# The Rise of Political Islam in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: The Case of *Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal* (MMA) Jamshed Khan\*

Abstract

Since the 1979 Afghan War, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK) remained the geographical and ideological focal point for the religious extremism and also for the Islamist politics. The rise of political Islam in KPK, in 2002 elections was not a unique example from the history of Pakistan; indeed history tells us that since 1947, Pakistan's leader use religion as a tool to strengthen the country's identity. These religious parties are supported by state to gain influence in political process or to support the military dominance in politics. In fact in Pakistan the religious parties have 'dysfunctional interactional' history and it was first time that such a grand alliance emerged. This paper is a focused attempt to trace the dynamics of political Islam in the KPK after 9/11. Further it will discuss that internal and external causes due to which MMA swept the polls and ran the province for five years. It will also elaborate the impacts of MMA politics on KPK.

Keywords: Political Islam, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal

## **Political Islam and MMA**<sup>1</sup>

Political Islam is a belief which means that Islam should be the overall source of values, laws and governance in Muslim society<sup>2</sup>. In this context MMA participated in 2002 general elections and the present article will follow this definition of Political Islam to further elaborate the five years history of the Islamist in KPK. There was a problem with MMA because of the agglomeration of different religious parties; they had no clear agenda about, how to implement their own version of Islam.

### Introduction

The use of Islam in contemporary Pakistan is more visible than the earlier phase of Pakistan history.<sup>3</sup> Islam was used to gain political

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superiority both by the government and opposition that is why Islamic nationalism is far greater than Pakistani nationalism. The revival of Islam was just utilized for the purpose of power politics and self-interest not for the cause of Islam. Nowadays it is transformed into Islamism, and these religious groups completely politicized Islam to form the Islamic government on the model of Shariah. It is necessary to mention here that the Islamists are powerful in a sense that all other groups try to keep them happyeither they are in government or in opposition. This paper will limit its consideration of political Islam to KPK after 9/11. Before discussing the role of Islam in KPK after 9/11 it is important to understand the role of Islam since the creation of Pakistan. In this article the existing materials and interviews are incorporated with general observation. The approach of this article is limited to discuss its impact on society as they represent people's wishes.

#### Background

Islam has been glorified during the anti-colonial movement in India, for the purposes to oust British from the Indian sub-Continent.<sup>4</sup> Further, the fears of Hindu dominations in political, economic and educational institutions created a fear among the Muslims which resulted in the emergence of Muslim nationalism that helped the formation of Muslim League in 1906. Later the slogan 'Islam in Danger' united the Indian Muslims under the platform of Muslim League resulted in the separation of the British Indian empire into two states. Islam was cited as a binding force to hold the Bengalis together<sup>5</sup> but it failed and thus East Pakistan was separated in 1971. Question arises that why Muslim League failed in those areas<sup>6</sup> where it had a deep root but that part did not remain the part of Pakistan? This provided an opportunity for the Islamist to dig roots in other parts of Pakistan, where previously it had no roots or a very weak position. History suggests that in Punjab the strongest party was Unionist while in North West Frontier Province (present KPK) the Khudai Khidmatgar (KK) was in power till 1946 elections. How in KPK the power of KK was minimized due to the communal riots which were exploited by  $ML^7$  and thus the later achieved great success. The famous Objective Resolution presented by Liagat Ali Khan the first Prime Minister of Pakistan stated:

> wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam is fully observed, wherein the Muslim shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with

the teaching and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah.<sup>8</sup>

But this does not mean that he wanted Pakistan to be a theocratic state but to an extent a push was given to the Islamist, who started a campaign against the Ahmadiyya community in 1953.<sup>9</sup> The demand against Ahmadis to declare them non-Muslim was formulated by the Ulema in June 1952, in Karachi.<sup>10</sup> In the fore front were Jamaat-e-Islami and Majlis-e-Ahrar who demanded from the government that Ahmadiyya should be declared non-Muslims and they should also be dismissed from the government posts. This movement caused the riots in different parts of the country and also martial law for the first time in Lahore. On September 21, 1974 Zulfigar Ali Bhutto (a socialist) declared Ahmadiyya community as non-Muslim. To prolong his rule and to appease the religious parties he had done that, but it produced very negative impact on the future politics of Pakistan. The transformation of Pakistan from Islamic republic to Islamic state revisited, with the consolidation and centralization of power.<sup>11</sup>

The process of incorporating Islamist into formal politics started during the Zia regime, which provided strength and legitimization to his rule. Dictators are always supported by the Islamist throughout Pakistan history.<sup>12</sup> According to Aasim Sajjad a professor in Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 'Zia's regime took refuge in Islam'. The Soviet attack of Afghanistan in November, 1979 provided an opportunity to the religious parties especially Jammat-e-Islami and Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam, which changed their power base from urban centers to rural Pakhtoons areas alongside the Pak-Afghan border. The message of *Jihad* was formally propagated by the religious parties with the support of Inter-Services Intelligence agency. According to Omar Noman, Pakistan was being gradually transformed into a theocratic state with totalitarian connotations<sup>13</sup> contrary to the founding father's vision of progressive and democratic state.

### 9/11 and Islam

In Pakistan Islam is always used for political means; however there are little priorities to form Islamic government. The terrorist attack on World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001 which deeply shocked the world also brought war to Afghanistan. Having strategic importance for Afghanistan especially Pakistan was forced to join the War on Terror; even many of Musharraf's companions were not happy over this decision. But Musharraf took

the decision because he wanted to see them [Taliban] out of power.<sup>14</sup> For Islamist there is no difference between the Soviet Union and America they consider both as infidel. The participation of Pakistan in WOT created opportunities to the militants and for the religious parties also because it was a good time for them to expand its ideology. Earlier the greatest hurdles for the religious parties were their internal disunity and differences. God gifted opportunity was very clearly manifested by Islamist - acted wisely and got closer and thus achieved sympathies and support inside the masses for the up-coming elections. In this way the religious political parties came to common terms and formed MMA (Muttahida Majlis Amal or United Action Front) contested 2002 elections and secured high mandate and formed their government in KPK and Baluchistan.

### 2002 elections and of MMA government

Musharraf's decision to support the American War on Terror provided an opportunity to the religious parties which mobilized the people against the America and also against the military government at home. On the other side the Islamists were perceived by Musharraf as the possible future ally and he considered it no threat for his government, that's why they participated in the election more freely.<sup>15</sup> MMA was comprised of six ultra-conservative Islamist political parties of Pakistan, the Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP), the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam-Fazl (JUI-F), the Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-S), Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith, Pakistan Islami Tehrik (ITP) and the Jamaat-e-Islami (JI). All these parties had the same nature of politics but their way of politics is different. In the country's electoral history religious parties had a very weak position but this time they formed government in KPK and coalition government in Baluchistan and in the center MMA emerged as an opposition party.<sup>16</sup>

voting and Seats				
Party	Votes (million)	Share of total vote %	Number	
			of seats won*	
PPP	7.39	25.01	62	
PML-Q	7.33	24.81	77	
PML-N	3.32	11.23	14	
MMA	3.19	11.10	53	

Table 1: Pakistan General Election 2002, breakdown by Party,	
Voting and Seats	

Source: Pakistan: "The Mullahs and the Military", 49, International Crisis Group (2003), 17–18.

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## Internal causes of MMA success

Elected government of Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif was dismissed by General Pervez Musharraf in a coupe d'état. Later his coup was validated by Supreme Court under the law of necessity. He was also asked by the Supreme Court to hold general election within the period of three years.

Jihad against the Soviet Union in KPK in the era of 1980's foreshadowed the post 9/11 era. Following the American attack on Afghanistan was the movement to mobilize the masses for that cause. As American forces entered Afghanistan in search of al-Qaeda and Taliban, the religious parties find an opportunity to unite the people for their electoral purposes because they already had the previous experience. Why such a grand alliance emerged between the religious parties? One of MMA parliamentarian told in an interview that actually all the religious parties had the same views about Islam and they all wanted Islamic government and it was an underlying cause for the MMA alliance.<sup>17</sup> But some scholars are of the view that the Islamist was united into a Pak-Afghan Defence Council (PADC) comprised of twenty-six Islamic organizations established in 2001 after 9/11. Later on, six of the major parties united and formed the MMA to contest the 2002 elections.<sup>18</sup> According to Christophe Jaffrelot, ISI was involved in the amalgamation of these religious parties.<sup>19</sup> MMA proclaimed that they will work for the freedom, solidarity and to establish the real Islamic and democratic system in the country. It means that their aims and objectives are the same but the way of politics is different. The formation of such grand alliance also remained in favour of Pakistani state, by strengthening the Islamist against America in KPK. The most popular party in KPK was ANP, but at that time it has a very soft corner towards President Musharraf. Earlier during Zia regime ANP was against the Soviet Jihad and it always opposed the policies of Pakistan in regard to Afghanistan. 9/11 provides an opportunity to the Islamist to propagate against ANP as well. It is also very important to mention here that by the time there were internal jealousies and fictions among ANP due to which they had no chance to win against the MMA.<sup>20</sup>

The election symbol i.e. book also played a very important role in the MMA victory. The MMA candidates signified the book and claiming the book to be the Holy Book Quran, that's why most people voted in favour for MMA.<sup>21</sup> Their slogan was that this is holy book, and if somebody wants Islamic government, then stamp the Book otherwise you will lose the opportunity.<sup>22</sup>Even some of MMA leaders were accused for using Quran for political ends.

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By accepting Musharraf's LFO (Legal Frame Work Order) a little respite was given by the establishment as to fight the election the candidates must possess certain educational qualifications (typically, a bachelor's degree) were interpreted by the federal government so as not to disgualify candidates who held certificates from the madaris.<sup>23</sup> This was a great boon to the JUI-F, many candidates did not have degrees from accredited institutions but they have their religious degrees which were considered equal to graduation since the time of Zia. Even some MMA candidates were reportedly assisted by the withdrawal of criminal cases against them in advance of their nomination papers being scrutinized. This process was well-documented in the case of MMA leaders in Baluchistan, and there is good reason that the same process took place in the NWFP. Even the state controlled media also tilted in favour of MMA.<sup>24</sup> The election campaign of MMA was also the best one as compared to other parties. Such as all other parties propagated the general economic and welfare issues but MMA carried out the campaign on basic ideological issues and govern in a simple manner, end the well-entrenched VIP culture and do away with protocol.<sup>25</sup> The unity amongst different secretarian groups also provided an opportunity to the people to unite and hence they voted for MMA. According to Muhammad Waseem, those voters especially in the age of 18-21 who did not cast their vote earlier greatly participated in the elections which caused the MMA victory in KPK.<sup>26</sup> The religious Madrassas and mosques were used by MMA as their election offices and the students of these Madrassas were more utilized for their campaign.<sup>27</sup> Also in mosques during the Friday sermons the Ulema greatly propagated for the success of MMA candidates which was not available for their political rivals.<sup>28</sup> The leaders of both Pakistan Peoples' Party Parliamentarians PPPP and PML-N were forced to exile and also in KPK the nationalist were in a position to unite because of their internal differences, and hence all these factors contributed to the MMA success.<sup>29</sup> While some of the socalled liberal parties supported MMA's candidates against the candidates of ANP<sup>30</sup> which at that time was lured by internal frictions. This in turn split their vote.<sup>31</sup> The factor of ethnicity also played an important role than religious one.

### External causes

Due to the American invasion of Afghanistan after 9/11, anti-Americanism had increased dramatically which further created an opportunity for the MMA to gain more votes. During the election

days every newspaper headline highlighted the Maulana Fazal's rhetoric against the Americans: 'West Bent on Initiating Civilizations Clash: Fazal', 'Fazal says Sovereignty mortgaged to US', 'Fazal Demands halt to US Army operations', 'Fazal Urged US troops withdrawal', 'MMA vows block hunt for al-Qaeda', etc.<sup>32</sup> Being a neighboring Islamic country in Pakistan there was a greater chance for the Islamist to be elected, as in KPK, there were more anti-Americans as compared to the other parts of Pakistan. They also popularized the election as a referendum between the America agents and requested the people to vote for MMA in order to free Pakistan from the clutches of America.<sup>33</sup> Ironically the MMA anti- Musharraf Afghan policies highly contributed to their success but yet the regime favoured it most. Also the previous regimes were accused for corruption and mismanagement in the country; it produced the hope for the better future in the form of MMA success.<sup>34</sup> The growing Islamic sentiments in Pakistan and all over the world also contributed to the MMA success in the Pakhtuns dominated region.

## Impacts of MMA government on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

"Soon after winning the polls, the MMA legislators vowed to declare Friday as a holiday instead of Sunday, do away with coeducation, put a halt to obscenity in the print and electronic media, and reform interest-based banking".<sup>35</sup>

Although the MMA government policies were the educational segregation but overall they focused on to increase the female education at primary level.<sup>36</sup> Qazi Hussain Ahmad asserted on education "we do not want to stop female education but believe in the segregation of education because it is un-Islamic. We will establish further schools for female because they do not like co-education and it is also in consonance with our tradition and culture"<sup>37</sup>. The educational policies of MMA were not bad at the movement but it lacked coherence for long term.<sup>38</sup>

More importantly, thousands of people patronized by MMA, got jobs and came to power vacuum, due to which their role in government institutions were strengthened and especially many girls were willing to adhere to observe veil in university. On June 2, 2003 the MMA government passed a controversial Shariah bill similar to the Federal Shariah Act of 1991. Practically a very difficult task- the law meant to encapsulate Islam in all existing institutions like education, culture, economy, justice system and governance. The bill proposed the segregation of women in education, making Hijab (veil) for women compulsory, women

should be treated by female doctors, cable networks and cinemas should be closed and the introduction of women coaches in sports.<sup>39</sup> According to Nazish Brohi "the entire struggle is therefore to keep women confined to their biologically determined roles as mothers, daughters and wives".<sup>40</sup> In this law all the court will follow the Jurisdiction of the Provincial government and the Shariah.<sup>41</sup> Whether it is possible to form Islamic government? One of MMA senator asserted that in reality it is very difficult to establish Islamic form of government but we are striving at our level best to this end.<sup>42</sup>

Peshawar was famous for their cassette industry in which more of resisted songs were recorded even during the Soviet attack on Afghanistan. MMA completely failed to deliver on the election slogan for change and was soon found to be corrupt and inefficient like the previous regime and they remained slowly concerned with the Islamization of state institutions.<sup>43</sup> During their election campaign the MMA candidates promised the people that they would put an end to cinema.<sup>44</sup> In the mid of October 2003, the obscene pictures and billboards were banned which had greatly affected the business of cinemagoers because in the absence of posters and signboards, they had assumed that films are not shown any more and have stopped coming to the cinema. While disbanded billboards one of the Senior Minister of MMA Sirajul Haq said, that even in UK cinemas did not display pictures outside. Not only cinemas but also the business of musicians and recording companies had also been affected. In many areas of Peshawar (provincial capital) musicians and drum beaters were arrested through police. Many of the famous musicians fled to foreign countries because of the Taliban threat.45 In July 14, 2005 the MMA leadership introduced the controversial Hasba Bill,<sup>46</sup> to successfully implement the Shariah Act. They wanted that there will be the Taliban like rule a step to further Islamize the KPK.<sup>47</sup> MMA leadership strongly advocated that the bill would minimize the miseries of people and will provide speedy justice.<sup>48</sup> One should ponder over it that in a very short span of time, the Taliban destroyed the Afghan culture and society. Nevertheless, the Taliban government and their religious doctrine were neither acceptable to the people nor to the international community. The anti-Obscenity campaign was started by the youth wing of JUI-F and JI and within no time, all billboards and large outdoor signboards having women picture were abolished. This introduction of Hasba Bill further strengthened the Taliban's activities which were visible in the formation of peace accord with

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them in South Waziristan.49 The leaders of opposition and civil society organization strongly criticized the government move and considered it to be the 'Martial Law of Maulvies'. There was a great contradiction in Hasba Bill, and later on July 14, 2005 a new version of the bill was adopted by the MMA government. According to Iqbal Haider, secretary-general of the Human rights Commission of Pakistan "that the real motives for the bill were that the MMA government could dictate and impose, through the provincial, district and tehsil Mohtasib (Ombudsman)<sup>50</sup> their own peculiar orthodox, obscurantist, social, moral and cultural values, norms and practices on the society to enslave the people of the Frontier (KPK).<sup>51</sup> This bill was highly criticized by the Council for Islamic Ideology (CII) and later it declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Pakistan on 4 August 2005. The federal government also did not want to stop the MMA activities because Musharraf wanted to serve both the army chief and the president.<sup>52</sup> The previous banned groups also did their job freely when MMA came into power.<sup>53</sup> They even ran training camps, schools and also produced militant literature?.<sup>54</sup> In a contrast Maulana Fazulullah the Taliban commander was supported by federal government and Pakistan People's Party (Sherpao) to create problems for the MMA government<sup>55</sup> due to which sooner the militants had created their own rule. The MMA government policies regarding the nongovernment organization were more hostile because first they wanted screening and registration. Even in recent times the Ulema of Kohistan has declared the NGOs as non-Islamic and ordered them to kick out from the area otherwise they would be responsible for the consequences. When in KPK some Union Councils categorically declared that women would not be allowed to vote in the upcoming Local Body Elections, which was contrary to the CEDAW treaty to which Pakistan was a party.<sup>56</sup> On June 15, 2003 the Aurat Foundation's Women's Crisis Center was closed allegedly as it perceived Western influence. It is pertinent to mention here that Germany was the main donor which provided immense fund to run this foundation effectively and MMA government also wrote to the German Embassy that "it is an advocacy NGOs and wants to make Pakistani women western".<sup>57</sup> Many NGOs were considered by MMA members as pro-Western. Hafiz Hashmat says, "The activities of NGOs will have to be monitored because of grassroots concerns about a hidden agenda that could undermine Islamic values and cultural tradition".<sup>58</sup> In that connection, the female members of MMA in Lahore

demanded the ban on NGOs whom they considered the most harmful for Pakistan.

## Conclusion

In 2002 elections MMA showed extraordinary performance due to its anti-US and anti-Musharraf rhetoric, and formed the individual government in KPK. However, it failed to establish Islamic government in KPK. The new form of legislation Hasba Bill was put forward by MMA, which was a new thing for the purpose to enforce Islamic norms in the province. The coming of the religious parties into power means, that the Taliban are now free to propagate and impose their own fundamentalist ideologies like the destruction of music hall, female schools, video shops, ban on coeducation etc. The MMA government also created problems for Musharraf regime and sometimes MMA also opposed the government activities in religious institutions, and also Madaris receive funds from the government. Their temporary unity was shattered during the 2008 elections which resulted in a complete failure of the religious parties because of the people hatred towards them because five years of MMA government, KPK was drastically radicalized.

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<sup>6</sup> Muslim League has very deep roots in the United Province of British India, but it did not become the part of Pakistan. For detail see, Aasim Sajjad Akhtar, Asha Amirali and Ali Raza, "Reading between the Line: Mullah-Military Alliance in Pakistan", Contemporary South Asia, 15, no. 4 (2007): 384.

<sup>8</sup> Objective Resolution.

<sup>9</sup> Even the Punjab Chief Minister aligned himself with the rioters whom demanded that Ahmadivva should be declared minority and non-Muslims.

<sup>10</sup> Government of Punjab, *Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted* under the Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953, (Lahore: Government of Punjab, 1954), 125.

<sup>11</sup> Lawrence Ziring, "From Islamic Republic to Islamic State in Pakistan", *Asian Survey*, 24, no. 9 (1984): 938 <sup>12</sup> Kunal Mukherjee, "Islamic Revivalism and Politics in Contemporary

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<sup>13</sup> Omar Noman, "Pakistan and General Zia: Era and Legacy", *Third* World Quarterly, 11, no. 1 (1989): 33.

<sup>14</sup> Kamran Aziz Khan, "2002 Elections in Pakistan: A Reappraisal", Journal of Political Studies, 18, no.1 (2011): 94.

<sup>15</sup> Hussain Haqqani, "The Role of Islam in Pakistan's Future", *The* Washington Quarterly, 28, no. 1 (2004): 85.

<sup>16</sup> The scale of the MMA victory was extraordinary, and in KPK it obtained 45% votes. An attempt was made to form the alliance between MMA and PML-O, but due to some differences it could not be manipulated. MMA demanded the post of Prime Minister for Maulana Fazalur Rehman who was not acceptable to Musharraf and also to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>The president of the MMA alliance was Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Naeem Ahmed, "State, Society and Terrorism: A Case Study of

Pakistan after September 11" (PhD Diss., University of Karachi, 2007), 125. For more detail see, Oliver Roy, The Failure of Political Islam

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hamza Alavi, "Ironies of History: Contradiction of the Khilafat Movement," in Islam, Communities and the Nation: Muslim Identities in South Asia and beyond, ed. Mushirul Hasan (New Delhi: Manohar Publishers, 1998), 25-56

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Sved Wigar Ali Shah, "Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress and the Partition of India", Pakistan Vision, 8, no. 2 (2007): 105.

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America. For detail see, Kalim, Bahadur, "The Rise of MMA in

<sup>19</sup> Christophe Jaffrelot, A History of Pakistan and its Origins (London: Anthem Press, 2004), 283. <sup>20</sup> Joshau T. White, *Pakistan Islamist Frontier: Islamic Politics and U.S.* 

Policy in Pakistan's North West Frontier (Arlington: Center of Faith and International Affairs, 2008), 6.

<sup>21</sup> The slogans were coined likewise 'Mulk Bachao, Kitab Par Muhar Lagao' (save the nation, vote for book), Hathon Mei Kitab Ho, Agaz-e-Ingalab Ho' (with the book in hand, let the revolution begin) etc. <sup>22</sup> Discussion with more than 150 people at Khujamad Bannu,

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<sup>23</sup> Irfan Ullah Marwat, MMA candidate from Lucky Marwat allegedly involved in criminal activities in his own area and also in Karachi. <sup>24</sup> "Media Monitoring: Elections 2002", Pakistan Liberal Forum (October,

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<sup>25</sup> "Pakistan National and Provincial Assembly Elections", Election Observer Group Reports, Commonwealth Secretariat (2006). See also, Rahimullah Yusafzai, "Rise and Falls of Mullahs", Newsline Magazine, February 14, 2008.

<sup>26</sup> Muhammad Waseem, *Democratization in Pakistan: A Study of the* 2002 Elections (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 151.

<sup>27</sup> Sarwar Bari & Farzana Bari, "Making the Myth of MMA", *The News*, October 22, 2002

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 182.; Interview with Qari Abdullah (ex-senator of MMA and District leader of JUI-F in Bannu), on June 26, 2012. <sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> Sherry Rehman, "Living with the MMA," *The Nation*, October 23, 2002.

<sup>32</sup> Tariq Ali, "The Colour Khaki," New Left Review, 19, no. 1 (2003): 17 <sup>33</sup> Kamran Aziz Khan, "2002 Elections in Pakistan: A Reappraisal"

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<sup>39</sup> Ashutosh Misra, "MMA- Democracy Interface in Pakistan: From Natural Confrontation to Co-habitation?". Strategic Analysis, 30, no. 2 (2006): 389.

<sup>40</sup> Nazish Brohi, "The MMA Offensive, Three Years in Power 2003-2005", ActionAid International (2006): 78.

<sup>41</sup> Anita M. Weiss, "Questioning Women's Rights in Pakistan: Finding Common Ground", *Pakistan Vision*, 8, no. 1 (2007): 108.

<sup>43</sup> Carlotta Gall, "In Tribal Pakistan, Religious Parties are Foundering." New York Times, February 14, 2008.

<sup>44</sup> "MMA should Abandon Coercive Proposals" (Editorial), *The Daily* Times. October 23, 2002.

<sup>45</sup> Amir Muhammad Khan, "The Day the Music Died", Newsline Magazine, Feb. 10, 2003, See also, Manzoor Ali, "Cultural Depravation: The Sound of Silence", Express Tribune, December 16, 2010.

<sup>46</sup> According to Tahseen Ullah Khan "the bill was not allowed for reading to the general public and very few have got the copies of that with very difficult". See for detail Tahseen Ullah Khan, "The Proposed Hasba Bill at a Glance". Available at

http://www.khvber.org/articles/2005/The Proposed Hasba Bill at a G.s. html (Accessed June 16, 2012).

Provincial Assembly of KPK), on June 26, 2012, Bannu. 49 Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> The *Mohtasibeen* would be appointed by the Governor in consultation with Chief Minister. The functions of mohtasibeen were, take the notice on corruption, promotion of Islamic values, Control media, to assist the provincial government, to record evidence, award punishment etc. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> A daughter of Qazi Hussain Ahmad the vice president of MMA gave a statement from London that "the new government will ban the coeducation". The Daily Times, Editorial, October 23, 2002. See also, Rahimullah Yusafzai, "Rise and Falls of Mullahs", op.cit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Joshau T. White, Pakistan Islamist Frontier: Islamic Politics and U.S. Policy in Pakistan's North West Frontier, op.cit., 58-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup>Ashutosh Mishra, "Rise of religious parties in Pakistan: Causes and Prospects", Strategic Analysis, 27, no. 2 (2003): 202.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> There was a 96% increase in the educational budget during the tenure of MMA in 2003-04 to 2005-06 when the total budget was increased from 10.4 billion to 20.4 billion rupees. There was also an increase of 26% in the number of children attending school in the NWFP. That figure amounts to a 34% increase for female and 19% increase for male students at the primary level. For detail see, Mohammad Waseem and Mariam Mufti, "Religion, Politics and Governance in Pakistan", DFID Working Paper 27 (2009): 52-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Interview with Qari Abdullah (ex-senator of MMA and District leader of JUI-F in Bannu) on June 26, 2012

For details, see "Text of Hasba Bill," Dawn, July 16. 2005. <sup>48</sup> Author interview with Molvi Abdur Razzaq Mujadidi (Member

decision of the mohtasibeen was so powerful that cannot be challenged in court. For detail see, Text of Hasba Bill, *Dawn* July 16, 2005. <sup>51</sup> Iqbal Haider, "Life under the Hasba Law," *Dawn*, July 30, 2005.

<sup>52</sup> Hassan Abbas, "Inside Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province," New America Foundation, (2010). Available at:

http://counterterrorism.newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policyd ocs/abbas0.pdf. (Accessed October 25, 2012) <sup>53</sup> These groups were, Jaish-i-Mohammad, Sipha-i-Sahaba, Lashker-i-

Jhangvi, Lashkre-e-Taiba, Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Shariat Mohammadi (a movement for the Enforcement of Islamic Laws), Tehrik-i-Fiqa Jafriya, Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP), Sipha-e-Mohammad, and Harkat-ul-Mujahedin.

<sup>54</sup> The Jaish-i-Muhammad had a training camp in Mansehra, near Jabba Mor, named Madrassa Syed Ahmad Shaheed.

<sup>55</sup> Sultan-i-Rome, "Swat a Critical Analysis", Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (2009):17. Available at:

http://www.ipcs.org/pdf\_file/issue/1542140255RP18-Rome-Swat.pdf (Accessed December 12, 2012)

<sup>56</sup> In Pakhtuns society especially in the Southern District women are not allowed to vote. Before the election, it is announce through loudspeaker by the local elders that women would not be allowed to vote.

<sup>57</sup> Anita M. Weiss, "Questioning Women's Rights in Pakistan: Finding Common Ground", op.cit., 112.

<sup>58</sup> Ashutosh Misra, "Rise of Religious Parties in Pakistan: Causes and Prospects", op.cit., 203.