

Democracy of Pakistan and Dilemma of Liberalism under Constant Struggle with Religious Nationalism and Politicized Institutions

Dr. Fauzia Ghani

Assistant Professor,

Political Science Department

GC University, Lahore

Correspondence: fauziaghani@gcu.edu.pk

ABSTRACT

Democracy in 21st century is challenged with valiant contemporary issues of globalization, terrorism, media and information revolution. Due to these issues, today's democracy has been amalgamated with threats of authoritarianism, military coup d'état, extremism, terrorism, liberalism, and right activist movements which have constantly tried to weakened down the framework of democratic policies in any country. This research article has focused on the objective of constant struggle of Pakistan with a focus on current governmental regime and its liberal policies in order to steer the wheel of country towards true democracy. The methodology of paper is descriptive and qualitative in nature in which dependent variable of Pakistan's democracy has been analyzed with the independent variables of religious and politicized institutions which are acting as hurdle in attaining sustained democratic system in the country, whereas dilemma of liberalism is acting as an intervening variable in between these. The relationship between the right wing movements, including the religion based nationalism dilemma will be analyzed in order to know its influence whether it can work as a supplement for a better democratic future of Pakistan or will create more hurdles in it.

Keywords: *Liberalism, Democracy, Religious Extremism, Authoritarianism, Nationalism*

Background

According to Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, people living in Pakistan are all equal in the regardless of their caste, class, religion or faith. He said: "You may belong to any religion, or caste or belief, because that has nothing to do with the business of the State." The tragedy is, after the inception of Pakistan, from many decades, people of the country have been indulged into delusion with the back and forth shifted ideologies of liberalism and Islamisation. Over the decades, conservative religious or right wing supported institutions have painted liberalism as abomination for state and society by promulgating it equivalent to secularism, which in turn has been intentionally misinterpreted to signify "atheist or impious or irreligious conduct".

Since 1947, Islam has been considered as one thread to create a national identity in a state of Pakistan, divided along provincial, ethnic, religious, cultural, and on linguistic basis. Both the military and civilian leaders have used religion of Islam for gaining legitimacy as their ruling strategy and as a tool of state's policy. Religion of Islam had a radical turn in Pakistan since 1980's for Pakistan's involvement in

arming the “mujahideen” to fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan as Pakistan’s army ensured constant support for Islamist militants. Hence, with such involvement of religious thread in politics became a dilemma and created an issue of conundrum to understand the Islamic ideology of Pakistan in true essence.

In actual, liberalism is a 19th century theory of progressive political economy process that ensures to protect the universal human rights such as freedom of speech, property rights, right to exercise religion, expression through art or media, freedom of the individual to represent in a democratic government. Its economic doctrines are based on concepts of relatively free markets and process of income redistribution through a progressive and advanced system of taxes and welfare payments through civil society for poverty alleviation. The opportunistic “civil-military-mullah alliance” in Pakistan has made the religion of Islam as the bedrock of the ideological state of Pakistan. This misplaced compactness has cost the people living in country dearly and profoundly in our quest for nationhood, attaining spirit of liberalism and for the smooth functioning of system of democracy.

The dilemma of Liberalism distorted in Pakistan mainly because inconsistent and inappropriate policies adopted by the leaders of the country and because of those who deviated from the moto given by Muhammad Ali Jinnah regarding ideology of Pakistan. These leaders amalgamated the affairs of state with the religion of Islam which ultimately confused the people living in country. More importantly, during military coupe in Pakistan, many successful and unsuccessful attempts led towards the distortion of Islamic ideology and concept of liberalism; whether it is Rawalpindi conspiracy case of 1951 for coup d’état against government of Liaqat Ali Khan led by General Akbar Khan, or failed attempts of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto’s regime for mixing both democracy and socialism and eventually rising as a supporter for Communism, or 1980 assassination plot for Zia-ul-Haq or 1995 coup d’état plan against Benazir Bhutto by Major General Tajammul Hussain Malik backed by Islamic extremists, or General Musharraf’s vision for “moderation” leading to ride of religious extremist howls against liberalism.

All these controversial events show clearly that how the self-appointed “guardians of the ideology of Pakistan” have damaged the governmental system of country due their experimental and transitional policies. Moreover, with the rising flare of Islamic radicalization in world due to terrorist incidents, people tend to fail to understand the meaning of liberalism, this paper mainly focus on the distorted image being created by the very own leaders of Pakistan that liberalism is not associated with being westernized. This paper also focuses on the fact of constant failed democratic regimes due to their lack of vision and inability to implement the meaning of Islamic ideology in Pakistan, which only led to paralyzing the social fabric for understanding the difference between liberalism and religion, and how to keep the affairs of politics in balance with the ideological system. The paper has developed a relationship between dependent variable of democracy of Pakistan with independent variables of religious and politicized institutions, and liberalism is acting as an intervening variable that has constantly buffered the relationship of dependent and independent variables when it comes to achieving effective ideological policies in Pakistan. In the end recommendations have been made after analyzing the current democratic regime of Imran Khan in Pakistan as well which is facing an immense challenge posing from right wing political party of JUI-F (Jamiat e ullema e Islam_Fazl), declaring the government system as incapable and

Democracy of Pakistan and Dilemma of Liberalism under Constant Struggle with Religious Nationalism and Politicized Institutions

failed along with the blame that Muslims of Pakistan are in a state of anguish when it comes to religion. It is very important to analyze the policies in order to save the democracy, whether through soft power of dialogue, or through the usage of power against innocents who would be participating in such movement in which more number will of students of Madrassahs. Historically, it has been evident, that the usage of force by the democratic government against such movements has always led to creating a vacuum for the military power to intervene declaring a martial law in the end. This paper will be focusing on analyzing the possibilities that creates this vacuum by the clergymen like Molana Fazl ur Rehman and other right wing political parties. This paper has concluded the solution is not to bring in the military regimes if the democratic government fails to cope up with such aggravating movements by opposing parties, but to keep doing fine modification of democratic rules strong enough to handle the situation through peaceful deal, and by balancing a civil-military relation in order to protect the population to become victim of fundamentalism through extremist right wing factions as it has already happened in 71 years of history of Pakistan.

The significance of this study is to analyze the factors which are contributing in escalating the constant instability when it comes to implementing ideological system effectively in Pakistan. There is a need to analyze the governmental structure and the unstoppable forces of military coup d'état, decades of dictatorship which have been stronger as compared to democratic governments in the country. Moreover, there is a need to elaborate that liberalism does not mean westernization, and how Islamic ideology in Pakistan can be well incorporated with the essence of liberalism in true democratic political system. There have been many leaders in past who have distorted the vision of Muhammad Ali Jinnah that the state affairs should be dealt separately from personal religious or ideological beliefs. However, being an Islamic state of Pakistan, the thread of religion should not be mixed with the politics in such manner that the wave of conservatism destroys the very liberty of the population living in country including minorities.

Literature Review

Shafqat (1998) has described in his article that democracy is known to be a system of governance in which interests of the majority of the population is represented and the system guarantees the rights of the minorities. It builds faith to give legitimacy to political parties through electoral competition process in order to transfer power from one individual to another. Unfortunately, when it comes to Pakistan, no significant amount of attention has been given to the mentioned definition of democracy in true essence. Given the history of country, weak Democratic Party system with prolonged military regimes, have distorted the vision of population in adopting an effective ideology to follow. In Pakistan, civilian wing, military and state wing, and Islamic political parties wants to have influence and power in country. Due to this institutional imbalance, it has become difficult for state to implement strategy effectively.

According to Chaudhry S. A (2015), after independence, Pakistan could not able to perform well as a democratic state, as it could not able to ensure law and order, economic reforms and corrupt free political institutions. The first compromise between the liberals and Islamic religious parties came into sight with the adoption

and formation of Objective Resolution of 1949, in which a set of guided principles for the country was made under constitution. Among these guided principles, the first was the acceptance of sovereignty in Allah, and the second is Muslims' way of living should be in accordance with the teaching of Quran and Sunnah. Many people presume that before this constitution, the direction of Pakistan was going towards the ideology of secularism, although this was not the case, as Jinnah was not secular but he was a follower of liberal policies in which he clearly stated that the affairs of the state should be separate from religion, caste, creed or culture and all the people of Pakistan are equal.

As Bajoria (2011) stated, the first martial law happened in 1958, and with the stepping in of army, it became clear that the democratic system is going into failure. Before this martial law, many attempts happened to topple down the government of Prime Minister Liaqat Ali Khan in 1951 by Major General Akbar Khan. This Rawalpindi Conspiracy, is known to be the first attempt against any elected government of Pakistan in history. This planning was being done by not only Major General Akbar Khan alone, but he had the support of elites who supported Communism along with other religious conservative civilians. This conspiracy is known to have gigantic effects in political history of Pakistan, as it included bureaucracy supporters of Communism and elites who tried to capture the machinery of state because government political leaders were not working effectively for state. Apart from it, the same incident happened against Zia ul Haq in 1980 by Major General Tajammul Hussain Malik plotted a coup against Zia ul Haq, and by Major General Zahir ul Islam Abbasi in 1995, when a coup d'état was attempted against Benazir Bhutto. This coup was planned by the religious extremist forces such as radical Islamist leader Mustafa Khar who is known to be backed and supported by India as mentioned in the book by Tehmina Durrani in her award winning book named as "My Feudal Lord". Hence, General Ayub Khan coup in 1958, General Zia ul Haq's overthrow of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in 1978, and General Musharraf's ouster of Nawaz Sharif in 1999; these all incidents laid are the proof of both the failed democracy and failed military regimes when it comes to economic, social and religious policies in the country. Hence, when these eras are considered into analysis, it becomes clear that the fabric of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, law and order reforms by government has been distorted enormously and damaged the democratic institutions of Pakistan.

It has been explained by Cheema (2018), that the Pakistan's democratic history has been gone through many turbulent phases. Especially during the long bipolarization of the Cold War, it led to the increased military resources in Pakistan with the support of United States of America. Hence, the civil institutions and democracy was far left behind to operate successfully in the country anymore. Moreover, the dilemma of Pakistani society to know the true essence of democracy was very much distorted and transited during Zia ul Haq's regime of Islamisation. Since Pakistan was facing the challenges and shift towards an ideology of Socialism under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime which is a grim reminder of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA is a movement led by religious, students, middle class, opposition leaders, and right conservative religious parties against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto against his leftist philosophy, incompetency in nationalized industries, 1973 oil embargo crisis, devaluation of a rupee, and last but not the least, they declared that Bhutto is making Pakistan a "a land of sin" by his liberal policies against deen if Islam), it became

Democracy of Pakistan and Dilemma of Liberalism under Constant Struggle with Religious Nationalism and Politicized Institutions

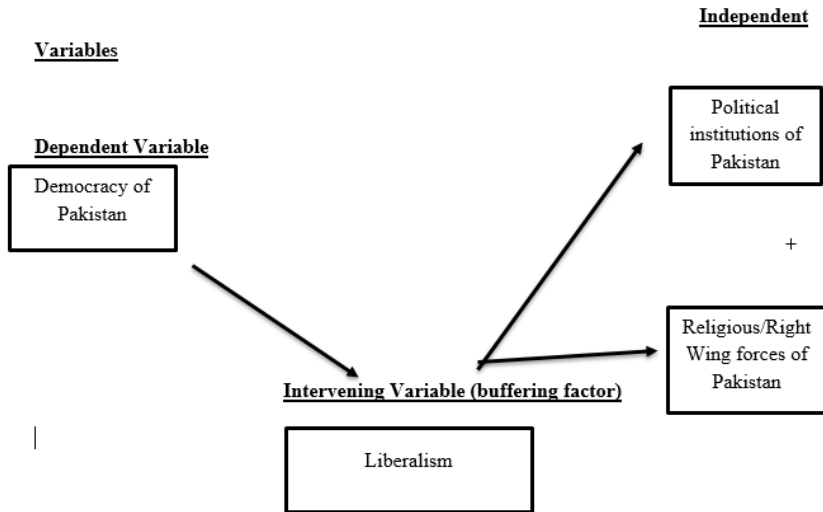
easier for Zia ul Haq to impose a third Martial law in country, as PNA movement aided for such circumstances. Also, Zia ul Haq adopted the agendas provided by PNA for the next 11 years.

Nasr (2005) has analyzed, that the challenges which Pakistan is facing is not because of the incapability of smooth running of institutions under democracy, but the challenge itself lies within the leaders and what kind of ideology they intent to imply in the country. The problem has always been that there were neither strong political parties nor military leaders. The failure of General Musharraf's moderation policies after Zia ul haq's islamisation, distort the concept of liberalism and religion gravely. The incidents like assassination of Salman Taseer in 2011 by religious activist Mumtaq Qadri created a fine rift between religious and political parties depicted the rigorous modernized policies laid down by Musharraf era. Even the policies laid down by Zia ul haq were not truly under Shariah Law such as Hudood Ordinance; a policy which has been opposed for almost three decades by liberal forces and women activists in Pakistan. Not only this, even banking sector operates under secular policy in which contrary to prohibition of taking interest amount according to Shariah, they still charge to people. One cannot deny that Pakistan is a legatee of British colonial rule and hence the essence of Westernization is necessary when it comes to operating institutions in parallel to the world in order to keep intact with the alliances with Western power. However, there is a need to differentiate between liberalism and westernization.

Afzal (2019) has elucidated, that in the current regime of Imran Khan in Pakistan, even today, it is still difficult to understand the patterns of the influence which religious political parties tries to create among citizens. Such religious parties often join hands with "moral right" in amalgam to "money right" as well to enforce the status quo orientation and to disturb the system of democracy in the country. The political parties like Muttahida Majlis e Amal (2002-2007 in NWFP) provides the best case for analyzing the influence under the veil of religion and creating an ambiguity in the institutions of government in order to attain more powerful influence in the country. Hence, today the JUI –F president Molana Fazlur Rehman has declared a solo fight against the democratic government of Imran Khan declaring it as "incapable and incompetent". According to his announcement, his movement will start from 27th October, 2019. Under such clerical agendas, it becomes difficult for the government to run the policies smoothly as it brings challenges and creates a vacuum for the third actors like terrorist or belligerent countries to fill it up.

Theoretical Framework

Pictorial representation of Theoretical framework



Outcome:

If the buffering variable is implied effectively according to the needs of not only people of Pakistan, but also according to the stated demands of opposition forces especially religious right wing political parties, then democracy can be achieved successfully in the country. Moreover, it is essential to create awareness about the difference between liberalism, modernization, and secularism in Pakistan and to elucidate the policies of current regime of Imran Khan to the citizens in order to steer the democratic system in right direction i.e., state of Madina and liberalism → or Neo Liberalism with inclusion of Ideology of Islamic principles.

Background of the dilemma posing challenges to democracy and liberalism in Pakistan:

Liberalism in Pakistan: An effort which never seemed to be a success in true essence: Comparing political institutions under strong military rulers

Liberalism has always been a dilemma in Pakistan which never seemed to be a success when it comes to implementing Islamic ideology under democratic regimes. Till 2008, the people of Pakistan has always been under the cycle of conundrum and confusion between the democratic and military rule. Civilian regimes had always taken a start with a period of elevated expectations but always ended up in unsuccessful governance, whereas, military rulers have portrayed themselves as the savior for country but eventually they were also not immune to the political and right

Democracy of Pakistan and Dilemma of Liberalism under Constant Struggle with Religious Nationalism and Politicized Institutions

wing party pressures and hence failed to provide the expected outcomes as well. However, even today, the citizens of Pakistan are still not sure which system is better to steer the ship of the country under appropriate ideology, mainly because they are unaware in establishing the difference between Islamic ideology, liberalism, secularism, and modernism. The people of Pakistan since its inception have been misguided by the leaders of the country themselves when it comes to ideology. The vision of Jinnah was distorted and was never implied by the leaders of Pakistan after his demise. The country has remained a whirlpool between democratic regimes and military regimes, as a result of which, today according to the Gallup poll conducted in Pakistan in February 2018, 54% of the total population stated that they are satisfied with the current democratic system, whereas, 45% of the total population still favored the rule of military dictatorship.

Liberalism is actually a theory under which people can have their freedom of speech, freedom of making choices, freedom to own business and property, and freedom of expression. However, in history of Pakistan, the theory of liberalism has been misinterpreted by the citizens because leaders did not follow the ideological principle given by Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The main reason is that the governments of Pakistan have been deeply linked with corruption, focused on their own self-interests, and poor deliverance of democratic policies in favor of citizens of their own country.

In Pakistan, the role of religious faction and right wing political parties have also played a major role in destroying the fabric of democracy. For example, before first martial law of 1958, the attempts of military coup d'état happened against the democratic government of Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan in 1951 by Major General Akbar Khan known as Rawalpindi Conspiracy of 1951. It is known to be the first attempt against any elected government of Pakistan in history. This plan was made with the help of religious leaders along with the elites in opposing political parties. This conspiracy is known to have gigantic effects in political history of Pakistan, as it included bureaucracy supporters of Communism and elites who tried to capture the machinery of state because government political leaders were not working effectively for state.

Similar incident was repeated against Zia ul Haq in 1980 by Major General Tajammul Hussain Malik who plotted a coup against Zia's illegal and un-Islamic military dictatorship. Also, in 1995, Major General Zahir ul Islam Abbasi led a coup d'état against Benazir Bhutto. This was planned by the religious activist radical Islamist leader Mustafa Khar who is known to be backed and supported by India as mentioned in the book by Tehmina Durrani in her award winning book named as "My Feudal Lord".

Moreover, the dilemma of Pakistani society to know the true essence of democracy was very much distorted and transited during Zia ul Haq's regime of Islamisation. Since Pakistan was facing the challenges and shift towards an ideology of Socialism under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's regime which is a grim reminder of the Pakistan National Alliance (PNA is a movement led by religious, students, middle class, opposition leaders, and right conservative religious parties against Zulfikar Ali Bhutto against his leftist philosophy, incompetency in nationalized industries, 1973 oil embargo crisis, devaluation of a rupee, and last but not the least, they declared

that Bhutto is making Pakistan a “a land of sin” by his liberal policies against deen if Islam), it became easier for Zia ul Haq to impose a third Martial law in country, as PNA movement aided for such circumstances. Also, Zia ul Haq adopted the agendas provided by PNA for the next 11 years. This operation is known as Operation Fair Play, and on 5th July, 1977, Army Staff General Muhammad Zia ul Haq overthrew the government of Prime Minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto. The coup is however known to be bloodless and was mainly started due to the unrest situation being created by the religious right wing extremist political parties under the movement of PNA against Bhutto. Bhutto was declared atheist and infidel who was in favor of Communism and the greatest enemy of Islam by the Islamic political parties such as JUI, Jamaat e Islami (JI).

Hence, General Ayub Khan coup in 1958, General Zia ul Haq’s overthrow of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto in 1978, and General Musharraf’s ouster of Nawaz Sharif in 1999; these all incidents laid are the proof of both the failed democracy and failed military regimes when it comes to economic, social and religious policies in the country. Hence, when these eras are considered into analysis, it becomes clear that the fabric of freedom of speech, freedom of religion, law and order reforms by government has been distorted enormously and damaged the democratic institutions of Pakistan.

The challenges which Pakistan is facing is not because of the incapability of smooth running of institutions under democracy, but the challenge itself lies within the leaders and what kind of ideology they intent to imply in the country. The problem has always been that there were neither strong political parties nor military leaders. The failure of General Musharraf’s moderation policies after Zia ul haq’s islamisation, distort the concept of liberalism and religion gravely. The incidents like assassination of Salman Taseer in 2011 by religious activist Mumtaz Qadri created a fine rift between religious and political parties depicted the rigorous modernized policies laid down by Musharraf era. Even the policies laid down by Zia ul haq were not truly under Shariah Law such as Hudood Ordinance; a policy which has been opposed for almost three decades by liberal forces in Pakistan. Under this policy, women who were actually victim of rape had to provide foul adult male eye witnesses, and failure of this proof of the rape declared guilty for accusing an innocent man. The ordinance made it exceptionally difficult for women to provide proof for the allegation of rape; hence by 1979 there were only 70 women in jail, but by 1988 there were 6000 women in jail. As a result of this, any activist women rose against this law made by Zia ul Haq, and started a movement against his because this policy reduced the women testimony power to half as compared to that of a man’s testimony who is being accused as a culprit. He set up the Federal Sharia court, declaring Islamiyat and Arabic as a compulsory subject to teach in schools, promoting religious madrassah system in country.

Not only this, even banking sector operates under secular policy in which contrary to prohibition of taking interest amount according to Shariah, they still charge to people. One cannot deny that Pakistan is a successor of British colonial rule and hence the essence of Liberalism is necessary when it comes to operating institutions in parallel to the world in order to keep intact with the alliances with Western power. However, there is a need to differentiate between liberalism and modernization which can be seen in western world. This realization to create the awareness between liberalism and modernization first dawned during General Musharraf’s regime in

Democracy of Pakistan and Dilemma of Liberalism under Constant Struggle with Religious Nationalism and Politicized Institutions

2000 when he promoted the notion of “enlightened moderation”. But his philosophy actually stirred the hornets’ nest of so called self-appointed “guardians” of the “Islamic ideology of Pakistan” which consists mullahs and religious right wing political party of JUI-F. The howls of protests started to rise against his moto of modernization. It is remarkable that the very civil-military institutions that are responsible for making political Islam the business of the state over the last six decades are now implicitly acknowledging the dangerous consequences of failed democracy as previous governments were unable to establish a link between liberal democracy and ideology of Islam.

Post 9/11 period: Jihadists became terrorists, and rise of radical Islamist political parties

During Zia ul Haq’s regime, the religion of Islam was being used as a tool of foreign policy in Soviet Afghan war by establishing numerous amount of Madrassahs, giving them military training, naming them “Mujahideen force” who were then used under the terminology of conducting a “Jihad” in order to give the operation a certain amount of attraction and passion to fight under the ideology of protecting the religion of Islam. Many critical analysts have stated in their research that they do not find any appropriate reason to use religion of “Islam” to combat in this war and hence, the religion-state nexus should have never been used in this manner because it led towards the motivation of “using religion as a tool to serve agenda of any faction”. During Zia ul Haq’s regime, a strong alliance was being made between Pakistan and U.S and Iran was unhappy as Pakistan was not in favor of Iran’s revolution against Shah Iran, and also because Zia was pro Sunni. This led to the increase in sectarianism within country. Moreover, after Soviet-Afghan war, the terminology of “Jihad” was started to be misused by the Mujahideens who were left behind without any proper rehabilitation facilities as they were promised after the war; this in turn led to the resentment against Pakistan and U.S especially with the incident of 9/11 that led to War on Terror. After 9/11 and during General Pervez Musharraf era, his policy of anti-terrorism and crackdown of Madrassas worsened the situation in Pakistan and led towards sectarian violence and many radical Islamic groups started to rise such as Jaish Muhammad or Lashkar e Taiba, Haqqani group Tehreek e Taliban etc. along with the rise of terrorist groups like Al Qaeda and later ISIS who actually distorted the vision of Islam in true manner.

The prevalence of Islamic discourse started to prevail in Pakistan when it had to face the security dilemma in combating terrorism and when it had to face the trust deficit from U.S for “do more”. As a result of war against terrorism, Pakistan had to face the resentment from Islamic parties and other groups as its alliance with U.S against war on terrorism led towards more radicalization under the religion of Islam on a worldwide level. Hence, the effects of militancy, led towards country’s instability, sectarian and ethnic violence as many terrorist incidents came up front in the name of religion which killed more than 2500 people in Pakistan. According to research, it was stated by the experts that without national cohesion in Pakistan, religion of Islam will be keep on using by the governments as a tool to sustain their power in country. As it is stated by Moeed Yusuf who is the South Asia advisor in Washington-based United States Institute of Peace; that “radicalization in Pakistan was actually a result of military army’s decades long term policies to export the

militancy from abroad and the army of Pakistan failed to foresee the fact that these same militant groups would make deep inroads of destruction in Pakistan itself.”

The rise of Al-Qaeda, followed by the Taliban and now ISIS, is actually a treacherous reminder of how national integration of a state can be undone by religious fanaticism and violent extremism. There is a need to shed a light upon how the religion based policies actually led to the birth of such factions and differences between religious parties within Pakistan, due to which, a strong cohesion between democratic government, religious right wing parties and establishment could not be able to achieve till date.

Current regime of Imran Khan and his vision of state of Madina: Neo Liberal democracy and challenge of radical religious political parties

According to Imran Khan, he will be following a true ideology of democracy with an essence of Riasat e Madina with the ideological philosophies given by Quad e Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Allama Iqbal. He has stated that the Riasat e Madina lays down the true foundations of democracy, by which he means that it ensures the rights of all the people of country regardless of race, caste, religion, and belief in order to give them freedom of speech and expressions in true manner on the basis of equality with the condition that the rulers of the country will be held accountable for guaranteeing such equality and freedom. The same vision was of the leader of Riasat e Madina Holy Prophet PBUH and the same vision was given by Muhammad Ali Jinnah himself to whom many groups have declared secular in ideology. In reality, the vision of Jinnah was based on liberal democracy just like Imran Khan has mentioned in his speech about Riasat e Madina. The only difference about the ideology of Pakistan in history and today is that the leaders of the country have failed to create awareness among the citizens living in country. They did not get the right direction when it comes to following ideology of Islam with inclusion of democracy. Whereas Liberalism is just a buffering element to ensure the effective democracy in the country which guarantees freedom of speech and freedom to have necessities of living including property or business rights. People of Pakistan have confused the term of liberalism with modernization or secularism, however, all these terms are different in ideological perspective. Imran Khan’s populism ideology is as left wing as much as right. His close ties with the military has also become apparent and has proved helpful not only to him but for the country’s smooth functioning of democratic regime as well.

Way Forward?

According to the research conducted, the relationship between the religion and state affairs needs to be analyzed effectively with a structural lens, rather than using religion as a tool of using in foreign affairs and the political actors should not use the religion to meet their certain political agendas. Islamisation during Zia ul Haq’s regime did not bring national integration in the country; rather it worsened the situation and triggered the ethnic and sectarian conflict mainly because it was purely Sunni-based ideology. There were many critical issues which were not taking into account including the rights of women as well under Hudood Ordinance, and by giving more autonomy to Sunni-based Madrassahs, it only flared up the differences between all the religious factions in the country as the Madrassas reform policies were not focusing on “unification of all under the religion of Islam” rather it focused on creating more differences in the muslim society. He actually used Islam as a tool

Democracy of Pakistan and Dilemma of Liberalism under Constant Struggle with Religious Nationalism and Politicized Institutions

to legitimize the grip of his military rule over the political power and to gain attention of people with the usage of religion. There is a need to highlight the difference between liberalism and modernism and it can only be done through awareness among citizens of Pakistan. The vision of Imran Khan is based on the vision given by Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, under which state of affairs needs to be dealt under pure democracy through ensuring liberalism which means giving freedom of speech and liberty to own businesses. The vision of liberalism given by Jinnah and now being followed by Imran Khan is actually based on giving equal rights to every citizen of Pakistan regardless of their caste, belief, faith or religion.

The government of Pakistan needs to monitor three main settings in the country; the first is sectarian setting (there is a need to create a uniformity and harmony between both Sunni and Shia and other religious minorities in the country), second is the educational setting (in which reforms of Madrassas should not be responsible to culminate the religious activists who could use Islam as Jihad in order to achieve their political or self-interest based agenda, even the learning environment of both the public and private schools should be homogenous just like under current government of Pakistan, Imran Khan has declared it), last but not the least, the organizational structure of the government of Pakistan should not directly or indirectly use religion as a way out of their failed policies in country in order to gain public support, there is a need to build a strong alliance with both the military establishment and religious political parties such as MMA, or JI, through dialogue and by ensuring the strong democratic rule in the country so that no third activist party could destroy the functioning of institutions of country.

Conclusion

This paper has successfully drawn analysis on the relation of right wing political parties which have acted as a buffering agent in the history of Pakistan when it comes to implementation of democratic policies in true essence under Islamic ideology based on liberalism. The paper has explained the difference between liberalism and modernism clearly so that the people of country would be able to know that the successful democracy in Pakistan can only be achieved by following a vision given by Muhammad Ali Jinnah in which democratic policies of state should not be mixed with religion and that religion should not be used a tool to run the matters of state in wrong manner; every individual is having a right to express himself and live with freedom regardless of any religion or belief under the rules and law stated by government and that the government will be held accountable for ensuring these rights.

References

- [1] Afzal, M. (2019). An inflection point for Pakistan's democracy. Foreign Policy Brief, pp:1-13.
- [2] Afzal., M. (2019, February 13). Imran Khan's failing Revolution. Retrieved from foreign affairs: <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/pakistan/2019-02-13/imran-khans-failing-revolution>
- [3] Ahmed, K. (2016). Sleepwalking to surrender: Dealing with terrorism in Pakistan. Mumbai: Penguin Random House,India.
- [4] Akhtar, M. J. (2017). Dilemma of political cultureL case study of Pakistan (1998-1997). Bahauddin Zakariya University, Multan, pp:1-270.
- [5] Bajoria, J. (2011, April 20). Council on Foreign Relations. Retrieved from www.cfr.org: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/islam-and-politics-pakistan>
- [6] Chaudhry, S. (2011, January 12). Tribune. Retrieved from www.tribune.com.pk: <https://tribune.com.pk/story/102347/in-search-of-liberalism/>
- [7] Chaudhry, S. A. (2015). Competition policy and democracy in Pakistan. Lahore School Journal of Economics, 1(1), pp:69-79. Retrieved from <http://www.lahoreschoolofeconomics.edu.pk/EconomicsJournal/Journals/Volume%201/Issue%201/05%20Shahid%20Amjad%20Ch.pdf>
- [8] Cheema, M. H. (2018). Pakistan:The state of liberal democracy. Australian National University: ANU college of Law: Legal studies research paper series, 18(25), pp:635-642.
- [9] Faz, T. (2011, February 05). Defence.pk. Retrieved from www.defence.pk: <https://defence.pk/pdf/threads/pakistan-the-liberals-dilemma.92018/>
- [10] Hanan, M. A., Saleem, N., Ali, A., & Mukhtar, S. (2016, January). Role of Media in Strengthening democracy in Pakistan; Journalists' perception. South Asian Studies, 31(1), pp;331-345. Retrieved from http://pu.edu.pk/images/journal/csas/PDF/22%20Mian%20Ahmad%20Hanan_v31_no1_jan-jun2016.pdf
- [11] Husain, I. (2013, January 28). Dawn. Retrieved from www.dawn.com: <https://www.dawn.com/news/781901>
- [12] Inayatullah, Inayatullah, S., & Inayatullah, S. (1997). The futures of Democracy in Pakistan: A liberal perspective. Futures, 29(10), pp:955-970.

Democracy of Pakistan and Dilemma of Liberalism under Constant Struggle with Religious Nationalism and Politicized Institutions

- [13] J.Mearsheimer, J. (2016). Bound to fail: The rise and fall of the Liberal international order. *International Security*, 43(4), pp:7-50.
- [14] Khan, L. (2009, December 22). marxist. Retrieved from www.marxist.com/problems-democracy-pakistan.htm
- [15] Kureshi, S. T. (2017, November 02). the Friday times. Retrieved from www.thefridaytimes.com: <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/whither-liberal-pakistan/>
- [16] Nasr, V. (2005, November 4). Islam and Democracy:Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan. (T. Shah, Interviewer)
- [17] Ratnapala, S. (2018). Defending Liberal Democracy and liberal peace in the time of rising populism and fascism. The centre for independent studies, pp:1-22. Retrieved from <https://www.cis.org.au/app/uploads/2019/07/ap3.pdf>
- [18] Robotka, B. (2008, February 9). The South Asian Idea.
- [19] Schmitter, P. C. (2015). Democratization and political elites. *European University Institute*, pp: 75-88.
- [20] Sethi, N. (2015, November 27). The Friday Times. Retrieved from www.thefridaytimes.com: <https://www.thefridaytimes.com/liberal-pakistan/>
- [21] Shabbir, M. (2012). Pakistan's image dilemma: Quest for Remedial action. *ISSRA Papers*, pp:29-58.
- [22] Shafqat, S. (1998). Democracy in Pakistan: Value Change and Challenges of institution building. *The pakistan Development Review*, 37(4), pp:281-298.
- [23] Ulas, O. (2018). Colonial Capitalism and the dilemmas of liberalism. *Research Gate*, pp:1-22.
- [24] Waseem, M. (2011). Patterns of Conflict in Pakistan: implications for policy. The brookings project on U.S relations with the Islamic World; Working paper (5), pp:1-22.
- [25] Waseem, M., & Mufti, M. (2009). Religion, Politics and governance in Pakistan. *Research and Development papers*, pp:1-80.

- [26] Zia, A. S. (2011, February 11). Open Democracy. Retrieved from www.opendemocracy.net:
<https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/5050/pakistan-liberals-dilemma/>