures and defeats to evict the British from India the Islamist radicals had resorted to preaching and professing their 'new and reformed' Islam. The problem they were faced with was that an overwhelming majority of Muslims did not pay heed to their ideas. It was mostly because of the moderate and tolerant Sufi-Sunni Islam, practiced by an overwhelming majority of Indian Muslims. High level of tolerance did exist between both Hindu and Muslim communities who had been living side by side in peace and harmony for centuries.

As mentioned before that the establishment of JUH was a political motive to gain the leadership of Indian Muslims which had slid into the hands of secular Muslims. Some of the Deobandi clerics decided not to involve in political activities under JUH rather continue preaching and missionary work. For that matter Mohammad Ilyas, a former student of Deoband seminary founded the Tablighi Jamaat in 1926. The underlined reason for founding such an organization was to convert the Muslims of other sects to Deobandi sect of Islam and to 'free Muslims from the clutches of Hindu practices.'¹

The Tablighi Jamaat members work in groups and the groups travel to villages and cities where they preach basic principles of Islam to Muslims, in a typical Catholic Missionary styled fashion².

The TJ managed to receive a lukewarm response from the Indian Muslim community during its early days, but as soon as the oil was discovered in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia by mid-twentieth century, petro-dollars had started to pour in and TJ leadership broadened the structure of their organization by opening up more mosques and madressahs to recruit and indoctrinate large numbers of Muslim youth. The ideology and concepts of TJ could be summarized as:

- Islamic education (especially of children, at home),
- Modest Islamic dress and appearance (shaving the moustache and allowing the beard to grow long),
- Rejection of other religions,
- High regard for other Muslims and protecting their honor,
- Propagating Islam,
- Self-financing of *tabligh* trips,
- Lawful means of earning a living,
- Segregation of sexes and limited role of women³

At present the TJ operates in more than 100 countries and has managed to gain support amongst orthodox Sunni Muslims. Despite the fact that TJ activists claim to detest terrorism and consider their organization a non-political one but the real picture is somewhat different from what they say and propagate. Many of the foreign terrorists arrested from Afghanistan after the defeat of Taliban and later shifted to the Guantanamo Bay were found out to be TJ activists. John Walker Lindh, an American Taliban, also arrested from Afghanistan, belonged to TJ. Another terrorist, who tried to

¹ Mohammad Shafi Agwani, *Islamic Fundamentalism in India*, 1986, Twenty First Century Indian Society. p. 41

² Tablighi Jama'at, *The World Almanac of Islamism*, available at: <http://almanac.afpc.org/tablighi-jamaat>

³ Ibid, <http://almanac.afpc.org/tablighi-jamaat>

bomb the British airliner by outing explosives in his shoes (also known as the Shoe Bomber), Richard Reid converted to Islam and chose a path of radicalism on the indoctrination of TJ^{1 2}.

The role of TJ has always been to promote and propagate the Deobandi version of Islam and to work as nursery for producing Islamist radicals. Many ignorant and uneducated Muslims have fallen victims of TJ propaganda. It is true that it is not directly involved in politics and terrorism but it provides, without any doubt the recruiting base and theoretical and indoctrinational grounds for becoming a professional terrorist. The TJ because of its purist nature tried to avoid politics during the pre-partition period and concentrated more on indoctrinating basic Islamist ideas into the minds of Indian Muslims, eventually pushing them towards JUH.

The Khaksar Tehrik

Another torch bearer of radicalism was Tehrik-e-Khaksar or simply Khaksar movement. The movement was purely Islamist by character and some non-Muslims also joined the ranks. Established by a religious scholar of Punjab province, Inayat Ullah Mashriqi, in 1930, the primary focus of Khaksar movement was to reestablish the Muslim rule all over India. Nonetheless, with such idealistic goal the movement had managed to gain some popular support from Muslim youth, mostly from Punjab province. The word Khaksar (Persian) meant literally 'made of dust'.

The Khaksars were disciplined and organized in a paramilitary fashion. The movement was a dictatorial order.³ The members need to 'purify' themselves from mundane desires, and build solid characters. The movement was strictly governed under the 24 principles⁴ postulated by its founder Mashriqi.

The attire and discipline of its followers made it look like a Nazi inspired organization. It was mandatory for the members to wear brown NSDP look-alike Khaki uniforms. The members used to carry a 'spade' showing their belief of restructuring the society with their religio-political agendas. The movement gained momentum for a short period of time during 1930s eventually turning violent and militant. Strikes, violent acts, assassination attempts and all sort of activities of arson and sabotage were carried out not only against the British government of India but also against the political parties not affirming the Khaksar agenda like Congress and Muslim League.

Nasim Yousaf, grandson of Inayatullah Mashriqi wrote about the events as *"Mashriqi established a parallel Government in British India. According to details published in Al-Islah (November 17, 1939), the country was divided into 14 provinces (with a center at Lahore) and names of provincial commanders were announced. Each commander (called Hakim-e-Ala) was ordered to ensure that his power was comparable to that of the British Governor in his respective province. For instance, they were to have their own warfare equipment and other paraphernalia. A directive was also issued to augment*

¹ Katherine Hoffman, Jiro Koder, Peter Le Francois, Charles Nicas, and Jackson Reed, "Sunni Militancy in India: An Analytical Atlas", Stanford IPS/MPP Practicum Project, March 18, 2011, p.73

² For details see Alex Alexiev, "Tablighi Jamaat: Jihad's Stealthy Legions", *The Middle East Quarterly*, Winter 2005, p.3-11

³ Amalendu De, *History of Khaksar Movement in India 1931-47*, Parul Prakashani, Kolkata, 2009, p.130-131

⁴ Salient features of the 24 principles of Mashriqi were: Fear none but God, Purify one self, uphold solidarity, support equality, take action, ensure unity, provide community service, and remove prejudices. For details about the Khaksar Movement see, Nasim Yousaf, *Pakistan's Freedom and Allama Mashriqi*, AMZ Publishers, New York, 2004

Khaksar strength by enrolling 2.5 million new Khaksars across India by June 15, 1940. Efforts to this end were taken immediately and startling results were witnessed.”¹

British responded by banning the organization in 1941 and putting its chief Mashriqi behind the bars. Finally the independence of India and Pakistan turned out to be the coup de grace for the movement and in 1947 the movement was disbanded by its leader.²

The Khaksar Movement although did not survive long enough but left its influence on generations to come. In later years organizations like Jamaat-e-Islami of Abu al Maududi took the leaf out of Khaksar Movement’s book and organized his Islamist party on the same Leninist-Nazi styled manner.

Jamaat-e-Islami Hind (Party of Islam-India)

Whether it was violence of Khaksar Movement, or commitment of clerics of Deoband seminary to replace British rule in India, the nostalgia had been there even centuries after Shah Wali Ullah’s wishful thoughts³ of reviving back the days of glory of Muslim rule. The movements were idealistic, aloof from changing times, nonetheless did manage to gain some level of popular support. The Jamaat-e-Islami was just another endeavor of the people belonging to the same school of thought such as Shah Waliullah and Syed Ahmad Barelvi.

In 1940s, the independence movement had entered into a new phase as the British promised to grant independence to India in exchange for providing support during the war. The leadership of Muslim League (AIML) responded positively whereas the INC was first reluctant to render its support but later accepted the offer. Both parties along with some smaller parties eventually rallied behind British in its war efforts against axis powers.

The Jamaat-e-Islami Hind was just another effort of some disgruntled Deobandi clerics under the leadership of Abul al-Maududi (1903-1978), a self-taught scholar of religion, in 1941 at Lahore. Maududi was inspired of Hasan al Bana of Muslim Brotherhood and Inayatullah Mashriqi of Khaksar Movement. At the same time he appeared to be impressed with the communist traditions as he structured his party on Leninist lines. Maududi was a firm believer in governance only under Islamic law (Sharia) and for him leadership only belonged to Ulema (none other then himself). According to Fredrick Grare, *“The central idea around which Mawdudi’s political thought revolves is that of the transcendence of religious law. ‘There is only one single law, the Sharia, imposed from above by God who is the only lawmaker and the only sovereign.’ This concept of ‘divine sovereign’ is central to his thought.”⁴*

Maududi’s Islamist ideology has hitherto inspired many, initially a tiny minority (during pre-independence period) but in post-independence politics it gained quite a large scattered following across Pakistan and India and later in Bangladesh. Maududi remained the spirit of the movement and wrote extensively on subjects related to political Islam, with a special focus on jihad. One of the foremost amongst the inspired ones was Syed Qutb of Muslim Brotherhood Egypt, mentor of later generations of Al-

¹ Nasim Yousaf, “Allama Mashriqi the Great- A Hero of All Times”, available at: <http://www.allamamashraqi.com/>

² Ibid Yousaf,

³ For details see Part-I of this paper about Shah Waliullah’s ideology

⁴ Fredrick Grare, *Political Islam in the Indian Sub-Continent: The Jamaat-e-Islami*, Centre de Sciences Humaines, 2002, page.20

Qaeda founders and other radical Islamists.

Therefore it would be essential to discuss some of his political-religious thoughts that laid the foundations of this Islamist movement.

- There is a widespread misbelief that the concept of 'Jahiliya' was given by Muslim Brotherhood leader Syed Qutb. The concept was indeed given by Maududi, according to which the Muslim society has gone off track and reverted back to the ignorance of the pre-Islamic age, which is called the 'age of ignorance or Jahiliya' by Muslim historians. For Maududi this indeed started happening as Muslims have adopted manmade laws to govern their lives instead of God's laws or Sharia, and therefore that has led to their failures and downfall everywhere. The only solution, Maududi offered to Muslim community (Ummah) was to get back to fundamentals of Islam and installing a system of governance based upon enforcement of Sharia.
- Maududi rejected secularism, nationalism and to some extent democracy and called them western concepts. For him the only acceptable amongst all of these was a 'theo-democracy' (democracy governed under the Sharia). His theo-democracy would in fact a Caliphate.
- In Maududi's utopian model, the non-Muslims would have no role, and religious tax would be imposed on them (Jizya).
- The creation of state on such models would be just the beginning of a global revolution and the first model state would only serve as launching pad or platform for the wider and global Islamic revolution.
- The party that would lead the revolution would be none other than Party of God (Hizbullah): Jamaat-e-Islami.
- In Maududian concepts jihad has a prime importance. He believed in an eternal state of warfare with 'infidels', nationalist and 'apostate Muslims' (victims of Jahiliya). That was another of his beliefs that was later incorporated by Syed Qutb in formulating his political thoughts.

Former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto described Maududi'sJI party as: *"Maulana Maudoodi, the founder of the extremist group Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) in South Asia, believed that Muslim identity was threatened by the rise of nationalism in South Asia during the first half of the twentieth century. He saw nationalism as a western ideology unilaterally imposed upon Muslims to weaken and divide the community by replacing the idea of a worldwide Muslim community with individual nationalism based on language, ethnicity, and locality. He believed that Islam can overcome these obstacles, 'and so Maudoodi sees Muslims as an international party organized to implement Islam's revolutionary program, and jihad as the term that denotes the utmost struggle to bring about an Islamic revolution.'"*¹

Maududi organized his party on strict disciplinary lines but did not get positive response from Indian Muslims. He opposed both Congress and Muslim League. His primary target of criticism was Jinnah of Muslim League (founder of Pakistan). According to Vali Nasr, *"Mawdudi shared Jinnah's concern for the future of Indian Muslims and their rights to cultural and social autonomy, but parted with Jinnah in that the former looked to Islam as the principle legitimating force in Muslim politics whereas the latter appealed to the normative values of the Indo-Muslim tradition. Mawdudi's vision had little room for compromise on Islamic ideals, whereas Jinnah defined the Muslim community in broad and latitudinarian terms. Mawdudi, no doubt, viewed the anglicized style and the secular beliefs of Jinnah with contempt and no doubt eyed his power and popularity with*

¹ Benazir Bhutto, *Reconciliation: Islam, Democracy and the West*, Simon and Schuster, 2008, page. 28

certain degree of envy.

*Jinnah's success as political leader had convinced Mawdudi of his own potential. For if a westernized lawyer could sway the masses in the name of Islam then a 'true' Muslim leader could certainly attain even greater success. 'Abu-ala not only compared himself to Jinnah', recollected Abul Khayr, Mawdudi's elder brother, 'but also viewed himself as even a greater leader than Jinnah.'"*¹

The Jamaat-e-Islami of Maududi failed to maneuver any public support amongst masses and remained a party of handful of Maududi's supporters till the independence of Pakistan in 1947. After the partition of India, Maududi left his home town Hyderabad Deccan (southern India) and migrated to Pakistan. It was only after reaching Pakistan that his Islamist radical movement started to attract some support but again it was of lesser degree in comparison with parties like Muslim League and Republican Party. Because of his anti-Pakistan views before the independence Jinnah's supporters looked down upon him and considered him a security risk for the newly emerged state. According to former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, "*Maulana Maudoodi dubbed the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, a Kafir (non-believer). But the Muslims of India rejected Maudoodi and instead supported Mohammad Ali Jinnah and his more secular view of religion and politics.*"²

After settling in Lahore, Pakistan, Maududi first changed his party's name to Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and then as a shrewd marketer he also designed a new set of slogans and ideas to implement an agenda quite different from the original one. The JI-Hind was tasked to continue the same old agenda. It was only after the death of Jinnah in 1948 that Maududi had gotten a freehand to execute his brand new program of spreading radical ideas of Islamism under his party's banner in Pakistan.

¹ Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan*, I B Tauris, pages 19-20

² Op Cit Bhutto, p.68-69

3. RADICAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES AFTER THE INDEPENDENCE OF PAKISTAN

The British partitioned India and granted independence to India and Pakistan in August 1947. With its coming into being, the Islamist forces once opposing the creation of Pakistan had changed stances and started taking roots on the newly established state. The object of their affection had now suddenly become Pakistan, a state founded on religious grounds. The overnight shift amazed everyone. Surprisingly the Jamaat-e-Islami's founder Abul Ala Maududi migrated to Pakistan, the state he opposed throughout his life and settled in Lahore. It is somewhat important to note that the post-independence problems were many and hard to handle by a nascent state. There were issues like:

- Over ten million people migrated from India to Pakistan; their settlement in the new state was a Himalayan task.
- The Boundary Commission (Radcliff Commission, a committee formed by British government to distribute the assets and finances between the two states) failed to settle a number of disputes related to boundary, resulting in territorial disputes between India and Pakistan
- Assets were not distributed proportionally and thus created even a bigger problem for the state of Pakistan that had no financial means to survive.
- The state of Kashmir which was one of the 545 princely states¹ under the British Raj, with a Hindu ruler and Muslim majority population, eventually becoming the bone of contention between India and Pakistan and a war started in September 1948.
- Hyderabad, Junagrh, and Manawadar were princely states with Muslim rulers and Hindu majority population, were forcibly annexed by bigger and militarily stronger India.

Therefore in lieu of above mentioned situation coupled with financial difficulties faced by the state, the Islamist parties had gained a firm foothold to establish in Pakistani society. In the light of policy statements given by Mohammad Ali Jinnah (father of the nation), Pakistan was supposed to have a secular-liberal constitution based on western traditions.

"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... We are starting with this fundamental principle that we are all citizens and equal citizens of one State... I think we should keep that in front of us as our ideal and you will find that in due course Hindus would cease to be Hindus and Muslims would cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political

¹ There were 545 states in British India, governed by their own rulers, subservient to the British and semi-autonomous in governance matters. By the time of independence the British asked the rulers to either opt for India or Pakistan. The ruler's choice was considered supreme.

sense as citizens of the State.”¹

Unfortunately Jinnah did not live long enough to draft the constitution² and right after his death the Islamist parties under the leadership of Maududi broke their silence and launched a propaganda campaign for an Islamic constitution³. Maududi was successful in analyzing the situation after the death of Jinnah and convinced some of the Islamist minded legislators to voice his agendas in the Constituent Assembly⁴.

Liaquat Ali Khan the Prime Minister of Pakistan was the first to succumb to the wishes of Islamist and their proponents in the constituent assembly of Pakistan. Because of the pressure from the Islamist parties he tabled the “Objective Resolution”⁵ in the constituent assembly which was readily passed by the assembly. The said resolution declared that the future course of legislation in Pakistan would be based upon the Islamic ideology and thus the Islamist forces claimed their first victory which was completely avoidable considering the presence of overwhelming number of secular parliamentarians in the assembly.

The attempt was to appease the Islamist leaders but it only increased their list of demands.

Majlis-e-Ahrar al Islam and the Punjab Riots

Four years later, in 1953, after passing of desired resolution Maududi came and like-minded Abdul Sattar Khan Niazi of Jamiat-e-Ulema Pakistan and Deobandi radical clerics such as Zafar Ali Khan, Mazhar Ali Khan, Syed Ataullah Shah Bokhari, Habin ur

¹ Mohammad Ali Jinnah, first governor general and founder of the nation’s first speech before the Constituent Assembly of new created state of Pakistan on August 11, 1947.

² Jinnah died on September 11, 1948, just 13 months after Pakistan came into being.

³ Islamist forces wanted to have a constitution allowing Sharia laws as governing the state matter, virtually turning the state into a theocracy, while Jinnah had negated any of such ideas.

⁴ Maududi’s Jamaat-e-Islami had no member in the Constituent Assembly, even then he had some followers in Muslim League, whom he managed to influence.

⁵ Text of Objective Resolution of 1949, later Article 2 A of the Constitution of Pakistan: “Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan; Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed; Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah; Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to [freely] profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures; Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed; Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality; Wherein adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes; Wherein the independence of the Judiciary shall be fully secured; Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded; So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity.”

Rehman Ludhianivi and Choudhary Afzal Haq under the banner of Majlis-e-Ahrah al Islam, came up with another issue¹. Majlis was a radical Deobandi Islamist party which sided with Indian National Congress during Independence Movement. The movement was active during Khalifat movement in India in early 1920s and later presented its demands for enforcement of Sharia laws in India after the withdrawal of British. The movement was disbanded for few years after the independence of Pakistan but later re-emerged during the Punjab riots of 1953². This time they demanded that the minority Ahmadiyya community be declared non-Muslim. The riots were led by Jamaat-e-Islami and lasted for several months; eventually military was called in to disperse the rioters and restore law and order. Martial Law was declared for seventy days in the Punjab province's capital Lahore. The movement intended to emotionally charge the masses on the name of religion. Although the time Islamists did not get away with what they wanted but they had somehow proved their metal by disrupting the law and order for many days by showing off street power. The leadership remained determined not to succumb to their demands³.

Jamaat-e-Islami's Role during Civil War of 1971

Though ignored by Pakistan's military dictator Ayub Khan during his 11-year rule (1958-1969), the JI bounced back during his successor General Yahya Khan's martial law regime. The growing tensions between eastern and western wings of the country (eastern: predominantly of Bengali ethnic origin and western: predominantly Punjabi) resulted in the Civil War in 1971. The western wing had more landmass but less population⁴. Two hundred and fifty thousand strong Pakistani military was overwhelmingly Punjabi or composed of west Pakistanis. The very first general elections were held in December 1970, and an eastern wing party Awami League secured a thumping victory with an absolute majority (160 seats out of 300 National Assembly seats)⁵. The western wing parties with military's tacit approval refused to recognize Awami League (AL) as a federal party and therefore refused to accept the results. Both, eastern wing's AL and western wing's Pakistan People Party remained glued to their stances and the result was a civil war. The military operation against the AL was launched in March 1971.

In the eastern wing the main opponent of Awami League party was JI, but it could not manage to win a single seat from East Pakistan. JI took its revenge by colluding with the military during the Operation (Operation Search Light, began 25 March 1971). That was the very first occasion when Pakistan's military junta and JI worked together. A secular military trained on the lines of British army had nothing in common with Islamist JI but interests and same political enemies. The military junta planned to train and arm JI workers and student wings to fight against the AL that had also managed to

¹ The precursor to their demands was anti-Ahmedya riots in Punjab province in 1953.

² For details about Majlis-e-Ahrah al Islam and its ideology see, Samina Awan, *Political Islam in Colonial Punjab: Majlis-i-Ahrah (1929-1949)*, Oxford University Press, 2010, Karachi.

³ It was then after 20 years that the Pakistani parliament declared Ahmadiyya community non-Muslims only in response to the community's own claim of declaring all other sects of Islam as non-Muslims according to their belief in 1974. The parliamentary proceedings were in-camera and details had not been made public.

⁴ Population: 44 percent West Pakistan and 56 East Pakistan.

⁵ Out of 300 general seats of National Assembly, the Awami League won 160, all from the eastern wing of the country (aka: East Pakistan). The distribution of National Assembly seats was on the basis of population i.e. 162 for eastern wing and 138 for western.

raise a similar militia force with Indian help.

Three armed militias Al-Badar, Al-Shams and Razakars were raised during the operation consisted of JI workers and supporters. The militias were commanded by JI East Pakistan Amir (president) Moti ur Rehman Nizami. The militias played the role of irregulars during the brutal operation where thousands of Bengalis were slaughtered, women raped, workers of Awami League kidnapped and tortured, and many of them killed and buried in mass graves. Bengali militia reciprocated the same actions by killing thousands of west Pakistani settlers and military men. The militias were also used for spying against the AL-militiamen (Mukti Bahini), targeted assassinations of political opponents, and giving vital information about key geographic locations. Another Islamist group Shanti Committee (Peace Committee) was formed for preaching the soldiers and militiamen to convince them about Bengali Mukti Bahinis as infidels and heretics, and Indian agents. The members of Shanti Committee played the role army chapmen for morale boosting and propaganda purposes.

According to Hassan Abbas, in his book *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism*, *"The religious parties were also on the outlook for a new opening to pursue their agenda of 'Islamizing' the state. Maududi met Yahya early on and declared him a 'champion of Islam', expecting that this would sufficiently work on Yahya and the new constitution that he would envisage would be Islamic."*¹

About the military operation and role of Islamist JI, he further said, *"In this unholy drama, Jamaat-e-Islami formed an alliance with the army in East Pakistan and played an active part in the military action against what believed to be 'enemies of Islam.' This party along with other right-wing parties had initially launched a propaganda campaign to convince Bengalis that their loyalties lay first with Islam and Pakistan and not with their ethnic roots, but to no avail."*²

All of these militias were disbanded after the defeat and surrender of Pakistan Army before Indian Army and Mukti Bahini militia after the fall of Dhaka on December 16, 1971. This also dashed the hopes of Islamist parties and their newly-built nexus with Pakistani intelligence agencies came to a temporary end.

Beginning of appeasement policy and state patronage of non-state actors

Appeasing pressure groups and making them Frankenstein-like monsters is not a new phenomenon. It was the appeasement of Adolph Hitler and his expansionist policies by the British Prime Minister Lord Chamberlain and French President Clemenceau that turned him into a mighty monstrous force and later events led the whole world to Second World War. It was the appeasement of Muslim Brotherhood and other radical Islamist groups by Egyptian President Anwar Sadaat that eventually resulted in his own assassination by their hands. It was the appeasement of Hamas by the Israeli government back in 1980s that made this Muslim Brotherhood branch (Hamas) in Palestinian territories a formidable enemy of Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and eventually the enemy of state of Israel, and finally it managed to take control of Palestine Authority in Gaza in 2006.

With the fall of East Pakistan and emergence of Bangladesh, the politics in Pakistan took a new turn. Pakistan also became aloof in the arena of world politics because of the human rights violations committed by Islamist militias backed by the

¹ Hassan Abbas, *Pakistan's Drift into Extremism: Allah, the Army and America's War on Terror*, Pentagon Press, 2005, page 57.

² Ibid page 63.

then military junta. The Islamist parties and ideologues blamed Pakistani politicians and masses at large for the defeat; they capitalized on this opportunity and to shift blame and launched massive propaganda campaigns.

The new strategy was to blame Pakistani masses and military by relating their defeat because of absence of religiosity. Even the new Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (chairman of secular and socialist Peoples Party) had to bow down before the demands of Islamist parties now started to rally masses against his government. Amongst many of the demands were to include Islamic provisions in the new constitution of the country which was being drafted. Bhutto accepted most of the demands presented to him by JI leader Maududi and JUI leader Mufti Mahmood. The Islamic provisions he included in the newly made constitution to appease the Islamists were:

- President and Prime Minister must be Muslims
- All laws should be made in accordance of Quran and Sunnah (traditions and sayings of the Prophet PBUH)
- Composition of Council of Islamic Ideology was created for overseeing the law making processes
- The name of Pakistan was also changed to Islamic Republic of Pakistan from Republic of Pakistan.¹

Appeasing the Islamist did not work. These parties did not end their demands with it and a new campaign was launched with demands of implementation of Islamic laws in the country.

The steps of appeasing Islamist parties by Bhutto government indeed strengthened their power and sphere and influence and very soon these parties had aligned up against the Bhutto regime. The elections of 1977 were the litmus test in which the Islamists in alliance with right wingers suffered crushing defeat by the hands of left wing Peoples Party of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The Islamist parties refused to accept their defeat. They termed the results bogus and elections 'engineered' and rigged by the Bhutto government. They came up with the demands of implementation of Islamic laws in the country and re-election. Another campaign was launched by the Islamist parties under the alliance of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The campaign gradually lost its momentum because it failed to gather mass support. But in another move the Islamist parties (JI, JUI and JUP) colluded with Army Chief General Zia ul Haq who in a coup d'etat on July 5, 1977 ousted the Bhutto government. Bhutto was later charged for abetting a murder of one of his own party leader and convicted. He was sentenced to death and executed in 1978. Bhutto's execution heralded a new epoch for Islamist parties and Zia military regime had given them free hand to operate.

Bhutto's domestic policy failures also led to his downfall. He was apparently liberal and secular in approach but conservative by actions. Before the elections he appointed General Zia ul Haq (junior amongst all other three star generals) as Chief of Army Staff, without knowing his Islamist/Deobandi credentials. General Zia, in power was a dream-come-true situation for Islamist parties especially for the JI. Although it's chief Maududi recently died in the US² but the new Amir (party head) Mian Tufail had joined hands with Zia's martial law regime.

Another blunder committed by Bhutto was his decision of grouping together

¹ Part IX, Articles 227-231, Constitution of Pakistan.

² Abul Ala Maududi's sons were naturalized US citizens and one of them was a medical practitioner who brought his ailing father in Pakistan for treatment to Albany, New York, where he died in 1978.

Islamist dissidents groups of Afghanistan. These Islamist groups (mostly radical Islamist students from Kabul University) had started activities against the Afghan pro-Soviet government of President Daud Khan who came into power in 1973 after deposing his cousin King Zahir Shah. Daud Khan had raised the slogan of Pashtunistan long before he became president of Afghanistan (in 1962 when he was Prime Minister in Zahir Shah Regime but later sacked). After coming into power he repeated the same clichés that antagonized Bhutto. Daud also supported the pro-Pashtunistan groups in Pakistan's tribal areas and had sent them cache of arms. In response Bhutto provided safe havens to dissident Islamists and opposition groups of Afghanistan. On the advice of his Inspector General of Frontier Corps (paramilitary border security force) General Naseer Ullah Babar, Prime Minister Bhutto not only sheltered them but also provided them with arms and combat training. Most of the leaders of these dissident Islamist groups later became the leaders of their own separate parties during Zia regime's policy of 'Afghan Jihad' in collusion with the American CIA and Saudi GID. These parties later became Peshawar Seven¹.

The martial law regime announced a care-taking set up and JI became part of the set up and took charge of some important federal ministries. Fresh elections were promised but never held until 1985, and conducted on non-party basis with massive allegations of rigging. From 1979 till 1985 the military junta ruled the country with an iron hand with the only exception of JI. Some of the policies adopted by the Zia government in collusion with JI transformed the whole society and upcoming generations of Pakistani youth. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan worked as a catalyst for the growth of Islamist radicalization and militancy. It took a fast course with multitude of youth was drawn from the JI student wing cadres, though the Afghan refugees were the primary choice at the camps.

Thus it could be easily gauged that the beginning of appeasement of Islamist began with Bhutto. The same policies were adopted by General Zia. The Bhutto regime's policy was tri-pronged:

- Aiding Afghan Islamist groups in response of Afghan government's policy of supporting Pashtunistan issue
- In the arena of international politics Prime Minister Bhutto also bolstered relationship with other Muslim countries notably with Saudi Arabia and other Arab Gulf states
- At domestic front Bhutto appeased Islamist parties and pressure groups by bowing down to many of their demands

These policies miserably failed and eventually backfired.

-Because of the boosting up of relations with Arab states the result was more funding and aid coming to Islamist groups of Pakistan (mostly Debandi and Wahabi groups such as JI and JUI), which were indeed playing against the Bhutto government and the real opposition to his regime. These parties had later joined hands with Bhutto's opponent: the military regime of General Zia ul Haq, came into power in a coup de etat.

- During Bhutto's reign the Islamist groups of Afghanistan were aided and supported as a policy measure by his government, but the groups failed to achieve any reasonable success in disturbing the interests of Afghan government of President Daud Khan, and all of these groups were beaten back and finally retreated back to Pakistan in mid-seventies. It was only after the fall of Bhutto that these groups were once again taken back into the fold and used as proxies against the Soviet forces (occupying Afghanistan from 1979-1989) by the military regime of General Zia.

¹ Details about P-7 or Peshawar Seven on latter pages.

- As Bhutto tried to bribe the Islamist parties of Pakistan (despite the fact that these parties only had a fraction of seats in the parliament and insignificant popular vote) only to strengthen his own rule but even this did not work and these parties gained strength and later contributed to his fall

It is important to discuss the appeasement policies of Bhutto which led to many controversies even after his ouster:

- Since 1950s the Islamist forces wanted the government to declare Ahmadiya community as non-Muslims. Bhutto took the matter to parliament and invited Ahmadiya community clerics and Muslim religious clerics to debate over the issue. It was during the debate that Ahmadiya community clerics cast themselves away with the points they raised and confessed before the Parliamentary Committee that only the adherents of Ahmadiya community were genuine Muslims and the rest were unbelievers or non-Muslims. The Parliament then declared the Ahmadiya community non-Muslims. Bhutto's perception was that that the long standing issue had now been resolved and he believed that that would somehow cut the size of religious politics in the country¹. He was proved wrong when after few years the new demand of Islamists was to declare Shia Muslims as non-Muslims.

- Another demand was to declare Friday instead of Sunday the weekly holiday, which Bhutto generously accepted. Friday then became the official holiday, although it made no sense.

- Use of alcohol was prohibited through a presidential ordinance and other ordinances were issued such as banning gambling etc.

During Bhutto regime three leading Islamist parties acted as pressure groups, were somehow successful in having their demands met.

- Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (party of Islam)
- Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (party of Muslim scholars)
- Jamiat-Ulema-e-Pakistan (party of Muslim scholars Pakistan)

These three Islamist parties later became part of alliance against Bhutto and termed the 1977 elections rigged and engineered. JI was especially pivotal because of its comparatively better street power and membership. It would be sine-quo non to discuss the profile of these parties as in later years the first two would play key roles (JI in 1980s and JUI in 1990s).

- JI's role was central in strengthening General Zia's military regime from the beginning. Bhutto had earlier confessed that it was his political miscalculation that he appointed an Islamist and pro-JI general as chief of army. After the Bhutto government's ouster the JI leadership joined the caretaker government established by General Zia during his Martial Law period. Some of the high ranking JI leaders joined federal cabinet under Zia and assumed charge of key portfolios like education, and industries. But most importantly the JI influenced the military regime of Zia to enforce the educational-religious reforms. School, college and university curricula were revised and jihadi doctrines inserted. Under the religious reforms package the Martial Law regime adopted some very controversial laws (hitherto matters of conflict amongst liberals and Islamists forces), such as Blasphemy laws, Adultery laws, and Prohibition laws (under an act called Hudood Ordinance). The promulgation of these controversial ordinances along with other measures such as Islamization of economy (interest free banking), land

¹ For details see, Mahboob Hussain, *Establishing Constitutional Status of Qadianies: A Study of Parliamentary Debates, 1974*, Pakistan Vision, Vol 14, N° 2.

reforms and Qisas and Diyat Ordinance (in the field of criminal jurisprudence, and making murder compoundable offense) promulgated as part of the Zia-JI joint venture campaign called the Islamization Process¹. The implementation of these laws brutally affected the then moderate Pakistani society. Under JI federal minister for education, the whole system of education was overhauled and syllabi were turned accordingly with the doctrines propounded by Maududi, in order to make students turned towards Islamism.

According to US State Department's International Religious Freedom Report, 2010: *"Laws prohibiting blasphemy continued to be used against Christians, Ahmadis, and members of other religious groups including Muslims. Lower courts often did not require adequate evidence in blasphemy cases, which led to some accused and convicted persons spending years in jail before higher courts eventually overturned their convictions or ordered them freed.....The penal code incorporates a number of Islamic law (Sharia) provisions. The judicial system encompasses several different court systems with overlapping and sometimes competing jurisdictions that reflect differences in civil, criminal and Islamic jurisprudence.*

*Criminal law allowed offenders to offer monetary restitution to victims and allowed victims to carry out physical retribution rather than seeking punishment through the court system. The 'Qisaas and Diyat' law calls for either providing retribution for murder and other violent crimes (qisaas) or compensation money to the victim of the crime (diyat)."*²

- With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, JI took full advantage of the emerging situation and sided with the Zia regime's decision to launch covert operations against the Soviet troops inside Afghanistan with the collusion of American CIA. As a result around 3 million Afghan refugees were driven out of Afghanistan by the Soviet forces. The military regime and JI both capitalized on refugees. This huge refugee population, living in camps on Pakistani soil was of key importance for JI, whose cadres launched a campaign of recruiting the 'holy warriors'³ (Mujahideen) to fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan. Under the CIA led covert action plan called Operation Cyclone⁴ thousands were recruited. CIA and Saudi intelligence agency General Intelligence Department (GID: aka Al-Mukhabrat) provided funds whereas Pakistanis took the job of training those 'holy warriors'. The insurgents were led by the same Bhutto era's dissident Afghan Islamist leaders. During Bhutto period these leaders were grouped together but Zia regime divided them in seven different parties for the purpose of keeping them under control. These parties remained separate but in later years grouped together to form an alliance called Peshawar Seven or Islamic Unity of Afghanistan Mujahideen. The parties were:

- . Hizb-e-Islami (Hekmatyar Group)
- . Hizb-e-Islami (Younus Khalis Group)
- . Jamaat-e-Islami (led by Burhan ud Din Rabbani)

¹ Some other reforms introduced by the military regime of General Zia as part of the Islamization Process were establishment of Sharia benches, Federal Shariat Court, Hudood Ordinance, Zina Ordinance, Reverence of Fasting Ordinance, scheduling of prayer timings in accordance with work hours, Zakat and Usher Ordinance for the collection of charity and its disbursement, and Islamic Banking.

² International Religious Freedom Report, 2010, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, Department of State, November 17, 2010.

³ Initially the Mujahideen were called the Taliban or students, mainly because of the fact that they were from the madrasahs or religious seminaries, being run at refugee camps on Pakistan-Afghanistan border.

⁴ Operation Cyclone was the biggest ever CIA covert operation (1979-89) to train, arm and finance Afghan mujahideen groups to fight against the Soviet forces.

- . Afghanistan National Liberation Front (led by Subghat ullah Mujaddedi)
- . National Islamic Front of Afghanistan (led by Pir Syed Ahmad Gillani)
- . Revolutionary Islamic Movement (led by Mohammad Nabi Mohammadi)
- . Islamic Union for the Liberation of Afghanistan (led by Abdul Rab Rasool Sayal)¹.

Hizb-e-Islami's both factions became the two most powerful amongst the seven and Hekmatyar became the favorite of both JI and military junta. Sayal was another key player but he was able to make a direct line of contact with Saudi intelligence agency GID and developed a strong bond with the Saudi donors (mostly because of his Wahabi/Salafi orientation). Except Rabbani's party the three other were smaller in number and influence therefore remained active only to some areas during the war. Strong and powerful in terms of tactics and aggressive war against the Soviets was Rabbani's Jamiat-e-Islami. The party although sounded similar to JI of Pakistan but had not much in common as the Rabbani's party was moderate and primarily based in northern Afghanistan. It was primarily an ethnic Tajik party where as except Mojdeddi (Afghani of Arab descent) and Gillani (also Arab by lineage but Pashtun speaking) the rest of the leaders were of ethnic Pashtun origins.

- Another Islamist party Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI), a Deobandi sect party formed as successor to Jamiat-e-Ulema-e Hind (JUH) in Pakistan. Because of JI being the favorite of ISI and Saudi intelligence GID the JUI did not get its due share during the war against the Soviets in Afghanistan but after the withdrawal of Soviet forces and the failure of ISI-GID backed parties in clinching Kabul the JUI came into limelight². One of the reasons was chain of Deobandi sect madressahs near the Pakistan-Afghanistan border run by the JUI. Thousands of madressahs students and sons of Afghan veteran 'holy warriors' were recruited and a new militia came into being: the Taliban.

- Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) was a Barelvi sect Islamist party, considered to be tolerant of other sects. The party supported Pir Gillani and Mojdeddi to a minimal extent during the war but failed to come into the good books of Pakistani and Saudi intelligence agencies mainly because of its following of different sect of Islam other than the Wahabi or semi-Wahabi Deobandi sects of Islam.

Post-Afghan War Scenario

The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan heralded a new phase of civil war and intriguing politics amongst Afghanistan's Mujahedin groups, Soviet (later Russian) backed government in Kabul and role of Islamist parties. The former

¹ Mathieu Guidere, *Historical Dictionary of Islamic Fundamentalism*, Scarecrow Publications, United Kingdom, 2012, p. 272.

² After the withdrawal of Soviet forces in Afghanistan in February 1989, the mujahedeen groups, though not integrated, but even then tried hard to topple the Soviet-backed Afghan regime of President Najibullah. Their first coordinated ground offensive took place at Jalalabad in 1989. The combined mujahedeen forces were beaten back by the Afghan National Army in the Battle of Jalalabad. The defeat confirmed that the mujahedeen groups (trained in asymmetric warfare) are no match to a professional and conventional army. In 1992 after the disintegration of Soviet Union, the new president of Russian Federation Boris Yeltsin refused to support the Afghan regime and stopped all supplies to the Afghan government which led to the collapse of the Afghan National Army and many of its units either defected to mujahedeen groups or dissented.

mujahedeen groups failed to capture Kabul and factional fighting resulted in a civil war. The key loser was JI of Pakistan that from the beginning supported ideologically closer Hizb-e-Islami (party of Islam) of Hekmatyar. The HI (H) was the main contender for clinching power in Afghanistan. Hekmatyar disappointed his backers and failed to capture Kabul. Instead, Ahmad Shah Masoud, a military commander considered rogue by JI (because of his moderately Islamist views) had managed to oust Kabul's communist government (soon after Boris Yelstin abandoned it). His forces claimed Kabul before Hekmatyar even planned to enter the city. Hekmatyar, boosted by his mentors, tried time and again but failed in each and every effort¹.

With the defeat of Hekmatyar the role of JI was also over in the future politics and the international role it was once dreaming to play, in South Asian politics and in Central Asia at a later stage. The new comers were two factions of Pakistan's JUI. Maulana Sami ul Haq and Fazal ur Rehman, both largely ignored during the Afghan War by the backers of mujahedeen groups. It was only after the Hekmatyar's failure that the Pakistani intelligence agencies and Interior Minister of Pakistan Naseer ullah Babar (during Benazir Bhutto's government) had started to build ties with the newly emerged Taliban militia. The Taliban were Afghan students of Pakistani madressahs and second generation Afghan mujahedin (born in refugee camps in Pakistan and had seen their family members fighting against the Soviets). Both factions of JUI supported the Taliban militia with manpower and money. This support worked well and young and fresh fighting force defeated all the previous mujahedin groups and paved their way to Kabul.

The Taliban victory also affected Pakistan. The support rendered to them by Pakistan's Islamist parties was phenomenal. It was because of their support that the state's writ became weaker than ever as these parties had started to collect donations for Taliban across Pakistan and in a later stage spread the same brand of Islam in rural and urban areas. The Taliban supporting groups remained untouchables in Pakistan as they had the tacit support of Pakistani government and intelligence agencies, and they had been given free hand. During the same period of time (1990s) many of the terrorist organizations (creating havoc today) were formed and styled themselves on the Taliban pattern. Lashkar-e-Taiba (LeT), Jesh-e-Mohammad (JM), Lashkar-e-Jhangvi (LJ), and others were formed in 1990s. All of these were later proscribed by the Pakistani government and declared terrorist after 9/11². Sipah-e-Sahaba (Sunni extremist sectarian organization) which was formed in 1985, and had become a cause of hundreds of sectarian violent incidents, further grew and had to be banned in 2002³.

It was during the 1990s that the first wave of terrorist attacks was launched by Islamist militants against the American, European and Pakistani interests using Pakistan and Afghanistan as their base of operations. The year 1993 marked the first terrorist attack on American soil. Ramzi Yousaf, the conspirator was a student of Afghan warlord Abu Sayaf and trained at mujahedin camp at Afghanistan.

Some of the groups started militant activities in Indian-held Kashmir region, a

¹ In one peace accord for power sharing in Afghanistan the Peshawar Agreement was signed in 1992. The accord divided the post-Najibullah power structure among Mujahedeen leaders, Hekmatyar became the prime minister-designate, whereas Ahmed Shah Masoud was given defense ministry. The accord never worked and Hekmatyar's forces bombarded the Afghan capital Kabul turning it into rubble with thousands died as a result and hundreds of thousands took sheltered in refugee camps.

² Mainly because of General Pervez Musharraf's U-turn as a policy measure to ally Pakistan against the Taliban regime as a result of US and international pressure in 2001.

³ "List of Banned Organizations in Pakistan", The Express Tribune, October 24, 2012, available at: <http://tribune.com.pk/story/456294/list-of-banned-organisations-in-pakistan/>

disputed territory between the two countries. Al-Qaida leadership was also given shelter in Afghanistan and later Taliban hosted Bin Laden.

The reliance on non-state actors saw the biggest surge during this period. Benazir Bhutto like her father followed the same policy of supporting Afghan non-state actors; she pampered the newly emerged militia Taliban and considered it a key player for exerting influence in Afghanistan. At the same time Islamist Kashmiri groups such as Harkat-ul Jihad Islami (HUJI), Hizb-ul Mujahedin (HUM), and Harkat-ul Mujahedin started activities in Indian Kashmir. Previously the Indian government had accused Pakistan of intruding in Indian-held Kashmir in 1960s by supporting Kashmiri nationalist groups like Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF) but now the Indian government had alleged Pakistan for replacing those groups by the religious extremist. Pakistan also accused India of supporting separatist groups in its Sind and Baluchistan provinces.

The collusion amongst the Afghan, Kashmiri and sectarian Pakistani groups such as Hizb-e-Islami, Taliban, LET, JM, SSP and others had soon started to begin at the training camps in Afghanistan under the Taliban regime. A spider web of these Islamist violent non-state actors had started to spread all over the state of Pakistan. Pakistan's policy U-turn after the 9/11 attacks was nothing but Hobson's choice. The collusion of radical Islamist groups and their ideologues came to light after the state's decision to ally with the US and abiding by with the UN Security Council Resolutions. Since then more than 50,000¹ Pakistanis both military and civilians have lost their lives by the hands of Islamist terrorists allied to Al-Qaeda.

¹ Shaun Waternan, "Heavy Price: Pakistan says war on terror has cost nearly 50,000 lives there since 9/11", The Washington Post, March 27, 2013.

4. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The impact of Wahabi sect of Islam and its growth in Arabia during 19th century had indeed influenced Muslims of South Asia. The Wahabi movement was somehow inspired from the Christian reformation movement but radical and ruthless in implementing its agenda. There had been radical clerics in India even before the emergence of Wahabi sect in Arabia. People like Sirhindi were adherents of Sufi-Islam, a very tolerant and mystic form not only practiced in South Asia but in almost every Muslim-majority country. Differences had started to emerge amongst different Sufi Orders. Moreover Sirhindi believed in inclusion of Arab norms and culture in the Mughal court (he was of Arab descent). There had also been Shia clerics from Persia in the court of Akbar the Great who were also exerting their influence. Thus because of their conflicting ideologies a new school of thought came into being. Later clerics like Shah Waliullah sought inspiration from Wahabi movement and that also altered the course. Finally it was from Arabian-Wahabis inspirations that resulted in the emergence of Deobandi sect and later it further divided and produced more sects, intolerant and repressive by virtue of ideologies. But it should not be forgotten that the influence has had remained minimal, otherwise there would have been a chaotic situation.

A brief survey of South Asian history shows a clear trend of consistent growth of radical Islamists. Most of the radical/militant leadership had started to surface after during the repressive and intolerant regime of Mughal Emperor Aurengzeb. Even earlier than him during the reign of Mughal Emperor Akbar the Great, radical political thoughts started to spread mostly because of teachings of Ahmad Sirhindi and his followers. Amongst his most important followers was Shah Waliullah who reinvigorated his political ideology (one century later during the era of crumbling Mughal Empire). These intolerant and extremist thoughts sought further inspiration from Wahabism surfacing from Arabian Peninsula during 18th century. Shah Wali Ullah's jihadist thoughts were translated by Syed Ahmad, a self proclaimed militant from central India, he raised an army of volunteers and waged 'jihad' against the Sikh Kingdom in North West India (1826-1831). The crushing defeat inflicted upon him by Sikhs and locals together ended his so called maneuver of galvanizing Muslim support around him. He failed miserably as the locals and a great majority of Muslims of India rejected his call of 'holy war' against the infidels. The fiefdom he created in North West India was short-lived. His rule was considered ruthless by Muslims (similar to that of recent past Afghanistan under the Taliban). The idea of a practical jihad was nonetheless founded by him, although based upon his whimsical and personal interpretation of Islamic holy war and later rule. His ideas were later borrowed by many like-minded persons throughout 19th century. Many tried to wage war against the British and put back the Indian subcontinent under Muslim rule, forgetting that the Muslim rule in India was in fact secular from the beginning and that was the very reason that the dynasty after dynasty of Muslim rulers had managed to rule over India, where Muslims at that time

constituted a tiny minority. The vast population and area of Indian subcontinent provided Muslim kings a role of balancing power amongst Hindu rulers of hundreds of small states. The central authority used to be the king in Delhi but he always relied heavily on his allies, most of them were not Muslims but his rule suited them. India never came under any one single ruler as many were autonomous or semi-autonomous. The Islamist ruler Aurengzeb (1658-1707) disturbed the whole political picture set by kings before him, ruling over India for hundreds of years.

After Aurengzeb's rule things began to change quite rapidly. With a growing nationalism amongst majority Hindus and other non-Muslims communities and their lack of trust for further Muslim rule mainly because of Aurengzeb's repressive and anti-Hindu policies, the political system kept on crippling. Syed Ahmad and some of his disciples were the first to revolt against the Sikhs and British. Syed Ahmad's movement as discussed before was short-lived but some of his successor continued to disturb British and their areas of influence.

The final joint effort by both Hindus and Muslims to quash the growing British influence in India resulted in War of 1857. (Indian historians call it War of Independence whereas British termed it Mutiny). With the fall of Mughal Empire in 1857 and India coming under the direct Crown Rule, many of the revolting militant groups were curbed. The 1857 War was a half-hearted endeavor as it failed to gather mass support. The British troops (composed of mainly locally recruited Hindus and Muslims) defeated the rebelling forces of last Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II.

The convincing defeat of all the revolting radical Islamist forces by the hands of British made their morale so low that British were considered invincible. Many adherents of Shah Waliullah ideologue resorted to preaching and teaching at madressahs. Many new madressahs were opened up and new radical school of thoughts came to existence.

The establishment of Deoband seminary in central India by former jihadists, and subsequent Deoband movement in India heralded a new era of preaching and disseminating radical Islamist doctrines amongst Muslim youth. Although the movement was well picked up by the urban Muslims but rejected by the majority rural area Muslims (traditionally employees of British Indian armed forces and followers of traditional Sufi Islam). The Deobandis called themselves reformists and put up their Islamist agendas before the educated Muslim youth. This effort also failed as most of the Muslims had either joined hands with secular Indian National Congress or All India Muslim League (both modernist political parties). Same happened during the independence movement where neither JUH nor Jamaat-e-Islami managed to gather any mass support. Their claims of providing religious leadership to Muslim causes in order to resolve their long standing grievances were once again turned down by Muslims of India. In elections, held before independence the religious parties stood nowhere.

The radical forces have always been supported of tiny minority of Muslims in South Asian sub-continent. They have always had some kind of presence in the society since the times of Akbar the Great but their support and influence remained restricted to a very narrow sphere. It was only with the American money and support that the jihadi spirit was reinvigorated against the Soviets. The Soviets were defeated and forced to withdraw from Afghanistan but drawbacks of spreading the militant ideology came to light afterwards. The Islamist militants felt their very first victory a gift of God or that they had been rewarded. Moreover they considered it solely because of their own efforts and without any external help. Sooner or later such illusionary feelings allowed

them to turn their guns against their own countries of origin.

The Islamist parties had been lagging behind in gathering mass support mainly due to their irrational and idealistic attitudes about the future set up of India. Not only the impractical ideas like reviving Muslim rule over India but also they had nothing to offer except creating utopian society in post-British set up.

The roots of radical Islamist ideologies had been there for ages in Indian subcontinent. In the pre-partition India the Islamist parties and movements tried hard to muster support but of no avail. On the other hand right-wing All India Muslim League under the leadership of Jinnah did manage to perform well in the polls held under the British. Because of the clash of interest between Jinnah's party and JUH over taking the role of representing the Muslim community, the JUH decided to side with the Indian National Congress. JI also did not side with Jinnah and opposed the creation of Pakistan, further antagonizing Muslims and depleting its support base. In fact this shows the lack of support for Pakistan movement by clerics belonging to Deobandi sect of Islam.

The interesting historical fact is that Deobandi clerics not only landed in Pakistan despite opposing its creation but also tried to get into the upper echelons of state bureaucracy and system.

In post-independence political scene religious parties especially JI reoriented itself and tried to capitalize on the failures of Muslim League leadership. Jinnah, in his inaugural address, as a policy statement, declared Pakistan a secular state which killed all speculations about Pakistan becoming a religious theocracy or caliphate¹. That was a severe blow to the wishes of Islamists especially the JI and its leadership. Unfortunately Jinnah, the founder died very soon (just one year later after the birth of republic).

Then the dreams of JI leader Maududi were once again dashed first by the civilian bureaucracy and later military junta that came into power and ruled for a number of years.²

¹ Jinnah in his first address to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan (August 11, 1947) said: *"I cannot emphasize it too much. We should begin to work in that spirit, and in course of time all these angularities of the majority and minority communities, the Hindu community and the Muslim community -- because even as regards Muslims you have Pathans, Punjabis, Shias, Sunnis and so on, and among the Hindus you have Brahmans, Vashnavas, Khattris, also Bengalees, Madrasis and so on -- will vanish. Indeed if you ask me, this has been the biggest hindrance in the way of India to attain the freedom and independence, and but for this we would have been free people long long ago. No power can hold another nation, and specially a nation of 400 million souls, in subjection; nobody could have conquered you, and even if it had happened, nobody could have continued its hold on you for any length of time, but for this. Therefore, we must learn a lesson from this. 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. As you know, history shows that in England conditions, some time ago, were much worse than those prevailing in India today. The Roman Catholics and the Protestants persecuted each other. Even now there are some States in existence where there are discriminations made and bars imposed against a particular class. Thank God, we are not starting in those days. We are starting in the days where there is no discrimination, no distinction between one community and another, no discrimination between one caste or creed and another. We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of one State. The people of England in [the] course of time had to face the realities of the situation, and had to discharge the responsibilities and burdens placed upon them by the government of their country; and they went through that fire step by step. Today, you might say with justice that Roman Catholics and Protestants do not exist; what exists now is that every man is a citizen, an equal citizen of Great Britain, and they are all members of the Nation."*, for complete text see, G. Allana, Pakistan Movement Historical Documents (Karachi: Department of International Relations, University of Karachi, nd [1969]), pp. 407-411

² From 1951-58, after the assassination of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan was ruled over by the civil bureaucracy. The British-trained civilian bureaucrats' rule was ended by a military coup of

The only foothold the JI was able to get was with the support of some of Maududi sympathizers in the constituent assembly of Pakistan who somehow added some religious clauses¹ in the early phases of constitution making (Objective Resolution, 1948, which contained some religious clauses, clearly showing the growing Islamist influence which was otherwise could not been done while Jinnah was alive).

During the first 24 years of Pakistan the religious Islamist parties could not hold ground neither in front of secular political parties nor the civil and military bureaucracies. It was only during the Martial Law regime of General Yahya Khan (1969-71) that JI was taken on board by the military junta to neutralize popular political parties with massive support base (Pakistan Peoples Party and Awami League) and hence, for the first time, it shook hands with the establishment. In later years JI, TJ and JUH were given prominent roles during the military dictatorship of General Zia ul Haq (1977-88). Thereby we see the consolidation phase of Islamist radical ideologies in South Asia, especially in Pakistan, the origins of these movements could be traced back from nineteenth century though. The role of Islamist movements during pre-partition India was negligible, confirming that the masses never approved of radical Islamist notions neither at electoral level nor the clerics as opinion leaders.

In the post-independence political scene, religious parties especially JI, then began with anew in Pakistan and had tried to capitalize on failures of Muslim League leadership. The hopes of JI leader Maududi were quashed first by civilian bureaucracy and later by military that came into power and ruled for a first two decades after independence. Firstly the founder of Pakistan Mohammad Ali Jinnah in his inaugural address declared Pakistan a secular state and that rejected all of speculations about Pakistan becoming a religious theocracy or caliphate². That was a severe blow to the

General Mohammad Ayub Khan in 1958, the military bureaucracy then ruled over Pakistan for next 11 years (1958-69).

¹ The Objective Resolution passed after the death of Jinnah contained some clauses showing Islamist influences after Jinnah. The resolution which later became article 2-A of the Constitution says: *"Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to Allah Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan, through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is a sacred trust; this Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan; Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people; Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed; Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah; Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to * [absent in 1985-2010, re-added in 2010] freely* profess and practice their religions and develop their cultures; Wherein the territories now included in or in accession with Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed; Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality; Wherein adequate provisions shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes; Wherein the independence of the Judiciary shall be fully secured; Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded; so that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honored place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity."*

² Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan and first Governor General said as a policy statement: "In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state to be ruled by priests with a divine mission. We have many non-Muslims-Hindus, Christians and Parsis -- but they are all Pakistanis. They will enjoy the same

wishes of Islamists especially the JI and its leadership. Unfortunately the founder died very soon (September 11, 1948, just after 13 months of the birth of republic).

The only advantage the JI was able to get was with the support of some of Maududi sympathizers in the constituent assembly of Pakistan who somehow added some religious clauses in the early phases of the constitution in the making (Objective Resolution, 1949).

During the first 24 years of Pakistan the religious Islamist parties could not hold ground either before secular political parties which were enjoying massive support or civil and military bureaucracy, ruling time to time. It was only after the first general elections of 1970 that the struggle for power amongst political parties of East and West Pakistan heightened and military junta capitalizing the situation sought JI support.

JI's auxiliaries Al Shams and Al Badar worked as irregular forces and massacred thousands of Bengali civilians. The defeat of Pakistan army in 1971 War and emergence of Bangladesh temporarily ended the alliance between military and Islamist forces. The alliance once again revived with the appointment of General Zia ul Haq as Chief of Army Staff by Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1977. Zia, a long time JI sympathizer very soon sacked the government of Bhutto and proclaimed martial law. With Soviet invasion of Afghanistan the situation favored even further to the Islamist forces, now waging 'jihad' against the Soviet Red Army troops in covert alliance with CIA, GID and ISI.

In the first phase only Afghan refugees from camps based in Pakistan were recruited and trained. In the second stage many of the workers of JI and students of madressahs belonging to Deobandi sect were also taken into the fold and trained. It was after the arrival of Abdullah Azzam (political and religious mentor of Bin Laden) in Peshawar in early 1980s that Arab organizations like Muslim Brotherhood and others had sent their rank and file for 'jihad' in Afghanistan. Saudi government seized this opportunity to dispose of its suspected radical youth (Grand Mosque Siege of 1979, where Wahabi radicals and former students of Saudi Grand Mufti Bin Baz took control and demanded Saudi monarch to abdicate).

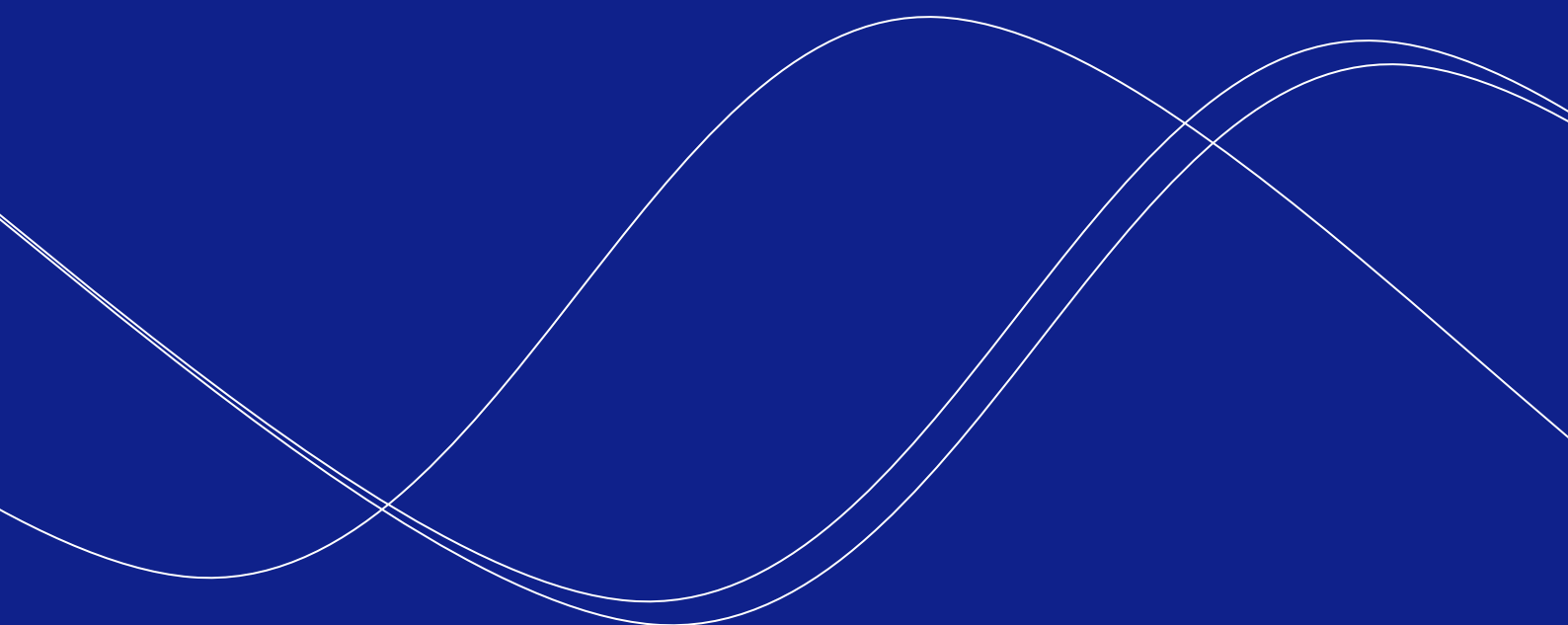
Thus it was during this period that all the Islamist forces, mainly from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Libya, Iraq, Jordan and many other countries took shelter in Pakistan. They took full advantage of the situation, received huge sums from Saudis and other like-minded Middle Eastern and Arab donors. That was besides the training many of the Islamists received at the camps being operated as part of Operation Cyclone.

Right after the end of Afghan War in 1989 a Civil War erupted in Afghanistan amongst all the Mujahedin factions. More people died in the civil war than ten years of warfare with the Russians. The Afghan Civil War did not last for long as a new Pakistan-backed militia took control of Kabul in 1996. The Taliban became the new masters of Afghanistan. Initially the Taliban agenda was more or less similar in nature as that of Saudi Arabia. But unlike Saudis they imparted a highly radicalized and distorted version of Islam, unacceptable to everyone, even their backers: the Pakistanis and Saudis. Al-Qaeda's leader Bin Laden had landed in Afghanistan there even before the Taliban takeover of Kabul. The Taliban granted him official guest status as soon as they came into power and Bin Laden acknowledged Mullah Omar as supreme leader of Afghanistan and the Muslim world by oath of allegiance. He further influenced Taliban leadership and used Afghanistan as a base for its operations against the US forces and citizens.

The radical forces have always possessed the support of a tiny minority of

Muslims in South Asian sub-continent. They have always had some level of presence in the society since the times of Akbar the Great but their support and influence remained restricted to a very narrow sphere. It was only with the American money and support that the jihadi spirit was reinvigorated against the Soviets. The Soviets were defeated, and withdrew from Afghanistan but drawbacks of spreading the militant ideology came into light years later. The Islamist militants felt their very first victory a gift of God or that they had been rewarded by participating in holy war. Moreover they considered it solely because of their own efforts and without any external help. Such illusionary feeling allowed them to turn against their own respective countries of origin sooner or later.

Dr Farhan Zahid
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Centre Français de Recherche sur le Renseignement

17 Square Edouard VII, 75009 Paris - France

Tél. : 33 1 53 43 92 44 Fax : 33 1 53 43 92 92 www.cf2r.org

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