THE IDEOLOGICAL ORIENTATION OF JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI IN THE GENERAL ELECTIONS 1970: AN ANALYSIS

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A thesis submitted in the partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master Studies (MS) in History at the Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY & PAKISTAN STUDIES
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ISLAMABAD

2024

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH,

THE MOST BENEFICENT,

THE MOST MERCIFUL

DEDICATION

I

dedicate

this piece of work

to my loving

Parents

DECLARATION

I, Ali Kamal, hereby declare that this thesis has been written by me as my original research work under the guidance and supervision of my supervisor, Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah, Assistant Professor, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, International Islamic University, Islamabad. No portion of this research has been copied /plagiarized from any sources without giving reference of those sources which have been consulted for this research. This thesis has never been submitted before for any degree in this (IIUI) or any other degree awarding university or educational institution.

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FORWARDING SHEET

The thesis titled as **"***The Ideological Orientation Of Jamaat-I-Islami In The General Elections 1970: An Analysis***"** has been completed under my supervision by Mr. Ali Kamal bearing Registration No. 156-FSS/MSHIS/F22 in partial fulfillment for the award of the Degree of Master Studies (MS) in History. The thesis is hereby forwarded for further necessary action as per the rules and procedure of the International Islamic University, Islamabad, and Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan.

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ABSTRACT

The role of Jamaat-i-Islami in the elections 1970 in Pakistan was a significant aspect of electoral politics during that period. Jamaat-i-Islami, an Islamic political party, played a prominent role in mobilizing religious sentiment and advocating for Islamic principles in the electoral process. The elections 1970 were a watershed moment in Pakistan's history as they led to the separation of East Pakistan and the formation of an independent Bangladesh. Jamaat-i-Islami participation and influence in these elections highlighted the complex interplay between religion, politics, and nationalism in Pakistan at the time. This research highlights the pivotal role of Jamaat-i-Islami in shaping the electoral landscape during a crucial moment in Pakistan's history and the broader implications it had for the country's political and social dynamics.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIML	All-India Muslim League
AL	Awami League
BD	Basic Democracies
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CML	Convention Muslim League
COP	Combined Opposition Parties
IJT	Islami Jamiat-i-Talaba
INC	Indian National Congress
JI	Jamaat-i-Islami
JPHS	Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society
JUH	Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind
JUI	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam
JUI-H	Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam- (Hazarvi)
KGB	Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti
LFO	Legal Framework Order
NA	National Assembly
NAP	National Awami Party
NDF	National Democratic Front
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PPP	Pakistan People's Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaf
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

GLOSSARY

Alim	Scholar especially in the religious field
Amir	Head of State/Party or Group
Auliya	Saints
Azad	Free
Baba	Old Man
Bazar	Market
Biddat	In Islam *Biddat* refers to innovation in religious matters.
Darbar	Court
Dar al-Ulum	The House of learning, Religious School
Eman	Faith
Faqir	baggier/ A word use by religious person to show their Humbleness
Fiqh	Islamic Jurisprudence based on the *Quran, Hadith, Qayas* and *Ijma.*
Fatwa	Authoritative opinion based on Shariat, given by *mufti*, a Religious decree.
Hadith (وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ)	The practices and the sayings of the Prophet (صَلَّى ٱللهُ عَلَيْهِ) The detail of which is not found in the Quran.
Haram	Forbidden, unlawful in Islam
Jahiliyat	Arabic word meaning ignorance and describing the time in Makkah before the arrival of Islam
Jalsa	Public gathering, for any special purpose
Jirgah	Reconciliation Council
Kafir	Infidel, non-believer
Madrasah	Religious School
Majlis-i-Amal	Action Committee

v

Majlis-i- Shura	The General Council
Mashaikh	Spiritual leader
Mujahid	Holy Worrier
Mullah	Cleric
Nazim-i-A la	The Secretary General
Naib Nazim	Deputy Mayor
Nizam	System
Pakhtunwali	Pakhtuns Code of Life
Pir	Sufi, master, guide
Riwaj	Custom, fashion, practice
Roti,Kapra aur Makan	Bread, Clothing and Shelter
Shaikh	Islamic Scholar
Shaukat-i-Islam	Glory of Islam
Tarikh	History
Ulama	Muslim Scholars

INTRODUCTION

European style of electoral politics in the world encompasses a diverse range of systems, practices, and contexts. Different countries have unique electoral systems, laws, and political cultures that shape the dynamics of electoral politics. Electoral systems vary across countries and can significantly impact political representation and outcomes. Common types include plurality/majoritarian systems, proportional representation, and mixed systems.

Electoral politics in British India refers to the political landscape and electoral processes that existed during the colonial rule of the British Empire in the Indian subcontinent. British India experienced significant political developments and struggles for representation, particularly in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.[1] Initially, the British introduced limited electoral reforms in British India, aiming to include a small section of the population in the political process. The Indian Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892 established legislative councils with limited representation, expanded the size of the legislative councils and increased the electorates, although it still maintained limited representation.[2] As political awareness grew, various political associations and movements emerged in British India, advocating for increased political rights and representation. The Act of 1909 commonly known as Minto - Morley Reforms aimed to expand the legislative councils. However, it did not introduce direct elections or grant of full self-governance. The Act introduced a limited form of separate electorates, where some seats were reserved for specific religious and communal groups. Only a small section of the Indian population, mostly

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[1] Rashid Manzoor Bhat, "Historical Review of Indian Constitution," *Traditional Journal of Law and Social Sciences* 1, no. 02 (2022): 100-110.
[2] Ibid. 100-110.

male landowners and educated elites, had the right to vote. The Act emphasized communal representation, which led to the division of political interests along religious and community lines. This division then, shaped Indian electoral politics and nationalist movements.[3] The Act of 1919, also known as the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, was another step towards limited self-governance in British India. It expanded the legislative councils, introduced direct elections in some provinces, and increased the powers of provincial governments. The Act introduced a limited form of direct elections for some seats in the legislative councils at both the provincial and central levels.[4] The Act of 1935 was a significant constitutional reform enacted by the British Parliament. It aimed to introduce a federal system in British India, but it was never fully implemented due to the outbreak of World War II. The Act expanded the electorate, granting voting rights to a larger section of the population. It abolished the property qualifications, those who had not property acquired the right of vote—for voting, allowing a greater number of people, including some women. The provinces had control over subjects such as education, health, and public works, but the British government retained control over defense, foreign affairs, and overall governance. These acts played a crucial role in shaping the electoral politics of colonial India, introducing limited forms of representative governance, and expanding the electorate over time. However, the continuation of communal representation and limited [5] self. governance also led to the growth of nationalist movements, demanding greater rights, and eventually culminating in India's independence in 1947.

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[3] Muhammad Rizwan and Muhammad Hassan, "Constitutional Development in British India," *Journal of Historical Studies*, VI (2020): 23-35.

[4] Meetika Srivastava, "Evolution of the System of Public Administration in India from the Period 1858-1950: A Detailed Study Highlighting the Major Landmarks in Administrative History Made During this Period," Available at *SSRN* 1482528 (2009):1-18.

[5] Sardar Ranbir Singh, *The Indian States under the Government of India Act 1935* (Bombay: D.B. Taraporevala sons & co., 1939), 24-33.

The 1945-46 elections were held to elect members to the Constituent Assembly of India, which was tasked with drafting a constitution for independent India. The elections took place against the backdrop of growing demands for independence and the communal tensions between the Hindu and Muslim communities. The Indian National Congress (INC) led by figures such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhi, was the dominant political party advocating for independence from British rule. The INC campaigned for a united, secular India and secured significant support, particularly from the Hindu population.[6] The All-India Muslim League (AIML) led by Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, aimed to safeguard the political rights and interests of Indian Muslims. The AIML campaigned for the creation of a separate Muslim-majority nation, which eventually led to the formation of Pakistan. The AIML presented itself as the sole representative of Muslim interests, emphasizing the need for separate electorates and protection of Muslim rights. The election results reflected the communal divide, with the AIML emerging as the dominant party in Muslim-majority provinces, while the INC gained significant support in Hindu-majority provinces. The Muslim League's success in the elections paved the way for its demand of a separate homeland for Muslims, leading to the eventual partition of India and the creation of Pakistan.[7]

Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam (JUI) have played significant role in electoral politics during British India, but Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) founded in 1941,[8] avoided electoral politics within British India. Indian National Congress (INC) was at the forefront of the Indian independence movement and played a pivotal role in shaping electoral

[6] Syed Akmal Hussain Shah, "Pakistan People's Party Ascendancy to Power in Sindh, 1967-1972" (Ph.D. Thesis, Quaid-i-Azam University,2016), 45-53

[7] Sho Kuwajima, *Muslims, Nationalism and the Partition: 1946 Provincial Elections in India* (New Delhi:Manohar Publications, 1998), 112.

[8] Rameez Ahmad Lone, "Jamaat-I-Islami: Ideology," *International Journal of Research in Social Sciences* 8, no. 5 (2018): 792-798.

politics in British India. It advocated for self-rule, democratic principles, and representation of Indian interests in the legislative councils established by the British. The INC organized protests, agitations, and mass movements to mobilize public support and demand political reforms and independence.

However, AIML was initially founded to safeguard the political rights and interests of Indian Muslims within the framework of British India. It played a crucial role in advocating for separate electorates for Muslims, which eventually led to the demand for a separate Muslim homeland and the creation of Pakistan. The AIML's electoral politics focused on representing and safeguarding the political aspirations of the Muslim community.[9]

On the other hand, Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind (JUH) was established in 1919 as a religious and political organization representing the interests of Indian Muslims. It emphasized the protection of Muslim religious and cultural identity and worked to ensure Muslim representation and rights in electoral politics. The JUH played a significant role in promoting Muslim unity and addressing social and political issues affecting the Muslim community.

Moreover, JI was also an Islamist political party that advocated for the implementation of Islamic principles in governance and society. It sought to mobilize Muslims and to promote Islamic ideals in electoral politics, particularly in the context of independence movement in British India. The elections of 1946 aimed to form a Constituent Assembly to draft a new constitution for India. The Constituent Assembly would consist of representatives elected by the provincial legislatures and nominated members. The elections took place against the backdrop of rising demands for

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[9] M Rafique Afzal, *A History of the All-India Muslim League 1906-1947* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3-26.

independence and the ongoing negotiations between Indian political leaders and the British government. Eventually, the partition of India in 1947 gave birth to the separate Muslim state, Pakistan.[10]

The first parliamentary phase of Pakistan, spanning from 1947 to 1958, was marked by significant political developments and electoral politics. Pakistan, initially, functioned as a dominion within the British Commonwealth, with Governor-General serving as the head of state. Electoral reforms were undertaken to establish representative institutions.[11] The Government of India Act 1935 served as the interim constitutional framework until a new constitution would have been drafted.[12] Pakistan Muslim League (PML) played a dominant role in the electoral politics of the early years of Pakistan. The PML won most of the seats in the Constituent Assembly and formed its government. In 1949, the Constituent Assembly passed the Objectives Resolution, which laid the foundation for Pakistan's Constitution. It declared Islam as the state religion and aimed to provide a democratic and representative system.[13] The first parliamentary phase of Pakistan was abolished in 1958 when President Iskandar Mirza and General Ayub Khan staged a military coup and imposed martial law, suspending the constitution, and dissolving the elected institutions and became power full acting President.[14]

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[10] Syed Mohamed Usman Ghani, and Thameem Ushama, "The Role of Islamic Political Parties in an Islamic State: An Analysis of Jamaat-e-Islami," Al-Itqan: *Journal of Islamic Sciences and Comparative Studies* 6, no. 2 (2022): 20-40.

[11] Qazi Muhammad Saleem, Muhammad Asif Rasheed, and Muhammad Imtiaz Rasheed, "History of Parliamentary System of Government in Pakistan 1947 to 2002," *Bulletin of Business and Economics (BBE)* 12, no. 4 (2023): 592-596.

[12] Z. I. Choudhury, "The Role of Judiciary in the Constitutional Development of Pakistan (1947-1971)," Dhaka Univ. Stud. Part F 1 (1989): 1-13.

[13] Sohaib Mukhtar, "Social transformation of Pakistan under the Objectives Resolution," Social Transformation in Contemporary Society. Lithuania. Mykolas Romeris University 5 (2017): 67-77.

[14] Hasan-Askari Rizvi, *The First Military Regime In Military, State and Society in Pakistan* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2000), 82-100.

In constitution of 1962, the President was elected through an indirect electoral process. The President was chosen by an Electoral College consisting of members of basic democracies throughout the country. The role of JI in presidential elections in Pakistan varied depending on the specific election and political dynamics at the time. JI, an Islamist political party in Pakistan, have been known to participate in presidential elections by fielding its own candidate or supporting candidates from allied political parties. However, in the elections of 1965, JI have stood against Ayub Khan and sided with Fatima Jinnah under the umbrella of Combined Opposition Parties (COP).[15]

JI had also been part of electoral alliances or coalitions with other political parties. In such cases, the party's role in presidential elections was often shaped by the collective decision-making within the coalitions. JI's influence in presidential elections can be seen through its political activism, campaign efforts, and mobilization of its support base to garner support for its preferred candidate or its chosen political coalition. It is important to note that the role of JI or any political party in presidential elections was not limited to the election itself. These parties played a broader role in shaping public opinion, policy advocacy, and political discourse, which can indirectly influence the outcome of presidential elections.[16] In 1969, General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan assumed power as the President of Pakistan after the resignation of President Ayub Khan. Yahya Khan's tenure as President witnessed significant political developments, including the promulgation of the Legal Framework Order (LFO) in 1970.[17]

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[15] Khalid B. Sayeed, "1965-An Epoch-Making Year in Pakistan-General Elections and War with India." *Asian Survey* (1966): 76-85.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Rizvi, *The First Military Regime In Military, in Military, State and Society in Pakistan*, 121-136.

The LFO was introduced by President Yahya Khan as a constitutional instrument to provide a legal framework for the upcoming general elections in Pakistan, which were scheduled to be held in 1970. The LFO aimed to govern the electoral process and the political system leading to the elections.[18] During the elections 1970, several political parties, including the Awami League (AL), Pakistan People's Party (PPP), and various regional parties, participated and contested for seats in the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies. The outcome of these elections صَلَّى ٱللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ the Awami League, led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, securing majority of seats in East Pakistan, while the PPP, led by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, emerged as the largest party and JI also participated in this election.[19]

The political parties had their own ideologies, programs, and manifestos. Their manifesto provides legal power to Muslims to live their lives in accordance with Islam. The manifesto of JI was ensuring easy and inexpensive justice to all. In social reconstruction, they laid fundamental stress on education and had drawn up a detailed program for educational reforms. Moreover, an effort was be made to popularize such handicrafts and industries in rural areas which would have removed unemployment as well as increase the income of agricultural population. The entire system of banking and insurance was to be changed in accordance with Islamic principles. Jamaat-i-Islami had also included clauses in the manifesto and party programs to attract the masses. This study will focus on the ideology, party program, electioneering and performance of Jamaat-i-Islami during the elections 1970.

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[18] Mujeeb Ahmad, "The Constitutional Development in Pakistan (1970-1977) and the Jam'iyyat-i-'Ulama-i-Pakistan," *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society* 45, no. 4 (1997): 443-453.
[19] Mujahid Al Sharif, "Pakistan: First General Elections," *Asian Survey* 11, no. 2 (1971): 159-171.

1- Problem Statement

This study aims to investigate and analyze the role and electoral performance of Jamaat-i-Islami, in the elections 1970 in Pakistan. The main focus of the research is to examine the specific role of Jamaat-i-Islami in elections and search into various aspects related to its participation, electoral strategies, and its influence on the political dynamics of Pakistan during that time. It aims to shed light on the factors that contributed to Jamaat-i-Islami's performance in the elections and its significance within the broader political context.

2- Significance of the Study

The significance of Jamaat-i-Islami's participation in the elections of 1970 in Pakistan is the impacts it laid on the country's political landscape. JI provided a platform for advocating and promoting its Islamic ideology within the political sphere. JI offered an alternative political narrative rooted in Islamic principles, providing voters with a distinct choice beyond secular and socialist ideologies. The party's focus on Islamic laws, social justice, and economic reforms shaped discussions on these issues, contributing to the broader political debate, potentially influencing the policies of other political actors. The participation of JI in the elections 1970 laid the foundation for its subsequent political presence and influence in Pakistan.

3- Objectives of the Study

1. To analyse the ideological standing of Jamaat-i-Islami during the elections 1970.
2. To evaluate the policy debates, party alignments, and the overall political discourse during the period.

3. To investigate the campaign strategies employed by Jamaat-i-Islami during the elections 1970.

4. To identify the factors influencing Jamaat-i-Islami during electoral process.

4- Research Question

1. How Jamaat-i-Islami's Islamic orientation influenced ideological debate during the elections 1970?

2. What were the policy debates, party alignment, and the political discourse of Jamaat-i-Islami during the period?

3. What were the factors which influenced Jamaat-i-Islami during the electoral process?

4. How was the party's overall performance in the first general elections of Pakistan in terms of vote bank and success in the elections?

5- Delimitation(s) of the Study

The current study is aimed to analyze the electoral politics in Pakistan and the role of Jamaat-i-Islami in the elections of 1970. So, it is limited to investigate the period of 1970 elections only focusing JI and its interaction during said period.

6- LITERATURE REVIEW

Studies on Jamaat-i-Islami's role in the politics have employed various methodological approaches. Some researchers have relied on primary sources, including party documents, speeches, and manifestos. Others have conducted quantitative analyses, utilizing election data and statistical techniques to explore patterns and trends. Additionally, qualitative research methods such as interviews and

case studies have been employed to gain deeper insights into the party's strategies and voter perceptions. Several studies have examined Jamaat-i-Islami electoral performance in the elections 1970.

7- Review of Related Literature

Vali Reza Nasr in his book, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan* examined the role of Islamic values and morality in *Jamaat-i-Islami's* electoral success, highlighting its appeal to religiously inclined voters. He also has discussed the broader political implications of Jamaat-i-Islami' participation in the elections 1970. But the focus of book is not on the elections 1970.

Pooja Joshi in her book *Jamaat-i-Islami the Catalyst of Islamization in Pakistan* analyzed Jamaat-i-Islami genesis, evolution, organization, and ideology. She also elaborated the politics of JI from 1947 to 1991. However, her discussion on JI's role in the elections 1970 is just in passing.

Abdul Rashid Moten in his book *Revolution to Revolution Jamaat-i-Islami in the Polities of Pakistan* discussed Jamaat-i-Islami politics generally. He also debated on the role of party during Ayub Regime. But the elections 1970 are not the focus of the study.

Asrar Aḥmad in his book *Tehreek-e-Jamaat-e-Islami:Aek Tehqeeqi Mutaalah* is another memorable book for the historical struggle of this organization from non-electoral policy to electoral policy and problems faced by this later policy and failure of electoral policy in Pakistan. However, the author has discussed more on the transformation of the party from non-electoral to electoral politics and JI's role in the elections 1970 have been discussed on few pages.

Khalid Bin Sayeed in his two books *The Political System of Pakistan* and *Politics in Pakistan: The Nature and Direction of Change* have written about brief political crises and problems in Government making and he also explained the role of Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan for his long political struggle. Both the books are not having analysis of JI's electoral politics during the elections 1970.

Sartaj Aziz in his book *Between Dreams and Realities: Some Milestones in Pakistan's History* wrote the political situation and background in 1971 elections; he also explained the political dilemma of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan during Ayub period.

Ideology of the Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan by Zafar Iqbal evaluates the struggle of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan and critique on the political system in Pakistan. The author focused on the ideology of JI and its importance for the political system of Pakistan. Although the book is helpful to understand the ideas and preference of the party, yet it lacks discussion on electoral politics of the party during elections 1970.

The study, *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan: Ideology and Political Action* by Kalim Bahadur discussed about the jamaat's formation, organization, and its role in political and different concept of Maulana Mawdudi and the history of JI from 1941 to 1970. In this book author also describe the political thought and political action of party. It also deals with organizational structure of the Jamaat and elaborates the social economic and political problems.

Jamaat-i-Islami National and International Politics written by Khalid Rahman, Muhibul Haq and Sahibzada Ahmad have discussed the role of Jamaat-i-Islami and the people who are either involved in policy making with respect to Islam and Pakistan. According to the book, Islam is complete means of life that covers all aspects and definition of human life and moral activity and material spiritual and

ordinary individuals and social education and cultural economic and political national and international. The book provides information about the JI policy and role of politics. But bit does not cover JI's role in elections 1970.

8- Research Methodology

A historical and analytical research methodology for systematic examination of primary and secondary sources is adopted for the study. Furthermore, qualitative research methods have been employed to gain a deeper understanding of Jamaat-i-Islamis role in the elections 1970. The descriptive and analytical approaches are important branches of qualitative method in research. This approach allows for exploring the motivations, beliefs, and experiences of party members, voters, and other political actors involved in the electoral process.

9-Organization of the Study:

This research is divided into four chapters along with introduction and conclusion. The first chapter has discussed Historical Background. The second chapter has evaluated the Election Strategies of Jamaat-i-Islami during 1970 Elections. The third chapter has analysed the Impact of Religious Ideas by Jamaat-i-Islami during 1970 Elections. The fourth chapter has highlighted Electoral Performance of Jamaat-i-Islami during 1970 Elections.

CHAPTER- 1

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The term Party is employed to characterize the segment that divided the ancient republics. In renaissance, it referred to the troops constituting the revolutionary members of assemblies and committees tasked with organizing elections within the constitutional framework. Similarly, in modern democracies, it extends to encompass large, popular associations that contribute to shaping public opinion. In the true sense of this term, the party has recent phenomena emerged a century ago.[1] The significance of political parties in the establishment of modern democratic societies cannot be overstated. In Western democracies, the essence of democracy is often compressed by political parties, incorporating both the structural aspects of a party and the political system itself. Several researchers have adopted different approaches when studying this interaction of political parties within the democratic framework. The role they played in shaping the political structure and system highlights their crucial importance in the functioning of modern democracies.[2]

Political parties within any confederation serve as a crucial link between diverse and varied entities of the state. United by a shared ideology and program, these political parties foster closer ties among political elements from different regions. Consequently, these regions develop strong connections with the federal structure in reciprocation. National political parties, as opposed to regional ones, pledge national unity and act as a unifying force among subdivisions and provinces.[3]

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[1]Asifa Zafer Rana, Ideological Orientation of 1970 Elections: A Case Study of Pakistan People's Party (MS. Thesis, Department of History & Pakistan Studies International Islamic University Islamabad, 2018), 1-20.

[2] Faraz Ali Shah, Saira Bano, and Habib Ilahi, "Democracy and Political Parties: An analysis of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan," *International Journal of Academic Research for Humanities*, no. 1 (2021): 10-15.

[3] Habib Ilahi, "Democracy and Political Parties: An analysis of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan" 12-15.

Often engaged in issue-based politics, parties play a pivotal role, while individuals may at times be implicated in conspiracies against the state.[4]

In Pakistan, it can be observed that the political party system is based on a multi-party system, where no party may gain complete power in the parliament, but but they may have to form a government in coalition with other political and religious-political parties. Several political parties emerged before independence and after the establishment of a new state. These parties have played an important role in the political system of the country throughout its history.[5]

Many Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, and some minorities established political parties to represent themselves in the office of the British Viceroy.[6] The Indian National Congress (INC) and the All-India Muslim League (AIML) gained more popularity in local politics, securing representation for "Home Rule".[7] The elections of 1936-37 raised questions about the future of Muslims in South Asia. During this time, Maulana Syed Abul A'la Maududi, Allama Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938), and Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad (d. 1958) engaged in discussions with each other and ultimately decided to promote Muslim society according to Islamic principles, aligning with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. For this purpose, they decided to establish an educational organization to prepare the Muslim community and to foster a stable, devout Muslim society, even aiming to establish a pure Islamic government within India.

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[4] Rizwan Ullah Kokab and Massarrat Abid, "A Factor in East Pakistan's Separation: Political Parties or Leadership", *Pakistan Vision* 14, no. 1 (2013): 12.

[5] Nadeem Akhtar, *Role of Political Parties in the Democratic System of Pakistan* (Master Thesis), School of Global Studies, University of Gothenburg, February 13, 2022), 13. (Accessed on 02-01-2024), https://gupea.ub.gu.se/handle/2077/33025)

[6] The British Viceroy refers to the senior representative of the sub-continent, whom was appointed by the British Queen.

[7] Home rule means self-government or limited autonomy in internal affairs by a dependent political unit.

In this regard, Chaudhry Niaz Ali Khan, a close friend of Allama Muhammad Iqbal, agreed to provide his property and moral support for this mission. Chaudhry Niaz Ali Khan, residing Pathan Kot Punjab, was in touch with Syed Abul A'la Maududi, Allama Muhammad Iqbal, and Maulana Abul-Kalam Azad. After many meetings and discussions, Maulana Maududi took control of the organization at Pathan Kot in 1938 following the death of Allama Muhammad Iqbal. This project commenced its initial stages at the end of 1939. The project was named Dar-ul-Islam, which was considered Islamic training center for the revival of Islamic culture as well. This project required full concentration therefore; effort had been made to avoid misunderstandings, malpractices, and misinterpretations in social services that could arise due to the amalgamation with non-Muslim practices of social life.

After one and a half years of homework, Maulana Maududi planned to find an organization for achieving political goal. He implied to call a meeting of famous Muslim intellectuals and political leaders to gather at Darul-Islam Pathankot in 1940. In this session, seventy-five personalities from all over India arrived and had stationed there for five days. This event was full of intellectual conversations and cross-discussions about the rules and regulations, and a constructive mechanism for the revival of Islam. Unfortunately, many leaders were not willing to quit their formal political affiliation. Next to this event Chaudhary Niaz Ali Khan and Maulana Maududi also disagreed with one another regarding political policy towards Muslim League. Maulana Maududi wants to remain a part of electoral politics in British India and Niaz Ali Khan wants to participate warmly with the newly established organization of Darul-Islam.[8]

1.1 Formation of the Party

JI had operated in dual capacities, functioning both as a political party and a reformist movement, and it had consistently adhered to both these roles. The historical development of this perspective is worth exploring. In 1941, Maulana Maududi outlined his plan for establishing monthly magazine *Tarjuman ul Quran*. Following this, he extended an invitation to those who aligned with this vision to converge in Lahore. The official announcement of the formation of JI took place on 26 August 1941[9] after the approval of its constitution in the general conference (*Ijtema aam*). A total of one hundred and fifty suggestions were received, and eventually a comprehensive list was compiled. A meeting of seventy-five leaders held in Lahore, and after four days of deliberation, they unanimously ratified the constitution of the JI.[10]

Maulana Maududi in his whole life remained an active religious-political icon who dedicated his life to promote Islamic values and practices. His mission garnered support from notable scholars, including Maulana Amin Ahsan Islahi (d. 1997),[11] Maulana Muhammad Manzoor Naumani (d. 1997),[12] Maulana Abul Hassan Ali Nadvi (d. 1999),[13] and Maulana Naeem Siddiqui (d. 2002).[14]

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[8] Chaudhry Niaz Ali Khan II Founder "Dar ul Islam Movement" II Activist Pakistan Movement. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_0IjiBbFK0

[9] *Roodad Jamaat-i-Islami,* Vol.1 (Lahore: Shoba-e-Nashr wa Isha'at, Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, Islamic Publications, n.d), 8-15.

[10] Ibid. 15-25.

[11] Islahi was among the founder members of the JI, a religious party founded by the eminent Islamic scholar, Maududi, in 1941. During his seventeen years stay in the JI he represented the intellectual element of this party and remained a member of the central governing body (Majlis-i-Shura). During this period, he did the groundwork needed to write a commentary of the Qur'an – an objective which he had set before him early in life. In 1958, he abandoned the JI after serious differences arose between him and Maududi on the nature of the constitution of the JI.

[12] Maulana Muhammed Manzoor Nomani most arguably was one of the five prime most Muslims of the Indian sub-continent in the last century. He was the founding member of JI and later got associated with Tablighi Jamaat and was also the member of founding committee of Muslim World League. Maulana Khalil-ur-Rehman Sajjad Nomani is his son who gives every credence to his father, as that is what has made him, potentially what he is today, and the most potent Muslim voice in the nation.

[13] Syed Abul Hasan Ali Hasani Nadwi was a leading Islamic scholar, thinker, writer, preacher, reformer and a Muslim public intellectual of 20th century India and the author of numerous books on

JI actively opposed the partition of India, and Maulana Maududi argued that the concept contradicted the Islamic doctrine of the Ummah (Islamic community). The party perceived the partition as the creation of a temporal border that would separate Muslims from one another.[15] Maulana Maududi advocated for the acceptance of Allah's sovereignty and the adoption of a divine code that transcends man-made laws. Maulana Maududi favored pure Islam against secular democracy. The Muslims came to India in a small number but they ruled successfully because they were blessed with great Ulama and Sufis who were equally respected by the masses. Had they been having their say in state affairs, India would have converted to Islam as a whole.[16]

The Islamist agenda places JI in a special status among the political parties of Pakistan. JI has set very high aims for itself. Its journey of transformation from a reformist movement to a political party and its performance as a religious-political party are interesting aspects within Pakistani politics. Although JI performance in electoral politics is not very encouraging, it has played a significant role in alliances to pursue the cause of Islam.[17]

1.2 Philosophy and Party Agenda of Jamaat-i-Islami

Syed Munawar Hassan viewed the JI action plan as essential in a globally interconnected world. He emphasized the need for the JI to assume a leading role in politics by establishing a strong presence at the grassroots level, aiming to leave a profound impact on the masses. According to him, achieving the objectives of spreading the religion, establishing it, and gaining the pleasure of Allah requires

history, biography, contemporary Islam, and the Muslim community in India, one of the most prominent figure of Deoband School

[14] *Roodad Jamaat-i-Islami*, Vol.3 (Lahore: Shoba-e-Nashr wa Isha'at, Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, Islamic Publications, 2019), 8-14.

[15]Wajaht Mahmud & Waqar Ahmad, "Mualna Mududi, Islam and Ideology," *al-Azhar* 4, no-1 (January-June 2018): 20-35.

[16] Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 87.

dedicated struggle, discipline, and unwavering devotion. The strategy involves a commitment to these principles to attain the overarching goals of the JI.[18]

Some writers draw parallel lines between Maulana Maududi's ideology and a blend of nationalism and Islamic fundamentalism. His divergence from the teachings of Islamic jurists on various issues has led some to perceive elements of nationalist ideology in his approach. Unlike aspiring to construct an entirely new state, Maududi believed in acquiring power from an existing state structure and replacing it with *Sharia* law. Maulana Maududi's party agenda aimed to amalgamate the ideals of an Islamic community with the vanguard of an Islamic political party. His active efforts were directed towards establishing an Islamic state in Pakistan based on the Prophetic Model. Contrary to mobilizing the masses for the overthrow of the existing order, his strategy focused on achieving political power through societal reforms. He did not advocate violence to promote the cause of Islam; instead, he preferred education as the primary means for Islamic activism.

As an Islamic fundamentalist political party, JI has encountered various doctrinal challenges in its efforts to transform itself into a state ideology. The complexities of aligning its fundamentalist principles with the broader socio-political landscape have presented ongoing challenges for the party. The establishment of the State of Pakistan was justified on the premise that its inhabitants were predominantly Muslims and distinct from the Hindu population. Even before the creation of Pakistan, Islam was a central topic of discussion among Muslims and in their interactions with Hindus. Throughout various historical phases, Islam maintained a pivotal role, whether in response to Hindu revivalism, resistance against British imperialism,

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[17] *Roodad Jamaat-i-Islami*, Vol.3, 12-27,
[18] Syed Munawar Hassan, Keep up! No Time to Stand & Stare.!! Available at http://jamaat.org/beta/site/article_detail/5/2. Searched on 08.01.2024.

efforts towards Hindu-Muslim unity, support for the Caliphate movement, or the protection of the Muslim minority in a predominantly Hindu India.

Islam serves as a guiding force, influencing the political discourse and actions of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. Compared to its counterparts in Egypt and Iran, JI stands out for its notable political maturity and significant contributions to the national discourse on constitutional matters. The party actively presents its ideology in discussions about the structure of government in Pakistan. Despite its notable uniqueness, JI shares similarities with other Islamic revivalist movements worldwide, placing it within the broader spectrum of mainstream fundamentalism.[19]

The threat posed by Indian nationalism fostered fundamentalist tendencies in Pakistan, as evidenced by JI efforts to establish an Islamic social order and incorporate Islamic provisions into the national constitution. The relationship between the state and religion has been a primary source of constitutional instability, leading to tensions between Islamists and secular factions. However, the Islamic provisions integrated into the constitution have often been symbolic, refraining from significant changes to the country's legal system or socio-political spheres.[20]

After the establishment of Pakistan, Maududi became more committed to establishing an Islamic state. His method was not violent as defined by Karl Marx or as experienced by the French or the Russians. His envisioned Islamic Revolution required a gradual process of social, cultural, and political reforms to provide justice and benevolence, not only in economic terms but also in ethical ones. The obstacles in the way of Islamic revolution were immorality and prevailing the acts forbidden by Islam, resource distribution, social awareness, or any others identified by Western

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[19] Shahzada Gulfam, Jamaat-I-Islami Agenda of Transforming Pakistan into An Islamic Polity: Prospects and Challenges (Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Political Science University of Peshawar, 2016), 25-31.
[20] Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 100.

thinkers. He believed in reforming institutions and individuals through spiritual education. In his view, the state is responsible for guiding its citizens onto the correct path of Islam. The citizens of Islamic state were meant to act as agents of the Almighty Allah, and the state could undertake *Ijtihad,* which traditionally had been the domain of scholars.[21]

The objectives of the Jamaat-i-Islami include the establishment of an Islamic state with *Shariah* as the supreme law, symbolized by the concept of *Iqamat-i-Deen* or *Nizam-i-Mustafa*. The party criticizes Western ideologies, particularly the capitalism and socialism, and condemns interest-based economic systems.[22]

For JI, controlling the governing apparatus is not the ultimate goal but rather a means to achieve a higher objective. Changes in leadership over the years have led to various strategic adjustments aimed at expanding the party network. As an organized platform comprising dedicated political workers, the JI has consistently played a crucial role in electoral alliances.

Despite Maulana Maududi's criticism of the Two-Nation Theory and the Muslim League, he collaborated with them after the creation of Pakistan. This collaboration underscores the acceptance of JI theological doctrine by the Muslim League, reflecting a process of Islamization within the party. Collaborating with Maulana Maududi allowed the secular Muslim League leadership to mobilize the masses by appealing to Islam. Various Muslim groups, along with Muslim League leaders, turned to religious symbols to formulate new political alliances and programs amid the increasing communalism in Indian politics at the time.[23]

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[21] Louis D. Hayes*, Islamic State in the Post-Modern World: The Political Experience of Pakistan* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2014), 37-42.
[22] Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought,* 100.
[23] Syed Vali Raza Nasr, *The Vangaurd of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan* (California: University of California Press, 1994), 6.

1.3 Administrative Structure of the Party
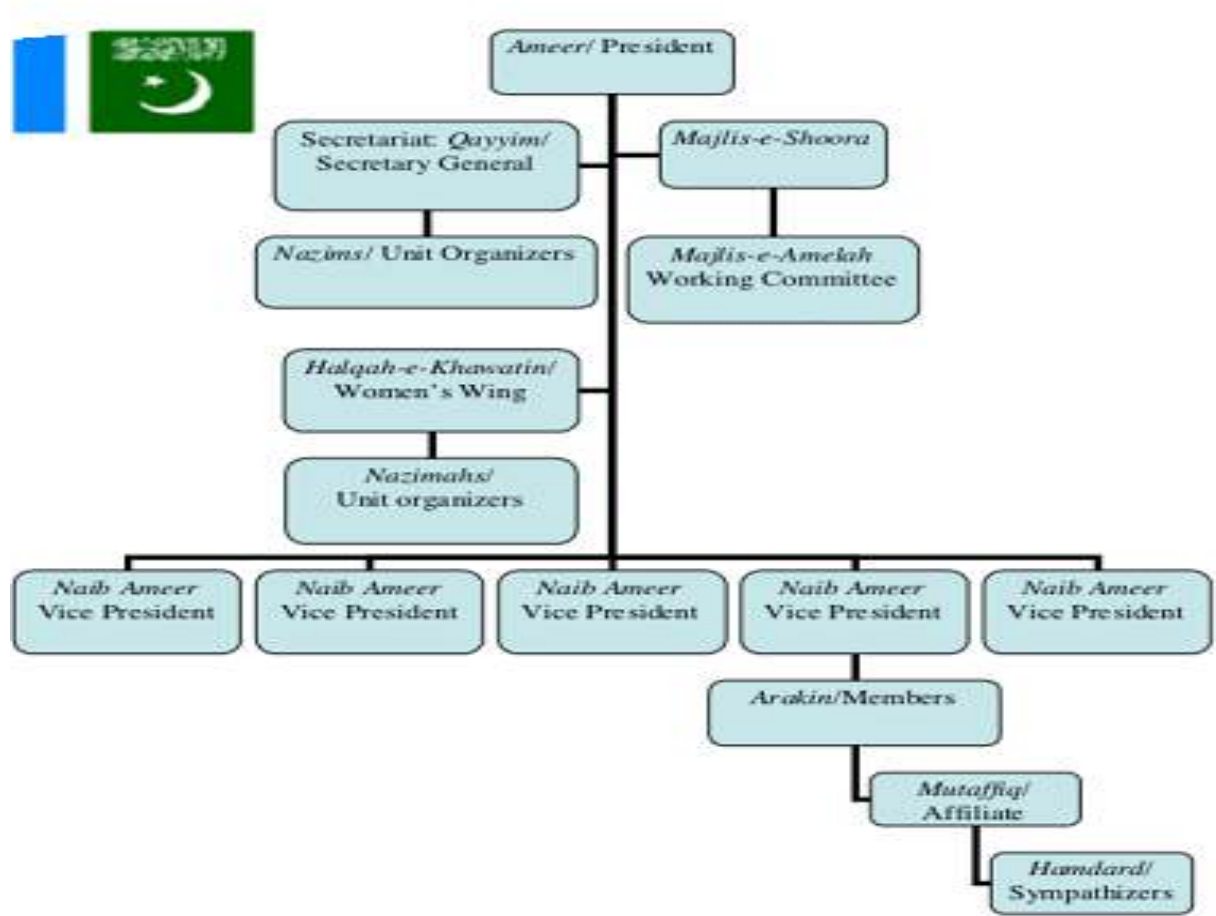
Organization of the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan

Source: Shahzada Gulfam, Jamaat-I-Islami Agenda of Transforming Pakistan into an Islamic Polity: Prospects and Challenges (Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Political Science University of Peshawar, 2016), 21
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The JI formed its organizational structure in a manner similar to other political parties in Pakistan. The leader of the party is known as the *Amir*. Initially, the *Amir* was responsible for all affairs of the party, and a *Majlis-e-Shura* (consultative council) was established to assist him. The members of this council were selected by the *Amir* of JI.[24] Other important organizational positions created include *Naib Amir* (Deputy

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[24] Faraz Ali Shah, Saira Bano, and Habib Ilahi, "Democracy and Political Parties: An analysis of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan," *International Journal of Academic Research for Humanities* 1, no. 1 (2021): 10-15.

Amir), *Qaim* (Secretary General), and Secretary *Nashr o-Asha'at* (Publication and Propagation Secretary).[25] Different departments of JI were organized to ensure the proper functioning of the party. All these departments had a direct connection with the Amir and were directly accountable to him regarding their duties.[26] These departments are mentioned below:

1.3.1 Knowledge and Training Department

This department is responsible for researching various philosophical systems and for writing books to present Islamic thought in the modern context of the scientific age. The department also took the responsibility of training such workers who could become frontline players to lead the revolution.

1.3.2 Mass Media Department

This department was tasked with generating literary works in the form of books, booklets, newspapers, and magazines. It also bore the responsibility of distributing this material among maximum audience.

1.3.3 Administrative Department

The primary duty of this department was to facilitate the formation of JI branches in various regions and subsequently oversee the activities of these branches within the JI framework.

1.3.4 Finance Department

The responsibility of this department was to gather and manage funds which are obtained in the form of donations from affluent members and sympathizers of JI.

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[25] Gulfam, "Jamaat-I-Islami Agenda Of Transforming Pakistan Into An Islamic Polity: Prospects And Challenges", 31-34.
[26] *Rodad Jamaat-i-Islami*, Vol.1, 30.

1.3.5 Motivational Department

This department was of paramount importance in promoting the message of the JI and consisted of eight circles:

1) The circle of colleges and modern educated individuals, 2) the circle of scholars and Arabic institutions, 3) the circle of Sufis (a sect of devout Muslim followers) and leaders of spiritual orders, 4) the circle of political parties, 5) the circle of the common public, 6) the circle of rural inhabitants, 7) the circle of women, and 8) the circle of non-Muslims. Each worker is required to choose a circle that aligned with their preference for disseminating the ideology of JI. In case of difficulties, they could contact the *Amir* of the local constituency or directly communicate with the *Amir* of JI. Present-day JI retains the fundamental organizational structure of its initial days, with some minor adjustments made to enhance organizational efficiency.

These modifications are introduced to adapt the changing circumstances while preserving the core structure of JI. Over time, numerous intra-party conflicts arose, compelling JI to periodically revise its structure and constitution. Internal disputes posed a threat to the stability of JI, risking its image as a religious organization. To maintain its identity as both a religious and political party, JI had to undertake various measures since its inception as a religious organization. However, the diverse nature of conflicts among party members weakened the credibility and stability of JI.

The political discourse in Pakistan became infused with religious ideas and the language and symbols associated with Islamic political parties left an indelible mark on the country's politics. The emergence of Islamic political parties as distinct groups with specified programs posed a challenge to the legitimacy of the state, especially in the context of Islamization the laws of the polity, as envisioned by figures like Maududi.

1.4 First Phase of Politics (1947-1958)

After the creation of Pakistan, Maulana Maududi migrated to Lahore, where JI workers played a vital role in assisting refugees from India by providing them with essential resources such as food, medical aid, and clothing. However, authorities grew suspicious, suspecting that the JI was inciting refugees to demand more assistance from the government. The JI pre-partition opposition to the Muslim League proved to be an obstacle in gaining the authorities' trust, leading to increased surveillance of the JI activities.

During the period from 1948 to 1958, JI emerged as a significant force in Pakistani politics, outlining a clear direction for its engagement. Initially, the focus was on advocating for the framing of an Islamic constitution for Pakistan, and the ideological orientation underwent a transformation that positioned the JI as a well-prepared political party. This shift involved revising the Islamic vision to include the commitment to democracy and constitutional rights, particularly in response to challenges faced during Ayub Khan's regime.

The provincial government of Punjab was hesitant to renew the publication licenses for various periodicals associated with the JI. Facing challenging issues from August 1947 to January 1948, the JI remained inactive during this period. Subsequently, in the first few months of 1948, significant shifts were observed in the JI policy and ideology. Notably, there was a visible change in its policy with the acceptance of the theory of Muslim League, choosing to engage in party politics rather than pursuing its approach to establishing an Islamic state.[27]

These changes encompassed shifts in ideology concerning the process of the Islamic revolution and the constitution of the Islamic state. Notable outcomes of these

changes included the accommodation of modernist theories, allowing the legislation by a democratically elected assembly within certain limits. Additionally, there was an elaboration of previously omitted details aimed at addressing the central question of what the *Sharia* permitted or required concerning specific legislative proposals.

The JI initially asserted that its ideology remained unchanged due to a permanent ideological basis, namely the Law of Allah Almighty. However, the influence of Maulana Maududi on the JI makes it challenging to pinpoint the causes of changes in the party ideology. Examining specific circumstances that may have influenced Maududi thinking becomes crucial in understanding these changes.[28]

In 1945, JUI was established to support AIML with the expectation of shaping Pakistan into an Islamic state. In December 1947, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Uthmani (d. 1949), aided by Maulana Ihtesham-ul-Haq (d. 1980), organized JUI in Karachi. On January 13, 1948, the organization demanded the appointment of an *Alim* to the office of Shaikh-ul-Islam with authority over *Qazis* (Islamic judges) across the entire country. Despite efforts to garner support from Maulana Maududi, these endeavors ultimately met with failure.[29]

To alleviate the hardships of refugees, the Government of Pakistan extended religious recognition to them, labeling them as *Mahajir*, and made religious commitments. Public assurances from the prime minister and other ministers pledged that the future of Pakistan would be an Islamic state, with its constitution grounded in Quranic Laws. Additionally, promises were made of ensuring economic equality, tolerance, and social justice, essentially positioning Pakistan as a laboratory for Islamic principles. These circumstances led the refugees to believe that the

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[27] Leonard Binder*, Religion and Politics in Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 96.
[28] Ibid. 97.
[29] Ibid. 98.

establishment of an Islamic state in Pakistan was their central concern. Consequently, their claims took on a religious dimension, and they soon found religious leaders, including Maulana Maududi, Maulana Shabbir Ahamd Uthmani, and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni (d.1970), providing a religious platform in the country's politics. This perspective resonated even among ordinary citizens.[30]

During this phase, the JI adopted a strategy to position itself as a political party. Maulana Maududi, along with several prominent JI members, collaborated with the *Ulama* to work towards the establishment of an Islamic-based constitution for the country. Before the drafting of the 1956 Constitution, the political and religious ideas of the JI influenced the ongoing debate between the JI and the Pakistani government. This influence is particularly evident in the Objectives Resolution of 1949. The passing of this resolution was a significant success for the JI and was seen as the government's acknowledgment of the JI commitment to Islamize Pakistan constitution and laws, in line with Maulana Maududi's vision. The resolution placed the responsibility for Islamization on the government, providing the JI with the freedom to operate.

During that period, the JI faced challenges, including the imprisonment of its top leaders and a ban on the publication of its literature. The Objectives Resolution provided a basis for the JI to critique anti-Islamic policies and find a platform for its activism[31]. Maulana Maududi initiated a movement in Pakistan along with 385 members, aiming to transform the country into a truly Islamic polity. Pakistan's relationship with Islam was a primary concern for the ruling elite. Although most politicians agreed to demonstrate the Islamic spirit in the formation of the constitution and related institutions, the integration of modern state issues with Islam remained

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[30] Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan,* 99.

less clear to them. The modernists were unwilling to accept the dominance of the *Ulama* in an Islamic state, especially when it came to applying *Sharia* laws to all legislation. The JI emphasized the Islamization of existing laws, a stance that conflicted with the preferences of secularist politicians, bureaucrats, and military officers with Westernized orientations. They were uneasy with the implications of Islam extending into every sphere of life.[32]

After the creation of Pakistan, the government had serious concerns about Maulana Maududi. Some were concerned about the principles of despotism in his concept of spiritual leadership, while for others the revolutionary rhetoric of the JI was seen as dangerous. Maulana Maududi appeared as a rival claimant for popular support, particularly for the Muslim League. To others, his claim to leadership was unacceptable due to his non-participatory role in the campaign for creation of Pakistan.

Liaquat Ali Khan (r. 1947-51) specifically cautioned civil servants and military officers against joining the JI. However, the state apparatus found itself compelled to adopt some of Maulana Maududi's ideas in the nation-building process. The JI maintained close ties with certain Muslim League leaders to secure religious political support, particularly in Punjab, against political rivals.

Major General Iskander Mirza (r. 1956-58), the pro-West first president of Pakistan and an interior minister, and General Ayub Khan (r. 1958-69), both permanent members of the establishment, leaned towards creating other religious groups that were more amenable to official control, influencing the politics of JI. Maulana Maududi's vision of regimenting Muslims and instilling a specific belief

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[31] Jon Armajani, *Modern Islamists Movements* (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), p.173.
[32] Mumtaz Ahmad, *The Jamaat-i-Islami, and the Tablighi Jamaat of South Asia* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), 9-10.

system in their thinking aligned with the objectives of Pakistan's nation-builders, who deemed it necessary for a nation-state united based on religion.

Although the early elite class of Pakistan appreciated the message of Maulana Maududi, they opposed him because they preferred the establishment of a religious state rather than handing over power to a group of theologians. In contrast, Maulana Maududi sought power for the pious ones (*Saleheen*), as evident from the JI slogan emphasizing that "in the country there will be God rule, God's law; the government should be that of God's pious men".[33]

In December 1947, a group of inspired students established Islami Jamiat Tulba (IJT), also known as the Islamic Students Society. As the student wing of the JI, the IJT drew inspiration from the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and took a more radical stance as compared to the JI program of gradual constitutionalism. In the realm of student politics, the IJT emerged as a unified organization for center-right students, engaging in confrontation with Marxist ideological groups on college campuses.

Maulana Maududi proposed a nine-point agenda for Islamic revivalism, with one point emphasizing the need to "break the power of un-Islamic and enable Islam to take hold of life as a whole". Although this point did not particularly appeal to the ruling elite, other points, such as ideas regarding an intellectual revolution and the defense of Islam, could potentially assist in constructing an Islamic national identity for Pakistan. Maulana Maududi viewed the intellectual revolution as an initiative to "shape people's thoughts and beliefs into the Islamic mode, reform the education system, and generally revive Islamic science and attitudes". This plan laid the

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[33] Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Lahore: Vanguard Books.2005), 23.

foundation for creating a national culture and history in Pakistan, tracing the country's origins back to the Islamic revival in South Asia.

Between 1949 and 1951, Maulana Maududi and other senior leaders of the JI faced imprisonment, due to a moderation of their demands related to an Islamic polity. The Muslim League, both before and after partition, showed reluctance to involve the *Ulama* in political affairs. The ruling elites, from Liaquat Ali Khan to General Ayub Khan, tended to construct Pakistani nationalism based on Urdu as the national language and giving privilege to Islam against multiple identities.

This period was crucial in shaping the identity and role of the JI in the political landscape of Pakistan, with a blend of religious and political ideologies that would continue to influence the country's trajectory in the years to come. From 1948 to 1958, the JI rose to prominence in Pakistani politics. The role of the JI as an active political party began with its advocacy for an Islamic constitution for Pakistan. This marked an extraordinary transition from its ideological orientation to a political party. The JI committed itself to democracy and constitutional rights to modernize its Islamic vision, making it necessary to establish a platform. The fusion of political discourse with religious ideas influenced the political development of Pakistan. Islamic parties emerged as distinct groups with specific types of demands on the state. These developments further solidified the relationship between Islam and the state of Pakistan.[34]

The JI viewed the coup as the result of the elections being stolen from them. General Mirza was dismissed and exiled by Ayub Khan in 1958. After the restoration of democratic order and the constitution, the party could only dream of seizing state power. The secular attitude of General Ayub Khan's regime provided a foundation for

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[34] Nasr, *The Vangaurd of the Islamic Revolution*: *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan,* 146.

the JI to advocate for Islamic constitutionalism. The predominant secular politics led some members of the JI to opt for a return to the moral high ground of the holy community and isolation. However, Maulana Maududi and others decided to fight back as a political party. Unlike the revivalist movements during the Pahlavi Dynasty in Iran and the era of Nasser in Egypt, the JI became more politicized rather than radicalized.

Initially, due to the economic measures of the military government that made it popular, the effectiveness of the JI along with other political parties was normally abated. The masses were now less interested in an Islamic constitution, prompting the JI to consider trying some other options against the government as part of their program. The Ayub era focused on Pakistan's economy rather than aligning Pakistan's policies with its ideology. The Bureau of National Reconstruction was established in 1959 to promote a secularized attitude as a unifying force. This new agenda was propagated through the press and was praised by the leftists, hoping to cleanse Pakistani politics from Islamic elements.[35]

1.5 Jamaat-i-Islami Politics in the Second Phase 1958-1970

During Ayub Khan's rule from 1958 to 1969, there was a concerted effort to collaborate with *sajjādah nashīn* of holy men (*pirs*) to counter the JI revivalist agenda and establish a monopoly over the discourse of modernist Islam. The Awami League in its advocacy for the Bangla version of Islam, sought to challenge the authority of the Pakistani version of Islam, particularly opposing the Islam propagated by the JI.[36]

During this period, Ayub Khan's military government attempted to interpret Islam according to its preferences, adopting an indirect form of democracy to legitimize its dictatorial rule while achieving material development. However, this

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[35] Nasr, *The Vangaurd of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan,* 148-49.

strategy had detrimental effects, slowly eroding the integrity of Pakistan. Political bans restricted alternative viewpoints, bolstering nationalist politics, and weakening the Islamic bond between the two wings of Pakistan. The JI struggle for an Islamic constitution, aimed at leading the country toward an Islamic system, became a forgotten narrative.

In 1958, Ayub Khan banned the JI Pakistan, and in 1964, Maulana Maududi was once again imprisoned for several months. Mian Tufail Mohammad, [37] Maulana Maududi's successor, was accused of mutiny under the Official Secrets Act. The trial, involving leaders from various political parties, including Tufail Mohammad, who decided to launch a democracy movement, lingered on for two years and was eventually closed by the government itself due to a lack of evidence. In 1965, Tufail Mohammad played a prominent role in the joint opposition, touring both East and West Pakistan to raise awareness and organize a strong national democratic movement.[38]

1.5.1 The Jamaat-i-Islami Entry into Electoral Politics

In 1957, Maulana Maududi asserted that the JI had no alternative but to seize state authority, emphasizing that without it, the establishment of a pious Islamic order would be unattainable. The JI believed that it could implement its agenda once it gained control over the government. Maududi justified this perspective by theorizing that "the struggle for obtaining control over the organs of the state, for the sole

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[36] Farzana Shaikh. *Making Sense of Pakistan* (London: Hurst & Co.2009), 89-91.

[37] Mian Tufail Muhammad was indeed a prominent figure within the JI in Pakistan. He was an active member of the party for many years and played a significant role in its activities. After the death of Maulana Maududi, the founder of Jamaat-i-Islami, Mian Tufail Muhammad became the Amir (leader) of JI. His leadership tenure saw the party continuing its efforts to promote its vision of an Islamic state in Pakistan through democratic means. Under Mian Tufail Muhammad's leadership, JI remained an influential force in Pakistani politics, advocating for its conservative Islamic ideology and participating in various political and social activities.

[38] http://www.thenews.com.pk/Todays-News-2-213836-History-of-Jamaat-i-Islami-and-its-leagership

purpose of establishing Islam, is not only desirable but, in the light of the Quranic verse XVII:80, obligatory".[39]

Maududi declared that the capture of state power must occur through constitutional means, specifically general elections, as *Shariah* forbids resorting to unconstitutional methods for bringing about change. At the time, Maududi hoped that the JI would win national elections, if they be held in Pakistan. However, this shift in policy resulted in a split within the party, leading Maulana Ameen Ahsan Islahi and Dr. Israr Ahmad Qureshi to leave. They believed that participating in electoral politics limited the party's scope and went against Maududi original thinking, particularly his initial emphasis on educating the population first.[40]

Pakistan experienced military rule from 1958 to 1971, during which the intervention of military commanders hindered the aspirations of the JI to win general elections, dealing a setback to the party's cause. The military's intention to frame a new constitution became evident with the establishment of a specialized committee for this purpose in December 1959. The JI's success in the Karachi Municipal Elections (winning 18 out of 23 contested seats) sent a warning signal to secular forces.

By abolishing the 1956 constitution, the military and similar forces prevented the possibility of the JI and similar platforms coming to power. According to the 1956 Constitution, general elections were to be held within two years of its promulgation, making Islamic constitutionalism a steadfast goal for some leaders of the JI. While some suggested isolation, Maulana Maududi, however, therefore, believed that as a political party, the JI could better confront the government.

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[39] Syed Abul Ala Maududi, *Tafhim-ul-Quran* (Lahore: Tarjaman al Quran 1972), 1250-1255.
[40] Mujtaba Isani, "The Rise and Fall of the Jamaat-i-Islami in the light of Social Movement Theory", Marquette University, 132.

The ruling generals opted for secularization as a policy choice to unite the nation and drive the country towards development. Maulana Maududi did not advocate for a radical solution to the challenges posed by the Ayub Khan regime. The alliance between the military and secular forces deepened the polarization between the Westernized ruling elites and the masses adhering to Islamic traditions.[41]

The social order in Pakistan was at risk of collapse, and the potential for revolution loomed if the dictatorial rule persisted. The JI played a crucial role in averting the polarization of the country and continued its campaign for Islamic constitutionalism. The JI's appeal to both tradition and modernity served as a means to bridge the gap between secularists and traditionalists, contributing to the effort to prevent any mishap in Pakistan at a time when government policies were steering the country in an opposite direction.

1.5.2 Jamaat-i-Islami Electoral Politics during 1958-65

To justify the abrogation of the 1956 Constitution, the military ruler attempted to diminish the role of religion in politics. The government introduced a form of religious modernism. On May 3, 1959, General Ayub Khan addressed *Ulema* and interpreted religion in a manner that justified the government's development agenda and its stance against Communism.

The government sought to control the interpretation of Islam to limit the influence of Islamic parties. It established its platform for interpreting religion and adopted a modernist approach. Islamic laws were reformed to align with the government's developmental agenda. In 1959, the government introduced the Basic Democracies Scheme, through which Ayub Khan later became the president of Pakistan. The JI perceived that the government aimed to diminish the influence of

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[41] Nasr, *The Vangaurd of the Islamic Revolution*: *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan,* 147-49.

Islam and exclude it from the process of constitution-making. Consequently, the JI began organizing a religious coalition against the government's policies.[42]

In a meeting held in Lahore in May 1960, the JI and the *Ulema* presented proposals for the future constitution and devised a strategy to dismantle the dominance that the bureaucracy and the so-called elected representatives had gained under the Basic Democracies system. They demanded free and fair general elections. However, the government's introduction of the Muslim Family Law Ordinance in 1961 not only restricted Islamic parties but also encroached upon the domain of the *Ulema*. In response, the JI organized street demonstrations and published pamphlets against the government.[43] Mian Tufail Mohammad sought fatwas from fourteen eminent *Ulema* denouncing the Ordinance, leading to the imprisonment of several JI workers.

The 1962 Constitution retained the Islamic provisions of the 1956 Constitution, but their implementation was not mandatory. This setback for the JI cause in Pakistan prompted Maulana Maududi to adopt a strategy to simultaneously advocate for both Islam and democracy. He believed that through democracy, the Islamic cause could be safeguarded against the secular policies of the regime. One noteworthy aspect of the Ayub era was that religious modernism was embraced under military rule, while Islamic revivalism became aligned with democracy.

As a political party, the JI engaged in negotiations with the National Democratic Front under Suharwardy, an opposition platform against Ayub Khan. The JI activism gained momentum after the lifting of martial law. Maulana Maududi exerted pressure on the government to add "Islamic" to Pakistan's official name, and the JI positioned itself as an active and influential political force. The government

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[42] Nasr, *The Vangaurd of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan*, 151.

recognized the potential influence of the JI and considered it comparable to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Advisers to Ayub Khan suggested co-opting the JI, but Maulana Maududi rejected the proposal, expressing his commitment to both politics and the preaching of Islam.

Facing government scrutiny, Maududi clarified that he was not advocating militant measures and was unwilling to create chaos that could be exploited by forces opposite to the interests of Islam. The government targeted the opposition, including the JI, leading to interruptions in Maududi public speeches and the banning of Tarjuman-ul-Quran. In 1964, the government suspended the JI activities, resulting in the arrest of Mian Tufail, Shura members, and fourteen others, including Maulana Maududi. However, the Supreme Court of Pakistan later declared the ban on the JI illegal and ordered its immediate restoration. Maulana Maududi and other leaders were released from prison in October 1964.[44]

The JI encountered strong opposition from Ayub Khan's regime due to its strictly orthodox outlook. It served as a barrier to Ayub Khan's social reforms, including the 'Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961' and the family planning campaign in Pakistan. The JI capitalized on people's sentiments against these reforms and expanded its contacts with the masses through social services. Mobile dispensaries and well-maintained libraries were utilized to serve the general public.

In 1963, the government initiated anti-Maududi measures, using JI earlier stand against the Pakistan Movement as charges. Despite these challenges, the JI remained loyal and resilient in the face of attacks. In response to the opposition, the government decided to establish two new institutions, the Institute for Islamic Culture in Lahore

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[43] Nasr, *The Vangaurd of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan*, 152.
[44] Ibid. 153-154.

and the Institute for Islamic Research in Karachi, to develop, formulates, and propagates a modernistic synthesis of Islam.

1.5.3 Electoral Alliance against Ayub Khan

During General Ayub Khan's rule, the relationship between Islamist parties and the state remained tense. While Ayub appreciated the JI agenda, on the other hand, he launched crackdowns on JI offices. Maulana Maududi had reservations about Ayub's reforms in Muslim Family Laws and disagreed with him for removing the word "Islamic" from the country's name. At one point, the JI was banned, and Maulana Maududi was imprisoned for opposing Ayub's decisions. Although Ayub Khan refused to compromise on the family law issue, he amended the Constitution 1962 and renamed the country as "Islamic Republic of Pakistan".[45]

Ayub Khan's program aimed to regulate religious discourse, serve the state, and create a strong, self-reliant nation through policies promoting wider economic growth. Inspired by the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Atatürk,[46] Ayub Khan sought to lead Pakistan on a path of modernization and development. However, due to ideological differences, many of his initiatives proved irrelevant and ineffective for Pakistan. Religious political parties, having established Islam as the constitutional identity for Pakistan, began striving to raise public awareness of Islam, distancing the nation from the interpretations of religious scholars.

In his secular approach, Ayub Khan provided a different interpretation of the Two-Nation Theory and introduced the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance in 1961. Despite efforts by Islamists and *Ulema* to align the ordinance with Islamic injunctions, Ayub Khan obtained judicial protection for it. In 1963, under pressure

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[45] Kavita Khory, *Pakistan: The Borders of Islam* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 1988), 68.
[46] Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, was born in 1881 in Salonica (Modern day Thessaloniki, Greece), the founder and first president of the Republic of Turkey. He is widely regarded as one of the most important figures in modern Turkish history.

from Islamists and *Ulema*, Ayub Khan reinstated the name of Pakistan from the Republic of Pakistan to the Islamic Republic of Pakistan.[47]

The JI was banned in January 1964 by the Ayub Khan government, but the Supreme Court lifted the ban in September 1964. Due to this factor, the JI could not adequately prepare for the Basic Democrats elections held in November 1964. The JI accused the government of employing corrupt practices in the elections. Presidential elections were scheduled for January 2, 1965.

The JI joined the Combined Opposition Parties (COP),[48] electoral coalition led by Chaudhry Muhammad Ali and Mumtaz Daultana of the Muslim League. The JI became part of COP for the 1964-65 presidential elections and supported Fatima Jinnah against Ayub Khan. In the absence of Maulana Maududi, the leaders of the coalition unanimously agreed to nominate Fatima Jinnah as the opposition's presidential candidate. As the representative of the coalition, Chaudhry Muhammad Ali reached an agreement with Maulana Maududi in prison on this choice. Maulana Maududi accepted the coalition's decision because Fatima Jinnah belonged to the Muhajir community, which was the JI's support base. However, this choice led to a division among religious parties.

Under the government's agenda, conservative *Ulema* declared women's rule as un-Islamic, causing embarrassment for the JI and leading to the loss of religious support. Both the JI and COP suffered from the loss of their religious support base,

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[47] Farzana Sheikh, *Making Sense of Pakistan*, 89-91.
[48] In 1965, Pakistan's political landscape was marked by a number of opposition parties. One of the notable opposition parties during that time was the Combined Opposition Parties (COP). The COP was a coalition of various political parties united against the ruling regime of President Ayub Khan. It included parties such as the Pakistan Muslim League led by Nurul Amin, the Council Muslim League led by Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, the Awami League led by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, and other smaller parties included JI.

and Maulana Maududi defense of women's candidacy was condemned by pro-government *Ulema* through *Fatwas* (religious decrees).[49]

Miss Fatima Jinnah had a substantial vote bank, and the COP comprised various factions, including rightists, centrists, and leftists such as the Council Muslim League, JI the Markazi Jamiat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith, and a dissent faction of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-I-Islam led by Maulana Mahmud Shah Gujrati. The National Awami Party (NAP),[50] which had leftists and regionalists outlook. Although the National Democratic Front (NDF),[51] did not join the COP, it decided to support its candidate, Miss Fatima Jinnah. These groups aimed to counter the pro-Ayub Khan's *Ulema*.

However, the COP faced organizational weaknesses, and there were suspicions about Maulana Abdul Hameed Khan Bhashani[52] loyalty to the COP cause. Ghaffar Khan's visit to Kabul during the election campaign and Mujib's criticism of the Pakistan Army were setbacks to the COP. The alliance's initial condemnation of the Basic Democracies system was considered a blunder but later changed into a statement that they would try to free the system from bureaucratic control. Additionally, the alliance had limited funds and little access to media[53] was other key elements of their failure.

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[49] Mushtaq Ahmad, *Politics without Social Change* (Karachi: Space Publishers, 1971), 121.

[50]The National Awami Party (NAP) was a prominent political party in Pakistan during the 1960s and 1970s. It was formed in 1957 through the merger of several leftist and nationalist political groups, including the Awami League of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and the National Awami Party of West Pakistan.

[51]The National Democratic Front (NDF) was a political alliance formed in Pakistan in the mid-1960s. It was primarily composed of left-leaning and socialist political parties. The NDF aimed to challenge the dominance of the ruling regime led by President Ayub Khan and advocated for progressive policies and socio-economic reforms.

[52] Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani was a prominent political and religious leader in Pakistan and later in Bangladesh. He was born in 1880 in what is now Bangladesh. Maulana Bhashani was known for his advocacy of the rights of peasants, workers, and the marginalized sections of society. During the 1960s, Maulana Bhashani played a significant role in Pakistani politics as a leader of the left-wing and progressive movements. He was a vocal critic of the ruling elite and campaigned for land reforms, economic justice, and the rights of farmers and laborers. His political ideology was influenced by socialism, and he was a strong supporter of the socialist cause.

[53]M. Rafique Afzal, *Pakistan: History and Politics 1947-1971*(Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 295.

During the controversy surrounding the COP, the government attempted to create a split within the ranks of the JI by instigating Maulana Kausar Niazi,[54] to challenge Maulana Maududi authority in the party. However, Maulana Maududi successfully countered this campaign and emerged as a frontline figure in the opposition coalition.

Maulana Maududi conducted a campaign across various places in Pakistan, condemning the government's dictatorship and secular policies. He demanded the restoration of democracy as the first step toward the establishment of an Islamic state. Despite the efforts of the COP, Miss Fatima Jinnah failed to unseat General Ayub Khan in the presidential election.

During the election campaign, President Ayub Khan and his Foreign Minister Z.A. Bhutto sought to divert attention from issues like Islamization and genuine democracy by highlighting the Kashmir issue. The 1965 war with India put a hold on the conflict between the government and opposition parties. Maulana Maududi, along with other opposition leaders, was invited by Ayub Khan to discuss the obligations regarding the war. During this time, Maulana Maududi changed his previous stance on jihad in Kashmir, expressing his willingness to assist the government in times of crisis and declaring jihad to liberate Kashmir from India. Ayub Khan publicized Maulana Maududi declaration of jihad, signaling the JI importance. This shift in policy direction by Ayub Khan marked a significant change in his approach, emphasizing Islam over the developments of the previous seven years.[55]

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[54]Maulana Kauthar Niazi was a prominent religious and political figure in Pakistan. He was associated with JI party and later in PPP. Maulana Kauthar Niazi was known for his strong advocacy of Islamic principles and his active involvement in political and religious affairs. During the 1960s and 1970s, Maulana Kauthar Niazi played a significant role in the political landscape of Pakistan, particularly within the context of religious politics. He was known for his oratory skills and ability to mobilize support among conservative segments of society.

[55] Nasr, *The Vangaurd of the Islamic Revolution*: *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan*, 156.

1.5.4 The Elections 1965

Two and a half years after the promulgation of the 1962 Constitution, General Ayub Khan held the first presidential elections. The sole aim of the COP was to oust General Ayub Khan. Maulana Maududi justified his support for Fatima Jinnah. The Basic Democracies (BD) members[56] were to elect the President, and they were told by the rulers that COP commitment to direct elections would undermine their future if Miss Jinnah was elected.

General Ayub Khan secured 49,951 votes, while Miss Fatima Jinnah received 28,691 votes. These elections were contested along ideological lines, pitting democracy against dictatorship. However, the electoral results failed to have an integrating impact. In West Pakistan, Ayub Khan garnered 73% of the votes, but in East Pakistan, he gained 53% of the votes.[57]

Under the Basic Democracies system introduced by General Ayub Khan, voters delegated their rights to approximately 80,000 representatives called "Basic Democrats" to choose the president and members of the Provincial and National Assemblies. The first presidential elections were held under this system on January 2, 1965. Some eighty thousand Basic Democrats from urban and rural councils were eligible to cast their votes.

The COP comprised five opposition parties: the P.M.L. (Council), led by Khawaja Nazimuddin and Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana; the AL, led by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman; the National Awami Party (NAP), led by Maulana

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[56] The Basic Democracy system (BDS) was a political structure implemented in Pakistan during the 1960s under the regime of President Ayub Khan. The system aimed to decentralize power by establishing local governing bodies known as Basic Democracies. These bodies were intended to serve as grassroots institutions for local governance and administration. Under the Basic Democracies system, members were elected to represent various constituencies at the village, town, and district levels. These members were responsible for addressing local issues, administering public services, and liaising between the government and the local community.

Bhashani; the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP),[58] Group of the NAP, led by Khan Abdul Wali Khan; the Nizam-e-Islam Party, led by Ch. Muhammad Ali and Farid Ahmad; and the JI led by Maulana Maududi.

The Pakistan Muslim League-Convention (PML-C)[59] secured a whopping majority with 120 seats, while the opposition could only secure 15 seats. The COP won 10 seats, whereas the National Democratic Front (NDF) secured 5 seats in East Pakistan and 1 in West Pakistan. The remaining seats belonged to independent candidates. Here the breakdown of the seats:

Pakistan Muslim League (Convention): 120 seats

Combined Opposition Parties (COP): 10 seats

National Democratic Front (NDF): 6 seats

1.6 Yahya Khan Regime 1969-71

During General Yahya Khan's tenure as Chief Martial Law Administrator in March 1969, regionalism became prominent in East Pakistan, while secularism and socialism emerged in West Pakistan, particularly in the later part of Ayub Khan's era. In response to these trends, the JI had to adopt a pro-status quo strategy, supporting the government power structure against the emerging secular, socialist, and regionalist political parties.

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[57] Syed Mujawar Hussain Shah, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan 1972-88* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies, 1996), 70.

[58] In 1901 lord Curzon (British Viceroy in India) separated five settled districts of Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, and Dara Ismail Khan from Province of Punjab, joined them to five agencies of Malakand, Khyber, Kurram, North-Waziristan and the South- Waziristan, and name them all to gather as the NWFP. The gave this name to the province because it was the last British province located within the extreme north-west of British India. Safi Ullah Khan Marwat, "From Pakhtunistan to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Journey of Pakhtun Nationalists from Separation to Integration" *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture, Vol. XXXVIII, No.2, 2017.*

[59]The Pakistan Muslim League-Convention (PML-C) was a faction of the Pakistan Muslim League, which emerged during the political landscape of Pakistan in the mid-1960s. The party split into various factions due to ideological differences and leadership disputes. The PML-C was led by Nurul Amin, who was a prominent political figure in Pakistan. During the 1965 elections in Pakistan, the PML-C participated as one of the opposition parties challenging the ruling regime of President Ayub Khan. The

The JI perceived both Bhutto and Mujib as presenting agendas that posed a threat to the integrity of Pakistan. Faced with the possibility of dismemberment and socialism, the JI aligned itself with the forces aimed at preventing the country's disintegration. The party justified its position by emphasizing the relationship between Islam and Pakistani nationalism. In this context, the JI aligned with the ruling establishment to emphasize the connection between Islam and Pakistani nationalism. During Yahya Khan's regime the JI student organization, Islami Jamaat-e-Talaba (IJT), transformed into an armed force aiming to combat violence with violence.[60]

During negotiations with the Yahya government, the JI aimed to position itself against the Left and Bengali nationalism. Anticipating forthcoming democratic reforms, the party allied with the military regime. Its new strategy involved establishing a platform supportive of Islamic constitutionalism to counter the Pakistan People's Party and the Awami Laegue.

While forming this alliance, the JI deviated from its principled stand, aligning itself with the Yahya regime, which aimed to transfer power through democratic means and allow the people to decide the fate of the country without an immediate plan for a constitution. Maulana Maududi openly criticized Bhutto's brand of Islamic socialism and attempted to persuade the Bengalis to prioritize Islam and Pakistan over ethnic loyalties.

In December 1969, the JI published its election manifesto, emphasizing the establishment of a platform for an Islamic constitution and addressing socio-political issues. The manifesto touched economic problems, promising their resolution through the Islamic State. It criticized feudalism and capitalism, advocating for limitations on land ownership and improvements in working conditions.

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party advocated for democratic reforms and sought to provide an alternative political platform to the incumbent government.

However, the development of Jamaat-e-Islami as a political party was slow, and its popularity suffered due to a lack of effective mechanisms to formulate policies addressing people's problems. While the manifesto made references to socio-economic issues, it emphasized patriotism and Islam as more critical concerns for Pakistanis. The manifesto posed three questions, signaling the JI focus on these core principles:

1. Should the Islamic foundation serve as a basic requirement for Pakistan?

2. Should Pakistan remain united?

3. Is JI the only party that treats Islam as its primary electoral capability while fostering national unity?

Maulana Maududi strategy, which was based on three questions aimed at creating awareness for Islam, the JI, and unity, did not bring the anticipated success in East Pakistan. The JI faced opposition and violence from the Awami League, and clashes occurred between the supporters of Maulana Bhashani and Jamaat-e-Islami workers in Punjab and East Pakistan.

Despite these challenges, JI continued its efforts, organizing rallies, marches, and speeches to celebrate "Glory of Islam" on May 30, 1970, and to contest against the Pakistan People's Party in Pakistani politics, and to reestablish Islam. JI boldly fielded 151 candidates for the 300 general seats of the National Assembly, mostly challenging the Pakistan People's Party.

While JI had been leading religious alliances since 1958, the "Glory of Islam" celebrations convinced other religious groups like Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam and Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan that a religious platform was gaining popularity. The religious scholars, who had been willing to cooperate with JI in politics since 1947, were no

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[60] Ahmad, *The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat of South*, 14.

longer willing to unquestionably submit to Maulana Maududi in religious matters. The political landscape was changing, and the religious alliances were becoming dynamic.[61]

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[61] Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution*: *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan,* 162-164.

CHAPTER- 2

ELECTION STRATEGIES OF JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI DURING 1970 ELECTION

This chapter will discuss the electoral process, including their policy debates and party alignments, and contribution made by this party and what they achieve from that. In addition, it will discuss the JI manifesto and analyzes its important elements.

It investigates dealings of JI with other political parties, the founding and public at large. It inspects why JI could not mobilize large number of crowds to its fold.

2.1 Towards Electoral Politics

Yahya Khan immediately after taking the seat of power imposed Martial Law on March 25, 1969, and adopted the title of president on April 1, 1969. In his period, he got the merit, for announcing general elections in Pakistan on December 7, 1970, and December 17, 1970 for national and provincial assemblies respectively. [1] On April 10, 1969 during his first press conference in Karachi, Yahya Khan ensured that he has not come to stay longer. Moreover, constitution of 1962 has been abolished, ban on parties is a short-term job and soon political activities shall be disbanded.[2] Yahya Khan was a seasoned general and wanted to console political unrest in the country. He was aware that people are fed up with a long period of dictatorship and cannot accept another military dictator. For this reason, on November 28, 1969, he asserted elections to be held on October 5 for national and on October 22 for provincial assemblies.[3] Later, due to floods in East Pakistan, elections were delayed till December.

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[1] Main Tufail Muhammad, *Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad* (Lahore: Idara Maarif Isalmi, 2001), 197.
[2] Herbert Feldman, *The Herbert Feldman Omnibus* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2001), 713.
[3] Ibid. 756.

JI Markazi Majlis-i-Shura (Central Consultative Committee) met from December 17 to December 23, 1969, and decided participation in forthcoming elections in all the provinces to check the advancement of secular powers in Pakistan. Syed Maududi on December 30, 1969, in Mansoura at Lahore publicized manifesto for the coming elections in the press conference. The manifesto was approved by Markazi Majlis-i-shura on December 20, 1969.[4]

2.2 Evaluation of Election Manifesto

This manifesto based on social justice and equality with the boundary line of Islam. Having all the points which are on the real grounds and has no fantasies for public. Pooja Joshi asserts that the manifesto was pet idea of Maulana Maududi.[5] Maulana Maududi was the head of the party, so without any doubt it was pet idea of him.

In its election manifesto issued in January 1970, JI promised to reorder the polity based on the model of the pious Caliphate (632-661). The party claimed to have incorporated recommendations from the *Ulama* presented to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in 1951. This manifesto marked a significant development as it for the first time in the history of Pakistan, presented Islamic provisions related to the constitution, education, agriculture, social welfare, economic reforms, minority rights, and foreign policy. The JI aimed to establish a broad Islamic consensus through its program.[6] Syed Maududi could not offer such a comprehensive program for further plan in a country like Pakistan as the *Shura* of the party. JI was the only Islamic party participating from the whole country in these first general elections. Main reason for

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[4] Tufail, *Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad*, 193-194.
[5] Pooja Joshi, *Jammat-i-islami: The Catalyst of Islamization in Pakistan* (New Delhi: Kalinga Publications, 2003), 29.
[6]Anwar Syed, *Pakistan: Islam, Politics and National Solidarity* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 1984), 140.

offering manifesto was to create a foundation stone for Islamization in form of Islamic constitution.[7]

Maulana Maududi hoped that Ji aforementioned three-point agenda would prompt voters to reconsider their choices. However, the JI faced setbacks in East Pakistan during this period. The Awami League confronted the JI with violence, and clashes occurred between the supporters of Maulana Bhashani and JI workers in Punjab and East Pakistan. In response, the JI organized rallies, marches, and speeches to celebrate "Glory of Islam Day" on May 30, 1970, aiming to confront the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) and reintroduce Islam into Pakistani politics. Despite the challenges, the JI confidently fielded 151 candidates for National Assembly seats, mostly challenging the PPP. The "Glory of Islam" celebrations convinced other religious platforms, such as the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Islam and the Jamiat-Ulama-i-Pakistan, that religious influence was gaining ground. The Ulama, since 1947, were willing to cooperate with the JI in politics and were no longer prepared to submit to Maulana Maududi in religious matters.

The JI reiterated its commitment to the formation of an Islamic constitution and addressing socio-political issues in its 1970 election manifesto. However, the manifesto failed to reflect a clear plan of action to address popular demands, and the JI struggled to adapt to field politics. The party's slow evolution into a political entity lacked the necessary electoral mechanisms and failed to properly interpret and respond to the dynamics of popular politics.

The industrialization during Ayub era had given rise to new class consciousness, and the JI's manifesto addressed grievances by promising solutions through the establishment of an Islamic state. However, the party suggested measures,

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[7] Tufail, *Mushahidat Molana Maududi, Jamaat-i-Islami aur Pakistan*, 295-296.

such as strengthening the minimum wage, ensuring better working conditions, and limiting land ownership to two hundred acres, were seen as insufficient by the voters. The JI economic policy aimed at a just distribution of wealth, preventing the concentration of wealth, ensuring equality of opportunity, and eliminating poverty. However, these measures, coupled with demands for Islamization, democracy, and opposition to nationalist sentiments, were not compelling enough to attract Pakistani voters. The party's popularity suffered due to its slow development and inadequate response to evolving political dynamics.[8]

One hundred seventy-four thousand copies were printed. Among them one hundred thirty thousand from Lahore, twenty thousand from Dhaka and twenty-four thousand printed from Karachi, twenty-two points *Fatwa* recommended by thirty- one *Ulema* in January 1951 was included in it. Further stated that JI is not mere religious or reformist party but vast and ideological party, believing in universalism of Islam. By the time we do not implement Islamic justice in our country, we cannot show the exact picture of Islamic justice to world. They viewed that there is no lack of believers in Pakistan but lack is that the system they believe in is not present here, so Pakistan is bereaved of all the benefits of Islamic system. JI is striving to cover this space and believes change in constitution through democratic means to make Pakistan a state with the fullest Islamic ideals. This system shall remove evil and replace virtuous, implement justice to curb exploitation, provide basic needs of living, and prevent in equal distribution of wealth, easy approach to law and easy change in government if people wish.[9]

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[8] Syed Vali Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan* (California: University of California Press, 1994.), 163.
[9] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, (Lahore: Shoba Nashar o Ishaat Jamaat-i-Islami, 1970), 2-3.

2.3 Policies and Programs According to Manifesto

2.3.1 Rejection of Secular Concept:

- The manifesto strongly opposes any secular concept of the state for Pakistan.

- It emphasizes that importing foreign systems that contradict the core values of Pakistan is detrimental to the country integrity.

2.3.2 Unity of Pakistan:

- The manifesto stresses the importance of maintaining the unity of Pakistan.

- It rejects prejudices based on race, language, region, and class.

2.3.3 Causes of Prejudices and Remedies:

- The manifesto likely discusses the underlying causes of prejudices, such as racial, linguistic, regional, and class biases.

- It may propose remedies or solutions to address and overcome these prejudices.

  These points highlight the JI emphasis on preserving the Islamic identity of the state, maintaining national unity, and addressing societal biases and prejudices.

Legal Framework Order implemented by Yahya Khan of March 30, 1970, as guideline for general elections stated that Pakistan would be a federal republic, known as the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, ensuring its independence, territorial integrity, national solidarity, and that Islamic ideology would be preserved.[10]

In the other words it can be said that government favored JI manifesto. Some other parties, regional political forces, had sensed the biasedness about the injustice to small provinces. About the injustices of Wali Khan (commented on the convenience

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[10]Tahir Kamran, *Democracy and Governance in Pakistan* (Lahore: South Asia partnership, 2008), 71-72

of JI and the govt of Yahya khan) that Punjabis and Bengalis were first Punjabis and Bengalis then Muslims or Hindus. Therefore, in one unit, Punjab was giving no share to NWFP.[11] That is why justice and Islam are stressed both by Syed Maududi and government equally. Federal republic, as mentioned above was to stitch the wounds of small provinces also to reject provincialism. This manifesto rejects the idea of son of soil to ensure equity for Muhajirs. Next point is to accept both Bangla and Urdu as national languages. Further there is explanation that without Islamic system and ideological concept neither democracy nor constitution can be successful. Rule by non-Islamic ideologies or secular bureaucracy cannot run the state. Similarly, this manifesto rejects any means of change without democracy.[12]

In support of Islamic system Syed Maududi said:

> "Without unity Millions of Muslims was nothing, but the golden thread of Islam united them, for they were heterogeneous lot speaking different languages and belonging to different regions with their own distinct modes of living. Had they believed in nationality as a racial linguistic and territorial entry? The question of partitioning, India would have never arisen".[13]

About democracy's necessity Syed Maududi said that "a group of ceiling officers with seculars and socialists mindset are an obstacle towards democracy, as they think if democracy is granted the freedom of expression to people it would one day bring Islamic systems."[14]

Therefore, he stressed democracy and elections, and appealed masses to vote in the general elections for democracy. Tahir Kamran quoting Omer Nouman says Yalya's intentions were not to transfer power to politicians.[15] Statement of Yahya drag proclamation of elections reveals, he wanted to transfer power to civilians. This was a

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[11] Abdul Wali Khan, *Bacha Khan aor Khudai Khidmatgar,* Vol. II (Peshawar: Wali Bagh,1994), 469-470.
[12] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 7-8.
[13] Syed Abdul Ala Maudoodi, *Selected Speeches and Writings of Maulana Maudoodi*, trans. S. Zakir Ijaz (Karachi: International Islamic Publishers, 1982), 288.
[14] Abu Tariq, *Maulana Maudoodi kai Interview,* Vol. II (Lahore: Islamic Publications Private Limited, 1987), 173-174.
[15] Kamran*, Democracy and Governance in Pakistan*, 71-72.

wink to Syed Maududi, therefore he stressed on democracy and elections. Blames on opponents, torture, and illegal pressure during electoral process were disdained by JI in manifesto which later criticized by JUI-H. [16] Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi claimed that code of conduct of 'point nine' was an escape from open criticism. The way Ayub government treated politicians and political parties; this was natural that now at time of elections campaign they had to blame each other. Later, some parties blamed Syed Maududi, that he was scion of government.

2.4 Constitutional Reforms

The manifesto suggested for the restoration of 1956, constitution with the following reforms: Bicameral legislative body for equal representation in upper house and population based in lower house; liquidation of One Unit; province status for (Quetta, Qallat, Lasbela division) and Bahawalpur, defense, currency, foreign affairs, trade, communications and federal finances for center with right to execution, provincial autonomy, right of vote for tribal areas and bringing of them under constitution.

The JI manifesto suggested that second state of reforms will be done by upcoming elected assembly as under.[17]

- Implementation of Quran and Sunnah as source of law.

- Establishment of institutions to change existing laws to Sharia.

- Separate electorates for minorities.

- Reforms in preventive detention law.

- Separation of judiciary from administration.

- Non abolition of basic rights in state of emergency.

- Legislation to refrain army from intervention in civil government.

- Access of defense servants to Civil Courts against military courts.

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[16] *Tarjaman al Islam*, (September 25, 1970), 6.
[17] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 11-13.

- Bounding of head of state to Islamic laws.

- All servants must be bound not to abolish constitution.

- Those who do not believe in the finality of Mohammad (صَلَّى ٱللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ) as prophet must be considered minority.

This part of manifesto pleads for revival of 1956 constitution with above mentioned suggested amendments because it was made by civilian representatives. JUI-H criticized and said that JI in craze of democracy put Islam and Islamic reforms on secondary demand. They have given no room to Quran and Sunnah. They blamed Syed Maududi "Dictator-i-Mutlaq (ultimate ruler) and criticized his views about finality of Prophethood and Ahmadi issue.[18] Syed Maududi along with other political parties had witnessed political party act 1962, imposed by a military dictator. He wished to check such actions against political process in future. Mian Tufail said that re-imposition of 1956 constitution, is indispensable for restoration of democracy and constitutional process. This constitution was 90% reflection of Pakistan ideology and Islamic principles, having basic rights, and rights to adult franchise.[19]

The 1956 constitution became a source of frustration for Sikandar Mirza, primarily due to the inclusion of the phrases ''*Islami Jamhoria*'' (Islamic Republic) and the Objectives Resolution. These elements seemed to irk him deeply. Syed Maududi himself asserted that even if all parties desired to alter the 1956 constitution[20] they lacked the authority to do so, only a representative government had the power to change or amend the constitution. The 1956 constitution had undergone numerous deliberations, addressing various aspects to maintain national unity. The

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[18] *Tarjuman al Islam,* (September 25, 1970): 6-7.
[19] *Asia, September* 7, 1969.
[20] Tariq, *Maulana Maududi kai Interview,* Vol. II, 424

flaw did not lie in the constitution itself, but rather in the inability of politicians to navigate the power struggle wisely.

Despite the subsequent replacement of the 1956 constitution with the 1962 constitution, the party refused to acknowledge it as a legitimate constitution. This reluctance stemmed from the fact that the 1962 constitution was not crafted by elected members of parliament, a point of contention for the party.[21]

2.5 Jamaat-i-Islami in East Pakistan

Sheikh Mujeeb ur-Rehman created an emotional situation in East Pakistan through six points[22] and tried to justify them. To console Bengalis, JI gave them special attention in the manifesto. Intention of the party was to eradicate financial backwardness of East Pakistan and to bring her on equal footing with West Pakistan. The revenue generated from East Pakistan must be utilized on East wing too. A board will be constituted to tackle financial issues of both wings. Members of the board will be equal in number. Causes of flow of capital from East wing shall be checked, capital generation and investment must be encouraged there. Due share, proportional to population in services shall be granted. It will be responsibility of government to make East Pakistan at home for defense requirements. Military academy, arms factory, cadet schools and colleges, offices of deputy Air and Army Chiefs shall be established there. Naval headquarters shall be established in East Pakistan. Water management, to utilize water in positive sense, shall be practiced in East Pakistan.[23]

The issues highlighted in the manifesto regarding the Eastern wing aimed to reassure the people and affirm to the Bengalis that the JI would be attentive to their concerns. The party firmly believed that Islam served as the cohesive factor between

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[21] Tufail, *Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad*, 148-149.

[22] Six points were offered by Sheikh Mujubur Rehman who was leader and founder of Awami Lague. Before this he was close to Hussain Shaheed Suharwardi and was considered one of Suharwardy's disciples.

[23] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 13-15.

the two wings of Pakistan. However, it overlooked the fact that Islam couldn't be employed as a pretext to suppress the emergence of sub-nationalism in various regions of the country.[24] Every province, regardless of its size, aspired for a civilian setup and solutions to address poverty. Bengalis, as mentioned earlier, identified primarily as Bengalis before considering themselves Hindus, Muslims, or Pakistanis.

2.6 Jamaat-i-Islami and Legal Reforms

In the reforms intention of JI according to manifesto was, to implement injunctions of Quran and Sunnah, repulsion of executive powers which curtail personal liberty, ban on laws that restrict freedom of expression, gradual reduction and abolishment of court fee to encourage access to justice, steps for quick dispensation of justice, making of laws for prevention of immoral acts, amendment in family laws and reconstruction of defense laws in the light of the modern democratic nations.[25] These steps were to attract people to JI, because personal liberty and freedom of expression were subjects of discussions, during and after Ayub dictatorial era. Ayub reign had overlapped judiciary with administration and relied on bureaucrats.[26] Populace was against this, they longed for a system in which both the departments may act independently.

2.7 Moral and Religious Reforms

Manifesto stated to take steps for prayers compulsion, respect of Ramadan, Friday as holiday, establishment of board for religious endowments, masjid affairs, to provide available facilities for Hajj, religious education to purify Islamic faith, use of government tools to stop immoral activities in society and to abolish family planning

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[24]Joshi, *Jamaat-i-Islami: The Catalyst of Islamization in Pakistan*, 69.
[25] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 6-7.
[26]Aqil Shah*, The Army, and Democracy: Military politics in Pakistan* (London: Harvard University Press, 2014), 95.

(Birth control and number of wives).[27] The issue of masjid affairs displeased Imams; they were not ready to wear any chains of law from any type of government. Discussing birth control issues and family laws, Pooja Joshi asserts that here Syed Maududi and JI were going against family ordinance 1962. In practice JI has gone against Islamic principles several times like in 1965 Presidential elections, they favored Fatima Jinnah, who was a lady.[28] However, family ordinance did not exist that time, but the statement intact in manifesto. Likewise, LFO had replaced 1962 constitution.

Syed Maududi is of the opinion that to face increase in population, we should expand and upgrade productions. Check on birth is inhumane, wrong and destructive, in result of this nobody can stop tendency to adultery, selfishness, common power and weak defense.[29] Without this party, no other party has discussed religious reforms explicitly. As far as Prayers and Ramadan is concerned the whole literature of JI is saturated with it.[30]

2.8 Educational Reforms

Religion has basic position in positive change according to JI. Objectives in the field of education as per manifesto were to create Allah fearing and Allah loving individuals. They meant the purpose of education was to change the norms of society positively. Except Muslims the others living in Pakistan will be allowed to follow their own faith. Boosting of literacy rate, research was to be given special attention. Co-education was to be replaced with separate universities. Teacher welfare, training and their compliance with ideology was accentuated. Both Bangla and Urdu were

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[27] Ibid. 17-18.
[28] Joshi, *Jamaat-i-Islami: The Catalyst of Islamization in Pakistan*, 31-32.
[29] Syed Abul Ala Maududi, *Rasail o Masaail, Vol. III* (Lahore: Islamic Publications Pvt Limited, 1986), 292-293.
[30] Ibid.

given status of national languages and Arabic as compulsory in educational discourse.[31]

As far as these expected education reforms were concerned, they depicted a good picture for ideal education system. But Arabic was objectionable to many people (progressive). Syed Maududi himself said that purpose of JI is positive change, and this change cannot come without "change in thought."[32] Education was the only way to change and purify the mind and social setup of individuals. Other competitors left these subjects in manifestos like abandoned shrines.

2.9 Administrative Reforms

A long list was giving the context of administrative reforms but major and most appealing to public were prevention of bribery, embezzlement, and malpractices of government servants. Accountability methods and training for all servants were stressed in the manifesto, separation of prosecution and investigation were discussed in the plan. Steps were explained to stop, talent flow from country.[33] These were reforms appealing to educated class only.

2.10 Economic Reforms

The party asked about abolition of feudalism, ceiling on land holdings as 100- 200 acres (100 bigas in East Pakistan). State land to be sold to the landless peasants on easy installments, revenue exemption for land holdings below subsistence levels against nationalization (absolutely per Islamic principles). Control of capitalists over bank, insurance companies and others financial sources to be ended. There shall be ceiling on family shares in limited companies.[34] Laborers, low-income classes, and

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[31] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections* 1970, 18-19.
[32] Tufail, *Mushahidat Molana Maududi, Jamaat-i-Islami aur Pakistan*, 325.
[33] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 24.
[34] Iftikhar Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970* (Lahore: South Asian institute Punjab University, 1976), 56.

tax rules were highlighted in the part. Private ownership is not forbidden in Islam. The law of inheritance if implemented in original could replace full economic system related to land.[35] Syed Maududi in a press conference said, "our aim is to establish economic justice, not economic equity". Yusuf Aziz Madani wrote that Jagirs are outcome of loyalty to the British, so, the landlords are not real owners of land, and this needs re-allotment. JUI-H asserted that Syed Maududi fed up with socialism and wanted to give protection to landlords.[36] On the other hand, party of Hazarvi group, wrote in manifesto we shall abolish landlordism.[37]

2.11 Jamaat-i-Islami's Stand for Minorities

Non-Muslim minorities were given in manifesto those rights which were allowed in Islam for non-Muslims.[38] Syed Maududi explained that we have not used "*Dhimmi* which has become calumny nowadays, Islam gives rights on ground unlike other religions on paper" example is Muslims of India and Blacks of United States of America.[39] Muslims are not living freely in secular India: on the other hand, Afro Americans were considered second class citizens till Kennedy period.[40]

2.12 Foreign Policy

A long list is given in manifesto regarding foreign policy, but its extract is independent friendship with all neighbors and close ties with Muslim world.[41] Syed Maududi in press conference said that we will have our own independent foreign policy and never accept the cultural system of friends, we have our own ideals.[42] It seems Syed Maududi was aware of the foreign powers that they were playing for their

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[35] *Asia* January 4, 1970, 21-22.
[36] *Tarjaman al Islam*, April 24, 1970, 5.
[37] Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 7.
[38] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 34-36.
[39] *Asia* January 4, 1970.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.
[42] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 37-38.

own benefits. At one side he was against communism, on the other he was aware of America policy. America seamed not in favor of democracy but favored her interests. She had accepted first Martial Law in the country.[43] JI preferred independent foreign policy with goodwill for the whole world.[44]

2.13 Parliamentary Policy

Parliamentary policy explained that JI in parliament shall follow "*Amar bil maaroof wa nahi anil munkar".* In power the party will make a welfare state with attention even to minute problems in part of subject and no use of public interest and government machinery for party interests. If party went to opposition, it would make alliances to persuade allies on the manifesto of JI.[45]

This manifesto aimed to thwart the advancement of leftist ideologies. Following Pakistan's independence, people perceived slogans like "Muslim brethren", "social justice", "Islam in danger", "equality", and "fair play" as rhetoric aimed at appeasing the circles of landlords and capitalist classes who held power at the time.[46] The JI sought to stigmatize the socialist slogan, making it taboo in the country. In practical terms, one could only truly be a Muslim if they lived, as the mere adherence to religion meant little in the context of the prevailing system. The advent of Islam in 1947 did not yield favorable outcomes for the masses but rather benefited politicians the most. The system, if scrutinized impartially, favored politicians, civil and military bureaucrats, while neglecting the public. Many reactionary parties, including the JI, included promises and principles in their programs that they did not genuinely believe

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[43] Aqil, *The Army and Democracy: Military politics in Pakistan*, 91.
[44] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 37-38.
[45] *Manifesto of Jamaat-i-Islami for Elections 1970*, 37-38.
[46] Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 59-60.

in such system.[47] The JI, however, upheld idealism and openly declared their intentions, rather than deceiving the people.

2.14 Methodologies to Attract People

JI conducted an extensive election campaign, utilizing rallies, public speeches, and door-to-door canvassing to reach out to voters. Party leaders and representatives actively engaged with communities, addressing their concerns, and highlighting JI agenda for reform and change.

Given its status as an Islamic political party, JI appealed to voters' religious sentiments and identity. It positioned itself as the guardian of Islamic values and the protector of Muslims rights, emphasizing the importance of Islam in public life and governance. JI focused on mobilizing youth support through its student wings and youth organizations. It encouraged young people to participate in the electoral process, highlighting the role of youth in building an Islamic society and advocating for their interests and concerns. JI engaged with communities at the grassroots level, organizing events, meetings, and social initiatives to directly connect the voters. It addressed local issues and grievances, offering Islamic solutions and promising to represent the interests of the people if elected.

Examining available literature and visiting both the central and provincial offices of the JI revealed an interesting aspect of Syed Maududi election campaign strategy. It is found that during the election campaign, Syed Maududi did not visit the NWFP. This observation was further corroborated by examining the JI election manifesto from 1951, which notably lacked mentioning the NWFP. The front page of the manifesto explicitly stated "Barai Intikhabat Punjab" (For the Elections in Punjab), indicating a focused approach on Punjab during the campaigning.

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[47]Ibid. 60.

Internally, in manifesto, the word *Panchayat* (Council of local chiefs) is used repeatedly for the elections of 1951. These elections were held both in Punjab 1951, and also in NWFP in the same year. As the 1970 elections are concerned, Mian Tufail who was *Nazim-i-Ala* of West Pakistan visited the whole West Pakistan from Peshawar to Karachi.[48] From January 1, 1970, electoral process was unbanned, and in first press interview Syed Maududi requested people to vote in elections after hearing all parties for their own good.[49]

JI plunged into elections in a time when gap between poor and wealthy had increased, and people were inclined towards People's Party due to their socialist ideas. In West Pakistan JI started counter socialism instead to adopt it. It was looking like the JI was seconding Yahya orders.[50] Closeness with government took it away from people.

2.15 Jamaat-i-Islami's Slogans during Elections 1970

Political slogans are too significant in elections. Therefore, some attractive slogans were adopted in the 1970 elections like; *Inqilab, Islami Inqilab* (Revolution, Islamic Revolution), Pakistan ka *Matlab kia, La Ilaha Illallah* (What is the meaning of Pakistan? There is no God but Allah), Maulana Syed Abu Alaa Maududi Zindabad (Long Live Maulana Syed Abu Ala Maududi), Da'i-e-Tehrek-i-Islami Zindabad (Long Live Preacher of Islamic Movement) and Islam Zindabad (Long Live Islam). Before this JI had not adopted any flag, and now for the first time hoisted the blush green flag with "*Kalma-tullah*" written in center. The following words were flashing

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[48] Tufail, *Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad*, 197.
[49] Tufail, Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad, 197.
[50] Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan,* 50-56.

on banners. "French vine, English Rum, Russian Vodka and Desi Tharra, all are vines, but desi tharra is very dangerous because careless people have made this".[51]

The above slogans and banners were adopted on January 11, 1970, at Lahore in first electoral address of Syed Maududi during first electoral meeting. Hussain Haqqani asserts that another slogan "*Mulk Khuda Ka, Qanoon Khuda Ka*" (God's Country, God's Law) was also adopted by JI. As these cries, slogans and flag are concerned, they were in great coincidence with Yahya Khan wish. Yahya considered military rule as defender of Pakistan ideology, Islamic frontiers and wanted to push down leftists by Islamic ideology,[52] Socialist trend was spreading reacts in Pakistani politics; therefore, the slogans were a step towards safety of national integrity. Another aspect of Yahya support of Islamic political parties was to create a "hung parliament" to remain in power over divided politicians.[53] Majority of the people were inclined towards socialist parties.

During the campaign for the 1970 general election, the slogans of socialism and Islamic socialism gained more traction compared to the rhetoric of "Islam in danger". While the latter slogan had been prominent during the freedom movement, it did not resonate strongly with the masses in 1970. Additionally, slogans such as "*Pakistan ka matlab kia*" (What is the meaning of Pakistan) that had been used previously were familiar to people by 1970 but did not have the same impact as before. The appeal of socialism and Islamic socialism slogans overshadowed these older slogans, indicating a shift in the political landscape and priorities of the electorate during that time.

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[51] *Asia,* (January 7, 1970): 8.
[52] Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan; Between Masjid and Military* (Washington DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2005), 50.
[53] Aqil, *The Army and Democracy: Military politics in Pakistan*, 108.

2.16 National Awami Party and Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam (Hazarvi) Propaganda

JI garnered support from university graduates, educated middle classes, traders, and urban dwellers in Pakistan. The party presented a pragmatic Islamic concept but steered clear of traditional practices. Its primary focus was not on the common people of society; instead, it aimed to recruit from colleges, universities, and the literate middle class. The poorer segments of society, who constituted a significant vote bank, typically voted based on personal benefits rather than ideological considerations.[54] Consequently, any deviation from the party's ideals or Islamic ideology held little significance for them. Throughout Pakistan's electoral processes, their inclinations were largely influenced by perceptions rather than steadfast allegiance to a particular ideology.

In contrast Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Islam-Hazarvi (JUI-H) had an appealing program tailored for the poor. Their manifesto featured a comprehensive economic program designed to attract support from this demographic. They advocated for the abolition of feudalism and capitalism, proposing measures such as the elimination of landlordism and the nationalization of industries. Additionally, they suggested that industrial management should allocate 50% of shares in factory management, including administration and bonuses, to workers.[55]

The Weekly Tarjuman-al-Islam published the editorial of the Weekly *Kainat* on February 6, 1970. The manifesto of JUI-H on this ground ensured masses if it comes it power, it takes the following steps: every citizen of Pakistan will be provided with respectable opportunities of business, jobless will be provided with *Guzara* allowance, in present wages shall not be less than Rs. 300 per month, peasants will be

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[54]Haroon K. Ullah, *Vying for Allah Vote* (Washington DC: Georgetown University press, 2013), 84.
[55] Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 57.

provided land without cost, unnecessary price hike would be stopped, there shall be no burdensome taxation.[56]

If one compares the manifestos and economic reforms of JUI-H, it is evident that the party's proposals, particularly the six points mentioned, are more attractive to voters. These points address common interests, such as providing land on easy installments or even free of cost, which naturally draws voters' attention. The Hazarvi group, primarily led by rural mullahs[57] educated in madrassas, played a significant role in promoting these points among the masses. Their outreach extended to mosques and rural communities, fostering close ties with the rural population.

Unlike JI, JUI-H had a more flexible administrative approach, which allowed it to establish strong connections with lower and lower-middle-class segments, largely through the network of madrassas and mosques established after Pakistan's independence. Since the retreat in the NWFP elections of 1946, they had focused on providing education to the poor classes through madrassas, which were widespread in villages and mosques.[58] In such circumstances, the slogans of JI held less sway, as the Hazarvi group had closer ties with the rural and impoverished Muslim communities.

NAP was on the other hand a well rooted organization from the period of Khudai Khidmatgar movement. This included several well-known leaders in NWFP like Wali Khan and Ajmal Khattak.[59] Most of the party ticket holders were popular people. Wali Khan had announced participation in the coming elections of 1970, to make people help in creating a new social order, free from all type of exploitation and to secure participation of the people in the national affairs.[60] Wali Khan tried to gain

[56] *Tarjaman al Islam*, February 6, 1970, 6.
[57] Haroon, *Vying for Allah Vote*, 89.
[58] Haroon, *Vying for Allah Vote*, 90.
[59] Khadija Gul, *the Polities of North-West Frontier Province, 1969-1977: A Historical Analysis* (PhD Thesis), Department of History Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2011), 33.
[60] *Dawn*, Karachi, January 12, 1970.

support both from landlords and bourgeoisie. He blamed Qayum and Punjabi establishment for backwardness of the province.[61]

Political and electoral slogan of NAP during 1970 elections ushered in some Pashtu term like "*Pakhtun*" means Pathan or Pashto speaking ethnic group, "Khwa" means affection towards land. So, the slogan meant Pakhtun fraternity, or respect for Pathan land. In manifesto, NAP promised voters for socialist economy, a new social order free of all exploitation, and equal distribution of wealth. This party supported fall regional autonomy. In foreign policy the manifesto promised people of alleged pro-Moscow relations.[62] Its slogan was "*khpala khawra khpal ikhtyar"*, this meant, self-rule on own Land. The slogan was attractive at that time because people of the province had suffered too much in One Unit and the slogan is still a common phrase.

The JI, primarily composed of educated individuals, disseminated its messages to the public through journals, newspapers, and pamphlets. It responded to propaganda, particularly in the weekly Asia, the party official organ, countering narratives from the NAP and the Hazarvi group. Articles, speeches, and interviews from both sides were characterized by logical arguments and evidence. During broadcasts, all political parties presented their manifestos. The PPP's slogan, "Islam is our faith, Democracy is our Policy, Socialism is our economy, all power to the people," left little room for other parties to assert their agendas.[63]

The electoral campaign witnessed a series of attacks and counterattacks. Mufti Mohammad Yusaf criticized Mufti Mahmoud's press conference, labeling the concept of Islamic socialism as "*bidaat*" (innovation). This criticism implied that Mufti

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[61] Gul, *the Polities of North West Frontier Province, 1969-1977: A Historical Analysis*, 33.
[62] Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 36.
[63] Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections: 1970*, 54.

Mehmood's use of the term Islamic socialism went against the *Sunnah*, or the teachings of Islam.[64]

Syed Mir Badshah Bukhari penned down articles against NAP in Asia, but they were often criticized for being nothing more than compilations from his personal library. The phrases he employed in these articles fueled discontent among the populace, leading to a sense of animosity towards JI.[65] Despite Mufti Mehmood's rhetoric portraying his party as fighting against anti-Islamic forces, Mufti Shuja uddin Kakakhel, a JI member from Nowshera, argued that JI was also working for Islam. Therefore, according to Kakakhel, the Hazarvi group was unjust in seeking assistance from socialists and communists.[66]

Other parties in the field of contestation of elections 1970 like Pakistan Muslim League (C), targeted "Islamic socialism". Abdul Qayum Khan of Muslim League was a man of greater experience and well-known person in the field of politics and services, especially in education, health and industry. Slogan of his party was "*Taleem ko vote do, Baba-e-University ko vote do*" (vote for education in favor of founder of university).[67] Shaukat-i-Islam day was celebrated on May 31, 1970, in reply to April 9 *Payya Jam Hartal* of socialist parties.[68] Shukat-i-Islam day deluded leadership of JI. It seemed people had come out for Islam. However, as the election was delayed owing to floods, voters turned towards socialist slogans and old guards.

2.17 Political Alliances of Jamaat-i-Islami

Intelligence operation was launched in the country under command of Major General Ghulam Umar (commander National Security council) to stop any political party from

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[64] *Asia,* March 15, 1970, 13.
[65] Syed Badshah Bukhari, A political figure and then candidate from Swabi was assigned duty to face NAP propaganda.
[66] *Asia,* February 15, 1970, 15.
[67] *Mashriq*, January 5, 1970.
[68] Tufail, *Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad*, 119.

overwhelming majority.[69] The military government pressurized political parties by several means to produce results of a particular type.[70] Chaudhary Rehmat Elahi said that as JI is targeted by Maulana Ihtisham ul Haq, so, blames and alliances cannot go together.[71] Either JI wanted or not, but political alliances were a hard game. Abdul Wali Khan said, when elections were announced, "We approached our old friends", and sent Ajmal Khan to Mufti Mehmood for seat adjustments, next day he came disappointed and said they have decided that would make no alliance.[72]

Some external powers were actively involved in attempting to disrupt alliances among Islamic political parties. For instance, the visit of American Ambassador Joseph Ferland to Mansehra, which Hazarvi viewed as a representation of Syed Maududi, further widened the gulf between the two parties.[73] Each party was entrenched in its own belief of securing victory, and there was a sense of satisfaction among all parties regarding their support from voters. JI staunchly opposed socialism, leading to the failure of its alliance with PPP.[74]

JI, Markazi Jamiat-i-Ulema Islam, Jamiat-i-Ulema Pakistan, and Markazi Jamiat Ahli Hadith formed the Islamic United Front on June 24, 1970. Later, the alliance expanded to include eight parties. Its primary objective was to counter the advancement of capitalism, socialism, and secularism, while advocating for the restoration of the 1956 constitution with four specific amendments. However, despite its formation, this alliance did not endure until the elections.[75] Mian Tufail

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[69] Altaf Gohar. "How Intelligence Agencies Run Our Politics?" *Nation,* Lahore*, August* 17,1997

[70] Aqil*, The Army and Democracy: Military politics in Pakistan*, 108.

[71] Tufail, *Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad*, 200.

[72] Wali, *Bacha Khan Aur Khudai Khidmatgari*, 526.

[73] Interview with Qazi Fazlullah, the then election campaigner and close associate of Mufti Mehmood. January 30, 2020. Matloob Hayat, Role of Jamaat-i-Islami during 1970 Elections in North-West Frontier Province. M.Phil. Thesis., Department of History Allama Iqbal Open University, 2020.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Tufail, *Jamaat-i-Islami Ki Dastoori Jodojahad*, 199-201.

Muhammad believes that the party consistently engaged in alliances to uphold the continuity of democracy in Pakistan.

The rise of socialism and communism posed significant challenges before the Martial Law government. In response to these threats, Yahya Khan established the National Security Council, overseen by Major General Ghulam Omar. The primary responsibility of this council was intelligence operations aimed at two objectives: providing support to Islamist parties and countering socialism.[76] It can be argued that financial assistance from the government prevented Islamist parties, including JI, from aligning their interests during the 1970 elections.[77]

JI launched propaganda campaigns against socialism and targeted Wali Khan faction, but it failed to garner support from the Pakhtuns, the majority ethnic group in the NWFP. The rejection of JI offers by Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (Hazarvi) indicated a lack of consensus within the Islamist camp. NAP maintained a consistent stance that Punjabi leaders were prioritizing their own interests at the expense of the nation and the regional interests of Bengalis, Pakhtuns, Sindhis, and Baloch.[78]

It's evident that during these elections, the One Unit system in West Pakistan fueled resentment among the smaller provinces against Punjab. The people of NWFP were led to believe that Syed Maududi was aligned with Punjab, highlighting the shift from religious fervor to regional nationalism. Despite being a party with representation across the country, JI failed to capture the interests of the people towards its objectives. The slogans of communism and socialism were novel and appealing to the populace, while issues like Islamization, a strong central government, and provincial autonomy remained pertinent but old. The socioeconomic disparities

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[76]Wali, *Bacha Khan Aur Khudai Khidmatgari*, 497-480.

[77] It has appeared throughout the literature that in 1970's elections, the establishment had dispersed funds in favor of some political parties. These included the religious ones too. However, JI could not get this financial support as well as the goodwill of the establishment.

[78] *The Pakistan Times*, February 20, 1970.

exacerbated during Ayub regime also contributed to this dynamic.[79] Confidence in their respective programs kept political parties, including JI, from aligning with each other.

2.18 Jamaat-i-Islami's Innovations

The secular parties were willing to work within the boundaries of Islam. Their slogans were consoling the hearts of people. As JI was Islamic Party, it did not like the slogans of socialism, moreover except Islamization there was nothing special with them to offer the voters. Voters were considering their ideas, state generated and support for status quo. The party advocated national unity and waving of democratic principles to voters.[80]

It is evident that during the 1970 elections, JI lacked novelty in its offerings compared to socialist parties and the old guard of the Muslim League, who could showcase their role in the creation of Pakistan to the voters. While JI aimed to persuade people towards an Islamic constitution, this message wasn't new for the people of NWFP. Historical references like the Khyber Union and the proposal of the name "Pakistan" by Mohammad Aslam Khan Khattak and Chaudhary Rehmat Ali were familiar to them.[81]

The residents of the province were familiar with slogans like "*Hamara maqsad hamari Manzil*," "*Islami Dastoor*," "*Inqilab Inqilab*," "*Islami Inqilab*," "*Rehbar-O-Rehnuma*," and "*Mustafa Mujtaba*".[82] These slogans were not new to them, as they had heard similar cries during Jinnah's visit to NWFP. However, over

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[79] During the era of One Unit, the NAP continuously mobilized the masses on the political front. They advocated that NWFP, a Pashtun land, was grabbed by Punjab, and was eating up its resources. Furthermore, they also termed it against the basic principles of democracy.

[80] Kalim Bahadur, *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan: Political Thought and Political Action* (New Delhi: Chetana Publications, 1977), 123.

[81] Fakhr-ul-Islam, *Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: A Political History 1901-1955* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2014), 76-77.

[82] *Asia*, December 6, 1970.

the last 23 years, they had not seen these slogans materialize into concrete actions or outcomes. The issue of One-Unit was also prevalent, and the common people, along with their leadership, had rejected it. Despite propaganda suggesting favors from Bacha Khan's family to Muslims in NWFP, JUI-H had strong roots in the rural areas of the province. Leaders of the Hazarvi group were perceived as spiritual leaders, and many of their speeches were delivered by *Ulema* during Friday prayers in mosques. Hazarvi said:

"Thought of these imperialistic loyal people is out of my mind. They came out like worms in monsoon. Murmur socialism and then cry socialism to please their lord America."[83]

These words and many other statements of Hazarvi were a blow to slogans of JI. Hazarvi also said to oppose socialism on the name of Islam, we cannot deviate attention of people from Israel.[84] Syed Maududi was strong supporter of Arabs, but on ground during campaign Hazarvi captured the field.

On the other hand, Maududi was not in the position to give hand to anybody. On June 29, 1969, at Zaildar Park in Lahore, Maududi said; "instead of going in alliance with any party we will company that party which will work for Islam, democracy and integration of Pakistan."[85] This statement meant that JI reflected Yahya's stance that no constitution against Islamic ideology will be accepted. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was also saying: "Islam is our faith; democracy is our policy and socialism is our economy."

Options of PPP, NAP and JUI-H were more attractive to the people in county. Syed Maududi, opponent of socialism could not ignore to the full. During campaign of socialism, he founded Pakistan *Mazdoor Tanzeem* under presidentship of Safdar

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[83] *Tarjaman al Islam*, May 6, 1969.
[84] *Imroz*, June 5,1969.
[85] *Ain*, July 8,1969.

Hussain Siddiqui, whose general secretary was advocating Sadiq Dar. Purpose and slogans were "*Roti, Kapra, Makan*"[86] for laborers. These steps were taken to counter propaganda of PPP, JUI-H and NAP. Especially JUI-H and NAP were in dagger hands with JI, and they also affected popularity of the party.

The report of the general elections in 1970 highlighted several significant factors about the conditions in Pakistan at that time. The population of Pakistan was approximately one hundred twenty million, and its communication means were limited. However, radio and television were granted freedom to broadcast the views of all parties participating in the elections. The literacy rate was low, standing at 15.9%, with 87% of the population residing in rural areas.

During the prolonged period of martial law, the gap between the rich and poor widened, largely due to industrial reforms. Wealth was concentrated in the hands of twenty-two families, and industrialists enjoyed by all means. This disparity led to growing discontent among the middle and lower-middle classes, who began to favor socialism over the need for Islam.[87]

Abdul Wali Khan discussed several development projects in the NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) region during the Ayub Khan era. These projects included an electrical complex donated by Russia for Jamrod, a timber complex for Sheringul, and a China clay plant for Swat. However, these projects faced delays and remained unresolved during Ayub Khan's rule.[88] This lack of progress led to frustration and suspicion among the people of NWFP, who perceived it as a conspiracy against their interests.

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[86] S.G.M. *Badruddin, Election Handbook 1970* (Karachi:Publishing and Marketing Associates Ltd,1970), 31.
[87] *Ain*, July 8, 1969.
[88] Wali, *Bacha Khan Aur Khudai Khidmatgari*, 427-431.

There was already a sense of discontent due to perceived Punjabi and Muhajir domination during the One Unit period. The major rival of JI in Pakistan was Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam Hazarvi (JUI-H). Both parties emphasized the role of the *Ulema* (religious scholars) and Islam in their platforms. However, JUI-H had closer ties to the people of the province compared to JI.

Another factor that influenced the political landscape was Freemasonry. After the 1965 war, Pakistan blamed America for various issues, which naturally led to hostility towards Freemasonry in NWFP as well.[89] The Legal Framework Order (LFO) emphasized the protection of Islamic ideology, and Ayub Khan's government assured America of Pakistan's commitment to Islamic values as a shield against socialism. However, despite these assurances, Ayub Khan's government established ties with Russia and China after the war, which created further complexities in the political dynamics.[90]

JI was targeted and Dr. Mohammad Iqbal Khalil said that at the same time CIA and Free Masonry was active against JI silently, shoulder by shoulder with KGB. Dr. Yunus a candidate of JI led a procession to crush down Zionist free masonry lodge in Peshawar Saddar and constructed Darwish Masjid on site in 1970. He further said that Asghar Khan personal secretary was also free mason.[91]

The North-West of Pakistan and bordering Afghanistan, holds strategic significance due to its proximity to Afghanistan and its shared border with the USSR across Wakhan. This region found itself caught in the midst of the Cold War dynamics, with powerful regional powers like the US and China vying for influence.

[89] Muhammad Hussain, *constitutional and political history* (Lahore: n.d,), 184.
[90] Hussain, *Constitutional and Political History,* 427-437.
[91] Interview With Dr. Iqbal Khalil, Matloob Hayat. "Role of Jamaat-i-Islami during 1970 Elections in North-West Frontier Province." MS Thesis., Department of History Allama Iqbal Open University, 2020.

Additionally, the USSR was also keenly interested in controlling the politics of NWFP, leading it to support parties like the National Awami Party (NAP).

In a complex geopolitical landscape, individuals like Ghafoor Hoti[92] were reportedly involved with both the CIA and the KGB, receiving funding from both agencies. Furthermore, during the electoral process, efforts were made to sway influential figures like Bacha Khan towards certain geopolitical agendas. For instance, Bacha Khan was honored with the Gandhi Award by Indira Gandhi, with the symbolic gesture of applying a "Tilak" on his forehead, in a bid to win his support for both India and Russia's interests simultaneously. Moscow was in silence in elections during 1970, Friendship houses were in action filled with comrades, and Russia via comrades financially helped Pashto poets and writers.[93]

The primary tool with JI was print media and electronic media in which radio was common source while television was more proper mode to communicate the population of Pakistan, Maududi initiated *Taleem- Saligan* (adult education) and other non-permanent medium were *Dar-ul-Mutalia* (study center), Majlis-i-Islam (sitting to discuss Islam) and *Alfalah*, active services for convincing of people towards JI as dispensaries, home physicians and Greek medicines initiated.

Newspapers, journals, and periodicals with the side of peaceful processions were the courses of JI to counter all the propagandas of the opponents. The Asia played vital role in anti-socialism propaganda and was countered by rivals in the field.

JI, mindful of Pakistan's unity, refrained from adopting slogans like PPP's *"Dour hat sarmayadara, Pakistan hamara hay"* (Go away capitalists, Pakistan is ours) during their candidacy and campaign. Their approach was moderate, and apart

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[92] Ghafoor Hoti was a politican of NAP from district Mardan. He later became the governor of NWFP in 1985.
[93] Interview with Qazi Fazlullah.

from Dr. Yunus's[94] procession, there were no incidents of violence or property damage in the province. JI primary hope was for the establishment of an Islamic society in Pakistan, and they emphasized Islamization as the solution to all societal issues. Rejecting false propaganda and unrealistic promises, JI advocated for Islam as the sole source of guidance and progress, as outlined in their manifesto.

2.19 Propaganda of Pakistan People's Party

Bhutto as a new entry in politics of the province was popular among students and educated class. He also showed the people socialism within Islam. But his method was strange like corner meetings and door to door canvassing.[95] He was also countered through newspapers and peaceful processions. His May day was answered by JI as Shaukat-i-Islam day. Other opponent was Muslim League Qayum, not faced elaborately because target of JI was socialism, and all the league groups were also against the same phenomena.

JI based on common survival engaged with political parties from 1949[96], has hawkish eyes were fixed on Islamization, for this purpose active rule on ground was compulsory. JI believed in Islamization via parliament not through force. First marriage was against Punjab Public Safety Act which left in 1949 as Civil Liberty Union.[97] Second handshake was with religious political parties to bend government on Islamization of 1956 constitution. National Democratic Front[98] in reaction of un-Islamic 1962 constitution gathered Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardi and Maududi on the same centrifuge. Government arrested nine leaders of the union with Chaudhary

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[94] A fiery speaker and leader of JI.
[95] Interview with Qazi Fazlullah.
[96] Interview with Professor Bakhtyar, December 27, 2019, Matloob Hayat. "Role of Jamaat-i-Islami during 1970 Elections in North-West Frontier Province." MS Thesis., Department of History Allama Iqbal Open University, 2020.
[97] Tufail, *Mushahidat Molana Maududi, Jamaat-i-Islami aur Pakistan*, pp.339-341.
[98] A group formed by the leftist political parties and rightist political parties in Ayub era for the restoration of 1956 constitution.

Ghulam Mohammad and Mian Tufail Mohammad and enfettered JI in 1964. Thirdly embraced opposition parties in February 1966 to filigree combined opposition parties consoled on April 27, 1967, Pakistan democratic movement, grouped by Council Muslim League, JI, Nizam-i-Islam party, Awami League (Nasrullah). Grown in tide Pakistan Democratic movement, shouldered remaining parties except Bahshani and Bhutto, designed Democratic Action committee. Ayub lauded the pressure of Democratic Action Committee and divorced power.[99]

The 1970's elections were power show among all political parties. No proper alliance was there, and JI was following the policy of pragmatism[100] and believing in their stance avoided common table with all Islamic and secular parties on the end of elections for March towards free policy making if masses had bought their manifesto.[101]

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[99] Interview with Professor Bakhtyar.
[100] Ahmad, *Pakistan General Elections 1970*, 69.
[101] Tufail, *Mushahidat Molana Maududi, Jamaat-i-Islami aur Pakistan*, 339-341.

CHAPTER- 3

IMPACT OF RELIGIOUS IDEAS BY JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI DURING 1970 ELECTIONS

The Jamaat-i-Islami (JI) has been striving for the Islamic polity in Pakistan since the creation of Pakistan in 1947. The prevailing unrest in the Muslim world which is due to the pre-Islamic Jahiliya culture and not due to the pure Islamic teachings that instigates the tribal minded Muslims to adopt violent means in their suicidal way of struggle. This mindset is also a hurdle for the establishment of Political Islamic Model to understand the background and efforts to establish the Islamic Political Model 'through reformation of state and society will be a helpful approach to be discussed in this chapter. The focus of this study is Impacts of JI Religious Ideas during 1970 Election. The Islamic political thought of Maulana Maududi and the JI agenda hence will become understandable in the light of this study. The distinguishing of the JI ideology will settle the ideological status of JI with respect to the extremism practiced by the Muslim militant organizations.

The JI initially, emerged as a reformative movement within Muslim society, aiming to introduce morally upright and well-organized trends into Pakistani politics. Through its organized literary and religious gatherings, the JI has effectively cultivated an Islamic societal ethos, particularly among the modernly educated population. What was once perceived as a holy community comprised mainly of elders has transformed into a dynamic Islamic community of educated individuals, largely due to the Jamaat's social activities targeting students.

Maulana Maududi Islamist political ideology significantly influenced the foundational principles of Pakistan, advocating for the country to align itself with the JI preferred ideological framework. This influence extended beyond politics,

permeating into key institutions such as the military establishment and other branches of government. Unlike other religious-based ideologies, Maududi vision was systematically propagated, although it faced resistance from traditionalists who were wary of innovation. However, following Maududi era, the JI ideological trajectory stagnated, and it struggled to offer further intellectual contributions to address emerging challenges. Instead, the leadership of the JI became more focused on consolidating support from the religious vote bank, primarily through its social and literary activities targeting youth.

This transformation has played a significant role in shaping a balanced youth demographic characterized by strong moral values, as evidenced by their avoidance of decadent social practices such as vulgar parties, substance abuse, and gambling. The emphasis on character building within this youth cohort becomes particularly noteworthy when these morally trained individuals become actively involved in politics.

The political Islamist ideology championed by Maulana Maududi has had far-reaching effects on world politics, influencing a spectrum of movements ranging from radical Islamist groups to the emergence of more secularized post-Islamist perspectives such as those advocated by Javed Ahmad Ghamidi. [1] Despite these divergent trends, the Jamaat remains committed to adhering to the original Maududi ideology and avoid engaging in conflicts with emerging offshoots.

The JI stance demonstrates a lack of flexibility and an unwavering adherence to Maududi teachings. The impact of this ideology has given rise to two main extreme trends: one represented by Talibanization, which seeks to establish a Khilafat and

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[1] Javed Ahmad Ghamidi is a Pakistani philosopher, educationist, and an Islam scholar. He is also the founding President of Al-Mawrid Institute of Islamic Sciences and its sister organisation Danish Sara. He became a member of the Council of Islamic Ideology on 28 January 2006, where he remained for a couple of years.

rejects Western-style elections, and the other embodied by modernized figures like Ghamidi. Ghamidi's approach is characterized by a departure from Maududi ideology, as he is less inclined to view Islamization of the state as a religious duty and instead promotes a more nuanced understanding of Islamic principles within a contemporary context.

Maulana Maududi independently adopted an innovated path by leaving the traditionalist one when he derived the political meaning of Quranic terms and presented his famous Islamic Revivalist Ideology. This search made him one of the pioneer revivalists of the Islamic revivalist theory. Initially, the more learned religious people joined him but later the commoners with religious trend joined the struggle. This behavioral change remained intact due to strong structural hierarchy of the party i.e. JI.

3.1 Maulana Maududi Ideology of an Islamic State

Maulana Maududi is a well-known theorist of modern Islamism. Modern nation states are based on national sovereignty whereas the Islamists aim at reestablishing the Islamic state which carries out Islamic Law and Allah sovereignty. They prefer religious identity over national identity and advocate Allah sovereignty over secular national sovereignty. They oppose the separation of politics and religion. They also oppose tyranny and despotism and advocate Islamic democracy based on Islamic principle of consultation.[2]

The basic goal of Islamic state as conceived by Maulana Maududi is to govern the state in accordance with Islamic political principles and to transform modern nation states into true Islamic states. He proposed that *Al-Hakimiya* (sovereignty) belongs solely to Allah and on this base, he built the Islamic state theory which

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[2] LIU Zhongmin. "Commentary on Islamic State, Thoughts of Islamism" *Journal of Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies* 7, No. 3 (2013): 22-41.

consists of the principle of the sovereignty of Allah, the principle of the Prophet authority, the principle of a state in which sovereignty would be exercised in the name of Allah and the principle of political consultation system. This has provided theoretical base for the Islamic fundamentalism to fight against secular nationalism and provides legitimate arguments for the political opposition to overthrow the secular based Islamic nation states. The basic framework of Maududi Islamic state theory is:

3.1.1 The Sovereignty of Allah

In Maududi view, Hakimiya means the highest authority‖ and an absolute power, and it belongs only to Almighty Allah. The sovereignty of all things is in in His hands, that is, Hakimiya belongs solely to Almighty Allah. When this principle is applied to the Islamic state theory, it becomes the principle of sovereignty of Allah. It believes that Allah as the sole creator, nurturer and master of the universe, is the state 's real sovereign; any individual, group, class, political party has no right to formulate and enact laws but can only comply with the sacred Islamic law; the state can only exercise its power within the boundary permitted by divine law. Therefore, the essence of sovereignty of Allah is to use the supreme sovereignty of Allah to restrain the limited‖ secular power.

On the basis of the authority of the Prophet (PBUH), Maududi also proposed to people Hakimiya People, Hakimiya embodies the will of Allah on earth, which means that Allah's rule through His agents in the world. But Allah agents have no legislative power, only executive power. The legislative power belongs to the supreme ruler Allah.

3.1.2 Authority of the Last Prophet MUHAMMAD (صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ)

This is the political principle derived from the principle of believing in Allah and his Messenger. It is believed that the Prophet Muhammad as the messenger and agent of Allah on earth has the right to exert his political and legal sovereignty. In the practice of Islamic countries, as the record of words and deeds of the Prophet, the Hadith is one of the main sources of legislation, whose status is only second to the Holy Quran.

3.1.3 Jamaat-i-Islami Ideological Debate

An ideology is a set of philosophies, in which goals, symbols, norms, values, and practices unified into generalized formulations about a good society. These generalized formulations, make desirable social, economic, and political relationships.

Socialism originated as a political and economic theory that supported the division of shared property and control over the means of production and distribution of products. The policy of the blessedness of private property ownership that characterized capitalism is contrasted with the communal nature of socialism. Socialism emphasizes social service and cooperation whereas capitalism emphasizes profit and competitiveness.[3]

Maulana Maududi proclaimed to fight against socialism at any cost.[4] On the other hand, Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, the leader of JUI (H) was also worried about opposition to socialism at the time. He said that anything could not be given objective importance until it had not been adopted. Hazarvi said that the objection of JI was un-reasonable. All-important leaders of PPP including Hanif Ramay, Shaikh Rashid, J. A. Rahim etc. firmly accepted; Islam as a religion and if there would have been any part of socialism as un-Islamic, they would not accept that.[5]

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[3] Hans-Hermann Hoppe. *A Theory of Socialism and Capitalism* (Auburn: Ludwig von Mises Institute, 2010), 17-18.
[4] *The Pakistan Times*, Rawalpindi, October 10, 1969.
[5] *Weekly Nusrat*, (February 9, 1969):12.

According to Maulana Maududi the Islamic system followed the middle path between capitalism and communism. Maududi has been an opponent of socialism.[6] The claim of to solve the economic difficulties of Pakistan through socialist rules was censured by Maulana Maududi:

> "Islam is totally in contradiction to capitalism; no other system confronts Islam as capitalism. Islam has explained the methods to eradicate capitalism. If socialism solves the issues of capitalism, then it wipes out many capitalists and creates a big bourgeois. There is concentration of wealth in it hands and common people become so much helpless just like in capitalism. The nations which have tasted socialism are trying to get rid of it and those who have not tasted it are yearning for it. Our nation has its own excellent economic system, only there is need to implement it. Islam has provided such a system which protects the individual's liberty but not leave him at the tyranny of capitalists and feudal"[7].

The key for the economic difficulties through socialist program was not acknowledged by JI. JI avowed as an undecorated enemy that in socialism was buildup of money because socialist instructions given extra controls to state and when industrialist, businessmen and the rulers are the same then the dictatorship and supremacy is limitless.[8] Maulana Maududi made decision between Islamic system of justice and socialist justice:

> "The socialists are trying to prove that Islam has socialist concept of justice. It is not true, actually, only Islam has true spirit of social justice. The real justice is in Islam, established by Allah the Almighty is that no one else has authority to propose the standard of justice. Socialism empowers a person or a group of persons to frame a collective philosophy by utilizing unlimited authority of government and implement this philosophy forcibly on people, there is no other party, organization or a platform in opposition. No liberty for press to express the ideas and no court for justice. This is the real essence of socialism. It has produced tyranny instead of social justice"[9].

Amanullah Khan declared because of the unadorned disparagement of JI for any kind of socialist uprising that like removing feudalism and capitalism from the

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[6] Abu Ala Mawdudi, Islami Nazm-i-Muashiyat Kay Usul Aur Maqasid, *Tarjumanu-i-Quran*, vol. 65, no. 1, 31.
[7] Naveed Islam Sidiqued, *Ayeena-i-Siyasiat* (Urdu) (Lahore: Darul Fikar, 1970), 28.
[8] Interview of Syed Abu'al Ala Mawdudi to Akhbar-i-Jahan, reproduced in *Weekly Asia*, March 28, 1969.
[9] Ibid.

country was essential, likewise it was necessary to abolish JI. For that determination he also recommended to fight an armed fight.[10]

To fortify his struggle against socialism, the JI begins organizing student organizations. Leader of socialist student body arrived on February 22. Conflicts with socialist students were initiated. The national assembly of Pakistan and the Pakistan People Party accuse the socialist students of burning Tafheem-ul-Quran's furnishings on behalf of JI. JI tried to demonstrate that socialist elements are capable of burning the Quran.[11] In 1969, PPP disagreed with Yahya Khan's educational strategy, and JI submitted their own evidence to refute PPP.[12]

The fall of the government of Ayub Khan in 1969 was the time for preparation of election and makes the democracy strong. While, on the other hand, conflicting of PPP and JI was on the peak. JI was blamed on Bhutto that he was the responsible for the attack of Rahim Yar Khan on November 28, 1969. The leaders of PPP were accomplished it under the supervision of Major General R. Akbar Khan.[13]

During this blame, Bhutto warned the Maududi that if Maulana wanted to see the Pakistan as second Indonesia, then there is possibility to change it in Vietnam as well. Bhutto uses the word Pandit Maududi for him.[14]

The JI organized rallies, marches, speeches, and political meetings across West Pakistan to bring Islam back into center stage of Pakistani politics. JI distinguished the day as Shaukt-i-Islam that the Pakistan is the graveyard of socialism.[15] The JUI (H) and JUP thereafter criticized the celebration. The date fixed for the day was severely criticized by the JUP leaders. Mualana Abdul Hamid

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[10] Amanullah Khan's statement in *Nawa-i-Waqt,* Lahore, November 22, 1970.
[11] *Weekly Zindgi*, February 22-March 1, 1969, Lahore.
[12] *Weekly Zindgi*, August 15-22, 1969, Lahore.
[13] For promoting leftist politics and for Rawalpindi Conspiracy Case Akbar Khan was arrested.
[14] *Jang, Rawalpindi*, December 2, 1969.
[15] Humeira Iqtidar. *Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan, Learning from the Left beyond Crisis: A Critical Second Look at Pakistan* (New Delhi, Routledge, 2010), 252.

Badayuni[16] Maulana Noorani[17] and Mualana Saadat Ali Qadri[18] stressed that the Glory of Islam should be celebrated on the birthday of the holy Prophet (صَلَّى ٱللّٰهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ) instead of May 31. In a meeting of Sunni Ulama of Karachi on May 18, it was decided to celebrate Shukat-i-Islam day on 12th Rabi-al-Awwal.[19] The grounds of disassociation were that the JI had given the call without prior consultation and without their consent.[20]

PPP declared to demolish the JI on the other hand: JI defended them at every stage and blamed them that their public gathering has been failed at many times.[21] They protested that their offices and manifesto are criticized for many times in front of public.[22] Because of the serious situation of the country it was obvious by the government to capture some leaders of PPP those who were involved in such actions in the public gatherings.[23] Because of unfastened journalism and defamatory

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[16] Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni. RA (1900-1970) was a great Islamic Scholar, Sufi teacher, poet and statesman. He was a pioneer of Pakistan movement, member of Islamic Ideology Council, President Jamait ul Ulama e Pakistan and founder of Islamic College, Jamia Talimat e Islamiya, Karachi.http://wwwnfiecomblogspotcom.blogspot.com/2013/04/maulana-muhammad-abdul-hamid qadri.html.

[17] Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani Siddiqui Rahmatullah 'alaih is regarded as a scholar, exemplary leader, statesman, teacher and one of the chief corner stones of Muslim unity in the second half of the twentieth century. Wherever he traveled, he won the admiration of both scholars and ordinary people because of his commitment to the Sidiquian virtue of remaining truthful to the original teachings of Islam and in being able to differentiate between haq (truth) and batil (falsehood) despite the circumstances he found himself whether be it personal or in the matter of state or national interest. Siddiqi was founder of the World Islamic Mission, leader of the Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan (JUP) and later president of the Muttahida Majlis-e-Anal. https://juppakistan.wordpress.com/leadership/imam-noorani/

[18] He was one of the founders of Jamaat Ahle Sunnat. As Secretary Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan Sindh; he contested 1970's election and lost to Professor Ghafoor of Jamaat-e-Islami. After the election he went to Surinam, at that time a Dutch Colony, as an Islamic preacher when Surinam became independent in 1975. Maulana Saadat Ali migrated to Holland where he founded Al-Qadri Islamic Centre. (Accessed https://fp.brecorder.com/2009/07/20090726940696).

[19] *Jang*, Karachi, May 19, 1970.

[20] *Mashriq*, Lahore, May 24, 1970.

[21] More information consult, Jasarat, Karachi, September 6,11,22,23, 1970, *Mashriq*, Lahore, September 1,9,22 and 28, 1970.

[22] *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, November 22, 1970.

[23] For more details: *Mashriq*, Lahore, June 16, 1970, *Nada-i-Millat*, August 13, 1970, and September 29, 1970.

statements Maulana Kosar Niazi[24] the editor of Weekly Shahab was behind the bars on September 28, 1970[25] and Ali Ahmad Talpur and Tariq Aziz were also arrested on the charge of disrespectful Martial Laws rules.[26] Bhutto himself had the terror to be arrested and he complained in contradiction of the arrest of his party bests. Bhutto cautioned the government that Punjab, Sindh, Sarhad and Balochistan would be blazed if he was arrested.[27]

JI wanted to turn the campaign towards Islamic socialism, and they proved it that the real concept of the teachings of Islam was related to socialism. It was proved that socialism was not in the contradiction of Islam. According to them, the last holy Prophet Muhammad (صَلَّى ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ) spread the teaching of socialism in whole life.

3.1.4 Political Consultation System

The political consultation system is an extension of the principle of sovereignty exercised in the name of Allah. It embodies the Islamic Shura (consultation) principle, which dictates that Allah authority should not be monopolized or passed down by individuals, groups, classes, tribes, or generations, but rather belongs to all Muslims. In this system, all qualified Muslims can be granted power of attorney through the process of consultation.

Maududi referred to this consultation system of the Islamic tradition as "Islamic democracy". He believed that the appointment and removal of heads of state, as well as decisions about national policies, can be made through a wide direct negotiation system or an indirect negotiation system where representatives are elected

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[24] Niazi. in Bhutto's premiership cabinet, was a most powerful federal minister in Pakistan during 1974 till 1977. Niazi was one of the close aids and trusted confidents of Bhutto who remained loyal to Bhutto until his death.

[25] *Dawn*, Karachi, September 29, 1970.

[26] *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Rawalpindi, October 1, 1970.

[27] *Dawn*, Karachi, October 2, 1970.

by the voters. This system ensures broader participation and representation in governance, aligning with Islamic principles of justice and inclusivity.

According to Maududi, an Islamic state should be founded on the principles of respecting the sovereignty of Allah while also valuing the opinions of the public. The ruler, whether referred to as Caliph or Imam, is seen as the dual representation of both Allah and the Muslim community. While holding the highest authority as the Supreme Head of the state, the ruler is not above the laws of Almighty Allah. This means that although the ruler possesses significant authority, it is not absolute, and they are not to govern as authoritarians or dictators. Maududi termed this envisioned political system as "Theo-democracy", which combines elements of both theocracy (rule by religious authority) and democracy (rule by the people). In this system, the ruler is accountable to both divine law and the will of the people.

John Esposito, an American scholar, highlighted Maududi distinction between the concept of a nation-state and an Islamic state. In a nation-state, citizenship is often based on factors like nationality, race, and family lineage. However, in an Islamic state as envisioned by Maududi, citizenship is determined primarily by ideology, specifically adherence to Islamic principles and values rather than ethnic or cultural affiliations. This underscores the idea that the Islamic state transcends traditional notions of nationality and ethnicity, emphasizing ideological unity among its citizens. Maududi theoretical innovation is evident in his proposition that "al-Hakimiya belongs solely to Allah" and his concept of "modern jahiliya" (state of ignorance), which he used as a theoretical basis for an Islamic state. According to Hamid Enayat in modern Islamic political thought, the essence of Maududi's Islamic state ideology lies in the belief that sovereignty and ownership belong exclusively to Allah, and that Allah's law constitutes the principles governing human behavior and government rule.

Maududi theory of the Islamic state is primarily based on the concept of "modern *jahiliya*" which refers to the state of ignorance or obscurantism. He argues that Islam has declined due to both internal and external factors. Internally, Islamic societies have deviated from true Islamic principles since the Umayyad Dynasty, resulting in the emergence of apostate states and societies. Externally, Western modernity, characterized by secularism and the separation of religion from various aspects of life, has eroded Islamic values.

To revive Islam, Maududi contends that a true Islamic state governed by *Shariah* law must be established, free from both internal and external influences of *jahiliya*. This restoration requires the eradication of Western and non-Islamic influences and the rebuilding of Islamic society through practical actions guided by Islamic values. Maududi vehemently criticizes nationalism and the nation-state theory, arguing that they contradict Islamic principles and serve as sources of corruption and evil. He emphasizes that Islam and nationalism are incompatible, and that the creation of an Islamic state should be devoid of nationalist sentiments.

3.2 Declaration of *Fatwa* against Socialism

Fatwa is a religious declaration of *Ulama* on a particular issue to guide the Muslims when asked for or to eliminate confusion on a matter confronting by the Muslims society. The issue of socialism had been a matter of confusion for the Muslims in Pakistan.[28]

The conservative and traditionalist political elements denounced Bhutto radical program and his suggested reforms during the 1970 election campaign. The *Ulema* of West and East Pakistan, who belonged to Sunni and Shia factions respectively, spoke out strongly against Bhutto PPP, characterizing his extreme

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[28] For comprehensive study on fatwa see the Encyclopedia of Islam.

position as incompatible with Islamic doctrine. They convened meetings, talked about his plans and programs, and issued a *fatwa* refuting Bhutto's socialist worldview. They labeled this philosophy as anti-Pakistan and *Kufr*. The political-religious parties JUI (H), JI, and JUP raise the banner as *Socialism Kufr Hai*.[29]

During its early stages, Bhutto championed Islamic principles, garnering support from the public. Farmers, the unemployed, and those from impoverished backgrounds rallied behind him, disillusioned with capitalism and seeking a new path. Despite this, the print media launched a smear campaign, highlighting negative aspects. The PPP leadership countered with compelling arguments in favor of socialism, which marginalized Islamic religious factions. On February 26, 1970, a *fatwa* published in the print media denounced socialism, signed by 113 *Ulama*, posing a significant threat to the party.

*Fatwa***:**

> "At present for Islam and Pakistan no other challenge is as vital as socialism is, and to wage jihad is responsibility upon every Muslim as much as he has capability and capacity but it is awful that socialist elements has united them even though having differences….At present this is dire need that all Islamic groups and parties must form a united front to coup with the challenge…[of] socialism with all its ills like hatred among different classes of the society, looting, plundering and opposing the private ownership as well as forced nationalization policy…The parties who are against both the capitalism and socialism are committed to real Islamic system…The second types of political parties are those who categorically deny the existence of Allah Almighty or deny the practicability of Quran and finality of Hadith…To co-operate, fund and vote them is against Pakistan and illegitimate as well as sinful".[30]

The innovative fatwa was given by Mualana Zafar Ali Usmani, leader of Kul Pakistan Markazi JUI (H). It was also signed by some JUP *Ulama* which were Maulana Abu Barakat Qadiri, Mualana Shah Ahmad Noorani, Mualana Muhammad Bakhsh Muslim and Mualana Abdual Ghafoor Hazrvi. In the same technique a combined announcement signed up by about 3,000 *Ulama* was published which established that capitalism, communism, socialism, nationalism and grounded on

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[29] Dalip Mukheerjee. *Zulfkar Ali Bhutto: Quest for Power* (New Delhi: n.d, 1972), 179-80.

[30] 113 (Ulema ka Socialism kay Khilaf Fatwa), Pamphlet (Urdu) (Mandi Bahauddin: Islamic Action Committee, n.d).

unbelief were *kufr*. For that reason, none of these systems could be applied in Pakistan. The *Amir* of JI or its members did not sign it.[31] But they were fully agreed with the *fatwa*. The *fatwa* itself did not contain name of any party or person against whom it was issued and was not limited to socialism. It was equally against capitalism and regionalism.[32]

Maulana Maududi asserted that the PPP's slogan advocating socialism in Pakistan lacked substance. Maulana Ehtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi[33] contended that socialism was synonymous with deception, refusing to endorse its promotion in Pakistan. He argued that Pakistan's foundation on Islam provided a sufficient framework to address any issues, as Islam had been guiding the nation for over 1400 years.[34] Sunni scholars aligned with the viewpoint of the JI. Maulana Hafiz-ur-Rehman suggested that Islamic principles were now more relevant and appropriate for the current era. The JUI (H) did not outright reject the concept of socialism but instead linked it with Islamic principles.[35]

The concept of Muصَلَّى ٱللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَat-e-Muhammadi, which advocates for economic justice, social equality, and compassion for the poor, was presented by the leaders of PPP as inherently Islamic and in harmony with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. However, the approach to integrating socialism within an Islamic framework was not explicitly outlined in the speeches of Bhutto and his associates. Consequently, the philosophy and the term "Islamic socialism" remained ambiguous

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[31] *Ain*, (November 12, 1970), 36.
[32] *Jang*, Karachi, May 24, 1970.
[33] Maulana Ehtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi was a prominent religious scholar and leader in Pakistan known for his conservative views and strong advocacy for Islamic principles. He was vocal in his opposition to socialism and believed firmly in the importance of Islam as the guiding force for Pakistan.
[34] Meenakshi Gopinath. *Pakistan in Transition: Political Development and Rise to Power of Pakistan People's Party* (New Delhi: Manohar book service, 1975), 85.
[35] Ahmad Hussain Kamal. *Mawwdudi Sahib Aur un ki jamaat sey meri khat-o-kitabat* (Multan: Muhammad Hanfi Siharanpuri, n. d.), 2-3.

and confusing, frequently criticized for using Islam for political agendas and personal interests. According to Maulana Maududi:

> "They found out that their socialism cannot dance naked after realizing this they started calling socialism 'Islamic…If it is really based on the Qur'an and the Sunnah then what is the need for calling it socialism? Now when they can see that this does not work, they have started it calling Islamic equality [Muصَلَّى ٱللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَat] and 'Muhammad i Muصَلَّى ٱللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَat'. The object is the same pure socialism[36]".

Our faith lies in Islam, socialism forms the basis of our economy, and democracy governs our polity. However, the slogan 'All Power to the People' adopted by the party contained inherent contradictions. By proclaiming "All Power to the People", the sovereignty of Allah was indirectly denied, which contradicted the integral principles of our constitution.

In attempting to interpret "Muصَلَّى ٱللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَat-i-Muhammadi", the leadership of the PPP cited various references from the Quran and Sunnah. These references were aligned with the principles of social equality, and the arguments developed by the party emphasized economic equality. Therefore, the accusations of baselessly associating Muصَلَّى ٱللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَat with actual socialism were unfounded.

General Muhammad Yahya Khan declared that the nation would be set back on the promise of democracy and political reforms as wanted by the people during the agitation against Ayub Khan and he also said that country needed a new constitution. The military law proclaimed general elections in the country and guaranteed the transmission of power to the demonstrative of the people elected on the basis adult franchise. The new elected representative would be answerable for giving the country workable constitution and find solutions of political economic and social problems.[37]

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[36] John L. Esposito. *Islam and Development: Religion and Socio-Political Change* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1980), 150.

[37] Syed Mujawer Hussain. *Religion and Politics in Pakistan 1972-88* (Islamabad: National Institute of Pakistan Studies Quaid- i- Azam University Islamabad, 1996), 88.

3.3 The role of the Jamaat-i-Islami in introducing Sharia laws in Pakistan.

Several social movements that spanned two centuries and sought to integrate Muslim social life into a larger religious and social community predated Pakistan independence movement. The earlier social manifestations of this revivalist search were the educational movements of Deoband, Nadwatul Ulama, and Aligarh College.[38]

1950 was the year that the renowned twenty-two points of *ulema* were introduced. Maulana Maududi emerged as a formidable, centrist figure to resolve the matter about the function of Islami politics by putting out the well-known twenty-two points as agreed suggestions to be included in Pakistan future constitution. Maulana Maududi reached a consensus on twenty-two principles for the future constitution of the country with thirty-three other notable senior Ulama and intellectuals from different sects and schools of thought.[39]

Maulana Maududi Islamist theory of *Hakumat-e-Ilahia* faced little intellectual opposition, leading to its acceptance as a guiding principle advocating the precedence of Quranic and Sunnah principles in Pakistani legislation. Pakistani Muslims, predominantly categorized into Deobandi, Brelvi, Ahl-e-hadith, and Shia sects, witness mainstream and religious political parties vying for support from specific religious communities. Islamic ideologies consistently influence Pakistani politics, with various political entities advocating their preferred Islamic approaches, including traditionalism, Sufism/Brelvi, and Islamism. Despite these diverse approaches, adherence to the Islamist perspective of "Sovereignty of Allah" and the supremacy of Quran and Sunnah as the ultimate state law remains prevalent. The Islamist approach,

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[38] Asif Luqman Qazi. "How to Islamize an Islamic Republic: Jamaat-i-Islami in its own Words" (Accessed https://www.brookings.edu/research)
[39] Ibid.

inherently non-sectarian, seeks to unite all Muslim communities under one banner. Entities like Jamaat-i-Islami do not rely on pre-established sectarian affiliations but must instead persuade the public through the presentation of their ideological agendas to garner followers. Post-partition reform movements from pre-partition India, such as JI and JUP, transitioned into political parties in Pakistan, aiming to establish an Islamic governance model.

The moderation theory posits that political parties with radicalized agendas tend to moderate their thoughts and behaviors upon entering electoral politics to secure votes. Capitalism, as an economic system, and democracy, as a political system, demonstrate adaptability when operating in diverse societies, with states typically adopting structures of government that align with their preferences. JI and other religious political factions did not oppose the parliamentary form of government advocated by the founding leader, Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, as the envisioned future government structure. The JI has consistently endeavored to infuse Islamic principles into all aspects of society, aiming to foster an Islamic society. Distinguished from other political entities in Pakistan, the JI adheres to the Islamist ideology of its founder, Maulana Maududi, who conceptualized Islam as a comprehensive system encompassing politics. The JI has demonstrated moderation by participating in the existing political system while adopting a more traditionalist appearance to appeal to the religious vote bank.

3.4 Maulana Maududi's Political Thought

His political theory of Islam, presented in 1939, is a foundational treatise on his political thought. He perceived Islam as a structured system grounded in firm principles. At the core of his ideology was the concept of the Sovereignty of Allah, emphasizing the incapacity of humans to legislate or alter divine laws. Consequently,

he viewed secularism as the absence of religion (*la diniyat*). While he acknowledged democracy, he subordinated it to divine governance, positing that an Islamic state diverges from a secular democracy, where sovereignty does not lie with the people. Instead, he coined the term "Theo-democracy" for democracy within an Islamic framework, asserting that traditional democracy does not truly reflect the people will.

In his view, Western democratic systems favor the influential elite, whereas in Islam, representatives are bound by divine constraints when legislating. Economic matters in Islam are regulated by divine injunctions such as *zakat*, *riba*, and principles of private property. Similarly, divine laws govern aspects of women's rights, marriage, and family matters, making Islam a comprehensive ideology. He argued against state intervention in reforming such laws, contrasting secularism's disregard for divine limits with Islam's adherence to them. Dr. Ahmad Shafaat, concurring with Maududi, contends that secularism either denies or confines God, Prophethood, and revelation to personal or inner realms, thus conflicting with the essence of Islam.[40]

"To revolutionize the intellectual and mental outlook of humanity and to instill an Islamic attitude towards life and morality to such an extent that their way of thinking, ideal in life, and standards of values and behavior become Islamic".[41]

"To regiment all such people who have accepted Islamic ideals and molded their lives on the Islamic pattern with a view to struggling for power and seizing it by the use of all available means and equipment".[42]

"To establish Islamic rule and organize various aspects of social life on Islamic bases, to adopt such means as will widen the sphere of Islamic influence in

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[40] Muhammad Sarwar, *Maulana Maududi aur un ki Tehreek-i-Islami* (Lahore: Sind Sagar Academy, 2004), 122.

[41] Hussain Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military* (Lahore: Vanguard Books, 2005), 22.

[42] Ibid.

the world, and to arrange for the moral and intellectual training, by contact and example, of all those people who enter the fold of Islam from time to time"[43].

The philosophy of the JI was based solely on religion, and in partitioned of India, where Muslims made up a small minority an Islamic state was all but inconceivable. The JI could not stay out of politics because it had political goals. Since the JI did not participate in pre-partition Indian politics, it is commonly held responsible for being against the idea of Pakistan. The Jamaat produced a new constitution in 1952 with the intention of establishing Allah's supremacy. The party was committed to using propaganda, persuasion, and constitutional methods to gain political dominance in order to realize its religio-political goals.[44]

Abu Ala Maududi Islamic revivalist agenda was influenced by Iqbal critique of Muslims and Western imperialism.[45] According to Maududi, "Deen" is the government, "*Sharia'h*" is the law, and "worship" is devotion to the law.[46] Maulana Maududi frequently emphasized that he founded Jamaat-i-Islami in response to the pre-partition struggles faced by Muslims in India. He offered reforms inside the Muslim community as a means of resolving those issues. He asserts that Muslims must establish the norms that the Quran and Sunnah dictate.[47]

The creation of the "Islamic State" or "Hukumat-e-Ilahia" is stated as the Jamaat's primary objective in its constitution. To advance Islamic beliefs and customs, the Jamaat was founded as an Islamic revivalist movement. It changed into a political party to take over the government and impose Islamic law. The Jamaat-i-Islami vowed not to use any illegal or unconstitutional tactics to obtain power. According to

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[43] Haqqani, *Pakistan: Between Mosque and Military*, 23.
[44] K. K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan 1947-1958* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2007), 143.
[45] Ayesha Jalal, *Partisans of Allah* (Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2008), 239.
[46] Ibid. 253.
[47] http://www.punjabjamaat.org.pk/home/Introduction.

the platform, Jamaat will first engage in Islamic values and education before taking part in elections.[48]

Initially, the Jamaat-i-Islami served as a reformist platform without a focus on engaging in electoral politics. Its membership requirements were stringent, with only a few hundred activists involved at the time of partition. The Jamaat aimed to challenge the notion that Muslims in pre-1947 India was inherently part of the Hindu community. Rather than viewing the efforts of Muslim organizations, including the Muslim League, as solely aimed at acquiring political power, the Jamaat emphasized a broader spiritual purpose, referred to as "Hakumat-e-Ilahia".[49] Maulana Maududi advocated for a reformatory approach to applying *Shariah* in contemporary times, arguing that Muslims had lost global influence due to their failure to adapt *Shariah* to evolve circumstances.[50]

In Islam, all Muslim citizens are entrusted with a form of popular vice-regency, which entails a duty to contribute to the creation of a fair and equitable system. The government in an Islamic state is established with the consent of the Muslim populace, and its legitimacy is contingent upon their ongoing support.[51]

In Pakistan, Maulana Maududi aimed to establish the supremacy of Allah's sovereignty over Western democracy, which is founded on a different understanding of sovereignty. He also vehemently disagreed with the nationalist catchphrase in a Muslim community.[52] Maulana Maududi was certain that the Islamic faith had given complete instructions for the creation of an Islamic state. He deduced the political

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[48] Maleeha Lodhi, *Pakistan Beyond the Crisis State* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), 144.
[49] Irfan Ahmad, *The State in Islamist Thought* (Leiden: ISIM Review, 2006), 13.
[50] Rai Shakeel Akhtar, *Media, Religion and Politics in Pakistan* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), 46.
[51] Aziz, *Party Politics, 253.*
[52] Ibid. 141.

connotations of a few Quranic phrases. This served as the foundation for Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan's agenda.

Maulana Maududi was not persuaded that the All-India Muslim League's leadership could, as promised, create an Islamic form of government. Additionally, he disagreed with Maulana Madani's Indian Nationalist philosophy, which aimed to bring India's Muslim population together with its Hindu majority. His creation of the Jamaat-i-Islami was intended to provide Muslims on the subcontinent with an Islamic identity so they could work toward an Islamic State. Maulana Maududi listed the following four things as the foundation of an Islamic constitution: the Quran, the *Sunnah*, the customs of Khilafat-i-Rashida, and the decisions of eminent jurists. The Islamic political system is constrained by the codes of the divine.[53]

Maulana Maududi presented some solutions to the political and social problems based on Quranic injunctions and Prophet Traditions. He also addressed the Western ideas and subjected them to a critical analysis with a view to pinpoint their inherent weaknesses.[54] He introduced a novel state theology based on the Quran and *Sunnah*. He paid special attention to the subject of why, under Islam, the state was so important. The modern state's function is steadily growing and has a bigger influence on people's lives. In light of the Quran, Maulana Maududi elucidated the state and its function. The Maulana contends that knowledge of four key terms from the Quran—Ilah (Allah), Rabb (Lord), Ibadat (worship), and Deen (religion)—is necessary in order to comprehend the meaning of the Quran. Maulana Maududi believed that Allah had to be the political domain's ruler and legislator as well. He views politics as *shirk*, which is the disobedience of Allah's rules (associating beings or things with Allah).

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[53]Aziz, *Party Politics*, 149.
[54]Ibid. 130.

He also compares the word "Rabb" to "sovereignty". Following Allah's commands is a requirement of religion. For a first precondition for an Islamic state is to "worship Allah and shun Taghoot" which forbids engagement in any non-Islamic activity to him obeying the highest political authority is an essential part of honoring Allah. Maulana Maududi interpreted *Deen* in a political manner. For him, the term "Deen" refers to the modern state.[55]

Islam governs all facets of life in Pakistan and offers guidance, but its effects vary depending on the community, including urban versus rural, educated versus uneducated, ethnic versus nationalist, religious, and on the average Pakistani Muslim and their degree of practicing Islam. Additionally, the sphere of influence of the Jamaat varies for each of the groupings. In order to assist communities, the Jamaat has established links between social welfare and the fields of health and education; yet its ideology and agenda still need to be defined into concrete activities.

The JI demonstrated its dedication to the Islamization goal in its interactions with succeeding regimes, although using diverse tactics that may have alienated some of the Jamaat's political allies. One hazard to publicly criticize the Jamaat and its policies is the presence of certain media elements, nationalists, and moderates. Maududi refers to all worldviews and systems that reject the legitimacy of divine direction and God's sovereignty as "Jahilliya'h." Based on this ideology, he صَلَّى ٱللهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ history as a conflict between Islam and Jahilliya'h. His worry was the decline of Islam as a religion globally, particularly in the subcontinent. He refers to the fight against oppressive regimes by early Muslims as well as the reform movements. After the fall of Ottoman Empire, the Muslims have become leaderless and facing subjugation by the said Jahilliyah. At this point, Islam requires *tajdid*, an effort to

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[55] Irfan, *The State in Islamist Thought,* 13.

reestablish Islam in its purity and reconstruct Islamic values and principles. *Tajdid* requires movement which is the very purpose of the Jamaat-i-Islami.[56]

The agenda of Jamaat-i-Islami can rightly be called as Pak-ism (Pakistan Islamic State Movement). The JI role is very unique as compared to other Islamic revival movements of the world. The Jamaat has maintained debate with other political parties which have been affecting the agendas and party structure of other political parties. The Jamaat can be considered as trend setter of modern Pak-ism and has also served as nursery for the politicians to groom and disperse to serve in other political parties of Pakistan. This factor also makes it important because of having its well-wishers in other political parties. This Pak-ism trend has evolved into a situation where we can see a triangle of political parties as compared to other democratic Islamic countries where we can see the Islamic and secular political parties. Semi-Islamic political parties like Muslim League and Pakistan Tehreek-i-Insaaf (PTI) have emerged as mainstream political parties of Pakistan, having working relationship with Jamaat during different decades of political history of Pakistan.

3.4.1 Islamic State Theory

The *Ulama*, or absolutists, fight to bring back the old Islamic way of life. They hold that the current Islamic regulations, which have the community's approval, are obligatory for subsequent Muslims. Since the Islamic state adheres to a different philosophy, only believers are given positions of responsibility; in contrast, fundamentalists aim to bring back the ideal Islamic state in a slightly different way. Maulana Maududi theory of the Islamic state is based on a verse from the Quran (Chapter 22:41) that states that if we give Muslims power in each land, they must establish the systems of Salat (worship) and Zakat (poor-due) and encourage virtue

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[56] Mujtaba Isani, *The Rise and Fall of the Jamaat-i-Islami in the light of social Movement Theory* Marquette University, 132 (Accessed http://www.virginiareviewofasianstudies.com)

while forbidding evil. These are the basic goals of an Islamic state. A man who submits to the will of God Almighty enters a contract.

The field of an individual's affairs is not private or personal in an Islamic state; in this sense, it resembles the Fascist and Communist state.[57] Maulana Maududi presents a model for future Islamic state and presents a sketch of social order and economic system compatible with the modern age. He opposes secular democracy as well as socialist doctrines. Maulana Maududi states about the scope of an Islamic state that an Islamic state cannot restrict the scope of its activities. Its scope of activities extends to the whole of human life. An Islamic state seeks to mold every activity and aspect of life according to its moral norms and program of social reform. He weighs the pros and cons of Islam's legacy over democracy and socialism, finding Islamic alternatives. He conducted a critical analysis of Muslim history and deduced the core teachings of Islam from the Quran, the Sunnah, and other sources. He claims that the perverted interpretation of Islam is the result of human error and rejects it. He separates most of the Muslim history from his idealistic Islamic state. Since socialism and democracy are not religious systems, they do not submit to God as their supreme ruler. Absolute sovereignty cannot coexist with human share in an Islamic state since it is incompatible with Islam. His fight against imperialism isn't about freeing Muslim territories or preventing them from being exploited economically. He believed that the creation of an Islamic state should be the goal of Muslims' justifiable anti-colonial struggle. He views the secularization of Muslim culture as a legacy of colonialism. *Shariah*, in his view, can only be applied in all spheres of life after the establishment

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[57] Ishtiaq Ahmed, *The Concept of an Islamic State: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan* (London, Cambridge University Press, 1987), 94.

of an Islamic state. Additionally, an Islamic state must operate and establish a just society.[58]

Maulana Maududi developed a comprehensive theory of the Islamic State. He claimed that Islam is the antithesis of westernized democracy, which is predicated on the sovereignty of the people; in Western democracy, lawmaking is the prerogative of the representatives of the people, and legislation is based on their opinion. Islam rejects popular sovereignty and bases its political system on the sovereignty of Allah and the vice-regency of the people. As a pro-religious politician who believes in Allah's sovereignty, Maulana Maududi did not seek the abolition of the State of Pakistan; rather, he used the Islamic concept of sovereignty to challenge the temporal authority of the state.[59]

After partition, the Jamaat's primary demand was for an Islamic constitution. Several conferences were arranged at the behest of Jamaat in order to draft a consensus plan for the Islamic Constitution. Maulana Maududi, an advocate of the Islamic state, tried to reinterpret the conventional Islamic Theory using terms from contemporary constitutional law. He made the idea of the Caliphate and the idea of the contemporary state compatible. His idea is based on the Austinian conception of state sovereignty, and he tried to create a theory that is in line with the text of the Quran.[60]

Maulana Maududi explains the nature and contents of the Islamic constitution thus:

> "There is a linguistic difficulty. The terms relating to constitutional directives mentioned in the Quran, Hadith and Fiqh have become incomprehensible to us. Hence Islam is like a close book for all principal purposes and these terms are no

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[58] Ahmed, *The Concept of an Islamic State: An Analysis of the Ideological Controversy in Pakistan,* 111.

[59] Muhammad Safdar Mir, *Religion & Politics in Pakistan, in Islam in Asia* (Lahore: Vanguard, 1986), 160.

[60] Manzooruddin Ahmad, *Pakistan: The Emerging Islamic State* (Karachi: The Allies Book Corporation, 1966), 93.

longer in vogue. We are unable to realize that which Quranic.Terms are constitutional e.g., Sultan, Mulk, Hukam, Amr & Wilayat etc. are read every day without awareness about their constitutional meanings. Very few people try to understand the actual meanings. When these terms are translated into other languages, their very meanings become distorted. This problem has appeared because in the opinion of Maulana Maududi, the Islamic legal literature does not deal separately the constitutional problems. It is necessary to present the Islamic constitutional ideas accurately in modern times".

Maulana Maududi accepted the modern definition of state sovereignty thus:

"The word sovereignty is used in the meaning as "absolute over lordship". If an individual or a group or an institution is sovereign, it would mean that his or their words are law. Therefore, in political science language, legal sovereignty without political sovereignty has no meaning. Political sovereignty means ownership of the authority of enforcing legal sovereignty[61]. In Maulana Maududi"s view, this concept of absolute and unlimited power sovereignty could not be applied to any human agent. In his words, there is no creature who claims to possess all these attributes of sovereignty. In Quran it is repeatedly mentioned that sovereignty belongs to Allah alone. Human agency is not sovereign in itself but is vicegerent of Allah, the Almighty. Maulana Maududi concluded that mankind is subject to the sovereignty of Allah and hence no man can be subject of another man. He also applied this theory in Law making. In his view, no mortal can claim the right of sovereign law making except Allah Almighty. Within these limitations, a limited popular vice-gerency was conferred on the Muslims"[62]

The underlying presumption of the Islamic state served as the foundation for his idea. He started by acknowledging the existence of the modern state and the idea of sovereignty that underpins it. He moved the idea of sovereignty from a human organization to Allah. In Europe throughout the Middle Ages, state sovereignty and church authority were separated to support monarchy. The goal was to prove that the people have no say over the kings. However, the notion of being answerable to Allah's laws remained in political consciousness. Locke offered an Appeal to Heaven, and Hobbes referred to his Leviathan as the Mortal God.

Their goal was to draw attention to how the authority of the modern state is absolute, indivisible, and unalienable. Maulana Maududi said that Islamic political theorists have to challenge the idea of the modern state's monolithic sovereignty by highlighting the importance of the community of believers' moral conscience. Therefore, the lawful Islamic government would be that of a guardian of the people's

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[61] Manzooruddin, *Pakistan: The Emerging Islamic State*, 94.
[62] Ibid. 95.

moral conscience, so long as the Islamic monarch remained accountable to and responsible to the believers.[63]

Maulana Maududi bases his theory on the idea that religion and politics are inseparable. The fulfillment of religious commands is not possible unless a political system or religious authority is not organized. This idea made many to think that the struggle for an Islamic state system is also an obligation on the Muslims besides other religious obligations. The JI constitutional politics suggests that it does not believe in violence for achieving the political ends. Maulana Maududi's writings on the subject of constitutionalism are very popular in the Muslim World. There is a need to understand his theory through the strength of link which combines religion and politics, which can be highlighted through inter-connected means. The dependency of Revivalism, presented by Maududi on modern methodologies and techniques is the essence to understand the theme.[64]

The West has challenged the world through its refined democratic system which guarantees fundamental human rights and peaceful transfer of power. Muslim history has been unable to present any observable change in dynastical trend. Maulana Maududi rejects that trend and treats it as un-Islamic. He treats state of Madina and Khalafat-i-Rashida as model Islamic polity. Maulana Maududi was convinced that Islam has provided comprehensive guidance to establish an Islamic state. He derived political meanings of selected Quranic terms. This became a base for the agenda of JI Pakistan. The Jamaaat transformed its ideology to present contemporary relevant model of Islamic polity. Islamic teachings are, in spirit, democratic. The Jamaat emphasized on preparing Islamic societies and erecting pious leadership to establish a model Islamic state.

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[63] Manzooruddin, *Pakistan: The Emerging Islamic State*, 96.
[64] Shahbaz Ahmad Cheema, "Problematizing the Religious basis of Maududi Political Theory," *in Studies on Asia* 3, no.2 (Oct. 2013): 52-54.

According to the two-nation principle, the Jamaat opposed the secular Muslim leaders' proposal for Pakistan. Maulana Maududi asserts that Muslim nationalism is not limited to any one area. He did not believe that any noble goal would be served by dividing Indian Muslims from non-Muslims and that the ensuing weak state could be sustained. The All-Indian National Congress was likewise criticized by the Jamaat. Maulana Maududi wished to see all of India turned into an Islamic state, but he eventually concluded that this was not feasible because the majority of Hindus was not sincere in granting Muslims equal rights.

Until the creation of Pakistan, the Jamaat was not a party in the political sense of the term. Because of his Islamic Revivalist Philosophy, Maulana Maududi was unable to compromise but once Pakistan was created, he started his struggle for the transformation of Pakistan into an Islamic polity. The Jamaat idealizes the state of Madina and Khilafat-i-Rashida for the model Islamic principles in state affairs. The JI agenda challenges the prevailing westernized economic and social systems which have become failed to address the miseries of the poor. The Jamaat considers that being a country inhibited by the Muslim majority, Pakistan has the right to introduce Islamic principles to the state affairs. The Jamaat rejects the dictatorial style in politics and supports democratic rule which accommodates people opinion.

CHAPTER- 4

ELECTORAL PERFORMANCE OF JAMAAT-I-ISLAMI DURING 1970 ELECTIONS

Election process is an important manifestation of political development in a country. It is only by the decision of the electorate that there is made a distinction between genuine leadership with mass support and fraud leadership. Pakistan got independent in 1947 but unfortunately up to 1970 there could not be a proper election.

Direct elections represent a novel aspect of Pakistan's democratic evolution. Prior to this, the democratic process was limited to four provincial elections in the early 1950, conducted on the basis of adult franchise, and two national elections, including a presidential one, under Ayub Basic Democracy (BD) system in the 1960. During Ayub tenure, the method of incidental selections allowed the ruling party significant influence.

[1] The shift to direct elections fulfilled a promise made by President General Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan upon assuming office from President Muhammad Ayub Khan in March 1969. Yahya explicitly stated his sole ambition was to create conditions conducive to establishing a constitutional government.

The national elections, originally slated for October 5, were rescheduled to December 7 due to severe floods in East Pakistan in August. Following a devastating disaster in mid-November, all East Pakistani political parties, except the Awami League, advocated for a further postponement to allow the government and the nation to focus on maximizing relief efforts. The elections were conducted based on universal suffrage, through voting, and single-member regional constituencies of

nearly equal size. The Election Commission, led by a retired Supreme Court Justice, was responsible for allocation and other arrangements. In contrast to President Ayub Khan, General Yahya Khan did not outlaw political parties when he imposed Martial Law. Instead, he orchestrated a comprehensive program for Pakistan's first general elections, commonly referred to as the Legal Framework Order (LFO). Under the LFO, an Election Commission was established.[2]

The election date was later announced in November 1969, and the President declared that the country constitution would be drafted by the National Assembly (NA), which would be chosen in October 1970. Martial law restrictions on political activities were loosened on January 1, 1970, to allow the parties to run for office. In March 1970, the Legal foundation Order, 1970 (LFO) was enacted to establish a foundation for the elections and the new constitution.[3]

The LFO also outlined the five essential ideas that the constitution must have to be approved by the President otherwise, it would not be enforceable. These include a guarantee of Pakistan's territorial integrity, defense of Islamic thought, independence of the judiciary, fundamental rights, free elections, and a central structure that gives the federal government appropriate governmental, organizational, and financial powers in addition to granting the provinces self-rule. Additionally, all disparities particularly economic ones among the different regions must be eliminated within a set amount of time. The LFO stated that the NA would be dissolved, and new elections would be called if it could not draft a workable constitution within 120 days.

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[1] Sharif al Mujahid. "The Assembly Elections in Pakistan", *Asian Survey V: II* (November: 1965): 549-50.
[2] *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, Vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), 3.
[3] Ibid.

December 7, 1970[4], was a day only reserved for Pakistan history. On this day in 1947 upon independence, the candidates were nominated and elected by a NA. On December 17, ten days later, they strolled over to the new polling place and selected representatives for each province's provincial assemblies.

New electoral records were created for a nation of roughly 115,000,000 people (based on the 1961 Census) at the request of politicians. On August 27, 1969, the Commission began preparing new election rolls, which were finished on June 15, 1970. The Commission was also tasked with drawing the boundaries of the electoral seats. Additionally, the Commission established the number of National Assembly seats.[5]

The constituencies were delineated by a three-person Delimitation Commission, led by the Chief Election Commissioner, in accordance with the seats allotted for the National and Provincial Assemblies under the LFO. When defining constituencies, the Commission took into account the administrative convenience of each constituency's compact area as well as the demographic distribution to the greatest extent possible.

4.1 Political Parties Seats in National Assembly

The Election Commission assigned symbols to the twenty-four political parties who run in the elections. There were 1957 contestants running for the 300 seats in the National Assembly.[6] There were 1579 candidates left to run in the elections following the rejection and withdrawal of candidacy papers. Two hundred and three candidates

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[4] Hasan-Askari Rizvi. *The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan A Story of Pakistan's Transition from Democracy Above Rule of Law to Democracy Under Rule of Law: 1970-2013* (Islamabad: Pakistan Institute of Legislative Development and Transparency, August 2013), 12.
[5] G.W. Choudhury. *The Last Days of United Pakistan* (Lahore: PEACE Publications, 1974), 109.

submitted papers for the East Pakistan Provincial Assembly. Following the withdrawals and rejections, 1850 candidates ran for office. Nomination papers for the West Pakistan Assemblies were submitted by 3440 individuals. There remained 1385 candidates to run in the election following the rejections and withdrawals. Not a single party fielded candidates for every assembly seat. 300 members of the National Assembly including 162 from East Pakistan, 82 from Punjab, 27 from Sindh, 4 from Baluchistan, 18 from the NWFP, and 7 from tribal areas. The 13 seats were reserved for females. The province Assembly comprised 600 seats, with 310 allocated to East Pakistan, 180 to Punjab, 60 to Sindh, 20 to Baluchistan, and 40 to NWFP. 21 of the seats were occupied by women[7].

Table 1. Seats detail in the National Assembly

Area	General	Women	Total
East Pakistan	162	7	169
Punjab	82	3	85
Sindh	27	1	28
Balochistan	4	1	05
N.W.F.P	18	1	19
Centrally Administered Tribal Areas	7	---	07
Total	300	13	313

Source: *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71,* Vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), p.33

Table.01 Number of Seats in the Provincial Assembly

Area	General	Women	Total
East Pakistan	300	10	310
Punjab	180	6	186
Sindh	60	2	62

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[6] Hasan-Askari Rizvi. The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan A Story of Pakistan's Transition from Democracy Above Rule of Law to Democracy Under Rule of Law: 1970-2013, 12.
[7] Hasan-Askari Rizvi, *The First 10 General Elections of Pakistan A Story of Pakistan's Transition from Democracy Above Rule of Law to Democracy Under Rule of Law: 1970-2013*,13.

Baluchistan	20	1	21
N.W.F.P	40	2	42
Grand Total	**600**	**21**	**621**

Source: *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71,* Vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), 33.

Table.02 Number of Persons Nominated for National and Provincial Assemblies

Name of the Province	National assembly		Provincial assembly	
	No. of Seats	No. of person nominated	No. of Seats	No. of person nominated
East Pakistan	162	873	300	2,103
Total	**162**	**827**	**300**	**2,103**
Punjab	82	616	180	1,877
Sindh	27	227	60	851
N.W.F.P	18	156	40	489
Baluchistan	4	30	20	223
Centrally Administered Tribal Areas	7	55	---	---
Total	**138**	**1,084**	**300**	**3,440**
Grand Total	**300**	**1,957**	**600**	**5,543**

Source: *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71, Vol. I* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), p.3.

Table.03. Number of Contesting Candidates after Withdrawal for National Assembly

Province	No of candidates					
	No. of general seats, excluding seats reserved for women	Nominated	Whose nomination rejected	Validly nominated after acceptance of appeals, if any	Withdrawn	Contesting
East Pakistan	162	873	6	868	87	781
Punjab	82	616	7	610	150	460
Sindh	27	227	4	225	55	170
N.W.F.P including Centrally Administered Tribal Areas	25	211	2	211	68	143

Baluchistan	4	30	---	30	5	25
Total	**300**	**1,957**	**19**	**1,944**	**365**	**1,579**

Source: *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71,* Vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), p.197.

4.2. Parties' Symbols in General 1970 Elections

The political party symbols were allocated by the election authority due to Pakistan low literacy rates. To make it easy for voters to identify the candidate of their choice, a designated sign was printed next to each contender name on the ballot paper.[8]

Table.05

1	Pakistan People Party	Sword
2	APAL	Boat
3	QML	Tiger
4	JamiatUlema-e-Islam (Hazarvi)	Tree
5	CML	Lantern
6	ConML	Bicycle
7	JI	Scale
8	PDP	Umbrella
9	KrishakSramik Party	*Hukka*
10	PNL	Plough
11	National Awaami Party (Wali)	Hut
12	National Awaami Party (Bhashani)	Sheaf of paddy
13	Pakistan Masihi League	Spectacles
14	Jamaat e Aalia Mujahidin	Turban
15	Khaksar Tehrik	Spade
16	Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle-Hadees Pakistan	Rose
17	Markazi Jamiyat-ul-Ulema Pakistan	Key
18	SUF	Walking Stick
19	All Pakistan Central Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam and Nizam-e-Islam	Book
20	Balochistan United Front	Chair

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[8] *Report on General Elections Pakistan* 1970-71, Vol.1, 74-76.

21	IslamiGanatanri Dal	Cow
22	JatiyaMukti Dal	Candle
23	Pakistan National Congress	Pitcher
24	Sindh-Karachi-Muhajir Punjabi-Pathan Muttaheda Mahaz	Horse

Source: *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71, Vol. I* (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972),76.

4.3. Elections candidates of Jamaat-i-Islami

In June 1970, JI decided to contest in 196 seats out of 313 seats in the National Assembly, but later and after reconciliation with the parties, JI withdrew its candidates from 52 seats in order to make room for Islamist candidates. In October, only 14 constituencies announced to appoint their own candidates. Candidates were also nominated in the provincial elections. Among JI candidates, 106 candidates were highly educated. Among them, 85 were graduates and 21 were scholars, 27 lawyers, 18 teachers and professors, one retired judge, two doctors, two engineers, spiritualists, two *Pirs*, one retired major general, one brigadier and three retired majors. The JI described this as the greatest quality of its hopefuls was that:

All these people are from the middle class, they do not have factories, estates, route permits and large balance sheets. Their pasts are unblemished and none of them have been involved in the looting of the past dictatorship. The majority of them have gone through the trials of imprisonment owing to their efforts to establish the Islamic system and restore democracy, and they observe the principles of Islam, *Halal* and *Haram*, both in their public and private lives and no one has been able to buy them. In academic ability and political understanding, these representatives are not less than any other 22 political leaders. None of them applied for the ticket themselves.

In the first six months of 1970, the influence of JI continued to increase. The regional and socialist parties considered JI as their biggest adversary. On January 18, 1970, he tapped the party's public meeting, in which Maulana Maududi was to address

at Paltan Maidan, Dhaka (East Pakistan). Although he could not make speeches after this event, the *Amir* of JI East Pakistan Prof. Ghulam Azam held very effective election rally in the province. On the appeal of JI, May 31 was celebrated as Nation of Islam with great fervor throughout West Pakistan. This was the heyday of the popularity of the Jamaat and its founder.

4.4. Election Results

The religious political parties were overwhelmed in East Pakistan by the Awami League and faced the same outcome in West Pakistan through the People's Party. It was the first instance where religious political parties competed in general elections based on adult franchise and couldn't present a united front due to their ideological differences and stances on religious matters. Other religious political parties were unwilling to accept JI leadership and appeared with their sectarian identities, forming a loose alliance. Within JI, there were two factions: the Thanvi and Hazarvi groups. The Thanvi group couldn't secure any seats, but the Hazarvi group won six seats in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Barelvi group won seven seats from Sindh and Punjab, whereas Jamaat only secured four seats.[9]

Due to tensions between East and West Pakistan, the Awami League achieved significant success in the elections in East Pakistan. The Awami League secured 160 out of the allotted 162 seats in the National Assembly, which was more than the required majority of 300 seats. Through this success, the Awami League gained the right to form the government. General Yahya Khan invited Sheikh Mujib, for negotiations to form the government. However, the leader of the second largest party, Z.A. Bhutto, was dismayed by the election results and threatened his parliamentarians

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[9] Kaleem Bahadur. *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan,* (New Delhi: Chetana Publications, 1977), p. 196.

against attending the assembly session. The military government was also interested in maintaining its role in the future government, which became a hurdle for the peaceful transfer of power to the majority party. The Awami League organized protests and rallies demanding greater autonomy for East Pakistan. Both Bhutto and Mujib were arrested by the military and detained in Adiala jail in Rawalpindi. This extremist act helped fuel at the separatist sentiments in East Pakistan. The election results shaped the following party positions in the National Assembly of Pakistan.

Name of Party	Seats Won
Awami League (AL)	160
Pakistan People 's Party (PPP)	81
Pakistan National Alliance	0
Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum)	9
Pakistan Muslim League (Conventional)	2
Pakistan Muslim League (Council)	7
Jamaat-i-Islami	4
Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Islam	7
Markazi Jamiat-e-Ulama-e-Pakistan	7
National Awami Party (Wali)	6
Other parties/Independents	17
Total seats contested	300

Source*: Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, vol. I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan, 1972), 90.

The above electoral results of the 1970 general elections show that various political parties participated separately, including Jamaat (4 seats), JUI (7 seats), and JUP (7 seats).[10] These parties competed against each other, weakening the religious

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[10] *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71*, vol. I, 90.

voting blocs in both wings of Pakistan. This event not only weakened Jamaat but also diminished the religious factions, which could have emerged as the third major platform after AL and PPP. If the Islamic factions had remained united, PPP and AL must lose their seats. In that scenario, AL would not have exploited the situation, nor would it have gained such a large majority or successfully supported Bengali nationalism for an independent Bangladesh. Before the 1970 elections, religious political factions were led by Jamaat and Maulana Maududi. The rejection of Jamaat's leadership in Islamic politics was also a significant factor leading to the tragedy in Dhaka. Religious leaders and parties should be identified and investigated for the grave political mistake of failing to maintain religious unity in such a crucial moment.[11]

In 1970, the AL won a majority in the National Assembly and was technically capable of forming a national government without any coalition partner. The disputes arising from this event led to the civil war in 1971, ultimately resulting in the secession and formation of Bangladesh.[12] The electoral results of the 1970 general elections showed that the masses were more concerned about economic benefits, social justice, respect, and rights for their respective communities. The PPP slogan of "Roti, Kapra Aur Makan" based on Islamic Socialism became popular among the West Pakistani voters, while the AL six-point agenda for provincial autonomy in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) emerged as a popular slogan attracting the vast majority of voters.

An imposed common national language or a shared religious belief has never been able to unite the nation as expected by the rulers or the religious political parties.

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[11] Ijaz Shafi Gilani, *The Ritual of Elections in Pakistan (1970-2018): A Process Without A Product* (Karachi: Lightstone Publishers (Pvt) Limited, 2024), 144-150.

New issues emerged in the post-independence era. Religious leaders also could not exert influence because they could not present a united front in the political arena, which divided the nation on issues. This new trend of division based on religious foundations on the basis of the selfishness of political parties became the basis for the failure of Islamism in national politics. However, the injustice and exploitation meted out to East Pakistan by the rulers continued to evoke a reaction in electoral results.

4.5. Jamaat-i-Islami's Performance in 1970 Elections

JI contested the national assembly elections in both East and West Pakistan. It fielded 150 candidates for national assembly seats, with 15 from NWFP, 19 from Sindh, 44 from Punjab, 2 from Baluchistan, and 70 from East Pakistan. For the Punjab Assembly, it had 80 candidates, 37 for the Sindh Assembly, 28 for NWFP, 12 for According to the election results, only 4 Jamaat-e-Islami candidates won national assembly seats, with 1 from Punjab, 1 from NWFP, and 2 from Sindh. The total number of votes cast in its favor was 1,917,183, which accounted for 6.0% of the total votes cast in the elections. One candidate from Punjab, two from Sindh, and one from NWFP won seats. Baluchistan, totaling 174 candidates for Punjab and East Pakistan combined.

PROVINCES	SEATS	SEATS	VOTES POLLED BY CANDIDATES	VOTES POLLED BY CANDIDATES
-	Contested	Captured	Total	Percentage
East Pakistan	70	Nil	9,91,938	6%
Punjab	44	1	5,15,538	4.7%
Sind	19	2	3,21,471	10.3%
NWFP	15	1	1,03,935	7.2%

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[12] http://www.insightonconflict.org/conflicts/pakistan/conflict-profile (Accessed on 20.04.2024)

Baluchistan	2	Nil	4,331	1.1%
Pakistan	150	4	19,17,183	6%

Source: *Report on General Elections Pakistan 1970-71, vol.I (Islamabad: Election Commission of Pakistan,* 1972), p.15.

4.6. 1970 General Elections Impacts

Although the Pakistan People's Party won the majority of seats in West Pakistan, religious and right-wing parties garnered more votes. The total votes polled for the Pakistan People's Party were 61,486,623, while three factions of the Muslim League, JI, JUI (Hazarvi), and JUP collectively secured 70,001,144 votes. This distribution of votes between religious and like-minded parties enabled the Pakistan People's Party to become the majority party in West Pakistan.[13] President Yahya Khan did support religious political parties to emerge as a third force in national politics, but he did not emphasize their unity, which was a significant mistake. This strategy had detrimental effects on both the parties and the state in the long run.

As we continue to discuss what went wrong in 1971, it may be necessary to evaluate the current geopolitical changes in the region to better understand our surroundings and develop our own vision in light of the lessons learned from the 1971 war, when East Pakistan underwent a bloody conflict and emerged as Bangladesh. Politically, economically, and culturally, East Pakistan was treated like a colony. Power-sharing with the majority Bengalis was not desirable for the rulers of West Pakistan. By declaring Urdu as the sole national language, the potential insult felt by East Pakistanis, who felt deprived of their linguistic, literary, and cultural rights, was ignored. The idea of uniting various communities solely based on a common language and religion would not work if the equal distribution of power, economic resources, cultural representation, and political parity were overlooked. The fall of Dhaka was

the culmination of the grievances that the Bengali population had suffered from 1947 to 1971.

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[13] http://bhutto.org/Acrobat/Bhutto_Zia_and_Islam.

CONCLUSION

The JI's objective was the establishment of a 'Divine Government', and the change in the individual and collective life of man which Islam calls for. Although, the JI has been engaged in politics; however, it has not claimed to be a political party only. The Jamaat's manifesto insists that it will try to bring revolution and reformation through constitutional ways. The Jamaat emphasizes on molding of public opinion and categorically declares that it will not implement its manifesto through underground movements; instead, it will do everything openly.

Maulana Maududi proposed the formation of a Muslim society where Islamic *Shariah* would rule. The JI was also very exclusive in the initial years, but its special stance of rejecting both AIML and the INC that gave it a special ideological position. The JI wanted to have an Islamic state with the purpose to establish Shariah and thus legitimize the sacrifices offered by the Indian Muslims for the creation of Pakistan.

Pakistan was formed in the name of Islam. Therefore, Islam must be the foundation of its constitution, which was advocated from all corners of the country. The general elections of 1970 were the most fiercely contested elections in Pakistan history. Many political parties, too many individual candidates, and even too many issues became the focus of debate in the elections. The election was contested between old and new parties, and between rightists and leftists. However, generally speaking, JI is often considered to be a rightist or conservative party due to its advocacy for Islamic principles and traditional values.

The creation of Pakistan was the result of two important phenomena. The first one was that Muslims were frightened by the domination of Hindus' overwhelming majority. They believed that their economic, social, and religious rights were

threatened by the Hindu community. While Hindus were not ahead of Muslims in literacy rates, they were superior in the public sector, jobs, and business. Muslims had become aware of their legitimate rights and consequently struggled hard to meet the challenge of Hindu domination. The separation of Muslim interests and identity ultimately led to the creation of the separate Muslim state of Pakistan. Prior to the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan, society was divided along religious lines, and elections were contested in the context of religious identities.

Political parties in Pakistan obviously differed in their political strategies for the public, but they were all the same when it came to religious issues, and they were very aware of the importance of Islam. During the election campaign of 1970, the stance of all parties, whether their views were secular, or they were supporters of Islam, emphasized that all laws would be based on Islam, and not a single law would contradict the teachings of Islam. In the 1970 elections, political parties openly used the ideology of Pakistan based on Islam for the first time. Traditionalists in Pakistan argued that Pakistan was an ideological state, and the political system of any state with an ideological foundation should be based on moral principles rather than on socialism or any form of capitalism.

The PPP published its agenda, manifesto, and program, which included a detailed document proposing very interesting strategies to meet the needs and desires of the general public, including laborers, servants, farmers, and even Pakistani nationals living abroad. The basic principles of the party were: Islam is our Faith, Democracy is our Polity, Socialism is our Economy, and All power to the people. The PPP's very famous slogan "Roti, Kapraa Aur Makan" (Bread, clothing, and shelter), was based on these principles. All religious parties considered the PPP to be a non-Islamic party, leading the PPP to change its stance on Islamic socialism. The religio-

political parties declared the PPP to be anti-Islamic, accusing it of having an agenda against the teachings and practices of Islam.

JI was one of the prominent parties in Pakistan criticizing socialism. At that time, opinion of some *Ulama* was that JI was unresponsive to Islam and, being based on materialism, could not be related to the religion. Maulana Maududi declared that the term "Islamic socialism" was false and had no relation to Islamic teachings, accusing the public of being misled by using the name of religion. PPP claimed that the party had complete faith in Islamic terms and followed all the rules of Islam but faced criticism from the rulers of the country. PPP provided the public with an understanding of the previous manifestos of other parties, pointing out that they had only focused on the wrong things, resulting in wealth being concentrated in the hands of a few. PPP clarified that all the points in their agenda were based on Islamic teachings, with not a single point contradicting Islam.

JI was the only well-organized political party in both the eastern and western parts of Pakistan, but it failed to successfully propagate the ideology of Pakistan based on religion. During the reign of Ayub Khan, JI lost its reputation because Ayub utilized Islamic ideologies in authority. Ayub Khan believed that the role of the *Ulama* was to educate the public in the light of Islam and *Sunnah*, and they should spread the true spirit of Islam to promote authentic teachings. He did not endorse the old customs and traditions of society. The *Ulama* wanted to regain their power in society and sought to oppose Ayub Khan Policies.

Under the supervision of the *Ulama*, political parties propagated Islamic teachings, while parties based on economic concepts spread secular ideas in society. After twenty-five years of efforts to promote provincial powers, religious viewpoints

lost their significance for secular parties such as the PPP and the AL. These parties aimed to develop the lifestyles of the Pakistani public and declared their opinion that the only solution to societal problems was socialism. From the outset, all governments neglected two related issues; provincial autonomy and social development.

The manifesto, election campaign, and slogans of JI could not attract the masses and particularly the slogan of 'Islam is in danger' could not work to motivate the masses to vote for the party. However, the main reason for JI's failure in the elections was unattractive and unappealing political programme. On the other hand, AL and PPP emphasized that in a country with ninety percent Muslim population there was no threat to Islam and they stressed more on the fundamental problems of the masses. Therefore, these parties were had become in a position to grasp more seats in comparison to religio-political parties. Whereas, the slogans, manifesto and programme of JI and other religio-political parties did not have reformist ideas due to which they could not perform well in spite of having good street-power.

The old and well-organized JI focused more on issues such as the restoration of the 1956 constitution, parliamentary democracy, and the eradication of any deficiencies, but could not priorities the demand for economic and social justice. During the election campaign, JI clarified its role in Pakistan's movement and criticized socialism. Other parties, particularly, PPP continued to condemn JI for its undesirable role during Pakistan Movement and highlighted its anti-ideology of Pakistan stance during the election campaign. Although, JI was the only party among the country's religious political parties with a permanent association and self-restraint, yet, it could only secure four seats out of 150 in the National Assembly, even though it contested in both wings of the country.

The JI expected for a much better result in the elections because it had a solid organizational base that could not be seen in other religio-political or political parties. The party had sufficient funds and a good number of workers that exceeded more than 200000. In the context of having JI's comparison with ML and PPP, the party had solid structure in which workers were dedicated and having unshaking faith on their leaders. Whereas there were splinter groups ML and PPP was a recent phenomenon. On the other hand, JI leadership had well recognition in East and West Pakistan was perfectly enjoying harmony in both the wings. Moreover, in contrast to other political parties, JI had not preferred to become part of any coalition. It had not compromised on fundamental beliefs of the leadership at the country level. However, those 'fundamental beliefs' could not be fruitful in elections. The 'modern intelligentsia' was not bewitched of its conservative approach, and even some religio-political were critical to JI's claim of being the sole-spokesman of Islamic system. The party had not been able to attract the people to its conviction on western democracy. JI's economic program held no promise for the public, in whose eyes it was a party of the right, mainly interested in preserving the capitalistic structure, which was believed to be the cause of his unhappy dilemma.

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