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## **Violence And Extremism: A Discourse Analysis Under The Paradigm Of Ideology Of Pakistan**

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### **Abstract**

The moderate nature of the ideology can be traced back from the February 1948 speech, which Quaid-e-Azam, delivered before the United States general assembly. In which he stated that “in any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic state, to be ruled by priests with a divine mission”. It was in 1950s, with the Qadyani movement, religious extremism emerged in the politics of Pakistan, which was further encouraged during Zia regime and reached to its peak point at the time when it started to challenge the writ of government in 2007 in the shape of terrorist activities. This research is an attempt to discover the actual causes of extremism in socialDarwinism and liberalism which brought extremist ideologies to accomplish its capitalistic objectives. This research concludes that excessive stimulation of the religious feelings of the masses, have not only radicalized the society of Pakistan but also made it intolerant, violent and terroristic. To subside these feeling the government needs to devise prudent policies keeping in view the rapidly changing international scenario and to make investment on its man power to educate them so they may become responsible citizens of the state.

**Key words:** Islam, Ideology, Extremism, Pakistan, Holly War

### **INTRODUCTION**

Pakistan was liberated in the name of Islam. The religious notion of the fore-fathers of Pakistan, obviously was, the establishment of a moderate Islamic state for the Muslims of the sub-continent. Major aim the desired state was to protect the politico-economic and religious rights of the Muslims. The founding father was clear about the progressive outlook of the state. Afterwards, it was the quest of power politics that used religion as tool to exploit the situation at every stage in the political history of Pakistan. Religion was used by the extremists as a tool for the acquisition of power, while the modernists used the religion for the consolidation of their rule and legitimization of their administration.

In Pakistani context, all governments prior than Musharraf nourished or kept their eyes closed to the growth of extremisms. It was the ancient of September 11, 2001 which affected the entire globe and under the new political order. Pakistan started efforts to root out extremism but failed to do so because of political compulsion. Musharraf also inducted religious political parties into policy making which became a source of radicalization in Pakistani society. To achieve the desired objectives, descriptive analytical research approach is adopted. For the accomplishment of this work, secondary sources like books, research articles and news article and online sources has been consulted.

### **Ideology of Pakistan:**

Quaid-e-Azam described the nature of the state in a speech that he delivered to the United States in February 1948, in the capacity of Governor General of Pakistan: The constitution of Pakistan has yet to be framed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. I do not know what the ultimate shape of this constitution is going to be, but I am sure that it will be of a democratic type, embodying the essential principles of Islam. Today, they are as applicable in actual life as they were 1,300 years ago. Islam and its idealism have taught us democracy. It has taught equality of men, justice and fair play to everybody. We are the inheritors of these glorious traditions and are fully alive to our responsibilities and obligations as framers of the future constitution of Pakistan. In any case Pakistan is not going to be a theocratic State—to is ruled by priests with a divine mission (Yousafi, 1996).

The above broadcast makes it clear that Quaid-e-Azam wanted neither secularism nor theocracy in the new born state but rather had an idea of a moderate Islamic democratic state in his mind. Though he got his education in west, he had studied the Holy Quran too, and was an admirer of the glorious history of Islam as a religion. That is why he now and then inferred towards Islam and its golden principles for guidance in the establishment of the new Islamic state. He wished to establish a progressive Islamic state to survive in the globalize world.

Although religious ideology, symbols and slogans had been used to gather the support of masses during the freedom movement, however there was no framework how to inculcate the ideology and its application in the structure and policies of the new state (John, 1980). The nation was faced with ideological questions, such as, what does a modern Islamic or Muslim state means? How Islamic character will be reflected in the ideology and institutions of the state?

As the ideology was unique in its nature and there was no such a precedent in the history, however there were two general models, (1) Traditional Islamic state and (2) Modern nation state. The challenging task was not to follow either model but rather to adopt an in-between line. The factor which complicated the process was the ill-equipped leadership in training and orientation for this great job (John, 1980). The leadership was polarized with western educated leaders and traditionally learned Ullama. Both groups had little training for the extra-ordinary task. Political leaders had little understanding of basic fundamentals in an Islamic state while Ullama had little appreciation for the demands of modernity (John, 1980). Hence, modernists and traditionalists took nine long years in debating and deciding

the nature of the first constitution of the country. The constitution of 1956 was a compromise of many attributes of a secular state while injecting several Islamic provisions.

Political tug of war in the country after the implementation of 1956 constitution, compelled General Ayub Khan to abrogate the constitution on 7 October 1958 and, he, first became De facto and then became De jure ruler of Pakistan. He was himself a modernist Muslim in understanding and approaching Islam and tried to set free the spirit of religion from the impurities of superstition and stagnation which surrounded it. He moved forward under the forces of modern science and knowledge. His moderate mindset can be viewed very clearly in his constitution of 1962. He established the Advisory Council on Islamic Ideology and the Islamic Research Institute as well as reformed the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance (1961).

### **Extremism:**

Extremism is a common phenomenon to the world religions like Judaism, Christianity; Islam even Hinduism and Buddhism has extremist elements. It refers to political ideologies that oppose a society's core values and principles. The extremist beliefs are dependent on perspective since the person who holds views which are considered to be "Extreme" within one cultural context or time may not be considered to hold "extremist" within another culture context or time (Fayyaz, 2013). In liberal democracies, extremism is applied to any ideology that advocates racial or religious supremacy or opposes the core principal of democracy and human rights. Within Islam the notion of extremism is ascribed to the thoughts of 'chosen one' and the 'perfect people', which is construed as 'a diseased thoughts that lends bias, prejudice and a sense of narcissism (too much interest in and admiration for one's own physical appearance or one's abilities) and these feeling always leads to intolerance (Fayyaz, 2013).

Extremism and radicalization take place against a contextual background with its surrounding push and pull factors (PIPS, 2009). According to its definition, "Extremism means forcefully rejecting the existing means of political participation, attempting to create new ideologies and narratives to bring about a structural change in all spheres of life (social, political, economic or ethnic) by challenging the legitimacy of existing system institutions."

From 1979 onward extremism is polarizing Pakistani society into religious and liberal or secular extremists. The elite of these two groups and their extremist views and intolerant actions are affecting the prosperity, growth, creative ability and most negatively polluting the minds of the society. In this work we are concerned only with religious extremism.

It will be relevant to highlight here that many Pakistanis are extremely passionate about Islam and easily roused to anger in its defense. What is noteworthy, is the fact that in a society where millions are barely literate, raised to revere rather than to question, and limited sources of information, it should not be surprising to see them being easily swept up in mob hysteria anyone accused of insulting their religion.

It is a fact that for the last few centuries, Muslims in all corners of the world have been subjected to violence by western forces and their allies. The colonialist European states and local oppressive regimes have caused great sufferings to the Muslims at large. However, for Muslims, this was a situation that has to be approached and responded to from a purely Quranic stance. In no part of the Quran does God command believer to respond to violence. On the contrary the God commands Muslims to “respond to evil with goodness” (Harun, nd).

A good deed and a bad deed is not the same. Repel the bad with something better and, if there is enmity between you and someone else, he will be like a bosom friend. (Quran, 41:34)

It is no doubt a legitimate right of Muslims to react against this cruelty. However, these reactions should never turn into a blind hatred, an unjust enmity. Consequently, carrying out terrorist acts against the innocent people “representing innocent group” is by no means compatible with Islam (Harun, nd).

Another point that deserves a special mention here is that all Western nations and communities cannot be held responsible for the aforementioned violence and oppression against Muslims. Actually the materialist, irreligious philosophies and Ideologies that prevailed in the nineteenth century are responsible for these dismal acts. On contrary anti-religious movements opposing the values of Christianity led the way to colonialism. At the root of greatest brutalities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century lies the social Darwinist Ideology and Spenserian “Survival of the Fittest” theory (Aiken & Henry, nd). In the western world today, there are still cruel, mischievous and opposing factors, as well as cultural dominated by peaceful and just elements that have its roots in Christianity.

As a matter of fact, the main disagreement is between the liberal West and Islam (Aiken & Henry, nd). Islam and west has created a crisis every therefore, first of all we should know that it is not Christianity verses Islam but rather it is the anti-religious, liberal and materialistic west which is conflicting Islam. It is so because these ideologies are more than the religion of Christianity (Said & Edward, nd). Contrary to the general opinion, it is between the devoted people of the west and of the Muslim world on one hand, and the people opposing religion (materialists, atheists, Darwinists etc) on the other hand.

The eminent Britten economist Thomas Malthus in his book “An essay on the principle of population”, he calculated that the world population is increasing very speedily. According to him, wars, droughts and diseases and other destructions play an important role in controlling the growth of population. According to this brutal assumption, some people must die so other may live (Haroon, 2005). It means that life is a constant state of war.

According to Samuel P Huntington, there are two world cultures that were bound to clash, one was democratic and essentially secular in approach toward governance the west has developed over a couple of centuries. The other was Islam in which the individual counted much less than the community of which he or she was a part. That community was to be

governed not by the laws governed not by laws written by men and women but by those sent down by God (Bukhari& Javid, 2015)

### **Post 9/11 scenario**

According to Benazir Bhutto, on September 11, 2001 when Al-Qaida hijacked airplanes for attack on America, they also tried to hijacked the message of my religion. By doing so they have initiated WW 3<sup>rd</sup>. Killing of 30,000 innocent people, is not only contradictory to the values of the civilized world but also with the teaching of Islam (Bhutto, 2008). The terrorists have exploited the scenes of brutality and tried to extract their selfish and extremist political interests.

Before exploring the post-September 11,2001, it is imperative to identify the forces and philosophy that drives Pakistan's religious extremists. When Musharraf stepped as a head of state on October 12, 1999, the harvest he was left to clean, was significantly bitterer than those of the leaders who had gone before him. Though the active fostering by Zia ul Haq, the funding of Saudi Arabia, espousal by the United States and the venal abandon of Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharief (Hassan, 2005), the seeds of religious fanaticism sown more than two decades earlier had come to confront him as fully grown trees.

In 2001-2, Pakistan was home to fifty-eight political parties and 24 armed militias (Saeed, 2002), the latter category also popularly known as jihadi groups. The term jihadi deserves a brief introduction as it signifies a sacred Islamic concept that today stands distorted and tarnished. The word literally means "striving" or "struggle" and by no means is an equivalent of the western concept of "Holy war". Second there are many kinds of jihad, and most have nothing to do with warfare (Reuven, 1999). As it is most basic level, jihad is a struggle with one's own inner self against sinful inclinations. In broader sense of the notion, it means to resist against aggression and oppression. However, modern day religious extremists interpret jihad primarily in terms of the use of force to impose their version of Islam on the others and to fight the "infidels" to conquer the world. In their view, even killing of innocent civilians for their higher cause is justified, though this is clear violation of the established laws of warfare. According to Islam, non-combatants, especially old men, women and children, are to be protected at all costs during any form of military conflict. Today's extremists are, however least concerned about such Islamic traditions. Furthermore, it is not only Hindus, Jews and Christians who are their perceived enemies, but even Muslims having views different from theirs are considered heretics and hence worth of eliminating (Abbas, 2005).

The '9/11' terrorist attack on the World Trade Center shook the world and made it to focus on 'War on Terror'. Al-Qaida became the maintarget;therefore, the US military attacked, and started operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is generally believed that these were the sameJehadis who were enjoying the sympathies of US and Pakistan during Soviet attack on Afghanistan, were now under the scourge of US forces. Now Pakistan foreign policy felt extreme stress and there was no other option for Musharraf's administration then to take a U-turn on Afghanistan and Taliban policy (Mir, 2009).

Musharraf had given an early indication of his thinking on the subject in his first policy speech on October 17, 1999, in which he asserted that “Islam teaches us tolerance not hatred” and categorically asked the clergy to “curb element which are exploiting religion for vested interests and bring bad name to our faith (Musharraf, 1999).

He tried to reverse Zia’s Islamization by making efforts to transform Pakistani society into a moderate Muslim society. As he lacked legitimacy, he spent most of his time in consolidating his position in his first five years. For the purpose he adopted a line which was not very dissimilar to that of Zia. He encouraged religious groups to handle his civilian and secular opposition. In the beginning of his rule, religious extremism increased due to his dual approach. It is generally believed that he engaged U.S forces in Afghanistan and remained busy to seek legitimacy for political position. For the purpose he relied on religious groups of his choice. To retain the dual offices of army chief and presidency, he took a few momentary steps, like banning sectarian outfits, exclusion of foreigner students from religious institutes, registration of Madrassas, taking action against terrorist hideouts and military operations in the tribal areas. During this period, he suffered two attacks but escaped.

In the election of 2002, religious parties came to parliament with a considerable strength. The MMA (Mutahida Majlis-e-Amal), which was a foundation of six religious parties, had attained fifty seats in the 2002’s elected parliament, although, it also showed a considerable presence in the assemblies of NWFP (present Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) and Baluchistan provinces’ (Bajpae, 2008) The reasons for showing muscles by the religious groups was, firstly a reaction to the US attack on Afghanistan in 2001 and secondly, to create a tough opposition for secular political leadership (Bajpae, 2008). It is generally believed that Musharraf brought the religious parties into parliament to show the world the increasing religious extremism in Pakistan.

But the performance of the religious parties, made the people hapless about them. The eminent religious scholar and Muslim economist Taqi Usmani remarked that the nation was expecting much from them as they came to power with the name of Islam. The days were sensitive as Pakistan was passing through a phase of life and death and Islam was struggling for its survival (Usmani, 2002). They followed their selfish fictional interests and fought for fictional prejudice.

It is interesting to note that General Musharraf was following a policy of enlightened moderation by putting the secular parties outside of the political process. The government of MMA (an alliance of religious groups) was established in the former NWFP and in Baluchistan; an alliance of MMA and Muslim league (Q) was formed, which paved the way for extremist expansionism. Though it was expected that the differences of sectarian nature would be reduced to some extent because the alliance was composed of major Sunni and Shia religio- political organizations, but the hope produced nothing as the marriage was only political and each group tried to extract political gains. MMA governments intentionally kept their eyes closed on the radicalization of extremist outfits in the outskirts of urban centers, in particular the valley of Swat.

Despite the government renewed efforts to curb religious extremism, especially after Musharraf survived assassination attempts by the skin of his teeth, the pattern of disturbing events continued unabated. Nine schools in the northern area of Pakistan were bombed by extremists in February 2004 alone. The reason behind this was religious extremist's disappointment with the decline in enrolment in Madrasas and an increase in government schools (Shahid, 2004). In March, about four dozen Shias's were murdered in Quetta during tenth Muharram procession. Musharraf banned Laskar-i-jangvi and Sifah-i-Muhammad in 2001 but these extremist groups resurfaced with changed names of Tahrik-e-Islami and Millat-i-Islamia, respectively (Raana, 2004) and kept continued their sectarian and extremist activities.

However, the election of 2008 brought a totally different result as compared to the election of 2002. This time PPP came to power with a coalition government. PPP government started military operation against the extremist groups who were waging a brutal violence against the innocent civilians in Swat in the name of shariah. Though there were many weaknesses of the PPP government, like corruption, energy crisis, economic inequality between rich and poor, unemployment and inflation (Ayaz, 2015) but it got the credit to complete its term from 2008 to 2013, and conduct timely election and transfer power to the coming democratic government.

This time the hard liner religious parties have generally remained unable to show strength in parliament and so, to have a decisive role in policy making. This situation shows that Pakistan people have greatly discredited the role religious parties this time.

The election of 2013 once again pushed the religious parties to background. Those parties which think the war on terror as their own were defeated. The central righties party PML (N) came out as a majority party (Ayaz, 2015). Both Nawaz Sharief and Imran Khan in favor of dialogue with extremists but the terrorist attack of December 16, 2014, on Army Public school Peshawar (Basher, 2016), the government was left with no choice but to handle the matter with iron hand. On 24 December 2014 summoned an all Parties conference in which a strategy was framed to eradicate the evil of terrorism of the country. This strategy was given the name of national action plan (Basher, 2016). The plandelt the extremists violently, and compelled them to run away out of the country.

Since June 24, 2014, in the result of National Action Plan 70,000 terrorist has been arrested, 126 accounts which were providing funding to terrorist organizations has been frozen. 890 terrorist and 10,740 wanted criminals has been killed and 625 surrendered, 1724 has been arrested, 322 has been hanged, 98.3 million mobile Sims has been blocked, 10 web sites has been banned and 167 Madrasas has been closed (Basher, 2016). The law-and-order situation in the country has improved since the Implementation of the National Action Plan but the terrorists now and then targets the civilian.

The terrorist attacks in Quetta on 8 August 2016, in which 72 people were killed (Express News, 2016), has once again compelled the government to re-invigorate their efforts fill the

gaps which was left due to the loose Implementation of the National Action Plan by the government.

### **Discourse Analysis:**

Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Sir Agha Khan III were from Muslim minority Sects. However, they proved to be the undisputed leaders of the Muslims of India (Khalid, 2009). Undoubtedly, the Lucknow in Uttar Pradesh was the only town in British Raj where Sunni-Shia tensions were known to turn violent, but that too was a rare occurrence. Allama Shabir Ahmad Usmani, a Deobandi and the only religious scholar in the constituent assembly tasked to frame Pakistan's first constitution, had joined the All-India Muslim League under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (Haqqani, 2008). However, the elite that had represented Muslims in the military and civil institutions of British India sought the new state to consolidate and expand their power on the grounds of religion. On the other hand, the Muslim League's leadership, after the sad demise of the Founder of the nation, continued to use Islam to legitimize their power.

In the early phase of independence religious intellectuals have offered great scholarly services in the conceptualization and operationalization of Islamic society. They reached the position of an effective political actor in making constitution and defining the policies of the state. They were remained vocal but their tendencies were not extremists and they were not militants in nature. But later due to domestic and international religious extremism lingered the society of the country.

Extremism in Pakistan is a multifaceted and multi-layered phenomenon. It exists in the form of sectarianism, Shariah (Islamization) movements, Talibanization and a multitude of Jihadist organizations. Other forms of extremism manifest in the general opposition to American or Western policies, in nationalist-separatist insurgency in Baluchistan and ethno-political violence in Karachi and parts of interior Sindh (Express Tribune, 2014).

Former President Musharraf explains this root cause. "We need to understand that the root cause of extremism and militancy lies in political injustice, denial and deprivation. Political injustice to a nation or people when combined with stark poverty and illiteracy makes the explosive mix leading towards an acute sense of deprivation, hopelessness and powerlessness. A people suffering from a combination of all these lethal ills are easily available cannon fodder for the propagation of militancy and the perpetration of extremist and terrorist acts" (Musharraf, 2005).

The question arises what now? Pakistan is an Islamic state but, in which perspective can the interpretation of Islamic ideals be translated into reality to have far reaching changes in the collective life of the people of Pakistan. The change must come gradually. The more sudden the change is the more short-lived it would turn out to be. If we need to promulgate Islamic Law, it would mean a thorough reorientation of our educational system because it has lost contact with practical problems of life and is unable to produce a better lot for a progressive modern state. The Islamic law has not been in force for the last one century or so. Consequently, our legal code has become stagnant and lags behind the time while our



urgent need is to bring it in level with the latest developments of the modern age (Haq, 1979).

Some of the Ulema are beginning to show liberal tendencies and a liberal opinion in Islam can be sought. While most Pakistani Muslims are devout, they are not radical and for much of its history Pakistan's politics has been dominated by ethnic, linguistic and economic issues, not religious ones. The dominant Islam is strongly influenced by Sufism and has yet not been amenable to radicalism. There are competing visions of an Islamic state and the issue is how the Pakistani state should implement its Islamic identity. Since Pakistan's Islamist groups have benefited from events across Pakistan's western border, every increase in religious extremism deters many from actively participating in politics so much so that they could become Pakistan's second most important political force. Such religio-political groups are not a new phenomenon. They have been playing a role in social and political life since 1947. What is new is their political activism. Pakistan's difficulties in establishing a national identity have remained the same, while since the 1970's the country has experienced a shift from official Islam to Islamism (Sonni, 2004).

Dr. Riffat Hussain gives further explanation and solution to the root cause. "The only hope of saving Pakistan from the religious extremists, the feudal tribal mafias, the corrupt bureaucrats, and the various types of opportunists and fortune-hunters is the emergence of an educated group of persons who understand Islam to be a religion of justice and compassion, of knowledge and reason, of openness and peace" (Hussain, 2000). The solution lies in addressing the core problem – bringing about a social change to determine the extent of Islam's role in politics on issues like national identity, the state and the economy based on Islamic principles of a fair judicial system, equality and rule of law. The political leadership must possess administrative skills and an appreciation of the country's Islamic heritage. A well-educated class of religious leaders, trained both in traditional religions and modern discipline, can bridge the gap between traditionalism and modernity.

## **Conclusion**

Pakistan was liberated in the name of Islam by a moderate leader for Muslims but unfortunately, he passed away and had no enough time to follow the ideological plan which he had in his mind for the country. After his departure the secular and religious extremists started to hijack mutually the name of Islam in their own interest and used it for their political gains. Cold war and especially the soviet attack pushed Pakistan in the darkness of extremism. The name of religion and jihad was used excessively for the stimulation of the feeling of the masses to combat communism in Afghanistan. In the beginning it brought some timely benefits but in the long run it eroded the image of the nation internationally. It radicalized the society of Pakistan and brought to the brink of civil war. The increasing engineered extremism brought the name of "The most dangerous" and "The most terrorist" state of the world.

To tackle this, Pakistan must device to lessen the power and influence of religious extremist in the country and support genuine scholarship as a counter. Most of Islam is very simple to understand and therefore needs little interpretation. Extremist scholarship,

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**6092 | Dr. Tariq Anwar                      Violence And Extremism: A Discourse Analysis Under  
The Paradigm Of Ideology Of Pakistan**

as it has turned out to be, moves from broad to the narrow, emphasizing the arcane over the easily intelligible. The narrow intellectualism can only be divisive, exclusive and intolerant of those whom it excludes, and is antithetical to all that is harmonizing.

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