



Department of Pakistan  
Studies

Vol. 2 Issue 1

# Sadiq Journal of Pakistan Studies

Editor in Chief Prof. Dr. Aftab Hussain Gillani



The Islamia University of Bahawalpur Pakistan



PRINT ISSN: 2789-102X

ONLINE ISSN: 2789-1038

<https://journals.iub.edu.pk/index.php/sjps/index>

# **Patron in Chief**

**Prof. Dr. Athar Mahboob**  
Vice Chancellor The Islamia University of Bahawalpur

# **Patron**

**Prof. Dr. Jawed Hassan Chandio**  
Dean Faculty of Arts and Languages I.U.B.

# **Editor in Chief**

**Prof. Dr. Aftab Hussain Gillani**  
Dean Faculty of Law  
Chairman Department of Pakistan Studies I.U.B.

# **Editor**

**Dr. Robina Yasmin**  
Associate Professor, Department of Pakistan Studies I.U.B.

# **Managing Editor**

**Muhammad Ahsan Ghazali**  
Lecturer, Department of Pakistan Studies I.U.B.

# Advisory Board

## *International Advisors*

**Prof. Francis Robinson**  
(Royal Holloway University of  
London, UK)

**Prof. Sara F.D. Ansari**  
(Royal Holloway University of  
London, U.K)

**Prof. Aslam Syed**  
(Prof. Harvard University, USA)

**Prof. Mohamed Ali bin Haniffa**  
(University Utara Malaysia)

**Dr. Rohani Bt Haji Ab Ghani**  
(University Utara Malaysia)

**Dr. Nor Azlah Sham Bt Rambely**  
(University Utara Malaysia)

## *National Advisors*

**Prof. Dr. Riaz Ahmed**  
(Ex Director NIHCR)

**Prof. Dr. M Iqbal Chawla**  
(Ex Dean Arts & Humanities,  
University of the Punjab, Lahore)

**Prof. Dr. Imdad Hussain**  
(Ex. Dean Social Sciences Shah  
Abdul Latif University Kherpur,  
Sindh)

**Prof. Dr. Hameed Raza  
Siddiqui**  
(Ex. Principal SE college  
Bahawalpur)

**Prof. Dr. Shahid Hassan Rizvi**  
(Ex. Chairman History Department,  
The Islamia University of  
Bahawalpur)

**Prof. Dr. Asmat Naz**  
(Ex. Dean Social Sciences, Women  
University Multan)

**Prof. Dr. Mehboob Hussain**  
(Chainman Department of History &  
Pakistan Studies, University of the  
Punjab Lahore)

**SADIQ JOURNAL OF PAKISTAN STUDIES**

<b>Volume.2, No.1</b>	<b>January – June 2022</b>	<b>Sr. No.</b>
Joseph Schact: A Critical Analysis	Taimoor Adil	1
A Critical Study of Terrorism and Political Violence in Pakistan	Muhammad Ahsan Ghazali Wardah Gull	12
Legislation on Women Issues: Musharraf Regime	Mohammad Ikram Prof. Dr. Naumana Kiran	19
Structuring And Mechanism of Mainstream Political Parties of Pakistan -An Analytical Study (1947-2002)	Ishrat Noureen	39
Civil Society Perspectives and Social Change in Pakistan	Muhammad Ali Raza Naqvi Syed Muhammad Ali Shah Muhammad Ali	49
The Issues and Challenges for Peace and Security in Pakistan; Zarb-e-Azab: Counter Terrorism Policy	Muhammad Ibrahim	56

## **Joseph Schacht: A Critical Analysis**

By

**Taimoor Adil**

---

### **Abstract**

*Orientalists have played a great role in revolutionizing the ideas. Especially in case of Islam, orientalist have contributed significantly. Modern Islamic scholarship is owed by these orientalist as they penned extensive work on Islam and helped scholars to view Islam in a non-traditional theological approach. Among these orientalist some worked on Islamic law and its foundations. Joseph Schacht is one of the pioneers in this regard who questioned the basis and evolution of Islamic Laws in his acclaimed work "The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence". His work attracted appraisal and criticism from all across the world which resulted in disclosing more aspects of Islamic Law never discussed before. This article entails the work of Schacht, criticism it has drawn and legacy he holds. This article is mainly concerned with the academic works of Joseph Schacht and criticism raised by historians on thoughts and ideas of Schacht. It entails the perception made by Schacht and responses by notable scholars pertaining to the study of Islamic narrations. It will help to understand the writings of Schacht, its importance in academic world and response made by scholars concerned with this discipline.*

### **Key Words**

Hadith, Tradition, Isnad, Islamic Law, Jurisprudence.

### **Introduction**

Interaction between western scholars and Islamic world is centuries old. However, this interaction contains suspicious opinions for each other. Western scholars initially considered Islam and its followers a result of replication of Judaism. Being a monotheistic religion, emergence of Islam challenged the dominance of Christianity in eastern roman empire and within few years it washed up the Roman as well as Christian footprints in Levant and Anatolia. For many years the quest for knowledge was halted in Europe due to the dark ages and prolonged wars on the behest of political elite of Europe; Church and the monarchy. Renaissance, Reconquista of Spain and introduction of printing press in Europe offered more opportunities for western scholars to maximize their knowledge in disciplines of Religion, Science, Philosophy and most importantly in Orient studies. European colonialism and imperialistic ambitions paved way for western scholars to study the oriental culture and religions. Fabricated stories of western merchants and mercenaries which they coined about the East created curiosity among general public and scholars. Many scholars started their research on oriental studies and major focus of western scholars revolved around the Islamic theology and jurisprudence. Islamic law which was an integral part of Islamic society was the area of interest for European scholars as Europe had already discarded the laws of church from the society.

From "controversial" Richard Burton to Goldziher, all orientalist keenly studied the foundations of Islamic law and theology. Majority of these scholars raised

## Joseph Schacht...

questions on the authenticity of sources of Islamic laws including the hadith and commentary of Quran. They openly criticized and challenged the legitimacy of the narrators and Sanad (سند). A large volume of work was produced by eminent scholars including Joseph Schacht, Josef Horowitz, Ignác Goldziher and Harald Motzki. These scholars raised questions on the mechanism of narrating Hadith, its language and expression, and lineage of transmission. These scholars were widely appreciated by academic circles. However, criticism was also made especially on the prejudice approach and stereotypical statements penned by these scholars depicting their bias against Islamic traditions and principles. A major name among these scholars, Joseph Schacht, drew attention because of his extensive work on Hadith and its origin as Islamic law. Schacht is considered an important orientalist along with Goldziher as both scholars extensively worked and criticized on the sources of Islamic law and Jurisprudence.

### Life Sketch of Joseph Schacht

Joseph was born in a German family in Ratibor a city in Silesia, which was then a part of German Empire. His family was a devout Christian and Schacht was also inclined towards theology. Father of Joseph was a Roman Catholic and had keen interest in religious studies. After initial study at his hometown Schacht studied at University of Wroclaw. In Wroclaw he extensively studied theology and even won a prize for writing a significant essay on Old Testament. He obtained his Doctoral degree in 1923 from University of Breslau (Wroclaw). His supervisor was Gotthelf Bergsträsser. He obtained degree by translating and writing commentary of *Al-Hassaf's Kitab Al Hiyal Wal Makhrajj*.<sup>12</sup> (كتاب الحيل والمخراجات). Schacht left his homeland Germany after the start of Nazi rule and never came back as he was a staunch opponent of Nazi Germany administration and expressed it as a moral decision to not return to land occupied by racist and fascist regime.<sup>3</sup>

### Academic Career

Schacht started his academic career as a teacher in University of Freiburg and later became associate Professor in same varsity when he was just 25 years of age. He then elevated to the position of Professor in Oriental Studies. He was the youngest professor of oriental studies in Germany as he was just 27 years of age.<sup>4</sup> This was a remarkable achievement. He then joined university of Konigsberg in 1932 from where he resigned in 1934 in protest of Nazi atrocities against minorities in Germany. During his time in Freiburg, he was influenced by academicians from Law department. Despite having no degree in Law, Joseph derived interest in Jurisprudence and especially in Islamic Jurisprudence. Joseph had familiarity with Muslim world as he had traveled to Middle East and some Parts of North Africa. He had a brief stint at University of Cairo in 1930 where he taught Semitic Languages and Islamic Law. He learned Arabic and Turkish and also studied rare manuscripts during his stay at University of Cairo. Later his stay in Oxford helped him to study extensively the origin and nature of Islamic Law. In 1954 Joseph left

---

<sup>1</sup> Abubakar Ahmad ibn Umar ibn Muhair Al Hassaf was a Hanafi Scholar who penned many books on Islamic Jurisprudence especially Hiyal or Trickery.

<sup>2</sup> Jeanette A Wakin, *Remembering Joseph Schacht (1902-1969)* (Cambridge, MA: Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Lewis, Bernard. "Joseph Schacht" (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, vol 33, no. Cambridge University Press.)377-381.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.,

for Netherlands and became professor of Arabic language in well-known 'University of Leiden' and lastly moved to 'Columbia University' as Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies. He died before retiring from University of Columbia in 1969.

### **Academic Works**

Joseph Schacht did significant academic work and gained reputation of a well-read scholar. However, *Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* is considered as his principal work.<sup>5</sup> First edition of this book was published in 1950. This book attracted both appraisal and criticism from academic circles. Another book *Introduction to Islamic Law* was published in 1964. Major part of this book was the collection of lectures he delivered in University of Algiers and were later published in Paris in year 1953. Major motivation to pen such significant work on Islamic law and its origins was provided by his colleague G.H. Bousquet. Bousquet was a French jurist and professor of Islamic Studies in University of Algiers. Both scholars were inspired from the works of another notable academic, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who was a Dutch orientalist and professor of Islamic Studies as well as advisor to Dutch Government for colonial affairs. Schacht and Bousquet both edited the collection of selective works of Hurgronje and got it published in 1957. It is an interesting fact that Schacht was not a student of Law but despite this lack of professional knowledge he developed expertise by attaining extensive basic knowledge of Islamic law which later helped him in future.

- *An Introduction to Islamic law*. Published in 1964.
- *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (1950)
- *Bergstrasser's Grundzuge Des Islamischen Rechts*, Edited by Schacht

Apart from "The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence", Schacht translated some Arabic books including:

- *Kitab al-hijal wa 'l-makharij* by Abu Bakr Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn Muhair ash-Shaibani al-Khassaf.
- Abu Hatim al-Qazwini's book, *Kitab al-hiyal fi 'l-fiqh*.

### **The Origin of Muhammadan Jurisprudence**

This book was first published by Oxford University press in 1950 and another rectified and edited edition was published in 1964. This book is considered as the prime work of Joseph Schacht and his theory of Hadith and Law in which he claims that the Islamic law which is prevalent in modern world is different with that of classical Islamic teachings. He was truly influenced from his predecessor, Goldziher, who believed in the contamination of Islamic thought and Law in latter periods. Schacht himself admitted that his work is the ratification of Goldziher's stance.<sup>6</sup> Goldziher believed in the fabrication of Hadith and was critical of people who quoted Hadith and their lineage or Isnad. Goldziher's theory revolves around

---

<sup>5</sup> Majid Khadduri, Herbert J Liebesny and Robert H Jackson, *Law in The Middle East* (Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1955).

<sup>6</sup> Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (1950) p,4.

the fabrication of Hadith by latter rulers of Umayyads and Abbasids. He believes that there are disparities among sources and nature of text of Hadith.

*“It was J. Schacht who set about the theoretical revaluation of the work, or actually reverted to Goldziher's original concept. He reconstructed the development of Muslim jurisprudence on the basis of Goldziher's work.”*

### **Ideology of Schacht**

Schacht believes that Islamic Jurisprudence falls outside the jurisdiction of Religion (Islam). Old schools of jurists considered their customs and jurist decisions pertaining to Islamic Jurisprudence as Sunnah and reiterated that they were based on the decisions of Apostle Muhammad (PBUH). These schools derived their basics from the state decisions or the decisions made by Judges of that time. Schacht then believes that another school of thought was formed which belonged to the People of Hadith. This school was led by Imam Al-Shafi'i and they created limits and merits of Islamic Jurisprudence. A clash was erupted between School of Jurists or *Fiqh* and School of Hadith and both started devising (or in his view, fabricating) Hadith of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Schacht then concluded that presence of any authentic Hadith of Prophet Muhammad PBUH was not possible and the lineage of transmitters (*Isnad*) was fake and the procedure of *Rajaal* (maintaining Hadith and its authenticity) was nothing but fabrication.

He writes:

“Generally speaking, Muhammad had little reason to change the existing customary law. His aim as a Prophet was not to create a new system of law; it was to teach men how to act, what to do, and what to avoid in order to pass the reckoning on the Day of Judgement and to enter Paradise.”<sup>7</sup>

Schacht believes that Prophet Muhammad has no authority to change the customary Law nor he did interpret law as Law was something out of the sphere of Islam. Or in other words Prophet Muhammad has no role as a legislator.

*“During the greater part of the first century, Islamic Law, in the technical meaning of the term, did not as yet exist. As had been the case in the time of the Prophet, law as such fell outside the sphere of religion, and as far as there were no religious or moral objections to specific transactions or modes of behavior, the technical aspects of law were a matter of indifference to the Muslims.”*<sup>8</sup>

Not only Schacht believed in this notion, some other orientalist like Anderson<sup>9</sup>, Hurgronje also held same views about the Authority of Prophet Muhammad for legislation.<sup>10</sup>

### **Schacht's views about Isnad**

A given hadith is composed of two parts, Matan and Isnad. Matan is basically the text of hadith and Isnad is the chain of people who narrated it or through which

---

<sup>7</sup> Joseph Schacht, *An Introduction to Islamic Law (1964)*, p.11.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11

<sup>9</sup> Norman Anderson (1908-1994) was an American Missionary and Orientalist.

<sup>10</sup> Mustafa Azmi, *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Islamic Texts Society, 2004) p.16



narration has been transmitted. Isnad consists of a chronological list of the narrators, each mentioning the one from whom he heard the Hadith all the way to the prime narrator of the Matan followed by the Matan itself. This chain starts from the person who listened directly from the prime speaker (Muhammad PBUH). There is a consensus among Muslim clerics and scholars that hadith with incomplete Isnad will be rejected. In some case chain is broken or contain a fabricated or unauthentic person which causes rejection of that hadith. Among chains there is a famous chain called Golden Chain or *Silsalatul Zahab*. This Sanad contains three people, Ibn Umar, Nafih, and Malik. Schacht was the first person who after studying this chain declared it a fabricated one. He questioned the age of Malik when he narrated hadith from Nafih and position of Nafih as employee of Ibn Umar. Schacht claims that Isnad were formed by those who wanted to inculcate their own doctrine in people in the name of Hadith. He especially targeted Family Isnad in which, he states, people fabricated Hadith and placed name of their close relatives as narrators in Isnad. The existence of a common narrator in a chain is an indication that the hadith originated in the time of that narrator.<sup>11</sup>

Schacht believes that all of the isnads were fabricated in later period and there is a huge contradiction in life and times of narrators.

### **Schacht Believes about the concept of Sunnah**

Schacht believes that Sunnah is the practice of Prophet which is being agreed upon by Muslims. He calls it Living Tradition.<sup>12</sup> He insists that this term was never used before the second century of Islam and cites *Ibn Muqaffa* that this term was first used by late Umayyads for their administrative and regulatory purposes. He further adds that there was no concept of term Sunnah in first Islamic century and it was coined latterly by people of Iraq in second Century. Unfortunately, Schacht deduces these opinions from David Samuel Margoliouth<sup>13</sup>, another orientalist. However, Margoliouth used references of first Islamic century and there were proofs of the term Sunnah used in first Islamic century. In such a way Schacht would also have to accepted the fact that his opinion about Sunnah being a fabricated term is wrong and it was widely used in first Islamic Century.

Schacht then discussed different schools having different point of views on Sunnah of Prophet. These schools include Syrian, Medinese, and Iraqi schools. He believes that term Sunnah was established by the authorities of these schools. Schacht enunciates that these were the schools which formed the laws not the Prophet as these schools had great scholars who deduced laws as per their reasoning. The school of Medina was more adherent to Practices and traditions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). But Schacht believes that practice and practices were present in Medina even before the appearance of Islam and traditions

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, p.166

<sup>12</sup> *Origins.*, pp.58-59.

<sup>13</sup> David Samuel Margoliouth was an English orientalist and priest who primarily worked on Historical Arabic Literature.

## Joseph Schacht...

appeared after Prophet Muhammad and his companion. According to him Practice and traditions are both in contrast.<sup>14</sup> Schacht writes

That the "practice" existed first and traditions from the Prophet and from Companions appeared later, is clearly stated in Mud. iv. 28, where Ibn Qasim gives a theoretical justification of the Medinese point of view. He says: 'This tradition has come down to us, and if it were accompanied by a practice passed to those from whom we have taken it over by their own predecessors, it would be right to follow it. But in fact, it is like those other traditions which are not accompanied by practice. [Here Ibn Qasim gives examples of traditions from the Prophet and from Companions.] But these things could not assert themselves and take root (*lam tashtadd wa-lam taqwa*), the practice was different, and the whole community and Companions themselves acted on other rules. So, the traditions remained neither discredited [in principle], nor adopted in practice, and actions were ruled by other traditions which were accompanied by practice. These traditions were passed on from the Companions to the Successors, and from these to those after them, without rejecting or casting doubt on others that have come down and have been transmitted. But what was eliminated from practice is left aside and not regarded as authoritative, and only what is corroborated by practice is followed and so regarded. Now the rule which is well established and is accompanied by practice is expressed in the words of the Prophet ... and the words of Ibn 'Umar to the same effect " <sup>15</sup>

Thus, finally Schacht draws his conclusion that "practice is explicitly identified with those traditions which the Medinese accept.<sup>16</sup> He further concludes that these practices were falsely ascribed to the authorities of early history of Islam. This was done in order to justify the later doctrines.

### Schacht's Skepticism on Family *Isnad*

Schacht believed that Hadith that were transferred having family *Isnad* are fabricated. He claims that lineage having close relatives cast doubts on the authenticity. He writes:

"There are numerous traditions which claim an additional guarantee of soundness by representing themselves as transmitted amongst members of one family, for instance from father to son (and grandson), from aunt to nephew, or from master to freedman. Whenever we come to analyze them, we find these family traditions spurious, and we are justified in considering the existence of a family *isnad* not an inclination of authenticity but only a device for securing its appearance,"<sup>17</sup>

### Criticism On Schacht

Where many western scholars absorbed ideas of Schacht, a lot of scholars rejected the theory proposed by Joseph Schacht and many of them criticized Schacht academic approach towards Islamic law and interpretation of Hadith. Muslim and Non-Muslim both academics wrote extensively in response to Schacht.

Two prominent Muslim names who produced staunch responses to Schacht's Thesis are Azami and Fazal Ur Rahman. Both of these scholars from Muslim world

---

<sup>14</sup> *Origins.*, p,63.

<sup>15</sup> *Origins.*, p,63

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p,66.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p,71

criticized the method adopted by Schacht and alleged that he deliberately twisted (or manipulated) the history and sources according to his reasoning. Fazal believes that “Schacht was failed to differentiate Hadith and Sunnah and negated the presence of Sunnah. Instead, Schacht concluded that there no such thing Sunnah but traditions of early Muslim society”.<sup>18</sup> Fazal believes that sunnah was not just a model of Prophet’s life but was also the interpretation that specific model. He further elaborates the position of Hadith “as the verbal mode of Sunnah”.<sup>19</sup> Fazal admits the fabrication at some level but also draws the attention of skeptic orientalist like Schacht towards the method of accepting and authenticating Hadiths.

The second name of the list is Mustafa Azami. Azami is an Islamic scholar from India having expertise in hadith and *Rajaal* (Study of Hadith and its lineage). His critique of Schacht is somehow considered as clear, articulate and focused. Azami rejects the Schacht’s opinion about hadith collection. He demonstrates that Hadith collection started in first century of Islam.

Azami<sup>20</sup> states that,

"J. Schacht says, 'Goldziher has pointed out that those traditions that were current in the Umayyads period, were hardly concerned with law but rather with ethics, asceticism, eschatology, and politics’"<sup>21</sup>.

This assumption, which was put forward by Goldziher and is accepted by Schacht and other scholars, is based on a misconception of the literary history of the Umayyad period, and perhaps the latter conception of Goldziher is based on the copy of *Kitab al-Zuhd* [Book of Asceticism] by Asad ibn Musa, which is mentioned by him, but which does not belong to the period referred to Asad Bin Musa,

Another criticism made by Azami was the concentration of Schacht on legal traditions and from this point Azami believes judging of Hadith and tradition just on the base of studying Legal traditions leads to wrong and skeptic conclusions. Azami further expresses:

“Any conclusion about the traditions, their transmission, or the isnad system, etc., based on the study of legal literature would be faulty and unreliable.”<sup>22</sup>

### **Criticism of Western Scholars**

Not only Muslim scholars analyzed and criticized the work of Schacht, many western and non-Muslim scholars recorded their critique and rebuked the theory of Schacht. Some notable names among this list include *Alfred Guillaume, Noel*

---

<sup>18</sup> Fazlur Rahman, *Islamic Methodology in History* (Karachi: Central Institute of Islamic Research, 1965), 5.

<sup>19</sup> Rahman, *Islamic Methodology*, 74.

<sup>20</sup> Muhammad Mustafa Azmi was an Indian scholar who worked related to hadith and made a criticism on Schacht’s work.

<sup>21</sup> J. Schacht, *A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions* (1949) ,148

<sup>22</sup> Azami, Muhammad Mustafa. *Studies In Early Hadith Literature* (Suhail Academy, 2001), p, 222.

## Joseph Schacht...

Coulson, David A Powers, Fitzgerald, H R Gibb, David F Forte, Herald Motzki, and Jonathan Brown. These scholars critically analyzed the shortcomings in Schacht work and also criticized the method and approached utilized by Schacht while studying the collection of Hadith and Islamic laws.

Noel Coulson was a British legal historian who penned a remarkable work; *A History of Islamic Law*. This book was published in 1964. Coulson somehow acknowledged the work of Schacht and expressed validity remarks but he raised questions on no linkage between Quran and formation of Islamic law as claimed by Schacht. Coulson firmly believes that laws especially family laws were evolved by Quranic legislation and Muhammad (PBUH) was an important figure in elaborating and shaping them to present form. Even Schacht accused Coulson of being a lawyer while studying the formulation of Islamic laws<sup>23</sup> to which Coulson responded:

"It is plain that Schacht does not write, or think, as a lawyer. Apparently, Islamic law is not in his view, a subject for lawyer's approach."<sup>24</sup>

Another name in this regard, David Powers was attracted by the debate between Coulson and Schacht. He worked on inheritance and bequest and their position in Islamic Law. He wrote an essay titled, "*The Islamic Law of Inheritance Reconsidered: A New Reading of Q. 4:12b*". David Powers was of same opinion made by Azami and Coulson. He asserted that Islamic Law started to develop in the times of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in contrast to claims of Schacht that it was a later period product. He concluded that Law of Inheritance was present in the time of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). And it was introduced by Quran as a system in a complex form. He further adds that Schacht made two mistakes. First, he ignored the legislation mentioned in Quran especially Family Law. Second, this weakness was joined by, Schacht's "blurring of the distinction between jurisprudence and positive law."<sup>25</sup>

Motzki<sup>26</sup> also indicates that this is a recognized weakness in the work of Goldziher and Schacht, stating, "The source-analytical works of Heribert Horst, and others suggest that Goldziher and especially Schacht, viewed the *Isnad* too skeptically and that they penalized too quickly from single observations. "

"Analyzing some of Schacht's more sweeping judgements, he [Robson] became convinced that the traditional Muslim account of Hadith genesis had much to commend it, and had in some ways been misrepresented - or at least misunderstood - by Goldziher and Schacht. "<sup>27</sup>

### Usage of Irrelevant Material

One of the major reasons of criticism made on Schacht was the usage of irrelevant stuff while presenting logic. For example, in many cases while discussing the

---

<sup>23</sup>Schacht, J. "Modernism and Traditionalism in A History of Islamic Law". (*Middle Eastern Studies*, vol 1, no. 4, 1965), p 390

<sup>24</sup> Coulson, *Correspondence*, Middle East Studies. (1967), p 201

<sup>25</sup> Farhat J Ziadeh, David S. Powers. "*Studies In Quran and Hadith: The Formation of The Islamic Law of Inheritance*". (*Journal Of the American Oriental Society*, vol 108, no. 3, 1988), p,487.

<sup>26</sup> Harald Motzki is a German orientalist and Professor.

<sup>27</sup> Muhammad Zubair Siddiqi, *Hadith Literature*. (The Islamic Texts Society, 1993) p,132

credibility he used Fiqh as reference. He interprets hadiths from Fiqh books where whole hadith is not being quoted and specific and related portion of hadith is mentioned. Scholars like "Coulson" criticized Schacht for this dependance on Fiqh. Coulson believes

"The present writer regards Schacht's conclusion as too rigid, particularly because his arguments concerning the "relative position" of a hadith "in the history of the problem with which it is concerned" are not always wholly convincing."<sup>28</sup>

Coulson further criticized Schacht that his reasoning was narrow as he didn't understand properly about the background of establishment of Law through Hadith. He didn't address the legal issues that were emerging in second century of Islam.

Issue of Jurist is that they indicate or refer the concerned hadith rather than discussing the whole hadith while explaining any law or problem of Fiqh.

### **Ignoring the Quranic Injunctions**

A sheer mistake that was done by Schacht was ignoring the Quranic Injunctions. This was a fundamental error as many scholars who studied Islamic Injunctions, opined that Allah had the supreme authority on Law and even prophet in the second phase of his prophethood had clear mind about the Islamic law and stern matters of legal nature were not irrelevant to Islam and were the part of revelation. And it can easily be denied that Prophet didn't intend to create a new legal System. Coulson believes that Prophet Muhammad himself "marked the beginnings of the growth of a legal structure out of the ethical principles contained in the Quran."<sup>29</sup>

### **Legacy of Schacht**

There is no denying the fact that Schacht made some remarkable impacts on study of Islamic law and traditions. A lot of scholars started their research after gaining basic arguments derived from Schacht's works. Patricia Crone and Martin Hinds both studied Schacht and adopted his style of opinion while working on their work, *God's Caliph: Religious Authority in the First centuries of Islam*, which was published by Cambridge University Press in 1986. Another scholar Judith Wenger is also in line with Schacht's view of tradition and formulation of Islamic Law. He believes that Islamic law was formed later on the land of Iraq rather than in Mecca or Medina. Wenger also believes in the influence of Jewish Law on Islamic law. She writes:

"Judaism and Islam share not only a religious framework but also a theocratic approach to law. Both systems rest on the concept of a divinely revealed law whose further applications are deducible by studying the sacred scriptures with the aid of prescribed rules of exegesis. In theocratic systems, this combination of divine and human reason is the only path to law; such systems deny that law can be created, as in western humanistic theories, by human legislation."<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Noel J Coulson, *European Criticism of Hadith literature* (Cambridge University press, 1983) p,319

<sup>29</sup> Noel J Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (1964) p,22

<sup>30</sup> Judith Romney Wenger, "Islamic and Talmudic Jurisprudence: The Four Roots of Islamic Law and Their Talmudic Counterparts" (*The American Journal of Legal History*, vol 26, no. 1, Oxford University Press.

### **Conclusion**

Any scholar working on prophetic traditions cannot neglect the stance of Schacht. Critics of Schacht even accepted the importance of Schacht's work and its universal importance. Mustafa Azami states that Schacht has influenced other orientalists deeply especially Bosworth, Robson, Fitzgerald and J.N Anderson. As well as some Muslim scholars working on Islamic law like Fazal Ur Rahman, A A Faizi were also highly influenced by him. Schacht's books have given rise to skeptical approach on classical Islamic ideology.

Zafar Ishaq Ansari believes that Schacht's work has attained the position of classic among orientalist community. No such fertile investigations were revealed as we observed in Schacht's work. Ideology of Schacht is attractive and most demonstrative in western intellectual world. Zafar claims that Schacht was the most prudent and learned scholar in western world who worked on classic Islamic ideology. Works of Goldziher, Snouck Hurgronje and Schacht have turned the subject of foundation of Islamic law into a serious business thus propelling Muslim scholars to response on this academic subject. Fifty years after the death of Schacht, his questions and opinions are still debatable. Though they are not that powerful and attractive now. Research on early Islamic sources of law has grown many folds and is still growing.

**References**

1. Wakin, Jeanette A. *Remembering Joseph Schacht (1902-1969)*. Cambridge, MA: Islamic Legal Studies Program, Harvard Law School, 2003.
2. Lewis, Bernard. "Joseph Schacht". *Bulletin Of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33, no. 2 (1970)
3. Khadduri, Majid, Herbert J Liebesny, and Robert H Jackson. *Law In the Middle East*. Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1955.
4. Schacht, Joseph. *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. 1st ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.
5. Schacht, Joseph. *An Introduction to Islamic Law*. 1st ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.
6. Schacht, J. "Modernism and Traditionalism In A History Of Islamic Law". *Middle Eastern Studies* 1, no. 4 (1965): 388-400.
7. Azami, Mustafa. *On Schacht's Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. 1st ed. Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2004.
8. Rahman, Fazlur. *Islamic Methodology in History*. Karachi: Central Institute of Islamic Research, 1965.
9. Schacht, Joseph. "A Revaluation of Islamic Traditions". *Journal Of the Royal Asiatic Society* 81, no. 3-4 (1949): 143-154.
10. Azami, Muhammad Mustafa. *Studies In the Early Hadith Literature*. Lahore: Suhail Academy, 2001.

## **A Critical Study of Terrorism and Political Violence in Pakistan**

By

**1- Muhammad Ahsan Ghazali**

&

**2- Wardah Gull**

Research Scholar

National Defense University

---

### **Abstract**

*Terrorism is interpreted as a political or social act of violence that produces fear, devastation and injury among people and the surroundings. It is usually revealed to be a manifestation of the individuals or organization's beliefs or intentions. Individuals who participate in terrorism- commonly known as terrorists, do not necessarily represent a similar objective, generally their reasons are distinct and personal. An act of terrorism could be against any race, religion, sexuality, gender, culture, or political representative. When there is a lack of agreement on the policy matters, governments often face severe pressure from terrorist organizations. In such cases terrorists operating within a country search for a brutal form of terror act, one that puts pressure on the government and political actors and yields a response that terrorists are searching for. The message of these organizations is intended to cause terror, which instructs the target population to anticipate a further damage towards them. By choosing to commit illegal operations, the terrorists are successful in spreading fear among public, and the current day policymakers and political actors are still figuring ways to fight terrorism. The politics is correlated to utilizing authority and influence as a means of governing a portion of land or a country. They include political parties which consist of a category of people, representing the same land with identical views. The role of politics in a country is inevitable, due to the fact that multiple leaders are derived from political parties, which are in control of not only the land, and its projects but also the wellbeing and actions of the people. Each of them symbolizes different futures and compete with the opposing parties to gain access to specific positions, in order to dominate and establish their beliefs. This study will explore the recent wave of terrorism in Pakistan, and how political actors responded to that wave, also it will explore political violence that is happening within the country during these times.*

### **Key Words**

Politics, Violence, Terrorism, Political Parties, Culture, Counter-Terrorism

### **Introduction**

Pakistan is a victim of terrorist groups and organizations since last few decades. The 1980's gave birth to what would later be perceived as the largest recent organization of terrorism. The miscalculations on the behalf of national and international leaders during past century also played a role (Adil, 2021). Some of the manipulating extremist groups proved to be a deadly that give raise to terrorist



organizations; the politically motivated violent terrorist organizations that would take years to demolish; the fight is still ongoing. After the terrible terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Pakistan became the center of attention, worldwide. The joining of global war against terrorist made Pakistan and neighboring states to be cautious possible militants in the area. In Pakistan, government at every level, whether provincial or federal. Have to face and fight this wave of extreme terrorism in Pakistan. Since wave of terrorism, spread all across Pakistan, different political parties got the opportunity to lead the country, to end the terrorism in their homeland.

This paper discovers the intimate relationship between politics and terrorism in Pakistan; their history, significant events, and present-day circumstances. Politics and terrorism have undoubtedly influenced one another over the years, each taking a step forward on the basis of the other's actions. Terrorism is highly connected with Politics, where terrorism is no ordinary form of violence, it is a politically motivated violence, or a violence having political objectives (Adil, 2021). This a proven fact that politics run a country and terrorism threatens its wellbeing, there is a secure connection between the two of them (Syed et al., 2015). Assault on the community coerces the government to retaliate for the purpose of defending the civilians and territory, resulting in a continuous battle. In recent years, Pakistan has been at war against terrorism. In the past, when certain terrorist organizations such as the Taliban and Al-Qaeda starts operating directly or indirectly within the Pakistan, leaving Pakistani government with no option but to force them out.

These terrorist organizations acting within Pakistan were equipped with deadly weapons and support from global terrorist organizations, this is the reason Pakistani government faced extremely difficult challenges in removing these organizations entirely. The State's progress is met with series of terrorism attacks, which severally daunted the efforts of governments in fighting war against terrorism. So the study will explore: **H1:** There is a connection between terrorism and politics in Pakistan. **H2:** Politics influences the route terrorism takes. Some of the important research questions are: What is the history of terrorism in Pakistan? What is the relationship between politics and terrorism in Pakistan? Has politics been able to battle terrorism to an extent? Will politics be able to eliminate terrorism? How much has Pakistan tolerated in terms of finances, human loss and other damages? This research explores the effect terrorism has on politics in Pakistan, what politics gains from it, what it is deprived of due to war against terrorism. To examine the association between the government of Pakistan and other states that are fighting terrorism, how far that succeeded. Furthermore, to increase or decrease of prosperity in the land, the development policies depends on the government's contribution to society and policies the implement, however, due to the restless interruption of terrorism group, governments face extreme difficulties in implementing those policies and decisions, which will be discussed. Also this research discusses the army of Pakistan which has fought a number of counterterrorism operations. The success achieved during these operations and what were the possible damages caused to Pakistan. Also it focuses on the recent situation in Pakistan, how the country can lead to reasonable stability.

The conduct of this research required qualitative methodology. There was a substantial use of articles, newspapers, journals, and books. Applying the exploratory research method assisted with obtaining elaborative information, permitting it to be comfortably analyzed and studied. The peer reviewed articles

## **A Critical Study of Terrorism...**

and electronic sources are used for investigating, comparing, and contrasting. For past events and history, articles and books have been reviewed. In contrast, for the fairly recent events, news on the internet and newspaper articles are analyzed and reviewed. Sometimes biased information is found in the literature, this is the reason several other sources also examined so that unbiased research could be conducted.

### **Terrorism in Pakistan**

Around the 1980's, the Soviet War in Afghanistan prompted US and its allies to deliver soldier in Afghan land, in hopes of reviving it. At that time, Pakistan's President, General-Zia-ul-Haq declared to participate the act of Jihad, guiding Pakistani forces to provide aid to the Afghan region (Irshad, 2011). These Muhajaddin were aided by significant intelligent agencies from the West and Asia, equipped with the knowledge of the most essential and important battle techniques. This was the time when several groups were formed that fought the Afghan war, among those groups which initially known as Mujahideen and Afghan guerrilla warriors, Taliban emerged as a strongest group, this group will later take control of Afghanistan. The attacks on world trade center in 2001, labeled Taliban as global terrorism organization, enabling them to publicly intimidate the globe. Osama Bin Laden, the leader of the Al-Qaeda, was allegedly found to be concealed in the mountainous regions of Pakistan, namely Abbottabad (Murphy 2012). The presence of leader of Al-Qaeda, spread fear across the country, and even more panic was caused so when the news of political leaders being assassinated and areas being bombed are broadcasted by the local media channels on regular basis. The Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan also known as (TTP), operates within Pakistan, TTP was associated with the Afghan Taliban and conducted many terrorist attacks within Pakistan (Adil, 2021). Hence, Pakistan was fighting on the three fronts, where there were Afghan Taliban, local extremists and TTP who were as dangerous in terms of spreading terror as Taliban.

In 2007, General Pervez Musharraf carried out the operation in Red Mosque, Islamabad. This is one of the important event of Pakistan's efforts in global war on terror. The leader of Red Mosque have allegedly connections with terrorist organizations and their recent actions had undermined the sovereignty and security of capital of Pakistan. After a raid, 150 people were wounded and 9 killed. This incident induced vengeance from the Taliban supporters who attempted to assassinate the President and vowed to take eye-for-eye revenge against the Red Mosque operation. (Syed et al., 2015). The Al-Qaeda appealed for civilians to join them in the act of Jihad for what the government instigated. The red mosque operation, also led to downfall of President Musharraf's popularity, as media framed the attack on the mosque and the consequences in dramatic and sensational manner. In October, 2007, former Prime Minister of Pakistan Benazir Bhutto was targeted in a suicide attempt, in Karachi, where 139 people were killed and many injured (Syed, et al., 2015). Although this elevated the public's interest in Benazir's political campaign, she was assassinated later in December 27<sup>th</sup> in another terrorist attack (Syed et al., 2015). In the subsequent years, two terrorist attacks would claim many lives; one at a factory in Wah and the other in Islamabad, bombing the Marriott hotel- both claimed many lives (Adil, 2021).

Between, 2009-2013 more than 4,000 people officially died as victims of terrorism (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2015), which either originated from discrimination against religious sects, attack against governmental figures or conducted to spread fear of terrorism in the public.

In 2014, fifty five people died in a terrorist attack on the border of India and Pakistan (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2015), followed a tragedy which shocked the nation and entire world : the Army Public School attack. This catastrophe claimed the lives of 141 people, mostly children (Johnston & Sarbahi, 2015). The distress it caused ultimately lead to the government and the army maximizing their effort to eliminate the threat terrorism from country. From 2015-2016, around 700 people have been killed due to terrorist attacks, with a great number of them being wounded in the process (Adil, 2021). Hence, Pakistani nation paid a huge price of terrorist activities and their war against terrorism. The wave of terrorism, hugely impacted Pakistan, socially, economically and politically. In the past decade, due to fear of terrorism, the social activities were minimized in terms of large gatherings. Terrorism acts like suicide bombings have terrorized the public. Many people lost their loved ones due to these tragic events. Moreover, in terms of development, many projects halted due to terrorism. The foreign investors were not ready to invest in Pakistan. Pakistan also faced serious economic challenges, where they have to take loans and aid from other countries. The political actors were unable to devise a suitable strategy, due to their political differences, that also greatly damaged Pakistan's efforts the war on terror. "Over the past decade or so, Pakistan has experienced around \$60-68 billion worth of economic damage, in comparison, its agriculture damage is around \$20-30 million. From 2002-2010, Pakistan has received \$8.674 billion from the United States of America" (Adil, 2021).

### **Terrorism and Political Violence in Pakistan**

The political parties in Pakistan have promised the general public of eliminating terrorism, however, it has been a problematic ambition to accomplish. President Pervez Musharraf was the first leader of Pakistan who took a dedicated involvement in the War on Terrorism (Riedel 2008). His instructions in relation to the Lal Masjid were met with criticism during his government, in fact, a great number of people did not agreed on the operation conducted by the Musharraf. Here the media also played a role in presenting a sensational coverage of the operation, in which the affected ones are shown as innocent people which impacted the opinion of the public (Khan & Pratt, 2020). Initially, the criticism Musharraf receive was for his delayed action and the media questioned of his lack of measures to stop the militants in the mosque from possessing dangerous weapons over the period of months. When the operation was carried out, media questioned the operation as unjust for the student trapped inside. Later the former Prime Minister of Pakistan as killed in a terrorist attack, that further increased political tragedies for Pakistan. After the death of Benazir Bhutto, her political party vowed to catch the culprits behind the deadly act and put a stop to terrorism once and for all. That assassination took place just before the elections, resulted in a wave of public support for her political party, Pakistan People's Party representative, as a result, Asif Ali Zardari became president in 2008. These

### **A Critical Study of Terrorism...**

incidents highlights that politics and terrorism can influence each other in some context. The reason is that, both political goals and terrorism includes of them include a set of ideas, hence ideas are followed by the those who follow the ideas and history states that ideological beliefs capable of bringing change. But experts highlights that terrorism due to its political motives behind violent act impacts politics (Khan & Pratt, 2020). Terrorism is meant to cause panic and terror, while politics abides by the law. The terrorist attack will compel the political leaders and government to respond after the attack and take obligatory measures to ensure the offenders are caught and a similar event does not occur again. This response further amplifies desperate terrorist attacks, Hence, political actors of a country need to aware their audience, which is public voters, political actors must tell how terrorism acts can impact the political decisions and how public should support the political governments so that political motives of the terrorists can be defeated (Khan & Pratt, 2020).

The terrorist groups use hostility as a means of carrying out their desires- this hostility is against particular civilians but also aimed at the government; causing people harm will also cause the damage and harm towards government. The Islamic Republic of Pakistan broadcasts itself as a Muslim country, and the Taliban, who occupy the State, believe themselves to be Muslims. This fact was also used by the terrorist groups to induce the opinion of the public and gain sympathy. The sympathizers of the Taliban in the society claimed that Taliban are Muslims. But a big proportion of the public is now convinced that any act of violence against humanity is not permitted and is unislamic and they should stand by their political government in their war on terror, this is a hard leaned lesson for Pakistani public (Adil, 2021). Initially, due to lack of political policies, economic support and public backing operations against terrorism were delayed. Pakistan has collected £654 million, from the United Kingdom, for the military spending plan, which includes fighting potential terrorists (Blair et al. 2013). It has received aid from Japan, European Union, Canada, Australia, and the UAE, which comprises of around \$70 million - \$550 million (Abiden et al, 2019). These received finances have been spent mostly on fighting the war against terrorism. For the objective of eradicating terrorism, the Pakistan army, with the approval of the Pakistan government, fought a series of counterterrorism operations. Notable counterterrorism measures include Operation Al-Mizan (2002 - 2006), Operation Rah-Haq (2007), Operation Sher-e-Dil (2008), Operation Rah-e-Raast (2009) and Operation Zarb-e-Azb (2014). Operation Al-Mizan was initiated in opposition to eliminate the militant groups where General Pervez Musharraf led the operation but not met with desired success (Abiden et al., 2019). But this was a crucial step in establishing their goal of eliminating terrorism as it was the very first major operation, which proved to be exceptionally challenging for government, political actors and public of Pakistan. Later the operation Rah-Haq and operation Al-Mizan were launched, which proved quite successful in terms of sacrifices and fight by the forces but not effectively reduced number of terrorists from the country. However, the operation Sher-e-Dil had many positive results in comparison with previous ones. During operation Rah-e-Rast, the intention was to free areas of Swat from the Taliban's control; a large number of militants were disposed of, and areas were freed successfully from the tyrannic terrorists. Operation Zarb-e-Azb was the most successful of all operations (Adil, 2021);

escorted by General Raheel Sharif, the army vanquished countless terrorist organizations, and during this operation security forces got backing of political actors in their favor. The terrorist groups have political ambitions; it is composed of multiple terrorist actors having political agendas with political ambitions and aims. Some accused extremist groups in Pakistan include: Tehrik-e-Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, Lashkar-e-Omar, Jamaat-ul-Fuqra, etc. When we compare their structure with the general politics, these groups go through the process of electing a member as their leader and giving him command, spreading his ideology to influence transformation, and applying these ideologies to their daily routines. Just like regular political parties, in these groups, their members are given different positions and specific duties to carry out. The media and citizens have disapproved of the Pakistani government's previous policies of allowing these organizations to conduct their operations using different names within the country. Although from time to time, government and political parties criticize and ban these groups, but the bitter reality is that politics during war on terror was also used for its political gains, which a number of politicians of political parties of Pakistan admitted (Syed et al., 2015.) However, this trend is shifting now and a hard line against the working of extremist organizations in Pakistan is being taken by recent political governments.

#### **Present Day: Terrorism in Pakistan**

Currently, there are still signs of terrorism surviving in Pakistan, however, it is considerably less than previous decade. There have been approximately 24 attacks in total from January, 2017, to the beginning of November, 2017, with around 400 deaths, hence there is still need of strict counterterrorism measures in an effective manner. (Adil, 2021). The security measures have been increased, new policies like National Action Plan have been devised. Also military courts with maximized powers are established to eliminate the evil of terrorism from the country, hundreds of militants have been captured or killed. The current parties; such as Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Pakistan People's Party, and several others have vowed to fight collectively against terrorism and despite their differences, these parties are willing to cooperate on security measures (Abiden et al., 2019). But within these political parties, the violent extremist groups and sympathizers of banned extremist outfits is still a concern. The political parties need to admit this fact and eliminate violent political practices from the political parties, so that no terrorist or extremist organization able to operate within the Pakistani political system by disguising them as political or religious party. This war against terrorism is extremely important for peace and security of not only Pakistan, but for entire region.

#### **Conclusion**

While Pakistan is fighting against the terrorist groups, there are violent groups present in political parties itself, aside from the extremist groups, where politicians use these violent groups to take revenge from their opponents through the act of violence. It is ironic for a political system, because they are already fighting global war on terror since 2001. It is to be noted that not all political parties and actors are involved in this act of violence. However, there has been alleged indications of some political parties being in favor of terrorist organizations, which explains the influence those extremists groups have, not only on the ordinary people, but also

## **A Critical Study of Terrorism...**

on policy makers. In conclusion, it can be said that terrorism without a doubt has an effect on the politics in Pakistan. There are several recommendations to negate that effect from Pakistani politics and for that there is a need of firm implementation of transparency and civil authority in the grass root politics. Moreover, as Johnston, & Sarbahi (2016) discussed there is a need for politicians to take clear sides in terms of their alliances and objectives so to give a clear message that they are against terrorism and want to eliminate those extremist factions from the society (Johnston, & Sarbahi 2016). These are some of the solutions that could ultimately bring a lot of stability and development in Pakistani politics in a compact and comprehensive manner.

### **References**

- Abiden, M. Z. U., Zhilong, H., & Mubeen, R. (2019). War on terrorism in Pakistan: Challenges and strategic steps. *Вестник Российского университета дружбы народов. Серия: Международные отношения*, 19(4), 625-631.
- Adil, K. (2021). Policing extremism and terrorism in Pakistan. *Global Village Space*.
- Murphy, E. (2012). *The making of terrorism in Pakistan: historical and social roots of extremism*. Routledge. *Terrorism - Reasons and Precautions*, Saima Ibrahim (2011)
- Puri, S. (2012). *Pakistan's war on terrorism: strategies for combating jihadist armed groups since 9/11* (Vol. 30). Routledge.
- Riedel, B. (2008). Pakistan and terror: The eye of the storm. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 618(1), 31-45.
- Blair, G., Christine Fair, C., Malhotra, N., & Shapiro, J. N. (2013). Poverty and support for militant politics: Evidence from Pakistan. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1), 30-48.
- Estrada, M. A. R., Park, D., Kim, J. S., & Khan, A. (2015). The economic impact of terrorism: a new model and its application to Pakistan. *Journal of Policy Modeling*, 37(6), 1065-1080.
- Kaltenthaler, K., Miller, W. J., Ceccoli, S., & Gelleny, R. (2010). The sources of Pakistani attitudes toward religiously motivated terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 33(9), 815-835.
- Irshad, M. (2011). *Terrorism in Pakistan: Causes & Remedies*. Dialogue (Pakistan), 6(3).
- Khan, M. K., & Pratt, C. B. (2020). Strategic communications: The Pakistan military's use of social media against terrorism. *Media, War & Conflict*, 1750635220972127.
- Mamdani, M. (2002). Good Muslim, bad Muslim: A political perspective on culture and terrorism. *American anthropologist*, 104(3), 766-775.
- Mehmood, S. (2014). Terrorism and the macroeconomy: Evidence from Pakistan. *Defence and Peace Economics*, 25(5), 509-534.
- Michael, S. (2007). Terrorism a socio-economic and political phenomenon with special reference to Pakistan. *Journal of management and social sciences*, 3(1), 35-46.
- Johnston, P. B., & Sarbahi, A. K. (2016). The impact of US drone strikes on terrorism in Pakistan. *International Studies Quarterly*, 60(2), 203-219.
- Saeed, L., Syed, S. H., & Martin, R. P. (2014). Historical patterns of terrorism in Pakistan. *Defense & Security Analysis*, 30(3), 209-22.

**Legislation on Women Issues: Musharraf Regime**

By

**Mohammad Ikram**

M. Phil Scholar,  
University of the Punjab, Lahore  
&

**Prof. Dr. Naumana Kiran**

Pakistan Study Centre,  
University of the Punjab, Lahore

---

**Abstract**

*This paper deals with the women-related legislation, accomplished during Musharraf period. It seeks what factors were responsible for Musharraf's policies to empower women? what major issues were addressed by the parliament and why? What bills had been presented in the legislature and what Acts had been introduced? This study explores that there was a huge pressure on Pervaz Musharraf to protect the rights of the marginalized community of women, and to eliminate all sorts of violence against women like honor killings, wanni, diyat and the annulment of Zina and qazf from Hudood Ordinance. The major criticism on Pakistan, from the International community, was on the controversial laws of Hudood Ordinance, promulgated by General Zia ul Haq. Many political parties raised the slogan to amend the Hudood Ordinance in post Zia era but they could not do so, because of their political interests. In 1999, when General Pervaz Musharraf had toppled the government of Nawaz Sharif, he opposed the orthodox approach and announced that the progress lied in the modern way of life and business. The first phase of his regime from 1999 to 2002, mostly deals with the political uplift of women. Through different ordinances and orders, he strengthened the role and representation of women in local governments as well as in the National and provincial Legislatures. After the elections of 2002, with different ordinances, legislations and through amendment in the Constitution, Musharraf regime tried to eliminate violence against women and had tried to strengthen the social status of women..*

**Key Words**

Women, Legislation, Hudood Ordinance, Musharraf, Zia ul Haq

**Introduction**

This paper has been produced on the basis of primary and secondary sources. It also includes the debates of parliamentarians in National Assembly on women-oriented issues. The main focus of this paper is to analyze and discuss the different presidential ordinances and legislations related to women rights and protection. Multiple secondary sources have also been consulted to explain the factors behind Musharraf efforts to save women dignity within male dominated society.

**1. Factors Leading the Regime towards Women related legislation:**

Pervez Musharraf believed that, participation of woman in all walks of life and state administration had become essential for progress. Many factors pushed him to introduce some ordinances and laws in favor of women including his family background, childhood training and the most importantly to provide legitimacy to his rule. Moreover, internal, and external pressures also pushed him to introduce women related legislation in Pakistan.

**a. Family background**

Musharraf's family background was liberal in outlook, Musharraf spent several years in Turkey during his youth, as his father was posted to the Pakistani Embassy in Ankara. The vision of a moderate and liberal society of Istanbul had left deep impacts on his mind. He always wanted a moderate society in Pakistan, where women had equal rights, privileges, and opportunities in socio-economic and other spheres of life. Throughout his age, Islamic moderation remained a principle. He was influenced and later pursued the policies of father of the new Turkey, Kamal Ataturk. He wanted a modern and secular Pakistan, like Turkey, where religion could be considered as individual's private matter<sup>1</sup>. That is why, he tried to refine the position and status of women, based on Western ideology<sup>2</sup>. He introduced and provoked different laws to emancipate women in the social structure.

**b. Question of the Legitimacy of Regime**

Pervez Musharraf wanted to project the soft image of his government to get legitimacy within the country and recognition from outside of the world. He used women as are of the object to get legitimacy. Military heads in Pakistan usually tried to provide legitimacy to their rule depending on a straightforward and unique policy. Ayub tried to industrialize Pakistan and adopted liberal approach. Zia, however, used Islam as a tool to continue his rule. Musharraf found refuge in enlightened moderation and women were an important part of the whole scheme of enlightened moderation. Women were the 48.5% percent part of Pakistan's total population. They had great worth in voting behavior. He wanted to involve women in political process in a very considerable ratio and that ratio could give him vent to legitimize his power<sup>3</sup>. This method of emancipation of women also influenced the left-wing political leaders and political parties. Owing to this approach of his regime, the leftist leaders also showed their sympathy towards military regime. For example, Pakistan People Party was sitting in an opposition bench, but its leadership always cast vote in Assembly in favor of women-related legislation.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, a political activist Asama Jahangir also showed a soft corner towards his regime. So, he adopted a secular approach and got support from the leftists, even they were in opposition.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ian Talbot, *Pakistan: A New History*, (Karachi, Oxford University Press, 2012),188.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Cohen Philip, "The Nation and the State of Pakistan," *Washington Quarterly* 25, no. 3 (2002):109-112.

<sup>3</sup> Ashok Behuria K. "How military dominates the political space in Pakistan: A study of Musharraf's rule (1999-2008)." *Journal of peace studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2009), 76-78.

<sup>4</sup> National Assembly Debates, Official Report, Volume XXXVIII, 15 November 2006.



### c. Internal Pressures: A Case Study of Mukhtaran Mai

The plight of the women is very miserable in our society. The societal structure of Pakistan is patriarchal. The male-dominated society subverts the rights of women in every field of life. In densely populated cities as well as the less populated rural areas represent somehow equal ratio of marginalization of women. Similarly, the case of Mukhtaran Mai is very appropriate to mention here, which shocked our society. The case of Mukhtaran Mai was a rape case, and that rape was formally decided by local *Jirga* which were decided in *Jirga*<sup>5</sup> on 22, June 2002 in South Punjab<sup>6</sup>. Rape, no matter where it happens in the world, is a tragedy and deeply traumatic for the victim. This is un-Islamic, illegal, inhumane, and uncivilized; it is, however, one of the regrettable age-old customs of some of our rural areas that have imposed their beliefs onto both Islamic and secular law. This case drew attention of national as well as international community<sup>7</sup>. The incumbent government of Musharraf at that time also paid special attention towards this case. It also gave a reason to President Musharraf to eradicate such evils from society. He then, decided to work and to design policy for the emancipation of women. Hence, this case drenched Musharraf into pain. Therefore, he had taken concrete steps to include women in the mainstream politics and to enhance their social status. He also promulgated some laws to consider some inhumane customs of society as a crime. And these crimes should be dealt with iron hand. He believed that such social evils must be eradicated for the moral health of the society.

### d. Exogenous Factors

Sometimes the domestic policies are favored or pressurized by the external factors. Similarly, scenario of the world was changing in the Musharraf's times. The war against terrorism came into Pakistan. The persecution of minorities and sectarian divide was phenomenon of the Musharraf regime. The situation of women amid new wave of extremism was very miserable especially in extremism hit areas. They were frontline enemy of the terrorist groups. The terrorists were continuously demolishing the girls' schools and putting great pressure on Pakistan to stop girls education as well. This was happening mostly in Taliban controlled areas including Malakand Division, Sawat Valley and Federally Administrated Tribal Areas.<sup>8</sup> Taliban had destroyed approximately 170 schools in the region where about 55,000 girls and boys were enrolled in government and private educational institutions. Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan and many other religiously motivated militant groups attacked mostly the girls' schools for numerous reasons. They thought that these schools and colleges were spreading western ideology among the students, that's why they were forgetting their so-called male dominant structure of society. Further, they believed that the sole role of woman was to take care of the households. They were denied the fundamental rights of women, characterized by the liberal approach of United Nations and other organizations of

---

<sup>6</sup> Shahid, Ayesha. "Silent Voices, Untold Stories: Women Domestic Workers in Pakistan and their Struggle for Empowerment." PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2007.141.

<sup>7</sup> Hooks, Bell. *Feminist theory: From Margin to Center*, (London: Pluto Press, 2000),21.

<sup>8</sup> Nitin Prasad, *Contemporary Pakistan: Political System, Military and Changing Scenario*, (Delhi: Indian Books Pvt Ltd, 2016), 112.

## **Legislation on Women Issues...**

human rights.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, international community pressurized the Pervez Musharraf to introduce more legislation for the development and protection of women.

### **2. Women Related Legislation**

Women-related legislation, during Musharraf regime, can be divided into two phases; one from 1999 to 2002 and second was from 2002 to 2008.

#### **a. First Phase; 1999-2002**

Pakistan was facing problems of economic crisis and bad governance at the time of taking over the government by Musharraf. The political and social status of women was also in vulnerable condition. Pervaiz Musharraf had taken various steps to protect and empower the women in the country. The first phase of his regime basically deals with the political uplift of women in the country. The representation of women in the parliament in pre-Musharraf era, was very less in ratio to their population. Two major steps of Pervez Musharraf through Local Governments Ordinance 2001 and Legal Frame Work Order 2002 had strengthened the political status of women in Pakistan. The Local Governments Ordinance 2001 was promulgated on 14 August 2001 in all the four provinces of the country.<sup>10</sup> Through Local Governments Ordinance 2001 the quota of women in local governments of all four provinces had increased to 33%.

General Musharraf took a lot of initiatives to empower women politically by enhancing their seats in the three tiers of the government system of Pakistan; federal level, provincial level, and local bodies level, respectively. In this regard, he took concrete steps by giving them a quota in the political structure of Pakistan. The Constitution devises a three-tier system in the governmental structure: federal and provincial level and local self-government. On the federal level, the Pakistani Parliament consists of two houses: The Senate and the National Assembly.<sup>11</sup> The members of the National Assembly are traditionally directly elected by the universal adult franchise from single-member constituencies, divided based on population. In the Senate the representation of the provinces is equally distributed, each province has an equal number of seats in the upper house of parliament. On the provincial level, the members of the provincial assemblies are elected by the adult universal franchise from single-member constituencies, like the members of the National Assembly.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the drastic change that occurred in the

---

<sup>9</sup> S. Qadri, Umer, N., and Ahsan, L. "Political, Economic, Social and Legal Women Empowerment." *Public Policy and Administration Research*, Vol. 5, No.9 (2015): 142.

<sup>10</sup> Gazette of Pakistan, Local Government Ordinance, 2001, Punjab Assembly Library, Lahore.

<sup>11</sup> Blood R. Peter, *Pakistan: A Country Study*, (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1995), 211

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 213.

parliament of Pakistan after the inclusion of a 20% quota for women, erected a tower of hope for political empowerment of women in the political lexicon of Pakistan. <sup>13</sup>So, this unprecedented act of General Musharraf had raised the status of women in the legislation process of Pakistan.

Musharraf's regime had reserved sixty seats for women in the National Assembly. These developments had raised the National Assembly seats from 217 to 342 after the increasing quota of female parliamentarians. Similarly, provincial governments also followed the same precedent and increased 20% seats for women in their legislative's assemblies. Women politicians could also contest the election on general seats.

Undoubtedly, Senate is also equally important in the legislation process of the federal government of Pakistan. In particular, the senate equally represented all the federating units. Therefore, the legislation process in this house runs smoothly and efficiently with the consensuses of all-federating units. General Musharraf also revised the procedure of seat's allotment and gave equal representation to the women of all the provinces in this house.<sup>14</sup> Article 59 of the Constitution specifies the distribution of seats and the election process for the Senate, 17 seats had been fixed for women out of a total of 100; four seats for each province, and one seat for Islamabad. This is the first time in Pakistani history that female quota had been increased in the Senate. <sup>15</sup>The number of Senate members were raised from 87 to 100 in order to fill the reserved seats for women.

The provincial government is the second tier of the government and it is also very important in the process of legislation on provincial level. Musharraf also focused on the involvement of women in the legislative process at provincial level. Pakistan's four provincial assemblies had introduced a quota structure close to that of the National Assembly. Article 106 of the Constitution dealt with this particular section. The number of seats reserved for women in each provincial assembly was then equal to around 20 percent of the total number of seats in the assembly.<sup>16</sup>

Elections of 2002 were an electoral milestone in the empowerment of the women and in the introduction of Musharraf's reforms. Women managed to get 12 general seats in the National Assembly, besides 60 seats, reserved for women. Their numbers reached to 72 out of 342 members (21 percent). After the elections, three main groups and parties emerged as winners: the Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-i-Azam (PML-Q), a federally supported conservative party, then Muttahida Majlis-i-Amal (MMA), an alliance of six religious political parties, and the

---

<sup>13</sup>Graff Irene, "Women Representation in Pakistani Politics: The Quota Systems under the Musharraf Regime." *1st International Conference on Women and Politics in Asia, Halmstad, Sweden, March*, Vol. 16. (2003): 81.

<sup>14</sup> S. Qadri and N. Umer, N. "Women Empowerment and Political Democratization in Pakistan with reference to General Parvez Musharraf Regime". *Public Policy and Administration Research*, Vol.5, No 10 (2015): 102.

<sup>15</sup> Qadri, Political, Economic, Social and Legal, 144.

<sup>16</sup> Mona Lena Krook, "Not All Quotas are Created Equal: Trajectories of Reform to Increase Women's Political Representation." *European Consortium for Political Research* (2003): 34.

### **Legislation on Women Issues...**

Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the largest socialist party in Pakistan, founded by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Low voter turnout and allegations of election frauds by the government in favor of PML-Q candidates, according to both the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan and the European Union Election Observers Mission, marred the elections. The federal government and three provincial governments were headed by the PML-Q, while the provincial government in NWFP was headed by the MMA.<sup>17</sup>

The local self-government is the third tier of the government. It is totally based on the gross root of politics. Article 140-A deals with the local self-government in Pakistan. According to it, local governance has been viewed as a provincial decision area. This has resulted in major variations in how provinces administer their districts, as well as a wide variety of levels and forms of self-determination for local communities. <sup>18</sup>Local government elections have long been the responsibility of each province, resulting in local elections being held at irregular intervals. In fact, the military rulers had held the majority of local elections in Pakistan. As stated, the main objective of President Musharraf was to give the people of Pakistan "true democracy" when he seized power in 1999 before he called democracy in Pakistan a 'Sham Democracy'. He demonstrated a strong will for the creation of a system of democratic self-rule at all levels of society. One of his major moves in that direction was the establishment of a permanent and similar establishment of local government bodies. Via the LGO and the 2001 local system, the new system was introduced.<sup>19</sup>

The lowest level of the local government set up is the Union Council. Its twenty-one seats were allocated as follows to the ones who secure the most of the votes in the elections:

- 1 Nazim
- 1 Naib Nazim
- 8 General Muslim seats
- 4 Women Muslim seats
- 4 Muslim Peasant/worker seats
- 2 Women Muslim peasant/worker seats
- 1 Religious minority seat<sup>20</sup>

The implementation of various quotas in local government bodies was one of the steps used by the regime to restore power to the citizens of Pakistan. Both Muslim women and farmers/workers were given quotas in the 2001 local elections in order to improve the position of certain weak groups in society. As was shown, six of the twenty-one seats are reserved for women. Therefore, at this stage, the real women's quota was 28,57 percent of the seats, not 33 percent, the figure commonly quoted. The reason was that no quota was set aside for the Nazims and minorities. Both members of the general seats, reserved seats, Nazim and Naib Nazim representatives of the Union Council were elected by universal adult

---

<sup>17</sup> Irene, Women Representation in Pakistani Politics, 79.

<sup>18</sup> Naeem Mirza, Women, s Participation in Local Government Elections 2000-2001.27

<sup>19</sup> Ibid, 29

<sup>20</sup> Pattan Development Organization Local Government Elections 2001 & 2005: A Comparative Analysis, 22.

suffrage and on the basis of a separate electorate. For the election of council members, the union established a multi-member ward.<sup>21</sup> Muslim voters voted for all first five seats listed below, while non-Muslim voters voted only for the minority candidate:

- 1)One for General Muslim seats
- 2)One for Women Muslim seats
- 3)One for General peasant/worker seats
- 4)One for Women peasant/worker seats
- 5)One for Nazim and Naib nazim
- 6)One for the Minority seat

To help illiterate voters cast their votes correctly and to prevent getting their votes invalidated or risk voting for the wrong candidate, all six ballots had different colors and each candidate had a sign next to her/his name. During the first phase of the polls, this very complex voting system caused a lot of uncertainty, but things reportedly went much more smoothly in the later phases.<sup>22</sup>

The number of seats in all elected bodies varying from local bodies to provincial and national Assemblies had been drastically enhanced. It gave hope to women for better share in decision making. The Tehsil/Town Council is automatically made up of all Union Council naib nazims in a tehsil/town. There were also reserved seats for women, rural workers, and religious minorities at the Tehsil/town level. Both members of the Union Councils in the tehsil/town vote to elect these representatives. So are the Tehsil/Town Council's Nazim and Naib Nazim. A multi-member ward for the reserved seats of women in the council is the tehsil/town.<sup>23</sup>

At the district level, the Zila Council was the elected body. Both Nazim Council members of the Union Council were automatically members of the Zila Council. The members of the Union Councils in the district vote to elect these delegates. The Zila Council's Nazim and naib Nazim are the same way. According to the number of unions in the tehsils/towns, reserved seats for women in the council are split among the tehsils/towns in the district. The Tehsil/town is also a multi-member ward at the Zila Council level for the reserved women's seats.<sup>24</sup> First time in the political history of Pakistan, 36,000 women entered in the field of local governments. The women had directly contested the elections at union council level and some indirectly elected in tehsil and district council. The revolutionary step of Pervaz Musharraf to enhance the women participation in politics had enabled women of the lower level of society to contest the elections of union

---

<sup>21</sup> Socorro L. Reyes, "Quotas for Women for Legislative Seats at the Local Level in Pakistan", www. Idea.com accessed on 3, December,2021.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, 35

<sup>23</sup> Irene Graff, "Invisible Women, Invisible Rights – Women's Right to Election Participation with a Case Study of the 2001 Local Elections in Pakistan", Studies in Women's Law, University of Oslo 2003, 90

<sup>24</sup> Ibid, 19

council.<sup>25</sup> Women at local level then could participate in the decision-making process.

**a. Second Phase, 2002-2008**

The second phase of Musharraf's regime was prominent in context of introducing various legislations for the protection of women against discriminatory behavior of the society. In December 2003, 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment was incorporated into the Constitution of Pakistan. Parliament had amended various clauses of the constitution. The Legal Frame Work Order of Pervaz Musharraf was incorporated into the Constitution through 17<sup>th</sup> Amendment. Once again, he included 58(2) B.<sup>26</sup> Due to the efforts of Pervez Musharraf the representation of women in parliament and local governments had remarkably been increased for the first time in the political history of Pakistan. After the political empowerment of women, the President Pervez Musharraf had taken some effective steps to protect the basic fundamental rights of women through some ordinances and various legislations. Before that, there was no effective judicial protections for violence against female violence<sup>27</sup>. In many cases, various segments of the society permitted a man to persecute women in the name of so-called honor killing or *karo-kari*. Due to the efforts of women parliamentarians and the President Musharraf, some issues were discussed and debated in the Assembly and legislation had been done for the protection of women. Honor killing and the discriminatory laws of *Hudood Ordinance* were the two major issues, addressed during Musharraf's regime.

The regime brought some effective bills in the National Assembly to eliminate heinous crimes against women. Besides government, some bills were moved in the assembly by active female parliamentarians in the favor of women rights. These bills had put a lot of pressure on government to do some effective legislation. In the first parliamentary year, Miss Sherry Rehman from Pakistan People's Party moved a bill *The Protection and Empowerment of Women Bill, 2003* on 15 October 2003 in the National Assembly.<sup>28</sup> This was first step of women parliamentarians for the betterment of common women through the proper legislations. In next year, another bill was presented by Samia Raheel Qazi. The Uplift and Welfare of Women Bill, 2004, in the Assembly<sup>29</sup>. Due to pressure of female parliamentarians and civil society in 2004 government had passed an important Act the Criminal Law Amendment Bill 2004 for elimination of honor killings<sup>30</sup>. On 10 March 2005, Miss Sherry Rehman had moved two bills in the Assembly *the Prevention of Domestic Violence Bill, 2005* and *The Equality of Opportunity for Women Employment Bill, 2005* to increases the jobs opportunities

---

<sup>25</sup> Ashok K. Behuria, "How military dominates the political space in Pakistan: A study of Musharraf's rule (1999-2008)." *Journal of Peace Studies* Vol. 16, No. 1-2 (2009): 76.

<sup>26</sup> The 1973 Constitution of Pakistan.

<sup>27</sup> Anita M. Weiss, *Moving Forward with the Legal Empowerment of women in Pakistan*. (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 2012), 91.

<sup>28</sup> Naeem Mirza and Wasim Agha, *A Five-Year Report on Performance of Women Parliamentarians in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2002-2007)*, 27.

<sup>29</sup> Naeem Mirza and Wasim Agha, *A Five-Year Report on Performance of Women Parliamentarians in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2002-2007)*, 41.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid*,43.

for women in private and government sector<sup>31</sup>. Two days later, she presented another bill The *Haddoo Laws (Repeal) Bill, 2005* to protect women against the discriminatory laws of *Haddoo Ordinance*. These bills had put a lot of pressure on government benches to move Women Protection Bill, 2006 in the Assembly to protect women from domestic violence<sup>32</sup>. The honor killings and the discriminatory *Haddoo Laws* were against the fundamental rights of women. The male centric *Haddoo* laws related to adultery, did not give relief to women in any context. There was too much exploitation of women due to prevailing of these laws. Another prominent issue was honor killing and *karo-kari*. So, he introduced some legislation to eliminate these crimes against women.<sup>33</sup>

### **Honour-Killing and the Related Legislation:**

Honour-killing is a very insane human act, which is practiced generally in the rural areas of the Punjab, Sindh, Balochistan and Khayber Pakhtunkhwa. Honor killing is a tragic trait, women and girls are brutally murdered by their family members in the name of so-called family prestige, value and honor. Hundreds of the girls have been killed in the name of *karo-kari* till date. Honor killing is not just an incident, but has to become a culture and behavior of the people. In Pakistan, the word *karo-kari* is used to define honor killing in rural areas and tribal areas of Pakistan. Besides honor killings, many other affiliated insane and inhuman traditions have also been prevailing in our society.<sup>34</sup> For the settlements of honor killing cases on local level, the young daughters and sisters of the criminals are often given to the victim's heir in retribution of the cases. This heinous act of the society is called *vani* and *sawara* in Pakistan. The custom is commonly used in the rural areas of Punjab and Sindh<sup>35</sup>.

*Vani* is derived from "*Vany*" in Pashto, which stands for blood. In Pashtoon communities, this tradition was popular and was considered an act of good will to end sometimes prolonged conflicts of different tribes. The tradition of *Vani* was started nearly 400 years ago when two '*Pathan*' tribes of Mianwali waged a bloody war against each other. During their bloody conflict, about 800 individuals were killed from the both sides. Nawab of that time called the '*jirga*' to settle the rising conflict and to restore the peaceful relationships between the two tribes, He decreed that women from both sides should be given as '*Qisas*.' Since then, in Mianwali and surrounding areas, *Vani* has become a social custom. After that event this custom had been used in very negative and destructive ways. With reference to this tradition, mostly in the rural areas, there has been a routine to give the females even under teen age girls to the rivals to settle the disputes, caused by the male members of the family or tribe. So that's why it seems easy for the males

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid,48.

<sup>32</sup> Rubeena, Zakar, and Hamid. "Gender mainstreaming in politics: Perspective of female politicians from Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2018): 227.

<sup>33</sup>Dr. Awan, and Shehzadi Zamurrad. "Placement of Pakistani Women during Democratic Regimes: 1988-2018." *South Asian Studies* Vol. 33, No. 2 (2020).

<sup>34</sup> Abdul Hadi, "Patriarchy and Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan." *European Journal of Social Science Education and Research* Vol. 4, No. 4 (2017): 297.

<sup>35</sup>Zakar, and Hamid. Gender mainstreaming in politics, 229.

### Legislation on Women Issues...

to commit crime and if they are caught by someone, with no hesitation, they are ready to give a girl from their families.

The traditions like *Vani* and *Swara* are not only against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also in direct contrast with the teachings of Islam. All marriages, made under some kind of oppression, are categorically forbidden by Islam. The Holy Prophet (PBUH) has denied such kind of marriages on several occasions. In the Prophet (SAW) time, these types of forced marriages were called *Sabaya*, and that was the prominent feature of the age of ignorance. After the *Vani* and *Sawara* another way of escape for the murderers and perpetrators of the honor killings are the Islamic laws of *qisas* and *diyat*. According to the Islamic Laws, *qisas* is a term in which the heirs of the victim have a right to take the life of a murderer; they also have a right to forgive the perpetrator after receiving the blood money. *Qisas* is an important kind of punishment in Islamic laws. *Diyat* is also an Islamic term, under which the heirs or family of the victim take an amount in cash or kind from the perpetrator of the crime to forgive his crime<sup>36</sup>. The *diyat* and *qisas* laws allow the murderers and criminals to pay huge amount to the victim's family for the settlement of his heinous crime. In many regions of Pakistan, the majority of honor killings are done by the close relatives and family members like brother, father and husband of the women. In most of cases, whole family is found to be involved behind the honor killing and after the few months of the murder, the rest of the family pardon the killer under the shade of *diyat* laws. *Karo-Kari* is a type of deliberate honor killing which is commonly practiced in the rural and tribal regions of Pakistan. Violent acts are mainly committed against women who are considered to be engaged in illegitimate pre-marital or extra-marital affairs. They are punished on account of the fact that she has brought dishonor to their family<sup>37</sup>.

Such woman is killed by any of her male family member in order to reestablish the so-called dignity. The big irony is that, some tribal societies, socio-cultural variables and gender role standards have given legitimacy to *karo-kari*, *Vani* and other related crimes. Patriarchy is a culture evolved in the society is a mindset of man in which he exploits, dominates and oppresses the women in all spheres of society and state. Woman is considered inferior to man in every walk of life. When a woman in our society breaks some so-called moral values of the society, which were set by our male dominant mindset, that has been considered a threat to the male dominance and to his so-called honor and dignity. This kind of mind set is a production of centuries old traditions and it has become a psychological behavior of men to oppress the women<sup>38</sup>. It is also understood that the mindset is associated with criminal behavior. In the sense of crime, psychopaths have been discussed widely, especially in terms of its characteristic callous and unemotional

---

<sup>36</sup> Afiya Zia Shehrbano, "Can Rescue Narratives Save Lives? Honor Killing in Pakistan." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 44, no. 2 (2019): 355.

<sup>37</sup> Syed Hassan Raza and Mahmoona Liaqat. "Honor killing of women: A comparative study of the Pakistani print media." *VFAST Transactions on Education and Social Sciences* Vol. 5, No. 1 (2017): 33.

<sup>38</sup> Memoona Saeed Lodhi and Jawaid Ahmed Siddiqui. "A Sociological Perspective on the Issue of Killing in the name of Honor in Pakistan." *IOSR Journal of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 19 (2014).



personality profile. The psychological behavior of individuals is a main cause behind the cruel incidents of *karo-kari* and honor killing. They are motivated by the tradition that has been injected in their minds in the name of the dignity of their family<sup>39</sup>.

Every year, hundreds of women are killed for suspected wrongdoings such as adultery, marriage without the consent of the family, pre-marital sex or rape etc. According to the Women's Development Advisor to the Prime Minister, Miss Neelofar Bakhtiar, during 2003, as many as nine hundred and thirteen women were killed in 'honor-related crimes' in the region, with six hundred and thirty-eight cases of honor crimes committed in Sindh, four hundred and sixty-three in Punjab, one hundred and twenty in the Province of the North West Frontier and forty in Baluchistan. According to press reports, the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan reported the honor killings of three hundred and twenty-nine women in 1998, three hundred and three women in 1999, three hundred and fifteen women in 2000, two hundred and twenty-seven women in 2002 and two hundred and ninety women in 2002. Beside it, a large number of cases of honor killings and rapes were neither reported in media and nor in law enforcement agencies<sup>40</sup>.

The Pervez Musharraf government was under intense pressure to control the unethical and inhuman behavior of patriarchal society against the women. The rapid increasing cases of honor killing against women had been turned into a major challenge of Musharraf's regime. So the parliament of the country decided to take some effective steps to prevent it through the constitutional way. So the bill was presented in the assembly to protect women against the cruel attitude of society regarding the honor killing incidents<sup>41</sup>.

In the National Assembly, the Law Minister Muhammad Wasi Zafar presented the Criminal Law (Amendment) Bill 2004 against "honor killings" and the NA recognized it as a law on 26 October 2004 without any deliberation in the walkout of the opposition. The Bill had denounced the existence of the brutal tradition of honor killings for the first time in the constitutional history of Pakistan. This heinous crime had been criminalized instead of only the speeches in seminar rooms. At the same time, furious villagers in the locality of rural Punjab bound two persons to the rail track for marriage against the will of the elders of the family, and were crushed under the wheels of a speedy train just as the bill was being offered in the National Assembly<sup>42</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Muhammad, Niaz, M. M. Ahmed, Abdullah Abdullah, Fazle Omer, and N. H. Shah. "Honor Killing in Pakistan: An Islamic Perspective," *Asian Social Science* Vol. 8, No. 10 (2012): 180.

<sup>40</sup> Parveen Ali Azam, and Maria Irma Bustamante Gavino. "Violence against Women in Pakistan: A framework for Analysis." *Journal-Pakistan Medical Association* 58, no. 4 (2008): 198.

<sup>41</sup> Sadia Huda and Anila Kamal. "Assessing Demographics-based Differences in Attitude toward Honor killings." *Journal of interpersonal violence* (2020): 0886260520927499.

<sup>42</sup> *National Assembly Debates*, official report, Volume XXII, Oct 26, 2004.

### Legislation on Women Issues...

Development advisor to the Prime Minister, Miss Neelofar Bakhtiar said in her speech in the assembly, we have been working on this bill since 30<sup>th</sup> of July. We had a lot of support from media, lawyers, women rights organization and from the opposition benches. She said in her speech, there was a lot of contribution in the making of this legislation from Miss Sherry Rehman, Samia Raheel Qazi, Memona Hashmi, Begum Mehnaz Rafi, Begum Atiya Inatayt Ullah and many others from different political parties<sup>43</sup>. She further said that, the support of the President Pervaz Musharraf, Prime Minister Shaukat Aziz and our party President Chawdry Shujat Hussain highly encouraged us to pass this important legislation from the NA for the protection of women. Dr, Firdos Ashiq Awan said in her speech in the parliament, "I would like to congratulate the every single woman of Pakistan, the bill passed by the assembly is a revolutionary step for the protection of women lives in the country"<sup>44</sup>. She had criticized the attitude of opposition; she said at least the presence of women parliamentarians of the opposition was necessary at the time of this important legislation<sup>45</sup>. The government had passed the legislation against honour crimes in the absence of opposition. That's way there was no any remarks from opposition in the assembly regarding this legislation<sup>46</sup>.

The provisions of the bill are very important as many favors and reliefs had been given to the victims. The Bill's states, the "issue of honor-killing and other honor crimes committed in the name of '*karo-kari*, '*siyah-kari* and similar other customs have always been a matter of concern of human rights organizations and the public, which has assumed more significance in the recent years"<sup>47</sup>. The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 2004, had proposed various changes to the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC), 1860. It had increased the punishment for the crimes of honor killings. However, to make it mild and appropriate to different parts of society, the term 'honor killing' has been replaced with 'honor crime'<sup>48</sup>. Under amended Section 299, Act XLY of 1860 PPC, 'honor crime' means an offense committed in the name of '*Ghairat*' and honor. For '*Ghairat and* honor justification, it requires the killing of victim and the offense committed under the pretext of '*karo-kari*, '*siyah-kari* or other related customs'<sup>49</sup>. In clause 'm' it has added the words at the end other than the person who murdered the victim '. Under amended section 302, Act XLY of 1860, honor offence shall be subject to a maximum of 25 years' imprisonment and not less than 10 years for the crime. Amended Sections 310 and 331 of the PPC prevent the marriage of a girl as '*badla-i-sullah*', any offence under these sections is punishable by a maximum of 14 years imprisonment and a minimum of seven years imprisonment<sup>50</sup>.

---

<sup>43</sup> *National Assembly Debates*, official report, Volume XXII, Oct 26, 2004.

<sup>44</sup> *National Assembly Debates*, official report, Volume XXII, Oct 26, 2004.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid*

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*.156.

<sup>47</sup> Muhammad Zia Ullah, "Honour Killings in Pakistan: Under Theoretical, Legal and Religious Perspectives." (2010), p. 27.

<sup>48</sup> *The Criminal Law Amendment Act*, 2004, The Gazette of Pakistan, Jan 2, 2005.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid*.

The amendment to section 324 deals to include as an honor offense the harming of a victim. Similarly, 'Ta'zir' shall not be less than one-third of the full imprisonment for the hurt caused and shall not be less than half of the term of imprisonment if the hurt caused relates to an honorable offence.<sup>51</sup> The Bill further specifies that no officer below the rank of Superintendent of Police (SP) will be entitled to investigate an offense under section 295-C of the PPC for blasphemy. An addition to section 56B provided that the case of a woman accused of adultery could not be investigated by a police officer below the level of Superintendent of Police<sup>52</sup>.

Before the Criminal Law Amendment Act 2004, there was no strong provision in the law to protect the women from so called honor killings. Honor killings were considered as the normal part of society in order to restore the dignity of a family. There was no difference between honor killing and honor crime. Before this legislation, word honor killing was used to defend the murderer; they claimed that, he did this heinous crime for the purposes of his defense. But in the term 'honor crime' every single violent act against women in the name of honor was made punishable. Every minor act in name of dignity against women was considered an honor crime. Before the Act there were no separate legislations to protect the women from the cruel traditions but the Act had increased the punishments for honor crimes. Before the act, the women were unsafe due to the *Zina* Ordinance of Zia's era, lack of the four mature male eyewitnesses in many rape cases, hundreds of girls had been killed in the name of *ghairat* and honor. The Criminal Law Amendment Act, 2004 had strengthened the position of women in the judicial system of the country<sup>53</sup>.

#### **Legislation Related to general Protection of Women:**

There were many issues and problems related to protection of women, which needed the attention of state. The Pervez Musharraf regime addressed these issues in a very effective way through different amendments and legislations. The attitude of the male centered society was very pathetic and totally against the fundamental rights of women, which were mentioned in the Constitution of Pakistan. There were many issues like kidnapping and compelling women for marriage, selling and buying women for prostitution, the less punishments in the crimes of rapes, taking women for criminal intension, fornication and the false blame of fornication and the replacement of *Zina* and *Qazaf* Ordinance of Zia-ul-Haq. These issues were against the real spirit of the constitution of Pakistan<sup>54</sup>.

Article 14 of the Constitution of Pakistan ensures that the privacy of home and the dignity and honor of every individual should be protected by the state. Every citizen of the country has right to live with full honor and respect<sup>55</sup>. According to the bill, the article 25 of the Constitution of Pakistan, there is no discrimination in the country on the basis of sex and gender. The member of every gender has an equal right to live in the society. That's why the state shall ensure the protection of

---

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> James Chalmers and Fiona Leverick. "Fair Labelling in Criminal Law." *The Modern Law Review* Vol. 71, no. 2 (2008): 217.

<sup>54</sup> Weiss, *Moving forward with the Legal Empowerment*, 118.

<sup>55</sup> The Constitution of Pakistan. 1973(www.na.gov.pk)

### Legislation on Women Issues...

women at any cost. In article 37 of the Constitution of Pakistan, the state shall be responsible for the promotion of social justice and shall take the effective steps against the all types of social evils<sup>56</sup>.

The main aim of the bill was to deal with some problematic issues related to the crimes of *Zina* and *Qazf*. The bill was a comprehensive attempt of the legislature to bring these crimes under Pakistan Penal Code according to the guidance of Islam as well as the constitution of the country. The Pervez Musharraf regime had taken remarkable steps to counter the discriminatory laws of *Hudood* Ordinance, which was promulgated by General Zia-ul-Haq in his regime. The two main discriminatory clauses of *Hudood* Ordinance were *zina* and *qazf*. *Hudood* Ordinance was promulgated by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1979 to deal with the crimes of adultery, fornication, extra-marital relations and the consumption of alcohol etc. The *Hudood* Ordinance was the part of Zia's Islamization slogan The *Hudood* Ordinance was the main cause of social discrimination against women. The facts shows that the most convicted people were cleared by the appellate courts, which were found guilty by the trial court. These *Hudood* Ordinances were constantly condemned as a significant violation of human rights by women rights activists and human rights organizations. They proclaimed it to be the so-called Islamic laws which related to the interest of man. They considered this is the main cause of women oppressions in the society<sup>57</sup>. The activists of women rights had declared the *Hudood* laws were discriminatory and in contrast with the standards of justice. They also conducted a useful research in this matter. They have been campaigning and lobbying to repeal the oppressive legislation against women. For twenty-seven years, these feminist activists raised their voices to overturn these laws.<sup>58</sup>

The procedure to annul the *Hudood* Ordinance was initiated in June 2006. In order to abolish the Hudood Regulations, General Pervaiz Musharraf had called the prominent religious scholars for recommendations and guidance for Islamic point of view on this matter. The Council of Islamic Ideology proposed that the *Hudood* Laws should be rewritten by the state according to the guidance of Quran and Sunnah, as well as integrated into the Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes of Pakistan. As the contemporary world is changing day by day, it was needed to amend the Hudood laws. It was eventually determined that the *zina* laws should be reformed through the constitutional way. A committee of five ministers was set up to move the bill in the National Assembly of Pakistan and the federal cabinet had approved the draft of the bill.

After a long series of discussion with the religious scholars and other intellectuals of respective field, on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2006, the Law Minister Mr. Muhammad Wassi Zafar had moved the Bill in the National Assembly of Pakistan. The prominent political parties of the country, the Jammāt e Ialāmī, Jamīat Ulma-e-Islām and opposition opposed the bill on the floor of the house. They declared it as

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Moeen H. Cheema, "Cases and controversies: pregnancy as proof of guilt under Pakistan's Hudood Laws." *Brook. J. Int'l L.* 32 (2006): 121.

<sup>58</sup> Anita M. Weiss, "Women's Position in Pakistan: Sociocultural Effects of Islamization." *Asian Survey* 25, No. 8 (1985): 245

un-Islamic and against the real spirit of Islam related to the affairs of women in religion. They believed that, the bill was contradictory with rights given by Islam for the protection of women<sup>59</sup>.

Due to the Act, there was a lot of discussion in the assembly by the government and opposition. Despite of the government, the bill was supported by few political parties from opposition benches as well, including Pakistan People's Party. The member of PPP, Miss Sherry Rehman said, they are supporting the bill, because, their commitment has always been with deprived women for the protection of their rights. The Women Protection Bill does not contradict with Islam<sup>60</sup>. The main opposition of the bill was coming from the MMA religious political parties including JUI (F), JI and Sunni Ithad Council. The Leader of the Opposition, Mulana Fazal-ur-Reham, Khawaja Saad Rafique from PML (N), Liaqat Baloch from Jamaat-i-Islami, Sahibzada Fazal Kareem From Sunni Ithad Council, Abdul Gafoor Haidri, Farid Ahmad Paracha and Sumia Raheel Qazi, had strongly opposed the bill, in their speeches in the assembly, they said, the sections and clauses of the bill are totally against the real spirit of Islam about the women related matters<sup>61</sup>. They said, the amendments of *Hudood* Ordinance are contradictory with the teachings of Quran and Sunnah. The main aim of the government is to secularize country according to the wishes of Western and American pressure. Mulana Fazal-ur-Rehman also said in his speech, "the government did not pay his attention to resolve the real issues including forced child marriages, women right of inheritance and the more insane traditions of *diyyat* and *wanni*. The ruling party wants to make the country on secular principles, due to the international and NGO, s pressure"<sup>62</sup>. The role of PML (N) was neutral, on the floor of the house khawaja Saad Rafique had openly opposed the bill but at the time of walkout, on the point of order, Khawja Muhammad Asif said, on the Party instructions, "they don't walkout from the assembly session, but at the same time, they don't have any interest to vote in the favor of the bill"<sup>63</sup>.

After all discussion, the bill was passed by parliament of Pakistan. Despite of the criticism of Opposition Leader Mulana Fazal-ur-Rehman, MMA, Jamaat-i-Islami and extremist religious fanatics, the act was promulgated after the final assent of President Pervez Musharraf on the bill<sup>64</sup>

For resolving the issues related to women, parliament had amended the followings,

1. Pakistan Penal Code (Act of XLY of 1860)
2. The Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898
3. The Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939 (VIII of 1939)
4. The Offence of *Zina* (Enforcement of *Hudood*) Ordinance, 1979 (VII of 1979)

---

<sup>59</sup> *National Assembly Debates*, official report, Volume XXXVIII, Nov 15, 2006.

<sup>60</sup> *National Assembly Debates*, official report, Volume XXXVIII, Nov 15, 2006.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *National Assembly Debates*, official report, Volume XXXVIII, Nov 15, 2006.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> *National Assembly Debates*, official report, Volume XXXVIII, Nov 15, 2006.

## Legislation on Women Issues...

### 5. The Offence of *Qazf* (Enforcement of *Hadd*) Ordinance, 1979 (VIII of 1979)

The above-mentioned acts deal with cruel and heinous social evils against women and gives protection to women and the victim against the cruelty of the criminals<sup>65</sup>.

In the bill, it is stated that, the kidnapping and the abduction of a women or girl would be considered a major crime. New section, 365B and 367A were added in the Pakistan Penal Code (Act of XLY of 1860) to prevent the abduction of women for any matter. This section has abolished the marriages of women against her will and consent. If anybody kidnaps or forces any female for illicit intercourse and marriage, “shall be imprisoned for life and shall pay a fine on the orders of the court”<sup>66</sup>. The section 367A emphasize on the kidnapping of women by anyone for their unnatural lust. This crime would be considered a major crime in the eyes of laws. In that crime, the criminal shall be punished with death sentence or imprisonment that would be increased to the 25 years. The criminal shall pay the fine to the victim on the decision of the respective court<sup>67</sup>.

The prostitution is considered an unethical act in our society as well as in Islam. In our society the majority of the prostitutes don't want to continue this profession. They are controlled by a strong mafia. A lot of the homeless girls are sold at the hands of the heads of the mafias. The Women Protection Act also gives clear direction to prevent the selling of girls for prostitution. To prevent this heinous crime, the new section 371A and 371B were added in the Act XLY of 1860. The amendments of the bill, would play a remarkable role to eliminate the buying and selling of girls and individuals for the purposes of prostitution. The person who manages the brothel for this unethical business shall be punishable by the court. The person convicted of that crime shall be punished with fine and imprisonment that may extend to 25 years. These punishments first time had been introduced in Pakistan by the Musharraf regime.<sup>68</sup>

The term rape means to force a women and girl for illegal intercourse. There is no place for raped women in the society. To encounter this insane behavior, the new sections 375 and 376 were added in the Act. Before that there was no proper guidance in PPC to punish the rapist. The cases of rape had rapidly been increased due to the absence of proper law. The person who is involved in rape shall be punished to death and would be in prison not less than ten or more twenty-five years<sup>69</sup>.

A man, who takes women with wrong intention to take part in a crime or to illegal intercourse with someone, is considered a crime according to this Act.

---

<sup>65</sup> *Women Protection Act.2006*, The Gazette of Pakistan, Dec 2, 2006.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Women Protection Act.2006*, The Gazette of Pakistan, Dec 2, 2006.

The culprit shall be punished with imprisonment of seven years, and this crime is liable to fine according to the orders of the court<sup>70</sup>.

Fornication had also been prohibited in that bill and false accusation of fornication is also punishable act according to the respective Act. The new sections 496B and 496C were added in the Act XLY of 1860, to prevent the behavior of intercourse without legal marriage. It also deals with false accusation of fornication; a person who gives false and unreliable evidences shall be punishable for imprisonment of up to 5 years<sup>71</sup>.

Before the enforcement of Women Protection Act 2006, the *zina* and *qazf* were the laws under the *Hudood* Ordinance. There was huge pressure on Pakistan to amend these laws, because the critics considered it against the fundamental right of women.

To resolve this issue, the Pervaz Musharraf Regime decided to change the two most controversial clauses. For the removal of these laws, after the section 203, the two new sections 203A and 203B were inserted into the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898 (Act V Of 1898)<sup>72</sup>. The amendment in *Hudood* Ordinance was a landmark in our constitutional history. Through this the government made the laws about adultery which were acceptable for all segments of society. Through this law, a woman has been enabled to challenge the violent offences against her in the court that was very difficult to her prior to the promulgation of Women Protection Act.

1. *Hadd* and *Tazir* punishments were separated from each other.
2. Rape (*Zina bil jabr*) is distinguished from fornication/adultery (*Zina*) and placed in the Penal Court of Pakistan (PPC).
3. Fornication was added as the *Tazir* offense in the PPC.
4. Woman has enabled to put a complain directly in the session court, where the respective judge also ordered the police for an FIR against the criminals.
5. The discrimination of women ended.
6. The crime of rape has been included in the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC).

The Women Protection Act 2006 had strengthened the women before the eye of law. After the implementation of Women Protection Act 2006 the crimes and violence against women had been reduced than of the past decades<sup>73</sup>. The discriminatory laws of *Hudood* Ordinance had been changed through the legislation of Parliament. The new era of women emancipation had been started in the country. The discriminatory laws about adultery and fornication against women had been abolished. Women Protection Act was a milestone, achieved by the Musharraf Regime in the political history of Pakistan. It provided safe zone to

---

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid

<sup>73</sup> Cheema, Cases and Controversies, 121.

## Legislation on Women Issues...

women at least in the constitution of the country. It brought the laws of *zina* and *qazf* under the Pakistan Penal court<sup>74</sup>

### Legislation on Minor Issues related to Women

The regime had also addressed some neglected and minor issues related to women. Due to the loopholes of legal protection, the condition of the women in the prison was vulnerable. After too much criticism of different human rights organizations, President Musharraf issued an Ordinance to provide the right of bail to women in cases of adultery, extra-marital relations etc. On 8<sup>th</sup> July 2006, the President Pervez Musharraf had promulgated an ordinance The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance 2006. An addition to section 497 of the Code of Criminal Procedure allowed bail to be issued in non-bailable cases, with the exception of certain offenses. Because of that ordinance around 1200 women were released from the jails. Most of the women were caught in the cases of adultery and fornication<sup>75</sup>

The Ordinance modified the Code of Criminal Procedure to grant the woman, convicted in any crime the right to bail, With the exception of her involvement in terrorism, and murder or a crime punishable by death. Above mentioned Ordinance was remarkable move of President in its nature. The structure of our society is more complex than the imagination of common intellect. After that ordinance the main issue was the acceptance of accused women in society. The majority of the released women were scared from their families, because there is a no place for raped women in our society. That's why the most of them had refused to go back to their homes. So, the majority of the victims of Hudood laws sent into the government institution like dar-ul-amaan etc.

### Conclusion

Musharraf's liberal family background, his training in modern society of Istanbul, the question of legitimacy of his rule after toppling Nawaz Sharif regime, internal pressure from human rights groups, NGO's and International Pressure due to Talibanization of some segments of the society were the major factors behind his extra attention and legislation related to women. While believing in the fact that social and political emancipation of women besides other spheres of life is necessary for progress in modern world. Musharraf did a lot for the protection of women rights. Due to the war against terror and the bad impression of Pakistan in the Western world, it was compulsory for the Pakistan government to change the laws related to women specifically.

For preventing honor killings in the country, the regime moved Criminal Law Amendment Act (2004) in the National Assembly. In that Act, punishments of the crimes related to honor killings were described. It introduced many changes regarding honor killings crimes, its punishments and the procedure of investigation of honor crimes. In 2006, President Pervaz Musharraf had introduced The Code of Criminal Procedure (Amendment) Ordinance 2006, for the bail of non-bailable offenses of women. Hundreds of women and girls were in prison due to the cases

---

<sup>74</sup> Filomena M. Critelli, and Jennifer Willett. "Struggle and hope: Challenging gender violence in Pakistan." *Critical Sociology* Vol. 39, No. 2 (2013): 201-221.

<sup>75</sup> The Code of Criminal Procedure Amendment Ordinance .2006.



of adultery and extra-marital relations. The irony was that, many of them were in the jail due to absence of four eyewitnesses on the crime scene. Due to new Act, they were released from the jail. After the Ordinance, the Protection of Women Act 2006 was passed by the Parliament. Through this Act, Hudood Ordinance was amended, and the crimes of *zina* and *qazf* were brought under the Pakistan Penal Code. The discriminatory clauses of the ordinance, which were contradictory to women fundamental rights were abolished. Due to efforts of Musharraf Government, the law against the interests and basic rights of women had been eliminated from the Constitution and from the Hudood Ordinance. There were a lot of difficulties, but General Musharraf remained determined and tried to alter the destiny of women in Pakistan, though much is to be done yet.

References

- Afiya Zia Shehrbano, "Can Rescue Narratives Save Lives? Honor Killing in Pakistan." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 44, no. 2 (2019): 355.
- Syed Hassan Raza and Mahmooda Liaqat. "Honor killing of women: A comparative study of the Pakistani print media." *VFAST Transactions on Education and Social Sciences* Vol. 5, No. 1 (2017): 33.
- Memoona Saeed Lodhi and Jawaid Ahmed Siddiqui. "A Sociological Perspective on the Issue of Killing in the name of Honor in Pakistan." *IOSR Journal of Humanities And Social Science (IOSR-JHSS)* 19 (2014).
- Muhammad, Niaz, M. M. Ahmed, Abdullah Abdullah, Fazle Omer, and N. H. Shah. "Honor Killing in Pakistan: An Islamic Perspective," *Asian Social Science* Vol. 8, No. 10 (2012): 180.
- Ashok Behuria K. "How military dominates the political space in Pakistan: A study of Musharraf's rule (1999-2008)." *Journal of peace studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2009), 76-78.
- National Assembly Debates, Official Report, Volume XXXVIII, 15 November 2006.
- Shahid, Ayesha. "Silent Voices, Untold Stories: Women Domestic Workers in Pakistan and their Struggle for Empowerment." PhD diss., University of Warwick, 2007.141.
- Hooks, Bell. *Feminist theory: From Margin to Center*, (London: Pluto Press, 2000),21.
- Nitin Prasad, *Contemporary Pakistan: Political System, Military and Changing Scenario*, (Delhi: Indian Books Pvt Ltd, 2016), 112.
- Filomena M. Critelli, and Jennifer Willett. "Struggle and hope: Challenging gender violence in Pakistan." *Critical Sociology* Vol. 39, No. 2 (2013): 201-221.
- The Code of Criminal Procedure Amendment Ordinance .2006.
- Anita M. Weiss, *Moving Forward with the Legal Empowerment of women in Pakistan*. (Washington: US Institute of Peace, 2012), 91.
- <sup>1</sup> Naeem Mirza and Wasim Agha, A Five-Year Report on Performance of Women Parliamentarians in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2002-2007), 27.
- <sup>1</sup> Naeem Mirza and Wasim Agha, A Five-Year Report on Performance of Women Parliamentarians in the 12<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (2002-2007), 41.
- Rubeena, Zakar, and Hamid. "Gender mainstreaming in politics: Perspective of female politicians from Pakistan." *Asian Journal of Women's Studies* Vol. 24, No. 2 (2018): 227.
- Dr. Awan, and Shehzadi Zamurad. "Placement of Pakistani Women during Democratic Regimes: 1988-2018." *South Asian Studies* Vol. 33, No. 2 (2020).
- Abdul Hadi, "Patriarchy and Gender-Based Violence in Pakistan." *European Journal of Social Science Education and Research* Vol. 4, No. 4 (2017): 297.
- Zakar, and Hamid. Gender mainstreaming in politics, 229.

**Structuring And Mechanism of Mainstream Political Parties of Pakistan -An  
Analytical  
Study (1947-2002)**

By  
**Ishrat Noureen, PhD**  
[Ishratnoureen2015@gmail.com](mailto:Ishratnoureen2015@gmail.com)

---

**Abstract**

*Current study is focusing on structuring and mechanism of mainstream political parties of Pakistan -an analytical study (1947-2002). Pakistan is a multi-party majority rule government, different political parties ruled. Government during 1947-2002 analytical study explained historical development of political parties discussed in brief.*

**Key Words**

Pakistan, Politics, Mainstream, Parties, Democracy

**Introduction**

Pakistan is a multi-party majority rule government. The country has various political social occasions and more often than not for the country to be driven by a coalition government. The Parliament of Pakistan is bicameral, containing the National Assembly of Pakistan and the Senate. The major political get-together in Pakistan is recorded underneath in consecutive request organize<sup>1</sup>.

The assorted variety of Pakistan's areas, in this manner, was a potential danger to focal specialist. While the commonplace fields kept on being the fundamental focuses of political movement, the individuals who begin making the brought together government in Karachi were either legislator with no genuine help or government employees prepared in the old customs of British Indian organization<sup>2</sup>. The characteristic shortcomings of the Muslim League's structure, together with the nonattendance of a focal authoritative device that could organize the undertakings of the state, ended up being a devastating impediment for Pakistan in general. The nearness of a large number of exiles called for pressing therapeutic activity by a focal government that, past not being built up, had neither satisfactory assets nor limits. The business bunches still couldn't seem to put resources into some urgently required modern units. Also, the need to remove incomes from the agrarian segment called for state intercessions, which caused a split between the regulatory mechanical assembly of the Muslim League and the landed first class that overwhelmed the Muslim League<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> Dikshit, Ramesh Dutta. The political geography of federalism: an inquiry into origins and stability. The Australian National University (Australia), 1971.

<sup>2</sup> Daechsel, Markus. The politics of self-expression: The Urdu Middleclass Milieu in mid-twentieth century India and Pakistan. Routledge, 2006.

## Structuring And Mechanism of Mainstream Political Parties...

Both the military and the normal organization were impacted by the unsettling influences made by bundle. Pakistan consumed different government authorities through their beginning political and budgetary crises. The administration authorities were deteriorated, excited about keeping up their political power and tying down the interests of the tip top, so to have them as the agent master did not give much any longing for a vote based express that gave monetary value and sensible association to each and every Pakistani national. Broadening talks over the issue of the national lingo, the activity of Islam, typical depiction, and the movement of force between within and the territories conceded constitution making and deferred general races<sup>4</sup>.

### Literature Review

Mohammad Ali Jinnah had constantly imagined a law-based Pakistan and a considerable lot of his successors have battle towards this objective, yet not more than keeping up their own stages of intensity. Ironically such political flimsiness torments a nation whose main goal of its pioneers is to anchor their very own capacity. Perhaps it is the ideal opportunity for another condition. The activities of both common and military pioneers have comprehensively attempted the Pakistani individuals and their battle as a country. Pakistan faces the unenviable assignment of setting government needs as per the requirements of its assorted and unevenly created constituent units<sup>5</sup>. Despite the type of government - nonmilitary personnel or military, Islamic or common - arrangements of the issue of mass absence of education and monetary imbalances from one viewpoint, and the objectives of national reconciliation and national security will likewise decide the level of political solidness, or unsteadiness, that Pakistan faces in the decades ahead. Be that as it may, the general population and the country continue on offering the world awesome social, religious, and scholarly conventions.

The Party System and origins of the Political Parties in Pakistan (1947-2002) Pakistani political parties have never fully organized. What passed for parties can be better described as movements or personalist factions. The Muslim League was founded in 1906 to defend Muslim interests on, the subcontinent. In 1940, the league, under the leadership of Mohammad Ali Jinnah, called for partition and the establishment of an independent Muslim state. At the time of partition in 1947, the league became the government party of the new Pakistan. It was, however, a movement that never developed, a disciplined national organization, and it soon disintegrated into a variety opersonalist and regional factions. Its electoral defeat in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) 1954 signaled its demise, but it continued to play a role in. West Pakistan politics until martial law was imposed in 1958<sup>6</sup>.

When party activity resumed in 1962, the league divided into two factions; the Convention Muslim League, the political vehicle of Ayub khan; and the Council Muslim League, which played a role in the ouster of Ayub in 1969, only to suffer

---

3 Kothari, Rajni. *Politics in india*. Orient Blackswan, 1970.

4 Hussain, Mushahid, and Akmal Hussain. *Pakistan: Problems of governance*. New Delhi: Konark Publishers, 1993.

5 Jaffrelot, Christophe, ed. *Pakistan: nationalism without a nation*. Zed Books, 2002.

crushing defeat at the polls in 1970. Other parties of note in the first decade of Pakistani independence - the Awami League, the National Awami Party, the Republican were essentially regional in organization and parochial in outlook. From 1958 to 1971, party activity was more reactive than positive; genuine political power rested with the civilian bureaucracy and the military apparatus<sup>7</sup>.

In October 1956 an agreement was cobbled together and Pakistan's first constitution announced. The investigation in popularity-based government was short yet not sweet. Services were made and broken one after another and in October 1958, with national decisions planned for the next year, General Mohammad Ayub Khan completed a military upset without breaking a sweat<sup>8</sup>.

Somewhere in the range of 1958 and 1971 President Ayub Khan, through imperious lead could bring together the legislature without the bother of precarious pastoral alliances that had described its first decade after autonomy. Khan united a coalition of a transcendently Punjabi armed force and common administration with the little yet persuasive modern class and also portions of the landed tip top, to supplant the parliamentary government by an arrangement of Basic Democracies. Essential Democracies code was established on the introduce of Khan's finding that the government officials and their "free-for-all" kind of battling had sick impact on the nation. He hence precluded every single old government official under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order, 1959 (EBDO). The Basic Democracies foundation was then upheld advocating "that it was majority rules system that suited the virtuoso of the general population." few essential democrats (at first eighty thousand partitioned similarly between the two wings and later expanded by another forty thousand) chose the individuals from both the common and national gatherings. Thus the Basic Democracies framework did not enable the individual nationals to take an interest in the equitable procedure, yet opened up the chance to pay off and purchase cast a ballot from the constrained voters who were advantaged enough to cast a ballot<sup>9</sup>.

By giving the common administration (the picked few) a section in discretionary governmental issues, Khan had would have liked to support focal specialist, and to a great extent American-coordinated, programs for Pakistan's financial improvement. Be that as it may, his arrangements exacerbated existing aberrations between the areas and inside them. Which gave the complaints of the eastern wing an intensity that debilitated the exceptionally brought together control Khan was endeavoring to set up? In West Pakistan, prominent triumphs in expanding profitability were more than balanced by developing disparities in the agrarian division and their absence of portrayal, a horrifying procedure of urbanization, and the centralization of riches in a couple of mechanical houses. In the result of the 1965 war with India, mounting territorial discontent in East Pakistan and urban

---

6 Jalal, Ayesha. *The sole spokesman: Jinnah, the Muslim League and the demand for Pakistan*. No. 31. Cambridge University Press, 1994.

7 Taseer, Salmaan. *Bhutto: a political biography*. London: Ithaca Press, 1979.

8 Scates, Shelby. *War and Politics by Other Means: A Journalist's Memoir*. University of Washington Press, 2000.

## **Structuring And Mechanism of Mainstream Political Parties...**

turmoil in West Pakistan undermined Ayub Khan's position, compelling him to give up power in March 1969<sup>10</sup>.

### **Discussion and Analysis**

After Ayub Khan, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan headed the second military administration from 1969-1971. At that point the nation had been under military managed for thirteen of its quarter centuries of presence. This second military administration accentuated the degree to which the procedure of centralization under bureaucratic and military tutelage had divided Pakistani society and governmental issues. The general races of 1970 based on grown-up establishment uncovered surprisingly in Pakistan's history how regionalism and social clash had come to overwhelm legislative issues in spite of the endeavors at controlled advancement<sup>11</sup>.

The Awami League, driven by Mujibur Rahman, battled on a six-point program of commonplace self-rule, catching everything except one seat in East Pakistan and anchoring an outright dominant part in the national gathering. In West Pakistan the Pakistan People's Party, driven by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, had a populist stage that stole the roar from the Islamic gatherings (the Muslim League, the most seasoned political gathering caught close to a couple of seats) and rose as the biggest single coalition. The possibility of an Awami Leagues government was a danger to lawmakers in West Pakistan who in trick with the military authority kept Mujibur from steering of intensity. This was the issue that crosses over into intolerability for the east wing who was at that point tired of their under-portrayal in all divisions of the administration, monetary hardship and after that the concealment of the law-based process<sup>12</sup>.

A furnished defiance in East Pakistan incited these disappointments, which made Indian military intercession pulverize it. Pakistan was presently engaged with its third war with India, in this manner making room for the foundation of Bangladesh in 1971.

The destroying of Pakistan demolished both the basic association and the furnished power; General Yahya Khan was left no choice anyway to hand all control over to the Pakistan's People's Party (PPP) who saw the advancement of an operator driven by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Bhutto's optional quality, regardless, was kept to the Punjab and Sind, and even there it had not been established on solid political social occasion affiliation. This, together with the PPP's nonattendance of following in the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, suggested that Bhutto couldn't work the central mechanical get together without in any occasion the comprehended help of the regular organization and the military focal authority. The 1973 constitution made broad concessions to the non-Punjabi regions and

---

9 Baxter, Craig. "Pakistan Votes--1970." *Asian Survey* 11, no. 3 (1971): 197-218.

10 Kiran, Naumana. "ZA Bhutto's Cabinet: A Study of Its Role in Formulation of Economic and Foreign Policy, 1971-1977." *Journal of the Research Society of Pakistan* 52, no. 2 (2015): 133-152.

11 Tonchev, Plamen. *Pakistan at Fifty-Five: From Jinnah to Musharraf*. European Institute for Asian Studies, 2002.

gave the arrangement to a political system subject to the likeness to a national accord. However, Bhutto fail to execute the administration plans of the constitution. He relied upon the coercive arm of the state to snuff out political limitation and by neglect to develop the PPP as a truly acclaimed national social occasion<sup>13</sup>.

The opening between his well-known talk and the negligible accomplishments of his somewhat careless fiscal changes hindered Bhutto shape joining a social base of assistance. Thusly, despite a short loss of face in 1971 the regular association and the equipped power remained the most basic pillars of the state structure, as opposed to the subjects of Pakistan who were at the same time endeavoring to be seen in the lion's share administer process. In spite of the way that Bhutto's PPP won the 1977 choices, the Pakistan National Alliance-a nine-party collusion blamed him for apparatus the vote. Horrible urban tumult gave the furnished power under General Zia-ul Haq the friendship to make a serious bounce back to the political field, and on July 5, 1977 Pakistan was set under military direct yet again and the 1973 Constitution was suspended<sup>14</sup>.

In the wake of expecting power General Zia limited each and every political assembling and conveyed his confirmation to recast the Pakistani state and society into an Islamic shape. In April 1979 Bhutto was executed on murder allegations and the PPP's lingering expert was detained or expelled. By holding nonparty races and beginning a movement of Islamization approaches, Zia hoped to make a pervasive base of assistance in the desire for legitimizing the activity of the military in Pakistani administrative issues. The Soviet assault of Afghanistan in December 1979 influenced Zia's organization to get worldwide help as a consistent government encircling<sup>15</sup>.

On December 30, 1985, in the wake of attesting his very own circumstance in a faulty "Islamic" accommodation, completing another round of nonparty choices of the normal and national get-togethers, and familiarizing a movement of changes with the 1973 constitution, Zia finally lifted military law and announced the start of another law-based period in Pakistan. This new notoriety-based time was comparatively as furious as Pakistan's past political history. Major political social occasions required a boycott the 1985 race due to the non-party tendency phase. Without political get-togethers the hopefuls focused on neighborhood issues that superseded the greater part of the candidates' affiliations to particular social affairs. The Pakistani people were plainly interested by sharing in the vote-based process and insulted the tendency to boycott, 52.9% cast votes in favor of the National Assembly and 56.9% cast tickets for the regular choices<sup>16</sup>.

---

<sup>12</sup>Gujral, Ragini. "The military, war and national integration: symbolic treatment of the military and war for purposes of national integration in Indian mass media." PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1984.

<sup>13</sup>Niazi, Kausar. *Last Days of Premier Bhutto*. Jang Publishers, 1991.

<sup>14</sup>Weinbaum, Marvin G. "The March 1977 elections in Pakistan: Where everyone lost." *Asian Survey* 17, no. 7 (1977): 599-618.

## Structuring And Mechanism of Mainstream Political Parties...

President Zia first movement was to familiarize amendments with the 1973 constitution that would stay his authority over the parliamentary structure. The eighth amendment wound up being the most awkward to the overall public's trust in the evenhanded structure. By and by the president could have complete control and ability to make any walk, which he felt was critical to stay national decency. For the accompanying twelve years the presidents used this modification to expel different head executives from their post, generally in light of either near and dear fights or fragility over move in power<sup>17</sup>.

Following the 1988 choice, Muhammad Khan Junejo was chosen as the official, who had a predictable vote of sureness by the National Assembly. Junejo seemed, by all accounts, to be a promising portion to the Pakistani government; he developed a smooth advancement from the furnished power to basic authority, which delivered vision about the greater part run technique of Pakistan. For the first of his years in office, Junejo could strike an agreement between working up the parliamentary affirmations as a simply body and keeping up President Zia's favoring. He developed the five-point program that went for upgrading progression, training rate, discarding degradation and improvement of the essential man's part. He was excessively upgrading outside methodology abroad and was getting an important budgetary deficiency from the mind-boggling utilization of the military law organizations. In any case, on May 29th 1988 President Zia separated the National Assembly and cleared the pioneer under the article 58-2-b of the Constitution. He stated that Jenejo was plotting against him with the ultimate objective to undermine his position; he blamed the National Assembly of pollution and powerlessness to execute Islamic way of life<sup>18</sup>.

Zia's preferred limitation parties were in help since it worked in their leverage, giving an early race. They asked for choices to be plan for ninety days according to the constitution. President Zia deciphered this article of the constitution in an unforeseen way. He trusted he was required to announce the choice arrangement for ninety days while the races could be held later. At the same time, he expected to hold the races on a non-party preface as he had in 1985, yet the Supreme Court kept up this tangled with the spirit of the constitution. Political perplexity pursued in view of Zia's suggestion to put off the choices to re-structure the political system for Islam. There was expect that Zia may drive military law and the Muslim League ended up split between supporters of Zia and Junejo. The greater part of this was backed off when Zia passed on in a plane mischance on august seventeenth<sup>19</sup>.

Ghulam Ishaq Khan was affirmed as president being the overseer of the Senate and choices were begun. Which dumbfounded to outside onlookers who expected that the military could without quite a bit of a stretch accept control? The

---

<sup>15</sup> Cooley, John K. *Unholy wars: Afghanistan, America and international terrorism*. Pluto Press, 2002.

<sup>16</sup> Marsden, Peter. *The Taliban: War, religion and the new order in Afghanistan*. Palgrave Macmillan, 1998.

<sup>17</sup> Scalia, Antonin. "Originalism: The lesser evil." *U. Cinn. L. Rev.* 57 (1988): 849.



November races of 1988 relied upon political social affair stages unprecedented for quite a while. None of the social occasions won a large portion of the National Assembly yet the Pakistan People's Party created as the single greatest holder of seats. Benazir Bhutto, the PPP's official, was named PM after the PPP confined a collusion of humbler get-togethers to shape a working lion's offer. At first people were happy that Bhutto would coordinate with the limitation social occasion's pioneer Nawaz Sharif of the IJI party, who headed the Punjabi party, the larger part locale. However, soon they uplifted seriousness higher than any time in recent memory and drained the economy with remunerations to various government authorities to impact affiliations. These records notwithstanding no improvement for the budgetary front scarred the central government's image. In 1990 the President ousted Bhutto under the eighth amendment of the constitution, a decision kept up by the Supreme Court. So before long races were held a short two years sometime later<sup>20</sup>.

The Pakistani people were losing trust in the vote-based structure. They felt it was worsened, lax and subject to the fights of the military and bureaucratic tip top. This aura was strengthened by the way that Nawaz Sharif was consigned head chairman in 1990, and ousted in 1993 and worldwide money related masters, with the objective that theory extended by 17.6%. In addition, likewise the GDP had an advancement rate of 6.9% while the swelling stayed under 10%. President Ghulam Ishaq Khan was rebuked for thinking up with Benazir Bhutto in the ejection of Sharif. Unprecedented for Pakistan's history the Supreme Court declared that the removal of the National Assembly and Sharif unlawful, reestablishing Sharif and the National Assembly. This exhibition showed that the president was not the revoking power but instead the events that sought after exhibited how wobbly the governing body was. Through remunerations and imperial living arrangement intrigues Ghulam could affect a noncompliance in Punjab in 1993, which addressed Sharif and his social event as uncouth. This situation caused an adjustment in the structure that realized mediation of the head of Army Staff General, Abdul Waheed Kaker. It was agreed that both the president and head manager would leave and new choices would be planned<sup>21</sup>.

An even lower turn out affected the validness of the specific standard optional process. In this race the request was isolated by comparative players, the PPP with Bhutto and the Muslim League with Sharif. Sharif had lost regardless of the way that he had changed endeavor, restored assurance of nearby the pervasive help in Punjab, which made the PPP ensure the greater part of the seats. So eventually the PPP declared the vast majority of the seats and Bhutto was put as head overseer. She could get Farooq Ahmad Khan Leghari picked as president, which moored her lawmaking body against the eighth amendment. Regardless Bhutto was not capable run a fair government; she fell by and by into degradation, maltreatment of state resources, which was horrible to the Pakistani people. Both the Chief Justice and President expected to keep up oneself control of their circumstance in the council, while Bhutto was trying to revoke the political system. President

---

<sup>18</sup> Pattanaik, Smruti S. "Civil-Military coordination and defence decision-making in Pakistan." *Strategic Analysis* 24, no. 5 (2000): 939-968.

### **Structuring And Mechanism of Mainstream Political Parties...**

Leghari after a short time dismissed her with the assistance of the Supreme Court. Individuals all in all hailed this decision and in February 1997 orchestrated new choices, the fifth in twelve years. The voter reinforces for the choices vanished proportionately all through these twelve years<sup>22</sup>.

Obviously the two driving social events were trading open help when Sharif and the Muslim League were reestablished as the Prime Minister and bigger part party independently. The Muslim League used its parliamentary predominant part to approve a noteworthy change in the political structure with the introduction of modifications thirteen in the constitution. The thirteenth amendment compelled the force of the president to that of an apparent head of state, while restoring the parliament as the central authoritative power. This change basically made a check and evening out system to article eight, attempting to keep up political security. By 1999 the eighth amendment was denied of the confinements that empowered the president to separate the National Assembly or reject the official.

These definitive achievements were extraordinary, anyway overall the Muslim League's execution was mixed. They procured a lot of impediments, an economy that was almost fold and a political culture of degradation. The May 1998 decision to lead nuclear tests as a result of India's nuclear tests realized the weight of consents that covered the economy essentially more so. Bhutto's decline utilization of remote resources and the setting of outside endeavors furthermore befuddled theory relations.

PM Sharif was getting complaint on various fronts, for he apparently was control hungry and possibly deteriorate. He had obliged out the primary value of the exceptional court and the outfitted power manager not long after the eighth amendment was rethought, he was quitting any and all funny business about the press that did not reinforce him and his family's firm, Ittefaq Industries, was doing strange well amidst fiscal respite, which incited questions of degradation. The furnished power manager, Jehangir Karamat was among the various who were worried over Sharif's mounting power; he asked for that the outfitted power be fused into the country's fundamental initiative process in undertaking to alter the regular government. Following two days he surrendered putting General Pervez Musharraf in his position.

Musharraf had been one of the essential strategists in the Kashmiri crisis with India. He after a short time assumed that he didn't have the political help of the regular government in his compelling mission in Kashmir. The blend of Shariff's reluctance in the Kashmiri obstruction, mounting factional question, mental persecution all gave Musharraf the legitimization to lead a resentful to topple the basic government. On October twelfth, 1999 he successfully removed Sharif and the Muslim League in light of the way that he was keeping up legality while strengthening the association of organization. The Pakistani individuals assumed this might be on a transient introduction and once things had settled, Musharraf would call for new decisions of the National Assembly. Regardless, Musharraf has

---

<sup>19</sup> Hasan, Mubashir. *The Mirage of Power*. Oxford University Press, 2000.

declined to restore the National Assembly by techniques for decisions until October 2002, a due date set by the Supreme Court.

**Conclusion**

In July of 2001 Musharraf communicated he president before meeting with the Indian authority to legitimize his circumstance inside the Pakistani government. He has since inspected all adjacent aggressor Islamic social events all through Pakistan and requesting that they restore their weapons to the focal government. He has been continuing on Pakistan's situation on Kashmir, which acknowledged shortening chats with India. He is specifically cooperating with the American government and western world in the organization against mental maltreatment, which places him in an uneven position with his Afghanistan neighbors and the unstable get-togethers inside Pakistan who feel for the Taliban and Osama Bin Laden on an ethnic, ideological and political level.

## **Structuring And Mechanism of Mainstream Political Parties...**

### **References**

- Esposito, John. L. (1980), *Islam and Development; Religion and Socio Political Change*, New York: Syracuse University Press
- Faruqi, Iqbal Ahmad (1987), *Tadhkirah-i-Ulama-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jama 'at* Lahore, Lahore: n.p
- Feldman, Herbert (1976), *The End and the Beginning: Pakistan 1969-1971*, Karachi: Oxford University Press
- Gankovsky, Y.V. and Gordon, L.R (1967), *A History of Pakistan*, Moscow: NAUKA Publishing House,
- Ghazali, Abdus Sattar, (1996), *Islamic Pakistan: Illusions & Reality*, Islamabad: National Book Club
- Gilani, Ijaz Shafi (1985), *Pakistan at the Polls*, Islamabad: Institute of Public Opinion.
- Gilmartin, David (1988), *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Gouhar, Altaf (1993), *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications
- Haider, Syed Karim (2004), *Pakistan's General Elections 2002*, Lahore: Pakistan Study Centre, University of the Punjab
- Hamdani, Agha Hussain (1978), *Fatima Jinnah: Hayat-o-Khidmaat*. Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research
- Hamid, Shahid (1988), *Autobiography of a General*, Lahore: Ferozsons
- Haqani, Hussain (2005), *Pakistan between Mosque and Military*, Lahore: Vanguard Books
- Raza, Rafi (1998), *Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan 1967-1977*, Karachi: Oxford University Press
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997), *Pakistan in Perspective: 1947-1997*, Karachi: OUP
- Rizvi, Hassan Askari,(2000), *Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1975), *Pakistan under Challenge*, London: Stacey International
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2000), *The Military & Politics in Pakistan 1947-1997*, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel
- Rizvi, Mujtaba (1971), *The Frontiers of Pakistan*, Karachi: National Publishing House
- Salik, Siddique, (1977), *Witness to Surrender*, Karachi: OUP
- Sayeed, K. B. (1980), *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change*, New York: Praeger Publishers

## **Civil Society Perspectives and Social Change in Pakistan**

By

### **1- Muhammad Ali Raza Naqvi**

MPhil Scholar

### **2- Syed Muhammad Ali Shah**

PhD Scholar

China University of Geosciences

### **3- Muhammad Ali Raza Naqvi**

PhD Scholar, Greenwich University

---

#### **Abstract**

*Pakistan is a third world developing country and like many other perks and privileges it lacks a vibrant and active civil society that could play a vital role for the development of people. In Western part of world civil societies along with raising voice for people work on the models of development and growth and same is the case in Pakistan's civil society where the existing civil society is working on these two goals. Pakistan is a country social and political powers are centric in nature and due to less diversification, the role and awareness of civil society often get marginalized. This was not the case 4 decades back when Pakistan's civil society was very active and played a great role in development and social changes. Art, culture and educational personalities like poets, writers and philosophers played a great role in the prime of civil society in Pakistan in past. With the passage of time due to change in governmental structures, non-continuity of civil governments, centralization of power, radical approaches and decline in arts and cultural values Civil society lost its charm in Pakistan. A slight uplift has been seen in the role of civil society since last two decades where works on humanitarian affairs, disasters, rights and living standards have been carried out by chunks of civil society. In the same way, awareness of civil society is increasing in Pakistan since last two decades because majority of the population in Pakistan is youth and they are more inclined to learn the role and importance of civil society. In previous two decades civil society in Pakistan have helped to improve lives of people through various development, growth programs like rural supports and helping the affected people from disasters and earthquake. In the similar manner social and political aptitude of nation have been improved through the efforts of society where people are now more concerned about their social, political and economic rights and status respectively.*

#### **Key Words**

Civil Society, Pakistan, Youth, Social Issues, Social Change, Development, Humanitarian Affairs, Art & Culture

#### **Introduction**

### **Civil Society Perspectives and Social Change in Pakistan...**

In Pakistan Civil society have shrunk to great extent in the past few decades but it is again awakening due to vibrant media and natural disasters, social awareness. Seeing that there is a great link between Civil Society and Social Change it is also evident in Pakistan in all political, social and economic affairs. There is a continuous struggle of recognition for civil society in Pakistan, as the centric power structure is not accepting organizations that can challenge their power and decisions (Weiss 2001). Media played a great role in strengthening civil society in Pakistan, as it provides ease of access, mobility, audience and platform to people and organizations to play their active role and spread their voice. In the previous decade though many experts do not agree but Lawyers movement that won the support of majority Pakistanis can be viewed as a success of civil society that forced the governmental structure to listen to demands of people.

In the same way rural support programs and development programs have improved the lives of people in rural areas of Gilgit Baltistan, South Punjab and Upper Punjab. In the same way a lot of funds are raised and distributed on humanitarian and semi-religious grounds and civil society participates in such causes. There is still great room of improving the structure and mode of action of civil society in Pakistan.

This paper will discover about various perspectives of civil society in Pakistan and their role in bringing the social change. Civil Society undoubtedly plays a great role in bringing social change, especially the western model of civil societies that work on the models of growth and development helps the society to raise their voices for their rights and enable them to live a better life along with keeping a check and balance on governmental and economic sector.

In Pakistan, Civil Society have faced great ups and downs where it was vibrant till late 1970's, faced decline in next decade or two and again becoming vibrant but at a slower pace. This paper will discuss how civil society is enabling Pakistanis to bring a social change considering social, economic and political perspectives.

#### **Research Queries**

1. What are the Civil Society Perspectives in Pakistan?
2. What are current role of Civil Society in Pakistan and what problems it faces?
3. How Civil Society impacts on Social Change in Pakistan?

#### **Aims of Research**

1. To explore the civil society perspective in Pakistan, where it will explore in which sectors and areas civil society have impacted most and which model
2. To find the effectiveness of civil society in Pakistan, with respect to how much authenticity and power it gets, and what are the problems that it faces in Pakistan that weakens the civil society and not allow it.
3. To bring positive change in vibrant manner.
4. To highlight about the gender politics and media which have been impacted by the civil society in Pakistan and how this change has impacted on the economic, social and political condition of women.
5. To Understanding the social impacts of civil society in terms of social, political and economic aspects in another objective which will be

discussed in detail to find out how civil society can improve its scope and become more useful in bringing social changes in Pakistan.

This research paper will use exploratory approach and qualitative method where it will use research articles, research papers, scholarly publications, and peer reviewed articles, reputed journals and previous interviews data conducted by various media platforms. Moreover, this will make use of all the books and articles that are recommended during course of Civil Society and World Politics to get a better understanding of civil society perspectives and its application in the social change. This Paper will also make use of books and articles that have specifically conducted research on the social change and civil society issues and perspectives in Pakistan so to get better understanding of the issue at hand.

### **Discussion & Results**

Civil Society is considered as a backbone of any state as it not only raises collective voice of people towards objectives that will benefit majority, but it also keeps a keen eye on actions and services of governments and corporate sector and plays the role of communicator between people and state. Though defining civil society accurately is not possible according to (Baker 2002) civil society includes all those groups and individuals that connects government with people via two-way traffic (Baker 2002). Civil society consists of various Kinds of Unions, non-governmental organizations, non-profit and individual activists. It not only contradicts and raise voice for the rights and various causes that are beneficial to people, but also supports the actions of state and government in times of disaster and when they are directed to improve the lives of people.

Pakistan is a state that is not only facing economic and political crisis, but here civil society is also facing great identity, acceptance and diversity crisis. Pakistan is a third world and developing country that is cursed with the illness of power struggle between institutions and centralization of power. Due to fight between institutions and non-existence of decentralization, people are the sufferers. In such case there should be a strong and vibrant civil society that should raise the concerns of people and put their demands and rights in front of administration and governments. But this is not the case, though civil society was very active and vibrant in past due to cultural gatherings, rich presence of satire and criticism on governmental actions in poetry, art and literary works. But due to decline in art, culture and literary activities civil society dis not grew as expected in Pakistan.

Despite the decline of past few decades, in the last two decades civil society with the help of vibrant media and active social political campaigns is again getting life, currently civil society is present in Pakistan in various sectors where it is following the western model of development and growth. Most part of civil society is focused to work for the humanitarian, social, gender and human rights. Natural Disasters are another major reason that untied the civil society and great amount of work is being done on affected areas through civil society. These re-awakening of civil society in Pakistan do have great social impacts. For Instance, if we take the issue of gender equality and rights, due to civil society women have got great amount of awareness about their rights and protection in current society if compare to previous times. Previously it was acceptable for women to remain silent in the situations of domestic violence and any other

### **Civil Society Perspectives and Social Change in Pakistan...**

discrimination, but due efforts of civil society at-least in Urban areas of Pakistan women got much protection and rights.

This a bitter reality that still 65% of the women are not benefited from the civil society efforts because only 35% of the Pakistani society lives in urban or semi-urban areas and rest live in rural areas. There are many reasons due to which civil society is unable to play the role to bring a social change that is need of time.

All social, economic and political changes are needed, and civil society could have played a great role but there are obstacles both within the existing civil society and social structures of Pakistan. One of the biggest problem that civil society facing in Pakistan is the diversification and power struggle due to which they are not able to put up the demands of public in every aspect of life in efficient manner.

There are plenty of non-profit organizations that are working in the development and humanitarian affairs but very less that are working for the social activism and political awareness. The issue is that majority of civil society within Pakistan is neglecting the issues of social and political rights and only working on development and economic affairs due to which it is less diversified. Another big issue within the current civil society of Pakistan is that they are not delivering what they are promising. In various sectors there are many non-profit organizations that are working for the humanitarian causes and rights where their works are limited to white collar meetings, luxury high-teas and fake talks. The top management of these organizations though portray themselves as the angels for humanity and right but in actual they are not benefiting society at grass root level.

Social change is an evolutionary process that comes with the passage of time and small changes can be seen in the behaviors, attitudes, and way of interaction, culture and communication of a society. Civil society plays role in social change because people who are integral part of society and culture are the basic units of civil society (Ferree et al. 2003).

Because the efforts and motto of civil society are unified and mutual at large they greatly impact the overall behaviors of society. To implement a successful social change a very coherent and vibrant civil society is needed who can articulate and organize their matters in such a manner that they could present their demands in front of administration and earn the demands of people in compact and comprehensive manner. Nowadays there is a great role of media in the social changes and because of this civil society is also reawakening and proving successful in slight social changes in Pakistan.

The power structure within Pakistan is very disrupt due to power struggle between institutions, both and civil and military institutions are not willing to formulate a way that could distribute the power and transfer it to people from center (Malik 1996). This is the reason a strong civil society in Pakistan is not the best scenario for power institutions of the country. Whenever the civil society of Pakistan will become strong and powerful, it will ultimately weaken the power of institutions and bring true democracy in Pakistan. This is the reason Civil society in Pakistan was never allowed to grow.

The fault does not lie only on shoulder of administration as the will of society also matters, but it was the decisions like radicalization by military dictator in `1980's, extreme corruption by ruling political parties in 1990's and one-man power show in 2000's that has tarnished the cultural and traditional values that contribute to strengthening of civil society. In these eras art and culture industry face great decline which is a great medium to deliver message to civil society and



aware them about possible rights as all the eras either disable the social and political limitations of people or provide people with immense economic and cultural shocks that keeps people away from becoming part of proactive and productive civil society.

This is the reason there is lack of interest in the poetry and educational gathering these days which were one of the best part of Pakistani civil society in 1950's and 60' when poets and writers through their revolutionary thoughts and ironic puns on governments and power-hungry institutions guides the way to civil society of that era. This is the reason the civil society of Pakistan in the early years was way power and impactful as compare to today.

Civil societies grow on the awareness and participation level of public at any level, and if the administration of a country makes people politically, economically and socially paralyzed; civil society weakens. Reason is distractions like social and economic not only affects the ability of people to participate but also resides powers only in few hands that further exercise steps to let civil society work on their own terms and conditions. This is the dilemma of poor countries like Pakistan because here people are not established enough in their political, economic and social lives and do not have time to invest time and contributions in collective approaches. Everyone is busy in earning the basic bread and butter and this race of earning basic facilities is becoming tough every single day and about to reach a breaking point. In the recent years emergence of media and social media have somehow greatly supported the cause of civil society and great social change have been seen, today people are more concerned about politic as compare to they were 10 years before.

In the same way, today people gives more readily towards the humanitarian causes and feel it their collective responsibility to raise the voice on political and social affairs. There have been several protests that have been conducted by the civil society in the recent years. Lawyer's movement in Pakistan is one of the movement that many experts believe that planted by someone else and not an effort of civil society.

But the important thing to notice is that civil society do plays the role in that movement and got sympathies of majority of people if we forget who got benefitted from that movement. Another social change that is seen due to efforts of civil society is concern and awareness about own right and concerns about administrative efficiency. People are more likely to raise their voice against the injustice and raise voice against any flaw that they see in administration. Also, civils society through media platforms not only support such opinions but also raise those opinions in the form of collective voice too. An example is "Alamgir Khan" who is an activist and have raised voice against the inefficiency of Sindh government by writing "Fixit" on an occasion. That brilliant action was supported and appreciated nationwide that today he is running a nonprofit organization with the name of "fix It" and working hard to make lives better for propel of Pakistan.

Thus, civil society in the recent decade with the help of media and technology allowing the civil society to bring social changes but still a lot of management and coherence in demands and administration is needed in civil society's structure. Now when we compare the civil society of Pakistan with Western models, it is evident that civil society is Pakistan have too many direct and indirect leg pulling and administrative issue. In the western models' governments and corporates though many times differ with civil society accepts its existence and importance and do not take steps to play down the voice of civil

### **Civil Society Perspectives and Social Change in Pakistan...**

society. This is not the case in Pakistan and here civil society structure must face internal and external administrative issues.

#### **Conclusion**

There many international and domestic non-profit organizations working that claims to be part of civil society, whether it's true or not but they are contributing in bringing social change and coherence in the existing civil society of Pakistan. In the book *Social Movements*, Charles Tilly have clearly mentioned that technology will play a great role in the evolution and success of civil societies around the world (Tilly 2015). It also emphasized that more Social movements will be successful and vibrant media and social platforms will become a primary tool of interaction for civil society and greatly helps them in organizing their aim and listening to demands of public and presenting the issues of public in front of relevant administrations. It is concluded that Civil society in Pakistan are working on various aspects of life that includes economic, political and social, but its extend is not what it was in early years after independence due to decline in cultural values, social, educational and literary gatherings and habits. In the previous decades social and electronic media have greatly haled Pakistan's civil society and helps it in bringing social change in gender rights, humanitarian affairs, political and social rights and increasing living standards of people from rural and under privileged areas in a systematic manner. Still civil society in Pakistan needs a lot more to match the standards of Western model of civil societies so that it can play more efficient role for the betterment of people.

**References**

- Alagappa, M. (2004). *Civil society and political change in Asia: expanding and contracting democratic space*. Stanford University Press.
- Baker, G. (2002). Problems in the theorization of global civil society. *Political studies*, 50(5), 928-943.
- Diamond, L., Linz, J., & Lipset, S. M. (1989). *Democracy in Developing Countries, Volume 3: Asia*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.
- Ferree, M. M., Flacks, R., Ganz, M., Gould, D. B., Koopmans, R., Kurzman, C. & Polletta, F. (2003). *Rethinking social movements: Structure, meaning, and emotion*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Florini, A. M. (Ed.). (2012). *the third force: The rise of transnational civil society*. Brookings Institution Press.
- Malik, I. (1996). *State and civil society in Pakistan: politics of authority, ideology and ethnicity*. Springer.
- Malik, I. H. (1996). The state and civil society in Pakistan: From crisis to crisis. *Asian Survey*, 36(7), 673-690.
- Hann, C. M., & Dunn, E. (Eds.). (1996). *civil society: Challenging western models*. Psychology Press.
- JU, R. (2004). Civil society from a historical perspective. *European Review*, 12(1), 65-79.
- Tilly, C., & Wood, L. J. (2015). *Social Movements 1768-2012*. Routledge.
- Tilly, C. (1999). From interactions to outcomes in social movements. *How social movements matter*, 10, 253-270.
- Weiss, A. M., & Gilani, S. Z. (Eds.). (2001). *Power and civil society in Pakistan* (No. 101). Oxford University Press, USA.

## **The Issues and Challenges for Peace and Security in Pakistan; Zarb-e-Azab: Counter Terrorism Policy**

By

**Muhammad Ibrahim**

Associate Professor Political Science

Director Colleges Bahawalpur Division Bahawalpur

[prof.ibrqhim69@yahoo.com](mailto:prof.ibrqhim69@yahoo.com)

---

### **Abstract**

*The work has focussed on the challenge of terrorism facing by Pakistan. Terrorism is not a new phenomenon; it is old as human history. The objective of terrorism is trying to harm people with life and finance. This study is important because since incident of 9/11 Pakistan is facing the terrible challenge of terrorism and due to these a comprehensive terrorism policy is need of the time. These acts prolong and consequently the result of violence extremism, abduction, explosions in Pakistan. These factors become a reason to worsening the peace and security of the state and this is the reason policies at actor level and state level are researched and implemented to counter this issue that adds to the importance of this study. There are several techniques to eliminate the root causes of terrorism through bi-lateral and multilateral negotiations and military operations. In this study is exploratory in nature where qualitative research method involving exploratory and empirical approach is used, where data from literature is reviewed and archived documents are analysed comprehensively. During the 21st century with passage of time are shifted from one form to another to counter the challenges of terrorism in Pakistan. The empirical method with analytical pattern is adopted to conclude suggestions to counter terrorism policy. The findings highlighted that due to divided society there are several issues that needs to be addressed during making of policy. The institutional personnel have no such trainings to overcome the challenge of terrorism. Due to the foreign policy some impact has for extremisms and terrorism. The socio-economic and social justice also have related with issue of terrorism.*

### **Key Words**

Terrorism, Counter Strategies, Counter terrorism plans, National Action Plan, Operation Zarb-e-Azb

### **Introduction**

Terrorism is complex issue. It has different dimensions. It is difficult to explain and define the term terrorism. Paul Wilkinson argued, "There is no universally accepted counterterrorism policy because every conflict involving terrorism has its own unique characteristics." The Oxford English Dictionary defines counterterrorism as, "political or military actions or measures intended to combat, prevent, or deter terrorism, sometimes with the implication that the methods utilized resemble those of the terrorism" (Ahmed, 2014, p. 7). Further it can be describe as: - "Terrorism is a method, which can be used by any person or

group for any kind of motive. As a form of violence, terrorism does not tell us little about the people who employ it, nor does the tactic itself explain why it is being used.” The organizational structure of the terrorist organizations diffused and these organizations have range to multinational. The old or new terrorist groups are formalized organizations that are described as networks; these organizations are using personal relationship for their targets. It is observed that Al Qaeda gained the status that is not achieved by other groups whom are operating for terrorism. There are several groups have not identical place from which the majority of its recruits originate or where its leadership based. (Neuman, 2008, p. 3) The hazards of terrorism have deep roots in Pakistan. The analysts argued that the post-Soviet Afghan war era was the start of wave of terrorism. The 9/11 has deep impact on the security of Pakistan. Some critics argued that Pakistan involved in the war of terrorism of USA as a front line state.

### **Terrorism and its Counter Strategies**

The counter Terrorism policy in Pakistan is not easily identified. It as early as possible due to its transform nature for example person-person leadership, organization–organization, interstate and intra states affects could have been seen. Consequently the effects of terrorism are spread throughout the society in different shapes and several forms. The outcomes of terrorism have affected the society and state. The threat of extremism is the cause of damage to lives as well as financially. The level of tolerance and religious ethos are damaged due to the vibrant role of extremist groups in Pakistan. The incident of 9/11 made Pakistan also victim of terrorism. Pakistan has to face loss of 80000 human lives as well as economic sufferings are around 102.5 billion USD. (Basit, 2015, p. 46).

The war against terrorism is caused of immense impairment to socio-economic fabric of Pakistan. Pakistan is facing serious challenge from terrorism in all its manifestations to national harmony. The leadership of Al Qaeda and Taliban was arrested from the major cities of Pakistan. The world scenario related to terrorism building pressure to adopt an effective counter terrorism stratagem. The challenge of suicide bombing was observed as major threat to our internal security of Pakistan. Our military installations were also hit by the terrorist groups. These groups attacked on General Head Quarter of Pakistan army. The Taliban groups attacked on the Army Public School Peshawar on December 16, 2014. Therefore, the terrorism policy has implemented in Pakistan on civil military both levels to counter the terrorism wave. The threat of terrorism was felt in the settle areas of Pakistan.

Four terrorist who were belonging to Uzbekistan attacked the Pakistan Naval Station Mehran base in Karachi May 22, 2011. 100 terrorists were attacked on the Bannu jail in 2012. The major role was performed by Uzbek in this incident. Some 400 inmates were freed from the jail. The hard core militant Adnan Rasheed was also in these prisoners who got the freed. Uzbek militants were attacked on the Dera Ismail Khan jail in 2013. Tehreek Taliban Pakistan’s 170 terrorists were in this jail that got free from the jail. The terrorist group attacked on Jinnah Terminal of Karachi airport on June 8, 2014. The incident caused the reason to decide for launching the Operation Zarb-e-Azb (Akram, 2016, p. 3).

### **The Issues and Challenges for Peace and Security...**

The civil and military establishment has decided to operate against the Taliban. Pakistan army has operated four large scale and around eight medium-to-small-scale counter terrorism operations against Taliban functioning against Pakistani. The major operations were operated named as Rah-e-Rast, Rah-Nijat, Zarb-e-Azb and Khyber 1 in Pakistan. These operations have washed out the operational ability of Taliban in Pakistan forcing carry out their terrorist activities in Pakistan. These operations are conducted to destroying their physical infrastructure for their activities (Basit, 2015, p. 60).

The heavy military operations against the terrorist groups were continued in Federal Tribal Areas as well as settled areas. On the other side civil leadership was comprised on both engagement and legislative aspects. National Assembly of Pakistan Passed the National Counter Terrorism Authority bill in year 2013 to counter this jeopardy. Pakistan announced its first NISP on February 25, 2014 after result of debate in the parliament. The terrorist groups attacked the Army Public School Peshawar. After serious terrorist attack the Parliament ratified 21<sup>st</sup> Amendment in the Constitution on January 7, 2015 and National Action Plan was legalized after the approval of the parliament. Chief Of Army Staff Gen Raheel Shareef addressed on the defence day “we shall not relent until all terrorists, their financiers, abettors, facilitators and sympathisers are brought to justice.” (Ahmad, 2015, pp. 2-4). There were several reasons behind the major Operation Zarb-e-Azab. These groups were challenging the writ of state. The serious questions were arisen at the national and international level. The western states were worried about the writ of state in Pakistan. The impact of terrorism felt throughout the country.

### **Counter Terrorism Policies**

Then multi-dimensional plans were framed to counter the terrorism activities of terrorist group activities in Pakistan. There are two aspects for counter terrorism policy as described below,

- 1. National Internal Security Policy (NISP)**
- 2. National Action Plan (NAP)**

### **National Internal Security Plan**

Pakistan is peaceful country. It has not faced such critical situation of terrorism in the past. Pakistan has to frame the National Internal Security Policy (NISP) for the protection of its national interests. National Counter Terrorism Authority Pakistan (NACTA) was established in December 2013 to counter the terrorism. Pakistani government launched National Internal Security Policy (NISP) on February 25, 2014. (Report, 2016) Pakistani nation has deep concerns about the security challenges. The policy was based upon principles of mutual inclusiveness as well as the integration of national efforts. Three major principles were opted in the policy of NISP that were based on the, to make dialogue with different stakeholder. It was focused to isolate the terrorist groups from their supportive system. The security forces ability could be enhanced for the deterrence and having capacity to block the threats of terrorist groups to our internal security system throughout Pakistan. (National Internal Security Policy - 2014 - 18, 2014)

The major focus of the policy was for the protection and assurance for writ of state in the territorial boundaries of Pakistan. The prime focus of the policy was to keep safe and sound inhabitants from overt and covert threats. The thought of extremism also has to counter and needed to launch counter terrorism measures. It became the need of hour to face the challenge of terrorism and counter the activities of terrorist groups those were challenging the writ of government in FATA and other settled areas of Pakistan.

The government of Pakistan wanted to develop consensus on the policy and presented in the parliament in February 26, 2014. The political parties participated in the debate and harmony developed on the serious issue to maintain peace and security situation in Pakistan. There were different opinions to counter these terrorist groups, to start talk with militant groups or operational strategy that ensures the safety of public on the cost that be paid to gain the objectives of peace and security in the state. The policy has three parts as strategic, operational and secret that are integrated each other.

Moreover the secret part of the NISP remains confidential. There were the following main points of NISP for implementation to counter terrorism in Pakistan.

- ❖ There is a need to establish Directorate of Internal Security (DIS) under supervision of NACTA, integration of, “all grids of tactical, operational and strategic intelligence, civil and military, less than one roof.”
- ❖ To organise a well-equipped modern federal Rapid Responsive Force (RRF) to coordinate among police and counter terrorism departments.
- ❖ Integration of religious madrassas and mosques to the national and provincial educational systems.
- ❖ There should have to be a comprehensive countrywide arms control regime.
- ❖ It is mandatory to prevent cybercrimes and misuse of other electronic appliances such as cell phones, electronic devices, social media, electronic and print media. All these are used to threaten to the peace and security of the country. In the result of street protest in July 2014 due to confrontation among political parties and lack of political harmony the government remain fragile to implement it whole heartedly till its outcomes will provide fruitful result for sustainability of peace. The military force has launched a significant, purposeful and decisive operation in North Waziristan against different militants groups that are functioning against the state. (Rumi, 2015, p. 7-8)

### **Commencement of Operation Zarb-e-Azb**

The general elections hold in May 2013. Newly elected Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif started efforts to restore peace. The negotiations were announced with Taliban for this purpose. On 1<sup>st</sup> March 2014 truce was agreed between the government and Taliban. Moreover Tahreek Taliban Pakistan orator Shahidullah Shahid said, “All comrades to respect the decision and refrain from any activity during the ceasefire period”. “They would reciprocate the gesture by extremists, thus raising hopes that the seven-years-long violent insurgency would finally come to an end.” (Hameed, 2015, p. 97)

### **The Issues and Challenges for Peace and Security...**

Umbreen Javaid writes about commencement of Operation Zarb-e-Azab as, “The Operation Zarb-e-Azab has been started due to deteriorating situation of peace and security in the lengthened war against terrorism. The word Zarb-e-Azab was adopted at then name of sword’s strike of Holy Prophet (PBUH). The sword was used in Badar, Uhud against non-Muslims. The government of Pakistan had launched full scale military operation on June15, 2014 in North Waziristan Agency and one of the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) closed to Pakistan Afghan’s Frontier”. (Javaid, 2015, p. 44)

The South Waziristan operation was considered as paradigm shift in the counter terrorism policy of Pakistan for example dialogue, mediation, bilateral and multilateral talks through conferences around the world whereby it has cleared the air nearby good Taliban and bad Taliban. The US has acknowledged the efforts of Pakistan army in dismantling terrorist network. This has vindicated the sincere efforts of Pakistan. (Report P. , 2015, p. 17)

The Operation Zarb-e-Azab is the largest scale operation against the terrorism in Pakistan. As it was described as “Our Operation Zarb-e-Azab is the largest anti-terrorism strategy against terrorists anywhere, involving over 180,000 of our security forces. It has made substantial progress in cleansing our country of all terrorists and will conclude only when our objective has been accomplished.” The National Action Plan was compiled on policemen and security personnel. “The political actions and legal measures and social and economic policy packages, aimed at countering violent extremism.” (Ahmad, 2015, p. 2-4)

The electronic and print media appreciated Operation Zarb-e-Azb. It has resonated as a success and the main reason for the significant drop in acts of terrorism in Pakistan. Its significance can be seen through these achievements 2,763 terrorists killed, 837 militants hideouts ruined and 253 tons of explosives recorded. 347 army officers and soldiers were sacrificed for peace and security of their country. (Yusafzai, 2015, p. 1). The Operation Zarb-e-Azab will prove fruitful stabilizing position at international level. Pakistan could in a position to strengthen foreign relations with other countries in the world. Peace is not yet restored completely but this volatile region to greater extent achieves stability through maintenance of multilateral trade agreements around the world.

### **National Action Plan**

Throughout the country it was cheered on the announcement to establish the special military courts. It was needed because of the acute nature of the issue of terrorism. There was indecisiveness of judiciary particularly in carrying out anti-terrorism measures. These courts appeared as the order of the day. The time frame decided for these courts was established for a period of two years. These courts should have to be engaged for long term consequences. The priority of basic human rights awarded in the Constitution was also given to suspected persons but not to the culprit. The civilian leadership should have to realize the importance of the state machinery as well as the strategies of military strategies that was handled state affairs in a better way. (Malik, 2015, p. 5-6)

Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif stated his policy about terrorism under the National Action Plan as,



“On the one hand we are pursuing dialogue, and on the other we were being targeted. We were pursuing talks, but from Islamabad courts to Karachi airport we were being targeted, our places of worship were targeted, our schools were targeted. Despite the sacrifices of our soldiers, we gave peace talk’s first priority but our efforts were rendered in vain. The now-on-going operation would conclude only with the total defeat of the insurgents. We will change the fate of this country and under no circumstances will the country be allowed to serve as a haven for terrorists. Whatever the cost, this nation will never be handed over to terrorist”. (Haider, 2014)

If we did not take step or remained failed to counter terrorist and their organization this will prove further harmful for our country.

### **Ingredients of National Action Plan (NAP)**

The militants of Tareek Taliban Pakistan attacked the Army Public School Peshawar in December 2014. The innocent children were murdered in the attack. The intensity of incident was felt throughout the country. “The national action plan essentially rearticulates the goals and objectives of NISP, but offers two additional features: implementation of the death penalty for convicted terrorists and the establishment of special military courts to fast-track terrorism related trials of ‘black jet’ terrorists.” Government called for all party’s conference on the issue of terrorism. It was concluded a twenty point agenda for National Action Plan through mutual harmony and understanding to overcome the terrorism. The political administration ensured to protect the country form such attacks and efforts were made for eradication of the root causes of terrorism. The national action plan agenda has following points

- ❖ “Enforce executions for terrorists sentenced to death
- ❖ Establish special trial courts under military officers
- ❖ Forbid all armed organizations
- ❖ Strengthening and activate NACTA
- ❖ Take action against that literature
- ❖ Eliminate all sources of funding of organizations
- ❖ Create a special antiterrorism forces
- ❖ Protect religious minorities
- ❖ Dismantle terrorist’s communication networks
- ❖ Prevent spread of terrorism on the internet and social media
- ❖ Ban airing news of terrorist organizations in Federally Administered Tribal Areas and the return of internally displaced persons
- ❖ Given autonomy to Baluchistan to handle security
- ❖ Formulate comprehensive policy for afghan refugees
- ❖ Act against sectarianism
- ❖ Continue Karachi operation
- ❖ Establish criminal law reforms for intelligence operations
- ❖ Develop constitutional amendments for military courts”. (Rumi, 2015, p. 8)

### **The Issues and Challenges for Peace and Security...**

Moreover the present situation of Pakistan stated that the act of terrorism to some extent controlled day by day. But the challenges remain on another side in the result of military operations to counter terrorism.

### **Counter Terrorism Policy's Prospects and Challenges**

Operation Zarb-e-Azb will have both short term and long term implications in Pakistan. (Javed, 2014, p. 2) The major concerning challenges for Pakistan to return back their homes and rehabilitation of Internally Displaced Persons. It will be expected soon. Almost 90 percentage of the area was declared by clear by Pakistan army from militants till January 2015. The government of Pakistan entails massive volume for this return phase by phase. The displacement was happened on a large scale. Operation Zarb-e-Azb expected for long time due to terrorist's activities from time to time. That is why; the government of Pakistan should have to be prepared for humanitarian crisis. Now a days IDP's are becoming a pressing challenge in terms of their rehabilitation, reconstruction and restoration of livelihoods further basic necessities of health. Holmes stated, "Most states confronting the crisis of internally mechanism to carter the needs of IDP's". The question was arisen presently whether Pakistan was also one of those countries that were facing challenges of IDP. (Hameed, 2015, p. 96-97)

### **The Unrest of IDP's due Socio-Economic Conditions**

The displacement of civilian population had deep impact on both the state and people. The socio-economic condition is also affected due to displacement. According to UN Guiding Principle on internal Displacement (1998), "persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally-recognized state border."

The UN clearly states, "internally displaced persons are entitled to enjoy, in full equality, the same rights and freedoms under international and domestic law as do other persons in their country." (Hameed, 2015, p. 99-100). The federal and provincial governments should ensure provision of shelter, food, health and education facilities to IDPs.

### **Hostile Environment**

There are different factors that are creating hostile environment in Pakistan. The poor governing system, wide-ranging socio economic discrepancies and political marginalization provided are considered major issue to grow such environment. These factors proved fruitful to breed for growth of extremism. It will be hard task to counter terrorism in case of absence of a national level counter terrorism strategy. The counter terrorism policy should be educated to public to get support with full strength.

### **Limited Resource**

The plan to counter terrorism needed resources. The limited outcomes gains against radicalization are brittle and revocable due to insufficient funds. The

second major challenge is adequate resources to counter the terrorism. The supporters of terrorism are given initiatives for short duration of life. The long term programs are necessary for the implementation of counter terrorism policy. These programs are be expanding to national level. (Basit, 2015, p. 61-62).

### **The Evaluation Counter Terrorism Policy**

The counter terrorism is an on-going and long term process in the states. It is observed from the history of world. The decades of years required to overcome the issue of terrorism. The government officials are managing to de radicalization programme but claim for recidivism rates is low. There are possibilities for such claims may be proved as ambiguous, premature and embellished. It is fact that the real results related to de radicalization program's success or failure can be measured in 10-15 years. The program in Pakistan has age of six years to counter strategy. The impact of counter terrorism policy on the individuals is hard to determine although these strategies have had long lasting impacts (Hameed, 2015, p. 96-97).

### **Cyber Radicalization**

The terrorism wave is connected with social media in modern era. It should be observed that mechanism should be devised thoroughly monitoring is requisite to counter terrorism. The Jihadist organizations are also using online chat rooms to gain their objectives. The terrorist groups are using different websites and pledge material. It is studied that these groups used internet and social media for propaganda and recruitment process from last several years. It is used radicalization purpose therefore existed as threat for new generation. The vulnerability of youth as self-radicalization is alarmingly increased. The government of Pakistan has to watch as well as control the youth, which should not be utilized by the terrorist groups in Pakistan (Basit, 2015, p. 60).

### **The Issues Cause of Expansion of Terrorism**

The counter terrorism policy makes should have to externalise the major causes for all the liabilities of pace and security of Pakistan. Several critics have opinion that involvement in Afghan war, the cause of regional issues, neighbour countries involvement and conflict between Pakistan India relationships are the major root causes of terrorism in Pakistan. These factors are continuously deteriorating peace environment of Pakistan. The deep division of our society on religious basis also cause of the present situation. The poor security system remained fail to overcome our social issues. There are no proper checks and balances existed to meet such challenges at the initial stage in the state. The state cannot pay proper attention for the social process that is contributing for spread of extremism in society of Pakistan. The long term planning should have to fruitful to address social factors that are cause of growth of terrorism in Pakistan (Basit, 2015, p. 60).

### **The Unrest of Tribal Belt**

The residents of North Waziristan are compelled to leave their homes to take shelter in safe places like Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan, and as far as Karachi.

### **The Issues and Challenges for Peace and Security...**

Near about one million residents of these areas already left their home before operations due to fear of loss of human lives in the result of terrorist's attacks. The strength of IDP's growing day by day and becoming a challenging for the government. The public of these areas suffered a lot during operations. There is no other option left to find a permanent solution for their peaceful co-existence. During such challenges one of the other threat to Pakistan occurred, likewise they should be properly registered at the unfriendly advice and threat of Gul Bahadur who is so called good Taliban. But he has abandoned the peace accord at a very critical juncture. The seed of failure is shown by the exception of good Taliban. Nonetheless Pak army is determined to treat all of them alike. Maulvi Nazir and Gul Bahadur terrorists group will not escape from their hands (ICG, 2016, p. 1).

The serious issue rise because NISP has not given substantial direction and a time-frame for the achievements prescribed purposes. There are some recommendations such as reforms in FATA region, repatriation of Afghan refugees, reconciliation policy for separatists, restriction militancy from Punjab under National Action Plan (NAP). The comprehensive road map with wide range reforms is given to implement for the achievement of targeted objectives (Malik, 2015, p. 5-6)

### **Controversy among State Crafts**

The impact of Operation Zarb-e-Azb is visible in different field of life and considered as great success. The operation of Karachi is conducted under the Pakistan rangers. It is also proved fruitful to dismantle criminals and break the networks of terrorist organization. Consequently, the crime rate decreased up to 70 % in Karachi. (Ahmad, 2015, pp. 2-4). The institutional level changes have done as depoliticizing police. The urban terrorism should be prioritized and capacity building of different law enforcement departments for challenging new fronts. The vigorous state operating mechanism should have to develop to monitor, evaluate and accountable to be amalgamated in state department machinery.

Prime Minister of Pakistan is shown patience and exhausted to use all peaceful techniques to bring the terrorists back to mainstream. He has expressing his will for eliminating terrorism from the country. The political parties PPP, MQM, and ANP are supporting for operation Zarb-e-Azb while Jammata-e-Islami and Jammat-e-Ulema Islam (F) against the military operations. From opposition leader Syed Khursheed Shah welcomed and assured full support from Pakistan People Party towards armed forces. The whole nation is amazing at Karachi operation. Mostly segments of society have supporting the operation. (ICG 2016 p.1)

### **18th Amendment and Protracted Conflict**

18<sup>th</sup> Constitutional amendment shifted power from centre to province. Consequently, devolution of power plan is implemented but for the counter terrorism needed centre-province cooperation required for NISP and NAP. The need of hour is that rationalised is to avoid confusion and strengthened energy for counter terrorism. APECs committees are framed to decide issues at provincial levels. The provincial government has passed Punjab Strategic Cooperation Act 2014 to stopped hate speeches. It is included in National Action Plan to develop

harmony in the society. The major issue is developed over the ownership and involvement to prepare policies of NISP and NAP among political parties. The differences related to implement these policies should have to be resolved (Ahmad, 2015, p. 4-5).

### **Outcomes of Operation**

Military establishment issued a report about Operation Zarb-e-Azb on 13 June 2015. The report contained the one year progress of Pakistan military. The data is reported that a total number of 2763 militants were murdered with 218 commanders of terrorist groups were also killed in the operation. There were 9000 Intelligence Based Operation (IBOs) conducted to counter terrorists activities in Pakistan. According to a military spokesman, “some 837 hideouts of terrorists have been destroyed and 253 tons of explosive recovered so far during the operation. The army also recovered 18087 weapons including heavy machine guns, sniper rifles, rocket launchers and AK-47s” (Akram, 2016, p. 3).

The counter terrorism policies and implementations are worthy and international community has appreciation. The success of military operations to eliminate networks of terrorist groups got praised. United States of America and China appreciated determination against terrorism. Pakistan and United States of America are emerged as a strategic partner in impulsive war on terror. The economic sanctions of America are lifted from Pakistan after joining the war on terror. The civil and military aid is given to Pakistan under Kerry Lugar bill. It is emphasized for an economic assistance. America is provided 700 million dollars aid along with counter insurgency and military trainings funds (Report P. , 2015, p. 18)..

The senior commander for US and NATO forces Joseph Anderson in Afghanistan is noted briefing of pentagon for Afghanistan. Haqqani network is now splintered like the Taliban. Vice Chairman of Central Military Commission of China also applauded Pakistan to reach national consensus for counter terrorism. There are several efforts and sacrifices in fighting the menace (Akram, 2016, p. 4).

The official source of ISPR stated about the developments of Operation Zarb-e-Azb. It was leading to the great success by dismantling and destroying 837 hideouts of militants in North Waziristan. The explosive material recovered 253 tons and destroyed. The 18087 weapons were taken into custody of military official. The 90000 intelligence-based operations were conducted in the operation till date in which 2637 militants were killed. 347 officers and soldiers were lost their lives. On the other hand positive outcomes of operation can be analyses; it seems that operation has brought peace and tranquillity in Pakistan. The war of terrorism was torn the cities like tribal areas that remained under an intense militant threat since decades. The strength of fatalities in FATA rose to 2863 during 2014 whereas the fatalities from the first three months of 2015 reached at 411. Finance Minister Ishaq Dar elaborated that nearly 1.3 billion dollar disbursed during military operations. (Zahid, 2015)

The operation against terrorism brought significant changes in relationship with neighbour countries as it is seen with China. The modern world

### **The Issues and Challenges for Peace and Security...**

do not fascinated the terrorism. China has to face the challenge serious threat from the ETIM, a Uighur militant group that is existed in far off western Xnjiang region. The terrorist group has number of attacks in the state. Beijing is also evaluating the operations in Pakistan against terrorist groups. The leadership of China is considering it positively. Chinese President Xi Jinping during his visit in April 2015 to Pakistan admired Pakistan's efforts for maintaining peace in the region. He stated, "Pakistan has stood on the frontline in the international fight against terrorism." It is attributed that Operation Zarb-e-Azb had changed the situation in the region for the better and avowed that china would help to enhance Pakistan's capability for fighting terrorism and meeting non-traditional threats. The Vice Chairman of the Central Military Commission, Gen Fan Chaglong also praised the success of Operation Zarb-e-Azb which he termed "decisive, bold and a hard blow for terrorists." Hence, Operation of Zarb-e-Azb has also helped strengthen the bilateral ties between Pakistan and China (Saddiqa, 2016, p. 3).

The military forces of United States of America are withdrawal is coming near and Operation Zarb-e-Azb is launched. It will bring the change in Pak-Afghan relations. The regional changes occurred in bilateral relationship with new dynamics will be adjusting. Pakistan state officials including General Raheel Sharif and Sartaj Aziz visited Kabul to discuss the security challenges, war against insurgency and diplomatic relations between both countries in the post US withdrawal scenario. The Army chief offered to train the Afghan forces to ensure stability in both the countries. This is the reason why Pakistan armed forces continue to fight against the threat of terrorism with a strong purpose to eliminate it. it is hoped that the operation brings positive implications for Pakistan and the entire region (Javed, 2014, p. 2-4).

On other side one weakness of the operation has been the government's neglect to coordinate it with the government of neighbouring Afghanistan. In the result of military operations many terrorists flew by fleeing into North Waziristan district, this time they have sneaked in to the relative safety of Afghanistan. According to author one local news report at least "four hundred families affiliated with militant groups including Al Qaeda and Islamic militants of Uzbekistan-crossed in to Afghanistan in December and now live in homes of locals in lawless part of the country". Although Pakistan faces the grim situation from afghan since Soviets intervention to 9/11 rather the present situation is worsening day by day due to military operation against those terrorist who take shelter in Afghanistan. Such lack of Pak-Afghan cooperation remains an important reason presently why no major terrorist's leader and their networks has so far been killed or captured during the operation (Zahid, 2015, p. 1)..

### **Conclusion**

Pakistan was facing the challenge of sharp wave of terrorism. The extremism has widespread in the society of Pakistan. The institutional power was becoming weak in the wave of terrorism. The civil military institutions were becoming the targets of terrorist groups. The civil as well as the military institution proved as soft targets to attack by the terrorist groups. Pakistan is using counter terrorism strategy to replace the earlier one which proves the best one for peace. Also the findings are Pakistan is divided society. The people belong to different

languages, religious sects, races and regions. They have strong feelings for respective attachment. The regional conflicts have sharp impact on the public of Pakistan. The Afghan war proved the basis for the beginning of sectarian violence. There is lack of check and balances on the madrasas education. The different religious groups widen the religious differences among the people. The civil institutions have responsibility for security but remained fail to secure lives of people. The civil institutions have not capable to meet the challenge of terrorism. The institutional personnel have no such trainings to overcome the challenge of terrorism. Due to the foreign policy some impact has for extremisms and terrorism. The socio-economic and social justice also have related with issue of terrorism.

### **Recommendations**

The prime role should have to perform the state officials which should have to become a back bone Zarb-e-Azb for the success. The operation will be successful through joint decision of civil- military officials to counter the terrorism. The whole nation should have to stand with our institutions that are fighting for the war against terrorism. The people have to keep an eye on their surroundings to secure our community. The officials will be faced the challenge to maintain the peace and security. We should have to check our education system at public, private and religious level. We should have to teach for tolerance and forbearance. The social justice system should have to be improved to gain positive results as outcomes of the operation Zarb-e-Azb. Pakistan will become such state that there people are protected her from such blood shed activity of violent terrorism which spread day by day by terrorists. Pakistan will become such country that will glorify and become an example for the entire world.

**Bibliography**

- (2014). *National Internal Security Policy - 2014 - 18*. Islamabad: Interior Ministry of Pakistan.
- Ahmad, S. (2015). Pakistan's Counter-Terrorism Policy. *Institute of Strategic Studies*.
- Ahmed, N. (2014, January 28). Pakistan Counter Terrorism Strategy and its Implications for Domestic, Regional and International Security. Foundation Maison de Science del'home-France.
- Akram, S. (2016). Pakistan's Success in Counterung Terrorism. *Institute of Strategic Studies*.
- Basit, A. (2015). Countering Violent Extremism: Evaluating Pakistan's Counter-Radicalization and Decentralization Initiatives. *IPRI*.
- Haider, M. (2014, June 17). "NW operation to continue until terrorism eliminated:.. Islamabad, Pakistan: Dawn News paper.
- Hameed, N. (2015). Struggling IDP's of North Waziristan in the Wake of Operation Zarb e Azb. *NDU*.
- ICG. (2016). *Revisiting Counter Terrorism Strategies in Pakistan: Opportunities and Pitfalls*. Brussels: International Crisis Group.
- Javaid, U. (2015). Operation Zarb e Azb: A Successful Initiative to Curtail Terrorism. *South Asian Studies* Vol. 30, No.2, 43-58.
- Javaid, U. (2015). Operation Zarb e Azb: A Successful Initiative to Curtail Terrorism . *South Asian Studies*.
- Javed, A. (2014, 12 23). *Zarb-e AZb: Implications for Pakistan, Afghanistan & China*. Retrieved 6 17, 2016, from Pakistan- China Institute: <http://www.pakistan-china.com/article-detail.php?d=Mjl=&pagesid=news>
- Malik, S. (2015, January). *Pakistan In 2015: IPCS*. New Delhi: Safdar Jung enclave.
- Neuman, P. R. (2008, December). *Terrorism in the 21st Century: The Rule of Law as a guideline for German Poliy*. Berli: Ftungriedeich-Ebert-Stiftung.
- Report. (2016, 09 24). National Counter Terrorism Authority Pakistan (NACTA) <http://NACTA.gov.pk/>. IslamAbad, Pakistan.
- Report, P. (2015). *Pakistan-US Relationship*. Islamabad: PLLDAT.
- Rumi, R. (2015). *Charting Pakistan's Internal Security Policy*. Washington DC: USIP.



Saddiqa, A. (2016). How has Operation Zarb e Azb Changed Perception about Pakistan Aboard? *Institute of Strategic Studies*.

Yusafzai, R. (2015, 6 21). *Zarb e Azb: Findings and Conclusions*. Retrieved 6 11, 2016, from TNS-The News on Sunday: <http://tns.thenews.com.pk/zarb-e-one-year-on-findings-and-conclusions/.v10thbt942w>

Zahid, F. (2015, July 14). *the Successes and Failures of Pakistan's Operation Zarb -e -Azb*. Retrieved June 17, 2016, from The James Town Foundation: [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Bttnews%5D=4414&cHash=d4281630e5ad104ab6fbcobd5f3bbf9f#v2Oswbt942w](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Bttnews%5D=4414&cHash=d4281630e5ad104ab6fbcobd5f3bbf9f#v2Oswbt942w)