

Musharraf's Policy of "Enlightened Moderation": An Analysis of Conflicting Perspectives in Pakistan

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In the wake of 9/11, 2001 religious extremism became a major concern of international security agencies. Pakistan, in particular, became a focus of academic discourse on radical religious extremism and militancy. It was during these times that the President of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf presented the idea of "Enlightened Moderation". According to him, the Muslims would have to adopt the modern path and the world should promote justice to get rid of extremism. This study examines President Musharraf's policy of "Enlightened Moderation" and its different interpretations by the national print media. The study finds that despite President Musharraf's efforts to explain this idea at length, it was interpreted in multiple, often conflicting ways by scholars in Pakistan.

Keywords: double standards, enlightenment, Islamic values, representation, terrorism

"As a model, Kemal Ataturk did a great deal for Turkey. I have his biography. We will see what I can do for Pakistan." Pervez Musharraf as cited in Gupta, (2006)

The term "Enlightened Moderation" (EM) was introduced by the former Pakistani President, General Pervez Musharraf, while addressing the 58th session of United Nations General Assembly in September, 2003. He pointed towards the new forms of threat to peace and security since 9/11 and described the growing confrontation between Islam and the West as unfortunate (Musharraf, 2003). He warned against the Clash of Civilization narrative proposed by Huntington (1993) and propagated by Western media since 9/11. Instead, Moghaddam (2008) suggested frameworks that challenge Islam and West confrontation thesis. 'Enlightened Moderation' was an idea presented by President Musharraf (2003) to reconcile.

The post 9/11 war on terror revived the hostility between Islam and the West. Pakistan, being a professed Islamic state and a frontline state of this war, was particularly vulnerable to this confrontational discourse. The 9/11 Commission report pointed out the need to control the spread of radical Islamist militancy. Pakistani religious madaris, in particular, were highlighted as a source of Islamist militancy (Haqqani, 2002). Reports of rising religious radicalism in Pakistan were highlighted in the media. In order to resolve the ideological dilemma faced by Pakistan after 9/11, President Musharraf offered the slogan of "Enlightened Moderation". The new slogan for Pakistan was presented as a panacea for a country troubled by religious radicalism and militancy (Lodhi, 2011).

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This slogan, however, was a fresh addition to a series of religion-based jargons coined in the history of Pakistan to determine the direction of the country. Chughati (2015) identified four major ideological policy shifts in Pakistan since its inception. She pointed out that initially (1947-1958), Islam was used to achieve the goal of social democracy in the country. But later (1959-1976), the slogan of Islam was used to promote national solidarity. Islam always remained central to politics in Pakistan, however, it was in the third phase (1977-1998) that national policy actively supported Islamic political extremism. Contrary to the previous promotion of religion-based nationalism, Islam was now used to promote the idea of pan-Islamism to support the jihad in Afghanistan. The next policy phase (1999-2012) again made a major shift, against the backdrop of 9/11, and the term “Enlightened Moderation” was coined to de-radicalize Pakistan.

If we analyze the regimes of Pervez Musharraf’s predecessors, Ayub Khan adopted modernization to bring societal reforms. He advocated a modernist interpretation of Islam while later, Yahya Khan, used Islam to legitimize his rule, and promote national unity through common Islamic identity (Ansari, 2011; Lodhi, 2011). Zia ul Haq adopted the policy of Islamization as a political strategy again while Musharraf had the vision of a progressive and moderate society which is why he raised the slogan of Enlightened Moderation (Talbot, 2012).

Pakistan, since its inception, has been struggling to reconcile Islamic principles with a Western democratic political structure. EM was a fresh effort towards such a reconciliation. President Musharraf explained the meaning of this term in great detail in his address to the United Nations and the Organization of Islamic Conference. The term, however, was interpreted in multiple ways by various social, political groups, academia and the media in Pakistan. Different groups and individuals in society developed their own meaning of this idea according to their respective worldviews, social values, and norms. People reconstructed this idea in their own fashion.

This study addresses the following research questions:

- How has the idea of ‘Enlightened Moderation’ been described and explained by President Musharraf?
- How has the idea of ‘Enlightened Moderation’ been described and explained by analysts/columnists in leading newspapers inside Pakistan?
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In order to address the aforementioned questions, this study uses the interpretive qualitative framework. It examines the multiple understanding of the same idea and reality (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011). The main concern of this research is to analyze, understand and interpret the different perspectives of Enlightened Moderation using an interpretive lens. This study is based on primary data sources. It examines newspaper discourse using articles on ‘Enlightened Moderation’ in the print media. Purposive sampling is used in this research to select the articles based on the researcher’s judgment (Adler & Clark, 2011). In addition to primary sources a total of 18 articles were selected for in-depth analysis of national English and Urdu newspapers. English newspapers (9 articles on the subject ‘Enlightened Moderation’) including *Dawn*, *The Nation*, and *Pakistan Observer*. Urdu newspapers (9 articles on the same subject) are selected from *Jang*, *Nawa-i-Waqt*, and *Khabrain*.

The interpretive thematic analysis is used to examine various conflicting perspectives on EM as the study is concerned with the exploration of multiple meanings (Willig, 2013). This study used the framework of social representation theory to examine and analyze newspaper discourse on

Enlightened Moderation. Social representation theory is based on the ideas and values of individuals and groups. Data is organized into themes that capture different social representations (Willig, 2013). Social representation theory is concerned with everyday thinking and ideas. It offers a new approach to how the media and people present the social issues. It reveals that a network of ideas, images, and expressions are tied together (Hoijer, 2011). The purpose of using this theory is to explore how one idea (EM) has been represented in various ways by groups belonging to various background and affiliations.

Musharraf's Representation of 'Enlightened Moderation'

This study selected two key speeches and one article penned by President Musharraf to analyze his own ideas on his idea of 'Enlightened Moderation'. The two selected speeches are his address at the 10th OIC summit on October, 2003 and another speech he delivered at the 58th session of the UN General Assembly on September, 2003. The selected article written by President Musharraf was published in all national English and Urdu dailies. The following themes represent President Musharraf ideas on EM.

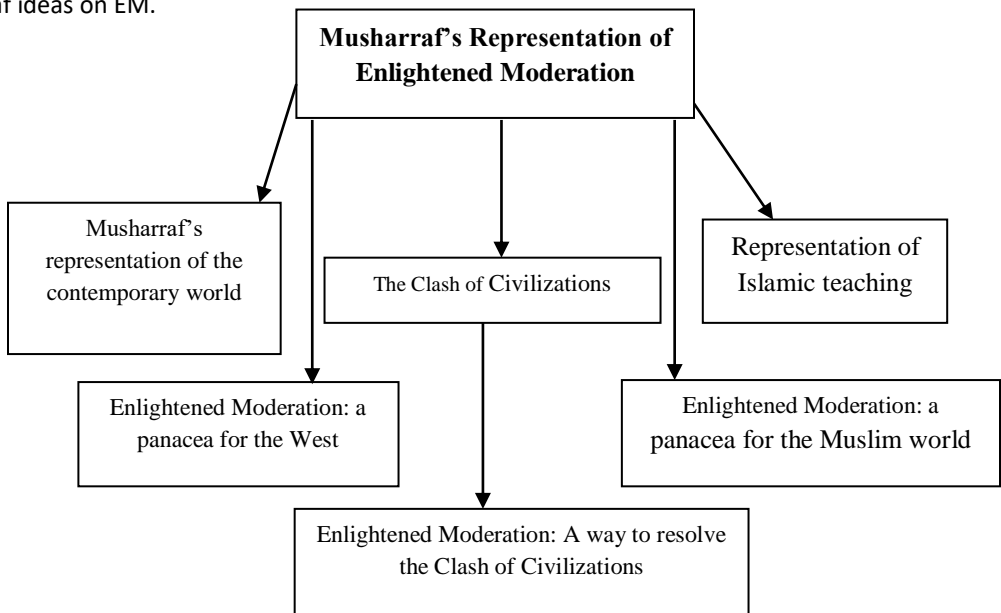


Figure: 1

Musharraf's representation of the contemporary world

In his article, "A plea for Enlightened Moderation" Musharraf (2004) wrote that the world had become a dangerous place due to weapons of mass destruction and suicide bombings, it is difficult to counter them. According to Musharraf (Sept, 2003), the 9/11 terrorist attack shook the foundation of the international system and in response debilitated Al-Qaeda, but could not eliminate its associations. Pakistan supported the war against terrorism in its national and humanitarian interest. In addition, Musharraf (Oct, 2003) depicted the contemporary picture of the world and said that the world is in turmoil, foreign occupation persists, military action and the use of force are considered the solution to world disputes, economic recession threatens, poverty, and increase in inequality and power asymmetries are expanding. Musharraf (Sept, 2003) further said that after the collapse of the Berlin wall, it was hoped that it would bring peace, cooperation and remove the ideological confrontations, but these hopes were not fulfilled because ethnic cleansing in Bosnia and Kosovo continued. The Kashmir and Palestine issues still exist, the international community neglected

Afghanistan after the Soviet-Afghan war, and there was rising poverty due to the unequal distribution of wealth in the world.

Representation of Islamic teaching

Musharraf (Oct, 2003) highlighted the moderate teaching of Islam and said that Islam brought the revolutionary message of humanity, egalitarianism, moderation, tolerance, and co-existence. Islam emerged swiftly as a definite political, economic and social order. Furthermore, Musharraf (Sept, 2003) said that Islam is in favor of social equality, freedom of speech, non-discrimination and human rights. The protection of minorities is a compulsion in Islam. The Islamic principles of governance emphasize that there should be no discrimination on the basis of caste, race, colour, and religion. Islam did not come forward to convert people by force. The Holy Prophet (Peace Be Upon Him) was personally the example of justice, compassion, and tolerance for others, the spirit of generosity, sacrifice and suppress the desires to make a better world, but Muslims have moved far away from these values (Musharraf, 2004). Now, Islam and the Muslim world are not known with reference to true Islamic teaching, and a glorious past and values (Musharraf, Oct 2003).

The Clash of Civilizations

After 9/11, the frequent repetition of the Clash of Civilizations narrative in popular discourse was quite disturbing for the Muslim world. Representation of Muslims as supporters of terrorism and as an owner of weapons of mass destruction, was unjustified (Musharraf, Oct 2003). Musharraf (Oct, 2003) expressed fear that the idea of Clash of Civilization, can be used as a tool by Islamist militant networks to propagate their confrontational stance against the West. Muslims felt that their faith was not represented accurately by the West, and their voices were being suppressed. Moreover, Muslims protested that the Western world wanted to impose its own value system on others which was not acceptable for them (Musharraf, Sept, 2003).

Enlightened Moderation: A way to resolve the Clash of Civilizations

Musharraf (Oct, 2003) advised that it was the collective responsibility of the world to prevent the Clash of Civilizations. Muslims should take lead in a new global pact between civilizations. It was about time that Muslims condemn extremism, terrorism, sectarianism and religion-based hatred. These trends have distorted the image of Muslims and their faith. Muslims should promote the tolerant and moderate spirit of Islam. Efforts should be made to remove misunderstandings between Islam and the Western world (Musharraf, Sept 2003). The perception that Islam is a religion of terrorism, militancy, and intolerance should be changed at all cost (Musharraf, 2004).

Enlightened Moderation: a panacea for the Muslim world

Musharraf presented the solution of the world's problems as EM, which was a two pronged policy. The first prong of his policy was for the Muslim world (Musharraf, 2004). Musharraf (2004) suggested to Muslims, that they reject militancy and extremism, adopt the path of socio-economic progress and think about Islam's role in the world. Muslims should adopt the way of enlightenment and moderation and fight against the belief that Islam preaches militancy. Muslims are the poorest, uneducated, helpless and unstable in the world. They have moved far away from moral, social, and economic development. According to Musharraf (Oct 2003), through the idea of EM, the Islamic world should overcome the internal and external weaknesses, renounce confrontation, and extremism and must seek for higher education, science and technology and the development of human resources (Musharraf, Sept 2003).

Enlightened Moderation: a panacea for the West

The second prong of Musharraf's strategy was for the West and, especially for the US, to 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 is considered the main factor for extremism. Under the policy of EM, he suggested the West should renounce the linking of terrorism with Islam (Musharraf, Sept, 2003; Musharraf, 2004). Extremism and terrorism originated from the Palestine dispute and later the Soviet-Afghan war because the international community neglected these areas. The West supported the Soviet-Afghan war and this led to the emergence of Pan-Islamic militancy because Islam was used to gain the worldwide Muslim's support. This led to the polarization of the masses against the US (Musharraf, 2004).

Representation of 'Enlightened Moderation' in Pakistan

This study used social representation theory to analyze the data. According to this theory, in a society, individuals and groups have their own opinion about any phenomenon. Thematic maps are used below to show the views of media analysts on the idea of EM in Pakistan.

Positive Representations of 'Enlightened Moderation'

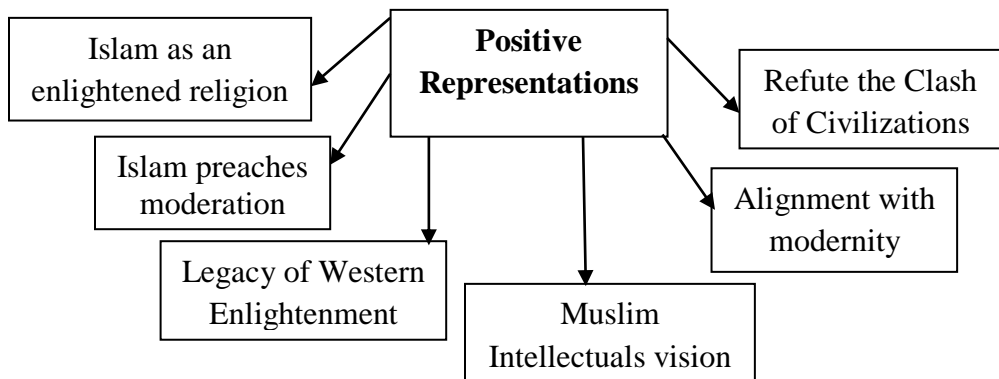


Figure: 2

Islam as an enlightened religion

Islam is a driving force for the Muslims and it urges them to live with unity and faith. Islam offers solution to cultural, social and political problems that Muslim Ummah faces today. At the end of the sixteen century, the Muslim Ummah as a world power decayed and Europe started gaining ascendancy. The reason for Muslim decay was intellectual stagnation and the closed door of ijihad. Except for a few states, all Muslim countries were dominated by the colonial powers (Abbas, 2004). Furthermore, the concept of modernism is not new in Islam. Jurists such as Abu-Hanifa, Imam Malik, and others successfully labored to pull up religion to the level of contemporary thought in the eighth century. In theology, modernism has been described to accommodate traditional religious teachings to contemporary thought, especially to devalue traditional supernatural elements (Alvi, 2004). It is the responsibility of the Muslim Ummah to call mankind for peace, progress and respect for all and to build bridges and not to create rifts and conflicts because the bottom line of the thesis of EM is to shun and avoid conflicts and clashes (Abbas, 2004).

Islam preaches moderation

According to Chaudhry (2004), Musharraf was aware of the internal and external problems of the Muslims and he provided EM as the solution to the political, economic and social problems of the Muslim world. If the Ummah implemented this idea they could escape these problems. This idea of EM is not itself wrong, Islam preaches moderation in individual and collective life and avoids extremism and discrimination and follows a balanced life.

Legacy of Western Enlightenment

Syed (2004) said that in an elementary sense, one is enlightened if he is well informed and aware of the implications and ramifications attached to any given issue or proposition. In some of its uses, the term also has been linked with “enlightenment” which was an intellectual movement of the eighteenth century led by John Locke in England, Voltaire and Rousseau in France, and Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine in America. It urged the use of reason, common sense, and observation to combat superstition. It called for questioning of traditional doctrine and values, empiricism in science, culture relativism and pluralism, and belief in the possibility of universal human progress.

Muslim Intellectuals vision

Through the policy of EM, President Musharraf stood for change, and the creation of a progressive society, culminating in the creation an Islamic welfare state. EM, he argued, could bring change updating the regulatory aspect of faith. This was the objective of Pakistan’s founding fathers Iqbal and Jinnah, and has been the unfulfilled wish of the nation’s intellectual elite. Iqbal stood for change in the social structure of Muslim society by updating the Islamic laws. Extremism both of right and left have no place in Iqbal’s scheme of things (Alvi, 2004). Allama Iqbal opined that the difficult stage in the life of community and nation is to get rid of its intellectual experiences of the past and accept new ideas along the path of progress and prosperity. Revelational ideas cannot be imposed from outside because they are the product of indigenous historical and psychological processes in the life of a nation (Chaudhry, 2004). If we look at the history of Pakistan, people were excited when Ayub and Bhutto moved towards modernism in their initial years of rule and were frustrated when they saw them retreating from their commitment (Alvi, 2004).

Alignment with modernity

Alvi (2004) highlighted four issues of contemporary Pakistan that were pointed out by Musharraf. These are extremism, nuclear proliferation, military operations against Afghanistan and border terrorism in Kashmir. All the four are rooted in the conservative, fundamentalist image of the country abroad. We have reached this point, in spite of the democratic and progressive vision of Quaid-i-Azam, partly because of irresponsible and obscurantist rhetoric by the clergy and the official antagonism relentlessly pursued against liberals. Fighting out the allegations requires the rulers to ally with liberal and modernistic elements and distance themselves from the so-called Ulemas.

Refute the Clash of Civilization

Musharraf said that it was believed by many Muslims that their religion is being demonized. At the same time, the West had the perception that the Islamic world is volatile and Muslims are militants and extremists. That’s why he proposed the strategy of EM and called for “reflection, introspection, and action”. In his speech, Musharraf rejected the Clash of Civilization, theory and advised Muslim rulers to assume their responsibility and introduce reforms in their countries. He requested them to “eschew extremism and confrontation” and “embrace the march of civilization” (Mustafa, 2003).

Abbas (2004) suggested that the Muslim Ummah should give a logical response through EM to economic, political, culture and military pressure from the West. The EM thesis can resolve the East-West confrontation through mutual understanding, tolerance, and reconciliation so as to make the world peaceful. History suggests that confrontation is not the solution to the world’s problems.

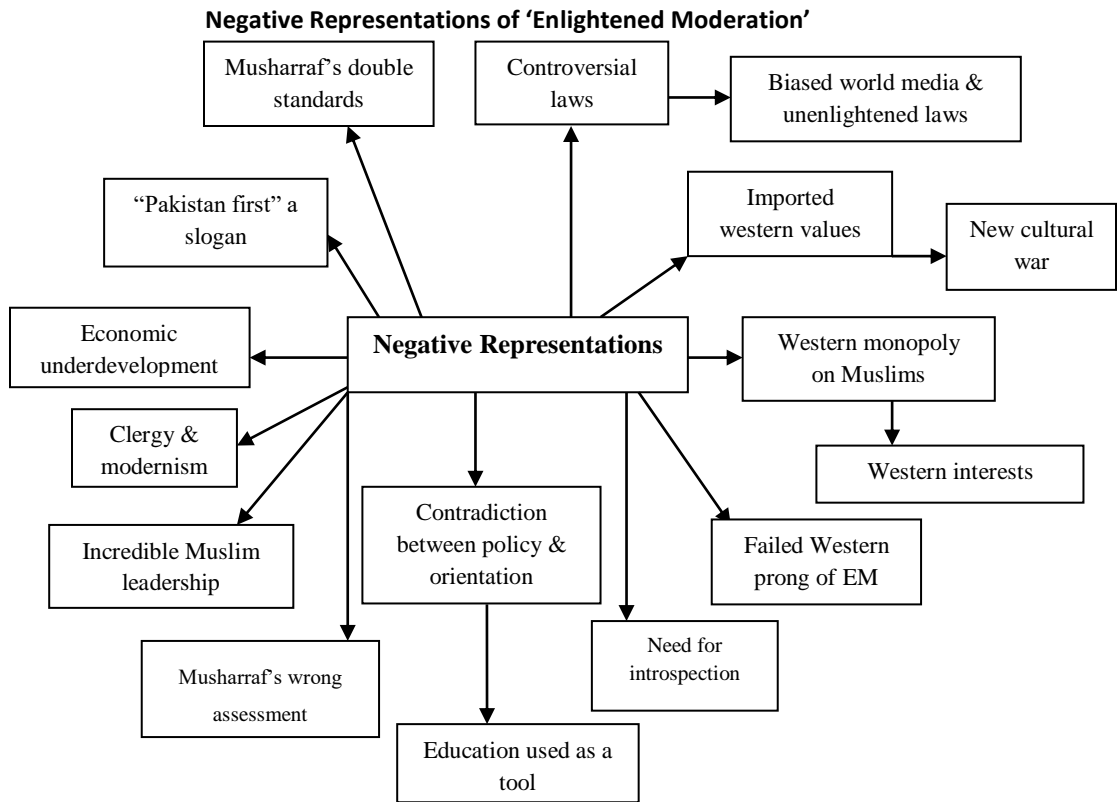


Figure: 3

Musharraf’s double standards

Many media analysts pointed out that Musharraf tended to follow double standards. On the one hand, he projected his image in the Western world as a leader working for enlightenment of the country and, on the other hand, he tried his best to maintain his hold on power. Before 9/11, Musharraf openly supported jihad. He once declared in a meeting that the Afghan jihad had been transferred to Kashmir and it would continue there. But after 9/11 he ordered all jihadi forces to stop their activities in occupied Kashmir (Babar, 2004). Musharraf talked about justice when he explained his idea of EM, but he could not provide justice in his own country. He made controversial appointments in his government, including a person convicted by the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) and another one involved in a murder case. These acts of Musharraf contradicted his notion of EM (Anwar, 2004).

Babar (2004) pointed out that Musharraf never fulfilled his promise of madaris reforms. He appointed former President Zia’s son as the religious minister who provided funds and patronage to wage *jihad* in Afghanistan during 1980s. The religious minister once said that he would be willing to

play the role of a human bomb in order to take revenge for the injustices done to Muslims. Sethi (2003) explained that since Pervez Musharraf had sidelined mainstream political parties, he had no choice but to facilitate the success of conservative religious parties in the 2002 elections and co-opted with them later to form the government.

“Pakistan first” a slogan

President Musharraf was known for his pragmatic thinking, but his idea of EM sounded like a myth (Naji, 2004). While he advised the West to resolve its political disputes in a peaceful manner, he himself seldom to heed to his advice. During his rule, there was much violence and unrest in Pakistan, in fact life was often paralyzed in the big cities due to lawlessness (Anwar, 2004). After 9/11, Musharraf thought that he had bought an insurance policy for his survival by participating in the US war against terrorism. He assumed that the western world would be able to eradicate terrorism, instead terrorism continued to increase day by day (Ameer, 2004). Musharraf raised the slogan of “Pakistan first” because in his view Pakistan would be able to help the Muslim world only when it is strong and stable itself (Naji, 2004).

Economic underdevelopment

Haqqani (2003) opines that Pakistan remains under the grip of feudalism, ignorance, and poverty, due to which there is widespread backwardness, irrational and superstitious attitudes in the country. It seems that Pakistani society is still living in the 16th or 17th century. This situation cannot be changed until the government breaks the status quo that has shaken our economic structure. More significantly, the event of 9/11 created a positive impact on Pakistan’s economy, Pakistan received generous foreign economic assistance from the West, but Musharraf’s government did not utilize this assistance properly to reduce poverty or provide better health and education facilities for the poor.

In addition to high unemployment, and inflation, religious extremism increased during the Musharraf era. Unemployment and inflation became the source of crime and extremism. The country remained under the grip of an atmosphere of fear, unrest and violence. Pervez Musharraf proposed EM as a solution to face multiple problems faced by the Muslim Ummah, but he could not implement this idea at home (Haqqani, 2003).

Contradiction between policy and orientation

Anwar (2003) points towards a fundamental contradiction between Musharraf’s policies and ideological orientation of the country during his times. Pakistan has radically changed public policy priorities while keeping the ideological orientation of the Zia era remained intact. Furthermore, Musharraf revealed his bold thesis on EM in the context of a certain ideological mindset in the army itself. The army, under Zia ul Haq, was put through a period of intense indoctrination. It adopted the motto *‘Iman, Taqva, Jihad fi Sabillillah’* (faith, piety, holy war in the path of Allah). Musharraf regime was unable to deconstruct the intellectual and ideological foundation of religious extremism promoted during Musharraf era despite changes in the state policies. Enlightenment is not possible if public discourse remains hostage to a fix narrative and freedom of expression is not curtailed (Anwar, 2003).

Education used as a tool

Enlightenment precedes education and there is little progress in the field of education in Pakistan. Education at times has been used as a tool to indoctrinate people for short-term political gains of the ruling elite. Gen. Zia’s Islamization policy deeply affected education system of Pakistan. It

engaged with ideology and was distorted in Zia's era when the text books tampered according to ideological preferences of the government and their purpose was indoctrination. Libraries filled with Islamic books, teachers were appointed on the basis of religiosity and many teachers had affiliations with religious parties (Anwar, 2003).

Clergy and modernism

Alvi (2004) explains the role of clergy in Pakistan and has said that one of the serious obstructions to modernism is the clergy's inability and westernization. Since the clergy has historically condemned with full force, any move towards modernization. Distinguished members of the clergy, however, are found more than anxious to have at their disposal the fruit of modern inventions such as the automobile, tele-and mobile phone, TV, digital sound systems and even computers, but all condemn modernism. Perhaps, the most important factor of the clergy's hatred of the West and modernity is the overwhelming inclination towards conservatism.

Incredible Muslim leadership

Chaudhry (2004) points out that a larger part of the Muslim world is ruled by people who have little credibility or support among the masses. Most of them are not chosen through transparent elections. Owing to this crisis of credibility, when a leader espouses a new concept to set a direction for the community, people tend to view the leader's pronouncements as a new trick to appease their masters. Therefore, the idea of EM, or other such ideas are perceived in a negative way. It is assumed that these types of ideas serve the interests of the enemies.

If we look at Pakistan, there is some type of democracy, but the electoral process is always doubted in the eyes of the people. General Musharraf's credibility as a leader remained under question because he did not come to power through popular vote, he retained all powers and wore multiple hats as president and chief of army staff. In spite of having sincerity towards Muslim countries, Musharraf was unable to criticize the US and Israeli policies. Musharraf could have changed the destiny of Muslim Ummah, had he demonstrated practical example of his enlightened ideas. EM could not become a popular idea in or outside Pakistan because it was propagated by a leader who ruled as a dictator in his country (Chaudhry, 2004).

Musharraf's wrong assessment

As Musharraf said in his idea of EM, injustice leads to resentment. Syed (2004) agreed with Musharraf but he explained that Pakistan's historical experience does not sustain the conclusion that resentment and anger in Pakistani society gets translated into acts of terrorism. He gives the example of Sindhi "hari" who has been facing cruel injustice for generations, but there are still no signs of his readiness to resort to terrorism. In case of Palestinians, Israel killed them, even those who are not engaged in the war, have to face bulldozing of their houses for decades and few of them pay back any response to Israel. In addition, terrorist acts in Kashmir have been committed more often by outsiders than by the direct victims of Indian oppression. These outsiders belong to the group whose other members have been perpetrating political assassinations and mass murders in Pakistan. Musharraf was wrong here when he preached EM, and said that the vast majority of Muslims, have nothing to do with terrorism. Syed (2004) has further said that Musharraf was wrong when he suggested moderation to Muslims because Muslims are already enlightened, moderate and tolerant; except a few of them.

Controversial laws

Babar (2004) analyzes the contradictory statements of Musharraf about the controversial Hudood ordinance and Blasphemy law. Musharraf promised that he would alter the controversial Islamic laws made by Zia-ul-Haq, which aimed to please religious extremists and jihadists and to trample the rights of minorities and women, but religious parties warned him not to change these laws. Musharraf needed these parties for his political survival, which is why he backed down on his promise. Cowasjee (2003) has looked at the role of Pakistan's National Assembly, which was ineffective and filled with those who were against the EM because they always ignored the reports that were in favour of women's rights. They only supported these rules for the sake of expediency. We could not expect that they would consider the Hudood ordinance and blasphemy law that as being against the true faith of Islam.

Biased world media and unenlightened laws

The world media portray a negative picture of Islam and Muslims. The world media is biased and unfair in giving coverage to events in the third world, but some of the happenings cannot be refuted such as the cases of alleged adultery where the sentenced to death by stoning highlighted. Anyone who is even slightly enlightened would find this abhorrent and it reinforces the impression in the West that "Islam's vision is trapped in any one period of history" (Mustafa, 2003). Mustafa (2003) further describes a Hudood law that has given a bad name to the country for abusing women's rights in the name of Islam. When the National Commission on the status of women recommended that the law be replaced and a new one be drafted in its place, there was a hue and cry from the religious parties and claims that the ordinances were a part of Islamic law; this brought negative publicity for religion. From these types of laws the Muslim world is not earning a good name.

Imported Western values

According to Ahmad (2004), EM is one of the basic characteristics of Muslim civilization. Today, however, the enlightenment talk is not related to religion, civilization, and tradition, rather it is linked to external pressure and demands of the West. The aim of West is to detach Islam, Muslim society and civilization from its own foundation and make it compatible with Western values. Khalid (2004) has said that to neglect one's own origin, culture, social needs and realities and follow the West cannot be enlightenment. Pakistan has introduced the western status of women in the country. Our homes are becoming the form of western residence. The concept of head of the family has weakened. A family system that was the strong reference is being broken.

In Pakistan, information technology and cultural invasion, under the pretext of information, independence of the media and ill-conceived comments, are called enlightenment. For those reasons, society is leading victimized towards indecency, crimes are increasing, sexual violence and adultery are common, and society is becoming a victim of hatred and restlessness. We have imported all these things from the West (Khalid, 2004).

New Cultural war

Over the past few centuries, American intellectuals, policy makers, and media have been engaged in new cultural war and their goal is to impose the western liberal and economic system over the world and divide the Muslim world into fundamentalist, warrior, liberal and enlightened moderation and to retain a hold on the Muslim Ummah. There is a new undeclared cultural and economic war between the West and Muslims. In Muslim countries, strategic development of enlightened moderation can create possibilities of westernization and it can shake the foundations of Muslim societies (Ahmad, 2004).

Western monopoly on Muslims

In his idea of EM, Musharraf publicly demanded change in the policies of the US and the West to resolve the political and economic problems of the weak Muslim countries, the question was: would the US and the West do what Musharraf expected from them? In this context, we can see that America always used physical force and economic pressure against the weaker countries and controlled their natural resources. It was unreasonable to expect America and the West, to change their policies (Hasan, 2004).

Abbas (2004) explained another historical perspective of the west on the Muslim world. When World War II ended, the imperialist hold of the West on the Muslim countries was over, but the West was completely dependent on the resources of the third world for their economies. That's why the West cannot escape their dependence and to strengthen its hold on the third world, it interferes through the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and trade and aid agencies.

Western interests

The US and the European Union have their own national and global agenda to follow at all costs, regardless of the interests of any other country. America's ties with Pakistan are due to the 9/11 incident. We cannot expect from America that it would work for the betterment of the Muslim world or stop the unjust war in Iraq and unilateral war in Palestine by Israel. Musharraf believes that his idea of EM eliminates the ongoing discrimination in the world and uplifts the oppressed and alienated Muslim world (Siddiqui, 2004).

Failed Western prong of EM

Musharraf sought the support of political and religious factions and could not bring basic change in the system. He himself coopted with backward and feudal leadership which shows that he was not committed to uplift the socio-political system of the country. Musharraf should keep in mind when he has an option for America to resolve the Palestinian dispute that J. F. Kennedy had declared Israel an "outpost of western civilization". To create the Israeli state was a strategic decision to secure the interests of imperial nations. To settle the Palestinian dispute is impossible for any American government. America could not consider the advice of President Musharraf, to resolve the Palestinian dispute. It was impossible for the US and the West to deliver the prong of EM that is suggested by Musharraf for them (Hasan, 2004).

Reason for decline of Muslims:

Musharraf mentioned the deteriorating condition of Muslims and taught enlightened moderation to get out of it, but forgetting the rules and values, adopting a luxurious lifestyle, and renouncing the jihad and ijihad as the reason for Muslims' deterioration (Ahmad, 2004). Musharraf recommended the Global Alliance for Muslims in their ideology of EM and expected that people would move in the right direction according to the spirit of Islam, beyond our personal interests for the common good. The existing Muslim organizations, though have failed to solve the problems of the Muslim Ummah (Naji, 2004). The tragedy inside the Muslim world is due to a lack of knowledge. Instead, extremism, slogans and following the West, Muslims can save themselves by adopting moderation and wisdom (Rasheed, 2003).

Need for introspection

The state of human rights, political freedoms and economic development in most Muslim countries is far from satisfactory. Although, many Muslim states have plenty of resources and they can afford to provide basic facilities for their citizens, a large number of people in these countries continue to live below the poverty line. In terms of political freedom and democracy, most Muslim states have a bad track record. Also, when it comes to the rights and status of women, Muslim countries do not have an exemplary track record. All this demands a deeper introspection; are these injustices imposed on us by the outside forces? The savage war in Afghanistan, the cruel bombing on Iraq, the brutal experience of the Palestinians- these are, to a great extent, manifestations of our own weaknesses. The rising wave of extremism and militancy has deteriorated the image of Muslims all over the world. Therefore, Musharraf emphasized the need for introspection by Muslims. His idea of EM called for deeper reflection within the Muslim world (Mustafa, 2003).

Conclusion

In this research, we have discussed the negative and positive representations of the idea of EM in Pakistan's media discourse. Using the lens of social representation theory helped as examine the multiple ways a leader's idea, proposed from the top level is understood and represented by diverse media outlets and opinion makers. The idea of EM has been represented in the divergent ways inside Pakistan. President Musharraf used this idea as a panacea, but most media discourses discussed its negative aspects. The basic reason for discussing the idea of EM negatively in media discourse was due to the contradiction in Musharraf's policies. Musharraf intentions were not wrong at the time of presenting the idea, but the realities on the ground were different and people did not perceive it positively.

Certain academics have pointed out that there was a conflict in his idea and practices. On the ground, it was not received well partly because his practice did not match his words. The movement of EM should have started from the state institutions, speeches cannot bring unity. Words should be compatible with action and need determination. This could not happen overnight. The data point out the unresolved, glaring, problems of the Muslim world and Pakistan. Muslim states have a concern in terms of social and human development and political freedoms.

The idea of EM was not only specific to Musharraf's time, it is more significant in contemporary Pakistan that's why, Government of Pakistan carried out the policy of Paigham-e-Pakistan with the consensus of all schools of thought for progressive and enlightened Pakistan. The purpose of this policy is to denounce all types of terrorism, extremism and hatred. It emphasis all segments of society to play their role for peace, stability and protect the national interest.

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