

The Post 9/11 Enlightenment of Pakistan: An Analysis of Musharraf's Policy Perspective

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Abstract

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Allama Iqbal were supporters of enlightened and moderate thoughts and were in favor of the modern interpretation of Islam. They provided the right path to Muslims of the sub-continent at the time when they were suppressed and experiencing a critical phase of history. Both these intellectuals set practical examples for the emancipation of the Muslims of the sub-continent, accepting the challenges at the time and successfully achieving their objectives. Since 9/11, Muslims across the world, as well as in Pakistan, has been receiving a great deal of criticism, as terrorism has been associated with Muslims and their religion. President Pervez Musharraf then presented his policy of 'Enlightened Moderation' (EM) for the emancipation of the Muslim world and he also addressed the West stating that Islam was an enlightened religion and beseeched the West justly to resolve the political disputes of Muslim countries. This research analyses the perspectives of Musharraf's policy of EM, based on socially constructed views of political analysts and academic scholars. The purpose of this qualitative study is to understand the version of reality on EM and its current relevance.

Keywords: Constructivists, Enlightenment, Islam, Perspectives, Religion.

Introduction

At the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani from Afghanistan; Ishak Efendi and Kudsi Efendi from Turkey; Mirza Malkom Khan from Iran; Mohammad Rashid Rida, Qasim Amin and Muhammad Abduh from Egypt; Allama Iqbal and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan in India, were modernist intellectuals. All these scholars tried to compare Islam with modernity redefining Islamic thoughts, beliefs, and laws. Despite some of their differences, each argued that Islam was a dynamic, progressive religion, while some ulema made it stagnant (Parray, 2011).

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was a modernist Muslim who emphasized the reinterpretation of Islam and was in favor of accepting the best Western ideas, believing that Islam was compatible with modern scientific thoughts. Allama Iqbal (1877-1938) also insisted on the reconstruction of religious thoughts to strengthen the Muslims, combining Western modern philosophy with Islamic traditions and presenting a modern Islamic world view. An Islamic modernism presented by Sayyid Ahmad and Allama Iqbal rejected the blind following of tradition and accepted the reinterpretation of Islamic theology (Esposito, 1999). The major concern of all modernist Muslim thinkers was to renew Islamic knowledge and make it effective and relevant to contemporary minds (Robinson, 2008).

Sir Sayyid analyzed the circumstances of the Indian Muslims and realized that there was a need to come up with a modernized plan for the suppressed and deprived Muslim community. For this purpose, he initiated the reformist movement, referred to as Aligarh, to affect the life of the Muslims (Belmekki, 2009). The Aligarh movement was a cultural and educational movement with the purpose of the liberalization of ideas, broad humanism, a scientific worldview, and a pragmatic approach to politics. Sir Sayyid and his movement developed confidence, gained a sense of respect, and had a revolutionary impact on the Muslims of India (Amin, 2016). It also resulted in the Muslim political leaders counterbalancing the Hindu dominating political party, the Indian National Congress (Ahmad, 1967).

Sir Sayyid was assured that education was the only panacea for the Muslims' problems, convincing them that their survival was only possible if they adopted the education offered by the British. He had not only to convince the Muslims that a lack of education was the main cause of their backwardness, but he had also tried to remove the mistrust between the ruler and the ruled. He

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adopted a reconciliation policy with the British because this was the only means to Muslim emancipation (Waseem, 2014). Most of the orthodox Muslims and Ulema criticized Sayyid Ahmad Khan because he motivated the Muslims to learn English and modern manners (Rehman, 2006). His enlightened views on education annoyed many Muslims who passed fatwas that his innovations were corrupting the Muslim youth. He also faced criticism from Indian poets and writers because of his modern thoughts and Western lifestyle (Amin, 2016). He reinterpreted sensitive points of traditional Islamic institutions such as jihad, polygamy, and slavery in a modern way and refuted the Western critics (Masud, 2007).

In a positive assessment of modernity, Sayyid Ahmad did not reject his religion but he developed an association between science and religion, perceiving that Islam was not against modernity and the Quranic verses should be interpreted because of the latest scientific developments. Modernity unfolded new dimensions for everyone as well as for Muslims. Therefore, Muslims should not only live in the glorious past, they needed to look towards modern values for their future. According to Sayyid Ahmad, the future of Muslims was associated with modernity and it was related to specific reasoning, knowledge of science and technology and its institutionalization, and an affiliation with nature (Rodrigues, 2011).

Allama Iqbal was also one of the key figures of modernism and the political and social reformer of the subcontinent whose philosophical thoughts and scholarly writings encouraged Muslims to preserve their culture, spiritual life and prevent the influence of un-Islamic elements. He generated the unique idea of a separate state where Indian Muslims could maintain their spiritual life, and preserve their culture from harmful influences and un-Islamic elements. Iqbal's thoughts and work motivated Muslims who felt hopeless - he was the exponent of the contemporary interpretation of Islam (Nayamat Ullah & Masud, 2016), and was opposed to the traditional and obscurantist Islam. Iqbal gave a rational interpretation of the Quran and reinterpreted some important Islamic ideas, emphasizing the use of Ijtihad for the revival of dynamic elements within Islam. Allama Iqbal warned the reformers who were bringing in swift radical changes to traditional institutions and practices which were followed in Muslim countries; he was not in favor of the reforms introduced by Kemal Ataturk in Turkey (Ranjan, 2014). Due to his modern thoughts, as with Sir Sayyid, Allama Iqbal also faced criticism from the Muslims. Sayyid Ahmad and Allama Iqbal were far-sighted personalities who had visualized the future of Muslims under British colonial rule.

The Islamic world had come to a standstill in the cases of development, change, new desires, difficulties, and new interpretations and Iqbal encouraged the acceptance of these new realities. Iqbal, who was a critic of Western civilization, suggested to the Muslims that they should grab the best things from the West which would be beneficial for the Muslims (Shabbir, 2012). He called for Muslim societies to move with an advanced civilization, but not with a Western concept of modernity; Muslims should create their concept of modernity (Ali, 2011).

In the early twentieth century, Muslims had lost their faith and identity and were experiencing a critical phase in their history. As a result of these conditions, Iqbal's thoughts had been affected and he composed two poems: 'Shikwa' and 'Jawab-i-Shikwah'. 'Shikwa' was a complaint against God, accusing him of withholding his blessings from Muslims who had faith in the Quran and who spread God's name on earth (Chaudhry, 2014). When this poem was first published it faced two different reactions: many Muslims felt that it was the inner feelings or thoughts of the poet, while orthodox Muslims were disgusted that God was accused of injustice. Conservative Muslims had reservations about the message in 'Shikwa' and deemed that it was disrespectful to God. Iqbal therefore composed a response to the complaints, entitled 'Jawab-e-Shikwa'. Conservatives had called him *Kafir* until the composition of 'Jawab-e-Shikwa'; after that, he became *mujtahid* in the eyes of critics. In *Jawab-e-Shikwa*, Iqbal answered the complaint against Shikwa and successfully suppressed the fears of the Muslims (Ranjan, Iqbal & Qazi, 2013).

After 1857, when Britain made India its colony, Muslims passed through a difficult phase. Similarly, since September 11, the Muslim world was experiencing a critical period, having been strongly criticized by the West who had called them extremists and terrorists and were responsible for the incident of 9/11. Following the events of September 11, to eradicate this allegation, the Chief Executive of Pakistan (1999-2002) and later the President of Pakistan, Pervez Musharraf (2001-2008), came up with the policy of 'Enlightened Moderation' (EM) and decided to accept the front line role in the War Against Terror because he wanted to put matters right in the best interests of Pakistan. He

narrated the development that faced Pakistan after the 9/11 attack and acknowledged the pressure from America to join the War against Terror and abandoned the previous policy to support the Taliban in Afghanistan (Musharraf, 2006).

Through his policy of EM, Musharraf wanted to make changes in Pakistan as well as in the Muslim world and the West. He presented his 'EM' policy at a time when a false image of Islam was being portrayed as a religion of intolerance due to the global security situation since 9/11 (Rahman & Nasim, 2004); it was the growing perception in the West that Islam was a fundamental and extremist religion. Musharraf highlighted the issues that the Muslim world was facing, which are still unresolved, and the international community had failed to resolve their issues such as Kashmir and Palestine. The general perception in the Muslim world was that the world powers had treated them unjustly. The policy of EM was expounded to root out political injustice, deprivation, and social and economic betterment of Muslim countries, including Pakistan, addressing the issue that Islam had no conflict with modernization and democracy. Musharraf's policy of EM invited the West to work towards the development and prosperity of the Muslim world, to cooperate with them and with each other to shun the menace of extremism, and to move towards a path of socio-economic betterment. According to Musharraf, the solution to the world's problems was 'Enlightened Moderation,' a policy that would be acceptable to both Muslim nations and advanced Western countries. This policy would open up the modern way in which Muslims could play an ideal role in the world. Muslims would bring reforms within the lost traditions such as dignity, integrity, and their achievements (Musharraf, 2003; Musharraf, 2004).

The focus of this research is to deconstruct Musharraf's narratives to evaluate the policy of Enlightened Moderation and its relevance to a contemporary scenario in Pakistan, through the lens of political analysts and academic scholars.

Research Questions

The research questions are:

1. How have political analysts and academic scholars in Pakistan explained the policy of 'Enlightened Moderation'?
2. How is the policy of 'Enlightened Moderation' relevant to the contemporary scenario in Pakistan?

Main Argument

Modernist thinkers such as Sir Sayyid and Allama Iqbal brought drastic changes to the lives of Muslims in the subcontinent by uplifting them, but they faced criticism. Musharraf introduced the policy of EM for the betterment of the Muslim world, as well as for the people of Pakistan, which also faced criticism, but this research argues that Musharraf was not serious about implementing his policy of EM. Despite different social constructivist views, this study argues that the Musharraf policy of 'Enlightened Moderation' was relevant to contemporary Pakistan because since 9/11 Pakistan is still experiencing a critical phase.

Research Methodology

Keeping in view the above-mentioned questions, and interpretivist methodological approach is used in this research. Interpretivism sees and understands the world through someone else's experiences. Qualitative interviewing is common in interpretivist methodology, the purpose of which is to find out what others think and how interviewees interpret and make sense (Gordon, 2016) of Enlightened Moderation.

Data Collection

This study relies on primary data received from newspaper articles and elite interviews conducted with academic scholars and political analysts. Political elites influence policies and events and provide useful information (Pierce, 2008). The elite interviews produced a tremendous amount of information and brought greater depth to the study (Lilleker, 2003), providing valid, reliable, substantial, and effective data to explore the issue comprehensively (Beamer, 2002).

Data analysis

This research used qualitative data analysis to analyze the qualitative interviews. Qualitative data analysis is the process of making the collected data meaningful to describe the phenomenon in some detail (Flick, 2013). Three steps of qualitative data analysis, which is explained by Liahna E. Gordon (Gordon, 2016), were used in this research.

Step: 1

The data analysis process began by coding. During the coding process, important themes were identified. The codes that emerged from the data consisted of one to four words - these codes affected the research question.

Step: 2

In the second stage, the sense was made of all the codes that emerged from the data.

Step: 3

In the final stage, the interview data was combed again to support the research questions/patterns. There was a good amount of evidence for analysis which was helpful with the verification.

Theoretical Framework

The theory of Social Constructivism was used in this research. Social Constructivists believe that knowledge is socially and culturally constructed, through people's interactions with other people and the environment they live in, and is known as Human Construct (Kim, 2001).

Analyst's Interpretation on 'Enlightened Moderation'

Codes and sub-codes are used to show socially constructed views of the analysts, based on their understanding. After conducting the qualitative interviewing analysis, the following sub-codes emerged from the interview data.

Rationale to Articulate Enlightened Moderation

Legitimize his rule

It was the general perception that Musharraf presented the policy of EM to prolong his rule and grab the attention of the world and the people of Pakistan. According to Chaudhry (2004), most of the leadership of Muslim countries had not been elected transparently during elections. General Musharraf's credibility as a leader was also under question because, during his time as president and chief of army staff, he retained all powers and had two designations. During the interviews, some political analysts discussed Musharraf's credibility as a leader.

M. Feyyaz, L. Baloch, and M. A. H. Khakwani also raised the question of Musharraf's credibility.

Musharraf was a military dictator, was not in the position as the natural leader of the people to implement EM, so its legitimacy was questionable right from the beginning. Pakistan is a diverse country, in such a setting whatever you say, will be homogenized and people will begin to think according to you, it's not possible. It can happen when an authority who invaded such an idea (EM), first of all, his legitimacy should not be questionable (Personal interview, November 2016).

In a similar vein, L. Baloch and M. A. H. Khakwani explained that: "*Musharraf was himself an illegal head of Pakistan because he seized power by overthrowing the democratic government: that's why their base was the negation of enlightened moderation*" (Personal Interview, 2016). "*He presented the slogan of EM to make himself popular in the West and to prolong his rule*" (M. A. H. Khakwani, Personal Interview, and January 24, 2017).

Counter-terrorism through Enlightened Moderation

Some interviewees highlighted that EM was presented to tackle militancy and terrorism and tried to prove to the world that the people of Pakistan were moderate and had no link to terrorism and terrorist organizations.

Musharraf presented EM in essence due to the incident of 9/11 because 9/11 changed the perceptions of the world. Before 9/11, armed struggle was tolerated as an independent movement, but 9/11 brought a paradigm shift and the direction had completely changed, such as if the militancy was involved in independence movements or the struggle for rights, then it was declared as terrorist movements, and now it was necessary for Pakistan to separate from terrorism. Secondly, America attacked Afghanistan to end the Taliban regime after 9/11. It was an impression that Al-Qaeda and other Pan-Islamist global forces that had extreme religious thinking; it was necessary to separate himself from these types of forces, so then Musharraf raised the slogan of EM. Its purpose was to prove that Pakistan and its rulers are not religious extremists and they talked about EM (M. A. H. Khakwani, Personal Interview, and January 24, 2017).

But one of the interviewees pointed out that Musharraf was not successful at eliminating terrorism through EM and said that: "*Musharraf took action against militancy but the government of Pakistan was selective about it*" (Participant, personal interview, January 3, 2017).

Origin of terrorism and Enlightened Moderation

Here it is important to know the origin of terrorism and terrorist organizations. As Musharraf (2004) said, Extremism and Terrorism originated from the Palestine dispute and later the Soviet-Afghan war. The West supported the Soviet-Afghan war and this was the emergence of Pan-Islamic militancy because Islam was used to gain worldwide Muslim support.

During the interviews, most political analysts and academic scholars explained the background of terrorism and extremism in the context of the Soviet-Afghan war.

The policy of EM can be seen from the perspective of the 9/11 incident that was an international incident and also the turning point in the politics of Pakistan. Before that incident, Pakistan and America were on the same page regarding encouraging the religious organizations in the perspective of Afghan jihad and the containment of communism. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the global picture had changed and the world became unipolar, then gradually America lifted its hands to support religious organizations and left Afghanistan helpless. Religious organizations that were sponsored by America during the Afghan jihad fought among themselves and peace could not prevail in the region. Pakistan and Saudi Arabia recognized the Taliban and supported them. But in this matter, America was undecided and 9/11 changed the whole perspective and it was clear that they should take action against them. So it was needed to bring a narrative against religious extremism and the Taliban. After 9/11, when the international and local political perspective changed, then Musharraf adopted the policy of EM (H. J. Zaidi, personal interview, January 21, 2017).

During the US-Russia confrontation in Afghanistan in 1979, America used the religious sentiments of the people of Pakistan and the other Muslim countries in the world (Khokhar, 2005).

In the 1980s, conflict was not so much because state policy and policy of militant groups were the same and all attention was aimed towards Afghanistan. We see extremism in our country from the 1990s because extremist groups were developed in the context of Afghanistan. These groups were the heroes at that time - they had the support of the government of Pakistan, America, and Saudi Arabia – which is why no issue was created. The real problem emerged in 2001, when the state of Pakistan stopped supporting the militancy and the Taliban; otherwise, it was the policy of the state of Pakistan to support the Taliban, when the whole world was against them. When Pakistan decided that it could no longer continue with it, then conflict developed. It was the conflict of interest between radical movements and the state of Pakistan (Participant, personal interview, January 3, 2017).

M. A. Anees further explained the word ‘heroes’ that was used by the above-mentioned participant, explaining the definition of terrorism as: “Today’s terrorist, Tomorrow’s national heroes”.

The Jewish Prime Minister, Menachem Begin, who was given the Nobel Peace Prize by Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt, was declared a terrorist by the British government under the Palestine mandate. So, this is how it works, but Musharraf was driven to ask for the EM view of what was happening in our own country, Pakistan. Let’s forget about 9/11 and other factors that are to a large extent true because that was a time when the Taliban were at their peak. They demanded the Sharia to be accepted as interpreted by the Taliban. It was a very turbulent time and it was very clear that was due to fundamental tendencies. These were the factors that became responsible for presenting the policy of EM by Musharraf (M. A. Anees, personal interview, February 1, 2017).

This fact was explained by M. A. Anees during his interview with the author. Similarly, Narendra Modi, who earned the title "Butcher of Gujarat" in 2002, recently (in August 2019) was honored with the UAE's highest civilian award, the "Order of Zayad," and completely ignored the serious human rights violations in Kashmir as well as the revoked article 370 and 35A by the Indian government.

Enlightenment through Western culture

According to analysts, one other reason to present EM was to adopt Western values. As he told:

EM is an unknown and negative term for Muslims. Musharraf has made this term controversial. Those people who raise the slogan of EM are inspired by the West, follow his agenda, and want to impose a western civilization on Pakistan. EM was not for Pakistan, it

was for the world, and this idea was under criticism in Pakistan (M. A. H. Khakwani, Personal Interview, and January 24, 2017).

Tahir Mustafa, a religious scholar, described the different reasons to introduce Musharraf's policy of EM. According to him, the policy of EM imposed from outside (international powers) and its purpose was too far away from our religion and culture.

It is a bitter reality that in our country, our decisions regarding leadership, education, politics, and economy are not in our hands. Musharraf showed the dream of Enlightenment (Roahsan Khiyali) and said that we should be enlightened and do not need obscurantist Islam. He aimed to eliminate the Islamic environment from Pakistan and cut off from our foundation and adopt a new path that was not related to our past. Under the process of EM, scholars were projected in the name of Islam who misinterpreted the religion (T. Mustafa, personal interview, November 24, 2016).

Sajjad Mir shares the views of M. A. H. Khakwani and Tahir Mustafa, but he explained that Musharraf imposed Western civilization on Pakistan and that he was not himself serious about his policy.

Henry Kissinger gave the terminology of EM to President Musharraf. We have reservations regarding these two meaningful words: 'Moderation' and 'Enlightened'. Firstly, 'moderation' means the nearest to an ideology that suits America as modern. They presented Turkey as a model of modern Islam in the whole Muslim world, and they wanted Muslims to adopt it. Secondly, concerning 'enlightenment', there is no doubt there are five steps which reached Europe on its destination and human civilization followed them. These five steps are: Renaissance, Reformation, Enlightenment, the French Revolution, and British Industrial Revolution; these were the birth of the modern age. According to them, the above-mentioned five things were the philosophical concept of enlightenment. The combination of these two words was the symbol to project a western civilization from a particular point of view. Therefore, we can say that Musharraf's intention was not right (S. Mir, personal interview, January 24, 2017).

Time needed slogans

As mentioned above that our decisions were not in our hands, they were imposed by outside (international powers). Below the words of F. S. Goindi reflect the same statement:

Military rulers must carry out any issue which becomes their identity. If Musharraf was on 5th July, 1977 then they raised the slogan of Islam, and if Zia-ul-Haq was on 12th October, 1999 then they articulated the strategy of EM. Both dictators were imposed in Pakistan due to the wishes of America. Zia knew that in the 1980s America needed to use a religion in the region. America supported the religious people in and outside of Afghanistan. In Zia's regime, religion was used as an instrument at the state level and Musharraf knew the changing global needs and America's requirements; therefore he raised the slogan of EM (Personal interview, January 23, 2017).

Inspired by the Turkish Model

Pervez Musharraf was inspired by the Father of Modern Turkey, Kamal Ataturk, and wanted to follow his policies, but he deviated under public pressure. He desired a modern and liberal Pakistan like Turkey (Ahmad, 2004). Different interviewees explained Musharraf's inspiration from Turkey and Kamal Attaturk in this way: "*Musharraf's action showed that he wanted to adopt Mustafa Kamal's model to prolong his rule. He stated that Kamal Attaturk was his hero and to portray his soft image, he published his picture with puppies in Newsweek*" (K. Hussain, personal interview, January 5, 2017).

K. Hussain and M. A. H. Khakwani had similar views in this regard, but F. S. Goindi added: *Musharraf defamed Attaturk because this was not the style of Ataturk which he had adopted. Turkey is the only successful example in the modern world. If Turkey is going to continue to be successful, it was due to the thinking of Attaturk. Over the last ninety years, Turkey has progressed in terms of economy, science, education, and culture as well as Islam. Attaturk gave the right to vote to women for the first time in the Islamic world. He provided compulsory education, introduced land reforms, and eliminated feudalism (Personal interview, January 2017).*

S. Mir explained two aspects that were the reasons Musharraf idealized Attaturk:

"One was secularism and the other was anti-religion. Without understanding Attaturk, Musharraf admired him. Attaturk became anti-religious during the Arab-Turk conflict and then he made his country. Musharraf was an extreme modernist. Musharraf tried a tactless effort to follow the Turkish model but he failed, which also caused a failure for Pakistan because every country has its model and Turkey has its historical background. Turkey is struggling to get rid of its history and its people do not consider Kamal Attaturk as an ideal model and they are turning away from it" (Personal interview, January 24, 2017).

Initiatives to implemented 'Enlightened Moderation'

After discussing the rationale to articulate the policy of EM by Musharraf, this research now extracts the second code from the interview question, i.e. the discussion about the implementation of the policy of EM. During the interviews, some perspectives were found regarding the implementation of EM that are incorporated under different codes.

Ineffective implementation

Most of the interviewees, such as S. Mir, M. A. H. Khakwani, F. S Goindi, and K. Hussain, agreed to the point that Musharraf did not take effective initiatives to implement EM.

Musharraf did not take any measures to implement the idea of EM. He tried to alter the Hudood ordinance and blasphemy law but was unable to due to public reaction. Musharraf's steps towards EM did not show his enlightenment policy. He introduced corrupt people into politics. He only raised the slogan of EM to collect financial aid from America. Musharraf executed those people who had been declared the enemy by America. In response to this, society went towards more fundamentalism, sectarianism, and terrorism. Musharraf said that Western countries must consider the downtrodden people of the world. He was right to say that Muslims were poor, but the question is, what did Musharraf do for Pakistan? (Personal interview, 2017).

Modernist out of politics

Musharraf's regime conflicted with the moderate political parties and became the ally of those (MMA and PML Q) who agreed with his agenda. (Anwar, 2003) M. Feyyaz stated:

Musharraf was trying to move far away from all the moderate political forces in the political arena. When we try to implement a policy that has no input from civil society and more importantly, the input of the mainstream political parties that policy cannot work. In a society which has no decency and freedom of debate, how can the idea of EM work? Because decency is oxygen (Personal interview, November 28, 2016).

M. Feyyaz further added some of Musharraf's unenlightened happenings:

Musharraf has prevented the inauguration of Ayesha Siddiqa's book Military Inc. and called her a traitor and tried to harass her. He called Akbar Bugti a terrorist and gave a negative statement on his death, but we did not find this attitude echoed in civil society. During a visit abroad, a journalist asked Musharraf a question on the issue of Mukhtar Mai, who then lost his temper and used impolite language. Prime Ministers that were appointed by Musharraf were not progressive; they were tribal leaders or feudal. If we see a civilian government made around Musharraf, nobody had belonged to any enlightenment (Personal interview, November 28, 2016).

Exemption of religion column

Musharraf had ordered the exclusion of the religion column from the National passport, but due to pressure from his allied political parties, the government decided to reinstate this column (Marqusee, 2005; Walsh, 2005). H. J. Zaidi paid attention to another initiative of Musharraf and told:

Any country in the world does not have a religious column in its passport. When Musharraf's government provided data to the company which was going to print passports, the column of religion was exempt from it. When the company started to print the passport then PML (Q) was against him and pressurized Musharraf to re-add the religion column to the passport (Personal interview, January 21, 2017).

Support to hardliners

M. Feyyaz describes Musharraf's contradictory approach in this way:

Musharraf was alone so he should need strong support to perpetuate his power; that's why it was necessary to keep up with MMA. During the MMA regime in NWFP, it created

challenges for today which rose out of TTP and Fazal Ullah and we saw the revival of the hardline Duo Bandi. His government had repelled the NWFP many years back. Jammāt-i-Islami took to standing on curriculum revision, which is why this program had been scrapped. Musharraf needed the political support in the national assembly, so he collaborated with Azam Tariq, who was a hardened sectarian of Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan. The above mention incidents showed that Musharraf was not in a position to fulfill his own words. Musharraf continued to support the Taliban and resuscitate them. The Taliban and Haqqani's came from Afghanistan, settled in Quetta and Waziristan respectively, and the government was allowed to settle them (Personal interview, November 28, 2016).

H. J. Zaidi further added: *"On the one hand Musharraf talked about moderation, but on the other side he made coalition with Jamaat Islami and JUI (F) and this was the major contradiction"* (Personal interview, January 21, 2017).

Unresolved disputes in the Muslim world

Under the policy of EM, Musharraf emphasized that the West, and especially the US, should resolve all political disputes with justice, such as Kashmir and Palestine, and provide aid to the deprived Muslim countries for their economic betterment, because poverty was the main factor for extremism (Musharraf, 2003; Musharraf, 2004).

In response to the above, F. S. Goindi and L. Baloch expressed their concerns and stated: *"Why would America resolve these disputes on Musharraf's demands while he did not have an impressive philosophy that could attract the West? The United States had nothing to do with the demands of Musharraf"* (Personal interview, 2017).

L. Baloch expressed his concern:

Any international force has its agenda and its own goals on its back. Musharraf's speech regarding enlightened moderation that he delivered in the United Nations Organization was the worst speech of any head because begging on an international forum was tantamount to humiliation. International forces should end partiality and implement their decision regarding Kashmir according to the UN resolutions (Personal interview, December 22, 2016). The unresolved Palestine and Kashmir disputes are the result of the West's prejudice (Chaudhry, 2004).

Initiate Western culture

Some of the analysts criticized the events that were initiated by Musharraf and said they were not related to enlightenment: *"Musharraf tried to use state machinery to encourage liberal tradition, although he did not succeed in it"* (Participant, personal interview, January 3, 2017). *"He created an environment in which he promoted culture and Western enlightened vision, which only showed in his speeches"* (K. Hussain, personal interview, January 5, 2017).

"In the name of entertainment, themes of movies and dramas, dance parties, combined youngster's dance in concerts and called it enlightened in Musharraf's regime. He liberated the media but did not take any parameters and code of conduct" (L. Baloch, personal interview, December 22, 2016). *"Musical concerts and dance parties are not related to enlightenment. EM means: human thought proceeds towards evolution and creativity"* (F. S. Goindi, personal interview, January 23, 2017).

"Enlightenment depicted by Musharraf dreamed that we should not need conservative Islam, we need enlightenment and should think broadly. The purpose of this broadness was to eliminate the Islamic environment and the new generation was told that if they move forward on the way of enlightenment we will succeed" (T. Mustafa, personal interview, November 24, 2016).

Enlightened Moderation: Relevance to the Contemporary Scenario

Political analysts and academic scholars were interviewed to find out the relevance of EM in the contemporary scenario in Pakistan. The analysts constructed their own opinions based on existing social facts, associating EM with the ongoing social environment.

Remove societal evils

Most of the analysts agreed that if the government makes the country enlightened then it is necessary to provide the necessities to the masses, remove their deprivations and eliminate the corrupt system from the country. It is the starting point of the implementation of this policy.

“EM is an excellent political idea. Enlightenment means to eliminate feudalism, provide rights to laborers, farmers, women, and citizens, the right to criticize the political leadership, low bus fares for students, and the publication of independent writings. These steps will show that we are an enlightened nation” (F. S. Goindi, personal interview, January 23, 2017).

“The elimination of feudalism, capitalism, corruption and illiteracy and provision of education, inheritance rights to women, employment to every Pakistani; this can make the theory of EM successful” (L. Baloch, personal interview, December 22, 2016).

Enlighten and moderate religion

Some analysts and scholars see this policy in the religious context and have similar views:

Islam is an enlightened and progressive religion and provides a constitution and structure. Islam has a creative nature. There is no space for clergy in Islam. If we historically see EM in the era of the Holy Prophet (PBUH), EM was practically implemented at that time. The state of Madina was the world’s first enlightened state and it was the belief of enlightened thought (F. S. Goindi, personal interview, January 23, 2017).

“There is no large progressive and enlightened religion except Islam. We should emphasize moderate interpretation of religion because it is necessary to improve the religious paradigm in Pakistani society. We should sideline extremism from religion and make it moderate” (M. A. H. Khakwani, personal interview, January 24, 2017).

Enlightened era of Holy Prophet (PBUH)

“We can simply narrate the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH). We have to develop a sense of civic duty, based on the model of the last Prophet (PBUH), the model of “Uswa-e-Hasna” that we have. Never forget the Sunnah of Prophet (PBUH)” (M. A. Anees, personal interview, February 1, 2017).

If we contemplate the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) we will see enlightenment. His attitude towards the people of other religions, even He (PBUH) calls the Christian in Masjid-i-Nabvi, His (PBUH) achievements of Misaq-e-Madina and Khutba Hijatal Wida, shows his enlightenment. Holy Prophet (PBUH) and four Caliphs (R.A) did not impose the culture of Makkah or Madina as the West impose their culture on us. It is a ground reality that Pakistan is for Muslims and it is necessary that we have to implement the Islamic laws as implemented by our Holy Prophet (PBUH) in Madina. If we look at the Turkish model now, Islamic vision is gradually coming there. The term ‘Islamic vision’ means moderation that is presented by the Holy Prophet (PBUH) on which Sahabah (R.A) proceed. We must take the EM vision from the life of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) but we are not taking it from Him (PBUH) because we have divided into different sects and our sects are extremists. Our division is based on sectarianism. Now sectarianism has increased and our religious scholars are using violence. The theory of EM prevents us from the violence, terrorism, and extremism that exist in our society. The teachings of Islam are moderate in every aspect and it wants to make us moderate (K. Hussain, personal interview, January 5, 2017).

Way to success

“Our common point is Islam, Quran, and Sunnah, and if we are tied with this rope we can be successful. It provides us with guidance about every field of life such as education, culture, economy and society, not only for this generation but also for the coming generations as well” (L. Baloch, personal interview, December 22, 2016).

According to the well-known Islamic scholar, T. Mustafa:

“Enlightenment is our foundation and this should be in our country. We need enlightenment that does not cut us off from our past. Islam is not an obscurantist or conservative religion. EM itself is in the Quran and the Quran itself shows the path of progress and improvement” (Personal interview, November 24, 2016).

Role of Clerics

Most scholars are concerned that our clerics misguide the people on religion.

Our religious scholars misinterpret the religion. According to the concept of Islamists in our country, enlightenment is to drink alcohol and commit adultery, but this is not enlightenment. Enlightenment is the opposite of conservatism and is related to modernity. Even today in Pakistan, progressives and secularists speak of logic. Progressives do not believe in the use

of the gun. If some people have decided to talk with logic, reason, knowledge, and intellect, then it is best for Pakistan. But the problem is the conservative ruling elite in our country (F. S. Goindi, personal interview, January 23, 2017).

Need to take initiatives

Some of the interviewees discussed the need to play a positive role to make our nation enlightened. Every person should fulfill his responsibilities and take part in the development of his country.

“We can bring about change within our framework. We must revive our institutions, without the influence of western institutions. This experience can be successful if we enlighten our behavior and culture. We should promote our culture and adjust it within our framework” (S. Mir, personal interview, January 24, 2017).

EM is a good slogan and it is a requirement of the time. Our country and society have been religiously divided. We should leave extremism and adopt a moderate attitude. Through EM, Musharraf said, “Open your minds, extremism should not be in your behavior and thoughts”. Pakistan is facing internal and external threats. Currently, the situation has been complicated. We desire to continue Musharraf’s policy of EM and control the militancy and extremism, and now we are seeing a reduction in terrorism” (U. Javed, personal interview, November 24, 2016).

M. A. Anees reference’s President Kennedy, who said *“Ask not what your country does for you; ask what you can do for your country”*. *Start with a single individual – any individual will do. This reminds me of none but Abdul Sattar Edhi. See what he did? What Edhi was doing? We can do the same”* (Personal interview, February 1, 2017).

Conclusion

After analyzing the policy of EM, this research finds that Musharraf highlighted the Islamic norms and told the world that Islam is a peaceful religion with no links to extremism and terrorism. He emphasized reconciliation between the West and the Muslim world. In his two-pronged EM policy, Musharraf expected the West to play a positive role in solving the problems of the Muslim world, and on the other side, he told the Muslim world that he provided the necessities to their masses and denounced militancy.

The problems that were addressed by Musharraf in presenting this policy of EM are still relevant. The common man is deprived of the necessities of life. Politicians only think about their self-interest, instead of national interest. Incidents of terrorism, religious extremism, and intolerance still exist in Pakistan. People have moved far away from the true teaching of Islam and some of our Ulema misinterpret their religion. The confrontation between Islam and the West continues. Since 9/11 Western countries and their leaders’ associate terrorism with Islam, so it is the responsibility of the Muslim leaders of the world to remove any misunderstanding regarding Islam in the West. It is time for Muslims and their leaders to think out of the box and in an enlightened manner.

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