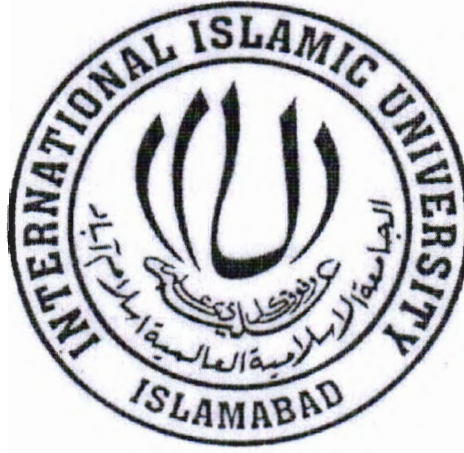


**MS Thesis**

**The Electoral Politics of Religious Political Parties:**

**A Case Study of Jamat-e-Islami (1987-2009)**



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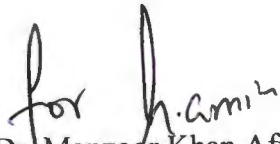
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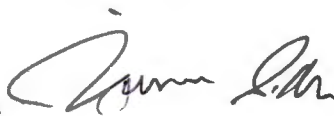
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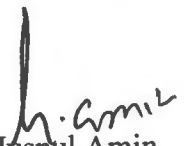
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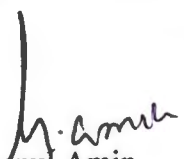
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## **Dedication**

**To My Great Parents, Siblings & Late Sister.**



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I am also thankful to my parents, and all my family members who prayed and supported me. I have been able to complete my thesis due to their unconditional support. Last but not the least my gratitude to my friends and course mate and all those who directly or indirectly supported and encouraged me during my academic career throughout my life and especially during this course.

## List of Abbreviations

ANP	Awami National Party
IJI	Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (Islamic Democratic Alliance)
IJT	Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba Pakistan
Jl	Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan
JTA	Jamiat Talaba Arabia
JUI	Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Islam Pakistan
JUP	Jamiat-e-Ulema-e Pakistan
MMA	Muttahedda Majlis-e-Amal
MQM	Muttahida Quami Movement
MRD	Movement for the restoration of Democracy
PIF	Pakistan Islamic Front
PML	Pakistan Muslim League
PNA	Pakistan National Alliance
PPP	Pakistan's Peoples Party
PTI	Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf

## Abstract

Jamat-e-Islami was a social movement started in 1941, which became an influential group to support Islamic constitution in Pakistan. Later on the leaders of this movement decided to take part in electoral politics. And in 1957, the movement was converted into political Party. In 1964, JI was banned by the dictator Ayub Khan, because they did not support his unconstitutional act of martial law. After Ayub Khan the Bhutto came as a civil dictator who suppressed all opposition parties including JI. In addition to this, General Zia grabbed the government who shared power with JI for some time but quickly stripped all authority from them. It can be concluded that JI was never allowed to be a part of the political system in Pakistan. JI suffered due to its internal organizational structure because of its strict rules and regulations. However when Qazi Hussain Ahmad became the Amir of JI in 1987, he took certain measures to push JI in main stream of Pakistani politics. He provide the opportunities to a common man of Pakistan, who could participate and become a member of JI. He tried to bring all religious parties on a single platform to participate in electoral politics. An attempt has been made to find out that why JI remained ineffective to form a government at the center and also how JI operated in electoral politics from 1987 to 2009. The thesis has used as a model like the Columbian school of thought which basically determine election on the basis of sociological perspective, where voters are influenced by the left-right, ideological orientations, and by religion, sect, ethnicity, class, caste, rural and urban divisions. Methodologically the data collected by researching secondary sources that discussed and evaluated the electoral politics in Pakistan. A content analysis method was used to analyze the data to find JI electoral strategies in the said period.

# Chapter 1: Introduction

## 1.1 Introduction

Electoral politics is representative form of political participation. In democracies, people directly or indirectly choose their political representatives looking forward to solve their problems in their public domain, irrespective of their party affiliation, once they have been elected by the people of the state. These members of the parliament represent their voters there, to address and discuss public interest and safeguard fundamental rights of the masses. Political party is the basic pillar in any democratic system, where same ideological people gather to make party manifesto on the basis of which they try to contest election, gain power, solve national issues and make foreign policy to secure strong and lasting relations with the neighboring countries to bring peace and stability in the country (Khan F. K., 2014, pp. 80,81).

In case of Pakistan, there are several political parties such as religious, secular and nationalists, who have different ideologies like Islamism, secularism nationalism and socialism. These political parties adopted different kinds of slogans related to party ideology for election campaign and attract voters through their ideologies to win maximum numbers of seats at provincial and federal level. By contesting election they try to win over other parties and move from civil society to political society, where they can exercise their political ideology on national and international level, keeping in view country's basic issues and problems are address accordingly.

Soon after independence, Pakistan national politics and public policies were controlled by civil & military bureaucracies, armed forces imposed martial law for four times, because of military intervention democratic system was not able to flourish in Pakistan. The role of military establishment behind the scene in politics political parties could not cooperate with each other, so

the aftermath, Pakistan far from a stable system of government as result there is lack of confidence between military, civilians and intersecting fault lines between ethnics groups and provincial stake holders, among Islamists and secularist (Haqqani, 2005).

Due to irregularity of election political parties could not established strong hold on public policy. Despite its political parties increased day by day while these parties are struggling to strengthen democracy in Pakistan. With the passage of time several religious political parties emerged with Islamist agenda. The politics of religious political parties in Pakistan is almost with a similar agenda but in different platform. The electoral politics of them is always Islamic and Anti American. There are 25 religious political parties participating in electoral politics and contesting election such as Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F), Jamiat Ulema-e- Isalm (S), Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan, Markaz-e-Jamiat Ahle Hadith, Sunni Tehreek, Islami tehreek-e-Pakistan, Formally TNFJ-Hussaini, Majlis wadatul Muslimeen, Tehreek-e-Nifaz-e-Fiqa-e-Jafaria- Moosavi group (Asia Report, 2011). These Religious Political parties run election campaign based on religion to attract the voters during election. Among them Jamat-e-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam (F), Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan are the major religious political parties.

JUI (F) is the party of clerics representing Deobandis School of thoughts in Pakistan. Before the partition of India JUI (F) traces its origins to Jamiat ulem-e-Hind (JUH) established during the British rule in 1919. JUH was against the partition of the sub-continent and was ally of all India National Congress. After the creation of Pakistan, a faction of JUH reorganized itself in the politics of Pakistan and started struggle to enforce its Islamic ideology in newly born state. The party has particularly popular in KPK and Baluchistan. In general election of 1970, JUI got satisfactory seats at provincial and national level and formed Governments in NWFP and Baluchistan with collations parties. In 1980s, JUI divided into two splinter groups JUI (S) and JUI (f). JUI(S) led by Mulana

sami ul Haq and JUI (F) led by Mulna Fazl-u-rehman. Both parties' organizational structures and support are depended on madrassa network. Now a days JUI (F) is stronger than JUI (S) (Kumar, 2008).

Jamiat ulema-e-Pakistan is a religious political party representing Barilvi School of thoughts. It was founded by Allama Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi in 1948. During Pakistan movement barilvi religious scholars supported all Pakistan Muslim league and Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. After the creation of Pakistan, JUP was created for the enforcement of Sharia based on Quran and Sunnah. The party has been following in Punjab and Sindh Provinces. Later on JUP also divided into two factions, Mulana Shah Ahmad Noorani. Group and Fazl Karim group. Now a days called JUP Noorani group and Sunni Tehreek respectively (Asia Report, 2011, p. 15).

Jamat-e-Islami is the utmost Islamic movement of south Asian sub-continent in the twentieth century was established in 1941. Its constructs itself on Islamic revivalism and the establishment of an Islamic state with the Qur'an and Sunnah (the way of the Prophet) as its constitution based on sharia. JI is the brain child of the great Syed Mawdudi and one of the oldest movement was never able to achieve its expectations nor was able to bring Islamic revolution. The Ideology of its Islamic Revivalism influenced from Morocco to Malaysia inspired the movements all over the world and even inspired Hassan al Banna and Sayyid Qutb. It has branches in India, Bangladesh, Sri lanka, both sides of Kashmir, Great Britain, and North America. The party could not secured large number of seats in the national assembly of Pakistan while played important role in Pakistan politics.

JI is a movement of common Islamists, not of clerics or religious scholars (Ulemas). After the partition of sub-continent JI has been divided into two factions, Jamat-e-Islami Hind and Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan. Soon after independence Syed Mawdudi Migrated to Pakistan started struggle for

the implantation of Islamic sharia based on Quran and Sunnah. From 1947 to 1957 JI was social movement and then JI *Shura* decided to take part in the politics in 1957. During the presidential election in 1965 JI supported Fatima Jinnah against General Ayub Khan. The decision was highly criticized by other religious parties that Islam does not allow women as head of the state.

The First General Election held on 7th December 1970 for national Assembly and election for provincial Assemblies held after 10 days under Doctorial rule of General Yahya Khan. Awami League led by Mujeeb Ur Rahman emerged leading in East Pakistan and Pakistan people Party become the second largest party by having clear majority in West Pakistan. JI received only four seats in both sides. The founder of the JI Syed Mawdudi resigned in 1972 owing to ill health. He was succeeded by Mian Tufail Muhammad, who become the new Ameer of the party. In General Election 1977, JI formed Pakistan National Alliance with other secular and religious parties against Pakistan People Party. The ruling party PPP got landslide victory over opposition got 151 seats in the National Assembly while JI won 09 out of 200 total seats at Federal Level. During the era of General Zia conducted non-party basis general election, JI and other Political parties supported their favorite candidates (Rizvi & Gilani, 2013, pp. 14-15).

Mian Tufail Muhammad was succeeded by Qazi Hussain Ahmad in 1987. One year later JI joined alliance of *Islami jamhoori Ittehad* (Islamic democratic alliance) under the leadership of Qazi Hussain to oppose Pakistan People Party in the coming general election. There were nine political parties including Pakistan Muslim league (PML), JI and National People Party (NPP). In the General elections of 1988, IJI won 53 seats in National Assembly. The next general election held in 1990, IJI received remarkable victory got 105 seats in the national Assembly of Pakistan while JI succeeded only 9 seats in this coalition. Later on JI did not join the government. In the elections of 1993, JI formed another alliance with small religious political parties Pakistan Islamic Front to

counter the main political parties; PPP and PML (N). But they terribly defeated by PPP and PML (N). They were limited to 3 seats in National Assembly. Benazir Bhutto become prime Minister for second time in the History of Pakistan. On 20<sup>th</sup> July 1996, JI started successful protest against PPP government alleging corruption. On 4<sup>th</sup> November the government was dismissed by President Farooq Ahmad Laghari.

The root of religious political parties alliance can be traced to Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) in 1977, which formed by nine political parties dominated by JI. In early 1990's sectarian conflict started in Pakistan, caused the creation of the *Mili Yakjehati council* in 1995. However JI failed to convert it into electoral alliance for the election of 1997. Finally six years later, JI successfully formed *Mutahidda Majlis-i-Amal* (MMA) with other religious parties. In the electoral history *Islami Jamhori Itehad* (IJI), Pakistan Islamic Front (PIF) and *Mutahidda Majlis-i-Amal* (MMA) were the key political alliances in which JI participated.

For the first time in the electoral history of Pakistan six religious political parties formed an alliance named MMA contested the general elections of 2002. JI and JUI (F) were the leading parties of this alliance. They started campaign against U-turn policy of Musharraf government toward Afghanistan and raised the slogan of anti US. As a result MMA gained remarkable victory in the election and emerged the third largest party of the country. MMA secured 70 out of 342 total seats in the National Assembly. Mulana fazlu rehman secretary general of MMA become the leader of opposition in the National assembly. They also secured 68 seats out of 124 total seats formed government in KPK province. In Baluchistan MMA won 18 out of 65 seats formed coalition government with Pakistan Muslim League Quaid-e-Azam (PML-Q). During Qazi era JI boycotted the two elections held in 1996 and 2008 (Aziz, 2011, pp. 90-105). The election of 2008 held under dictatorial rule of General Musharraf. JI boycotted the election on the stance that election would



be rigged, so MMA was no more effective in the political scenario of Pakistan. As a result the religious political parties lost its position of 2002 election in electoral politics.

## 1.2 Literature Review

Islam and Islamism are two concepts described by German Syrian origin Professor of International Relations Bassam Tibi, Islam stand for Religion, while the latter for a totalitarian Ideology. The concept of Islamism necessarily aims to establish Islamic State based on Sharia. The role of religion to shape the election results is as old as the ballot box (Yilmaz E & Thorleif P, 2007, 481). To uphold the importance of Islam, Muslims Thinkers and Intellectuals seeking the ways of making Islam compatible with challenges of the modern age (Zaman M. Qasim, 2007, 7).

Syed Wali Nasr wrote in his book *the vanguard of Islamic Revolution: The Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan* (1994) In Pakistan political history, the party added to the national political discourse related to Islamic Ideals, but JI achievements in the intellectual and ideological sphere of influence found no reflection in politics. JI has influenced in politics but has been unsuccessful to control them. The party proved capable of establishing socio-political coalitions predicted upon an Islamic program, however not of entering into fundamental debates in state. Therefore it found no means to secure power for party.

Teti Andrea, and Mura Andrea have discussed in his book *Islam and Islamism* (2009) Islamists struggle for Islamization of state and society by demanding changes in law, changes in political leadership and foreign policy along with other aspects of social life to bring back political Islam with real spirit, by this way to bring Islamic revolution in all aspect of life and to change the whole society in to Islamic society. The purpose of Islamic parties is nothing less than a totalitarian rule, which is threat to world security.

Kunal Mukherjee writes in his Article *Islamic Revivalism and Politics in Contemporary Pakistan* (2010) Sayyid Abu A'la Mawdudi (1903-1979) was a journalist theologian and a Muslim revivalist leader and Islamist thinker. He founded JI in 1941. As British rule neared its ends in India, the Muslims of the Sub-Continent were politically and socially isolated and they were ethnically divided so they had failed to address their issues at national level at that time a Muslim theologian Sayyid Abu A'la Mawdudi thought to bring them under the banner of Islam. JI started playing the role of as a pressure group had done well in having the Government respond to their concerns and demands.

Sumita Kumar discussed in her book *the role of Islamic parties in Pakistani Politics Strategic Analysis* (2010) soon after independence of Pakistan, JI as a political party failed to gain popularity at a national level. Even though Mawdudi tried to create unity under the banner of Islam, he further says it become involved in militancy and sectarianism, some of the off-shoot groups engaged with other sects, so in spite of unity in Muslims divided religious society and Islamic political forces and alienated the people from religious politics.

Roy Jackson writes in his Book *Mulana Mawdudi and Political Islam* (2011) Syed Mawdudi showed

JI as the ethical and moral guardian of the state means the Jamat's community will not dirty its hands in politics of Pakistan and their primary task was to spread Islamic message and devoted themselves for the refugees of the newly born state, later on JI involved itself in politics. 1970 General election result was very embarrassing got only four seats, so Syed Mawdudi and JI was forcing aging to the original vision of the party and was limited as pressure group.

Matthew J. Nelson writes in his paper *Islamist politics in South Asia after the Arab Spring: Parties and their proxies working with—and against—the state* (2005) JI throughout in Pakistan Movement opposed the formation of Pakistan. after the formation of Pakistan in 1947 JI was struggling to promote its agenda and to establish the now constitution based on Islamic principles, but civil and military bureaucracy consistently reject their proposal, after ten years Syed Abu'l ala Mawdudi and his party leaders concluded that we have to close relationship with elected National assembly, JI students wing Islami Jamiat Talaba tried to influence on Pakistan bureaucracy, and later they decided to contest election, the party decision brought clashes between central *shura* members of the party. Dr. Israr Ahmad and Amin Ahsan Eslahi left the party.

Mujtaba Isani commented in his paper *The Rise Aand Fall of The Jamat-e-Islami in The Light of Social Movement Theory* JI remained a social movement as it never accepted itself to be of the system. From 1941-1988 it employed “contentious” actions to spread the movement because the repressive nature of the ruling Pakistani regimes. This was true with the Common Opposition Party Alliance it formed against Ayub Khan, the *Nizam-e-Mustafa Movement* (The Prophet’s System) against Bhutto and the Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD) against Zia. Throughout this time the JI indulged in civil obedience, processions and giving fatwa (religious rulings) against the leaders.

In spite of number of arguments, the ground realities have been ignored in above explained literature review, like Pakistan’s political culture which has not been so rich and polluted by a number of factors e.g. constant military interventions, class society, feudalism, bureaucratic hold on the resources of state and public policy process, sectarian divisions in the society, Other religious parties divided the Islamic vote, Ideological division ( right and left ) between religious and political in Pakistan politics, foreign intervention in Pakistani politics, Rigging in Elections,

Media propaganda war against Islamists, western secular education which to promote the concept that religion and politics are different concepts, Hence, sometimes a smaller political party is compelled to negotiate and accommodate other opponent forces through mutual cooperation and by concealing their conflicts. It is more important for smaller political parties to use political strategies through electoral politics to fulfill the aspirations of their voter's interest either socio-economic or ideological.

### **1.3 Theoretical Framework**

In modern democracy elections are considered the main stage of electoral process. The study of electoral politics has been described as 'psephology'. Elections are complicated political process which are analyzed based on political and social systems of a given state. Through electoral process the transfer of power shifted from one set up to other (M. Javaid Akhtar, 2010). There are many approaches to study election such as Michigan approach, Downsian theory and Columbia school of thought. These electoral studies have been conducted by American and British school of thoughts in 1940s and 50s. The aims of Michigan approach is to bringing out relationship between party identification and volatility. It drew upon the social psychology of the voters. According to this approach the voter is the focal point in the electoral process. The Downsian theory study the voting behavior based on the voter calculations of cost and benefit leading to act of voting. It depend on profile of the citizen, who present stable issues preferences, and reliable information to give alternative policy and have knowledge about the short term and long term results of the election. The Columbian School of Thought studies the election based on the sociological perspective to understand the dynamics of the voters. This perspective deals basically with attitudinal determinations of voters along with the continuum of policy preferences on the left right ideological orientations. Here, the perspective of religion, sect, ethnicity, class, caste, rural and

urban divisions, generations, and genders influence the voter in different degrees and style. So the political communications approach circulating around the issues of the construction of the electoral choice of the voters behavior (Waseem, 2006, p. 37). In Pakistan, there are numbers of factors influence on voters during election. Pakistan is an Islamic country, majority of people are Muslims. However the society is divided in different sects. Similarly Pakistani people are belong to different ethnic groups and also has rural urban divisions as well. Besides it Pakistan electoral politics had been divided in left-right means religious and secular parties. So in the light of above approaches Columbian School of thought is closest approach to study the politics of Pakistan and JI.

#### **1.4 Justification for the Research / Scope of the Thesis**

The era from 1987 to 2009 is very important because the era is more democratic. After a long dictatorial regime of general Zia democracy has been restored. From 1987 to 2009, six general election were held. Again In 1999, army overthrow the democratic Government and a new phase of General Pervez Musharraf military regime started. The last two election were held under military regime as well as changing in Pakistan foreign policy after 9/11. In this era JI was led by Qazi Hussain Ahmad. He reduced the gap between masses and the party. The Political alliances and their break up is of vital importance for religious political parties, especially for JI. The era also witnessed the formation of MMA that succeeded in securing satisfactory seats in National Assembly as well as formed government in one province, KPK.

#### **1.5 Statement of the Problem**

Pakistan's political structure and strict internal organization of Jamat-e-Islami had been limited the opportunity for a popular victory in electoral politics. By adopting the Qazi Hussain Ahmad's

policies during his tenure considerably reduced the gap between the Masses and the party on the one hand and made it a relatively mass-oriented religious-political party on the other.

## 1.6 Objectives of the Research

(1) To analyze JI with secular and religious parties:

- To analyze JI electoral alliances with other religious and secular political parties

(2) To assess JI boycott of Elections:

- The reasons behind 1996 election & consequences of 2008 election for JI politics.

(3) To discuss JI under Qazi leadership:

- To discuss charismatic personality of Qazi Hussain Ahmad and his political struggle
- To discuss JI transformation into a mass-based party

(4) To analyze JI electoral Alliances:

- To analyze *Ismail Jamhoori Ittihad* (IJI) and the experiment of Pakistan Islamic Front
- To analyze the successful alliance of MMA and its break-up

## 1.7 Research Questions

1. Why JI has largely failed in its electoral strategies?
2. How JI was made a mass-oriented and popular party by Qazi Hussain Ahmad?
3. Why JI boycotted 1997 and 2008 elections and what are the consequences?

## 1.8 Research Methodology

The methodology in this research will be qualitative as well as quantitative based on primary and secondary data. The primary data will be collected directly from the JI activists, interviews of JI leaders, members (*Rukan*), intellectuals, journalists, think tanks. Politicians of other parties and those who are the part of the JI political discussions.

The secondary data will be obtained from different sources of electronic and print media; like, television talk-shows, news and commentaries. Different books, articles and newspapers will be utilized for updated source. The surveys and research of different national and international organizations will be utilized for a large extent.

After conducting general election by Government, election reports are published by Election commission of Pakistan and other national and international observer and monitoring agencies, these reports will be consulted for analysis.

## 1.9 Thesis Division

(i)	<b>Chapter 1:</b>	Introduction:
(ii)	<b>Chapter 2:</b>	Foundation, Organizational Structure and Ideology of jamat-e-Islami
(iii)	<b>Chapter 3:</b>	JI Electoral History and Transformation
(iv)	<b>Chapter 4:</b>	JI Electoral Politics from 1987-2009
(v)	<b>Chapter 5:</b>	Assessment of Jamat-e-Islami Electoral Politics
(vi)	<b>Chapter 6:</b>	Findings and Conclusions
		Bibliography



## **Chapter 2: Foundation, Organizational Structure and Ideology of Jamat-e-Islami**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the term Islamism will be defined. The political ideology of Islamists and the classification of existing different groups will briefly describe. The concept of contemporary Islamic revivalism started from Ghazali then developed by Syed Mawdudi. He gave practical shape to his ideas, when he founded JI in 1941 in Lahore. The objectives of the movement was to bring back Islam with real spirit, which was practiced in orthodox caliphs 14 century ago. Furthermore the foundation of JI its organizational structure and ideology will be discussed in details.

### **2.2 Islamism and Political Ideology**

The terms Islamism and political Islam is set of ideologies. It has been defined in these words, the belief that Islam should guide social and political as well as personal life. The term Islamism is an absolute ideology that desires to establish society, economy and polity across the centrality of Islamic religion. Islamists believe that Islam is complete code of life and it is an ideal universal religion with a political agenda of building a Sharia-centric Islamic state. In fact, Islam is superior contrast to other existing Ideological discourse (Mawdudi A. A., 1999). The Islamists use the Islamic metaphoric language to think in term of political fortunes. They looking for their political future through the prism of Islam. Islamists keep their Muslim identity at the Centre in political practice, while the term Islamism is a discourse to achieve its objectives through political struggle for the establishment of Islamic political order. There are many Islamic organizations in Islamic world, which use different strategies to capture the political power such as Parliamentary Islamists,

Militant Islamists and Extremist Islamists. The parliamentary Islamists usually use parliamentary democratic way such as JI in Pakistan and Bangladesh, Refaah Party in Turkey and Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. Militant groups use both strategies parliamentary process and armed violence like Hamas and Hezbollah in Palestine and Lebanon respectively. However, Extremist Islamists just believe through armed violence such as Taliban in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) (Islam, 2015, pp. 02-07).

### **2.3 The Legacy of Islamic Revivalism**

The root of Islamism and Islamic revival can be traced to famous proponents Muhammad Al-Ghazali, Ahmad ibn Tameyyah and Ahmad Sirhindi. During the twelfth century, Al Ghazali reconciled mysticism with mainline Islam. Ibn Tameyyah struggled against the social disturbance and idolatry brought by Mongolian invasion. Shiek Ahmad seihindi was known to his followers as the renovator of the second millennium. He has opposed the mix version of Islam and Hinduism named *Din-e-Ilahi* brought by Mughal emperor Akbar (Funk, 2001).

Muhammad Ibn Abd-al-Wahhab of Arabia was against the traditional Islamic version of Sufism like grave worship and wanted to bring back the real version of Islam practiced by Muhammad (Peace be upon him). He was the founder of Wahhabis movement. Shah Waliullah was a forerunner of Muslim thinkers such as Muhammad Iqbal and Muhmmad Abduh. He believed that "a constant need for new ijtehad as the Muslim community progressed and expanded and new generations had to cope with new problems" Syed Ahamd barilvi was the student of Shah waliullah son. He waged Jihad against the Sikh regime in Punjab and NWFP to enforce Islamic state. After his death his followers participated in war against the British rule. After the failure of Indian uprising his followers founded the deoband Madrasa in 1867. Later on its turn to deoband movement. Another contributor was Allama Muhammad Iqbal, who was a Islamic philosophical

thinker of modern times, politician and famous poet of the Muslim world. He is widely regarded as having inspired the Islamic Nationalism and Pakistan Movement during the British rule in India. His collections of lectures were published in his book titled the reconstruction of religious Thought in Islam, where he explained the role of Islam as religion, political and legal philosophy in the modern age. He warned that secularism would weaken the spiritual foundations of Islam and Muslim society and Hindu majority population would destroy the Muslim heritage, culture and political influence in India. He encouraged the ideas of greater Islamic political co-operation and unity among the Muslim world. Later on, Iqbal's vision and Thoughts were influenced many Islamists such as Ali Shariati, Muhammad Asad, and Syed Mawdudi.

#### **2.4 Syed Mawdudi Political Islam**

Syed Mawdudi was born in Aurangabad in the state of India on 25th September 1903. He belongs to Sadat family, which has connections with *Chishti Sufi* order. They claimed that their origin traced to the Prophet (peace be upon him) migrated from Afghanistan to India. Syed Mawdudi's father Muhammad Hassan was born in 1855 in Delhi and his mother Ruqiyah Begam was the daughter of Qurban Ali descended from Turkish tribe. Ahmad Hassan religious life had great influence on Syed Mawdudi thoughts. His father took great interest in his education and supervised him personally. Syed Mawdudi got his initial education at home and learned Persian, Urdu, Arabic, Logic, Jurisprudence and Hadith in early age. At the age of eleven, he joined Madrassa-I Fauqaniah of Aurangabad where he studies Qudri and Hadith which was affiliated with the Uthmaniyah University of Aurangabad, but unfortunately he could not completed his education due to the sudden death of father. Later on he started his professional career as journalist in 1918. He worked for many journals and newspapers such as Muslim and weekly *Taaaj*. During professional life he

learned English language through self-reading and with the help of private tutor (Nasr S. V., 1996, pp. 9-15).

It was the time, when Muslims of the Sub-Continent were getting political awareness day by day. He took part in the Khilafat movement and was among those people, who migrated from India to Afghanistan. The purpose was to protect the last Institution of the Ummah. During the Khilafat Movement, Syed Mawdudi got inspiration from Mulana Muhammad Ali speeches. He wrote the first book *Al jihad fill Islam* (The jihad in Islam) at the age of 25. In this book he critically responded to the Europe false allegations that Islam spread through the sword. Allama Iqbal commented on this book that I never seen such a complete book on the topic of Jihad in Urdu language (Mawdudi S. A., 2005).

During this era, Syed Mawdudi saw disintegration of Ottoman Empire, breakdown of Khilafat, *Shuddi* movement against Muslims in Sub-Continent, communal violence and the critical condition of the Muslims all over the World pushed his thoughts toward Politics.

Syed Mawdudi explained the concept of Islamism in these words,

*Muslim is primarily the name of a global community whose duty is to overthrow the "un-Godly" system with a divine order. Islamic way of Life is a comprehensive system encompassing all aspects of human life. Only on the basis of beliefs and rituals, Islamic system cannot flourish Underran infidel system of life* (Ameen, 2010, p. 93).

Syed Mawdudi explore and gave alternate to these concepts that if someone is suffering from atheism, educate him with Islamic civilization further he says if someone suffer from Nationalism give him alternate system Islamic Nationalism and during feminism give her veiling (*parda*). When Pakistan movement was going in Sub-Continent against the British rule, he wrote two books

*Masala Qawmiyyat* (the Question of Nationalism) and *Musalman our Mawjooda siyasi Kashmakash* (Muslim and the contemporary political struggle) on the topic of Indian Nationalism. He gave a clear stance that keep away from slogan of Indian nationalism. It is danger for the Muslim of India, Nationalism identity of Muslim have rooted in Islamic Civilization and don't have specific race and declared it infidelity further he said to bring Indian Nationalism system by replacing British infidel system is not a noble deed and it would eliminate Islam from the Sub-continent and will submission the domain of Mughal to Hindus. He also warned the Muslims that Secularism have god-less concept and gave the concept of religious democratic system against secular Democratic System (Moten, 2004).

Syed Mawdudi did not join Muslim League nor Congress. He criticized the ideology of Jamiat Ulema-i-Hind and ideology of Muslim nationalism of All India Muslim League with the clarification that Muslims have to struggle only for Islamic Government. Later on he explained his views in these words about partition,

*In later years Mawdudi, reflecting on his thinking during this period, stated that he never opposed the Muslim League's demand for partition. But rather was against the party's secularist attitude: "Our concern then was Islam, and the ability of those who sought to represent it (Nasr S. W., 1994, p. 25).*

There is a common misperception that Syed Mawdudi and his party were against the creation Of Pakistan: in fact he was in favor of a separate homeland for Muslims, but objected strongly to the Muslim League's vision and plan of action for Pakistan.

Syed Mawdudi own analysis about the contemporary situation was that Muslims has gradually drifted away from the ideal order established by Muhammad (peace be upon him) had remained till to orthodox caliphs. Then body politic Islam transferred from Khilafat to Monarchy System.

Due to this change the role of religion had been limited in socio-political life. Consequently political and religious leadership developed their own domain and areas of influence for each (Ansari, p. 17).

He concluded that to solve the problems of the Muslims and safeguard its interest only Islamic state based on Quran and Sunnah can do it. for this purpose need a Political party to organize the Muslims of India and bring radical change in Muslims society to work for them such as Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) had did 14 century ago. He was on the opinion that no one party could not achieve the target unless a group of people have high ethical and religious standard and morally upright in the society. The number of the people are not important but it depend upon action and thoughts of that group and JI could do it (Nasr S. W., 1994, pp. 16-17).

## **2.5 Formation of JI-1941**

Syed Mawdudi with small groups of friends and supporters came to Lahore in January 1939. They stayed there for three months to give a practical shape to their vision in the shape of a Muslim, religious and educational institution called Daru-ul-Islam in the small village of Pathankot in East Punjab. The rapid changes in politics soon after the establishment of such kind of schools convinced them to abandon this project. He visited many institutions such as Islamia College Peshawar, the Muslim Anglo Oriental College of Amritsar, and the Nadwatul-Ulama in Lucknow, where he delivered numerous lectures on the topic of Islam and Politics. The response of the Intellectuals gave him courage, so in 1940 he publically proposed a new party. Eventually, Syed Mawdudi called all those people who were interested in the creating of a new party and on 26, August 1941, seventy Five people responded to his invitation. The constitution was drafted in the three days session and JI was founded officially at the home of Mulana Zafar Iqbal. Syed Mawdudi was elected the first Amir of JI on 27<sup>th</sup> August, 1941 (Nasr S. W., 1994, pp. 26-28).

During the session it was decided that the party will be an Amir and its term would be remain indefinite. Moreover some exclusive principles were laid down which differentiate the party from other parties. These principles were promulgated officially and made part of the constitution.

- 1) During election canvassing and self-candidature intolerable all time to come.
- 2) Lingual, ethnical, regional and personal like and dislike prompting hatred, so it will be discourage.
- 3) There be always an open debate over local and central level matters.
- 4) Problem should be resolved through consensus, however, the opinion of majority will be accepted (Gondal, 2012).

## 2.6 Ideology

The JI ranks between the leading and most significant Islamic revivalist movements in 20th century and is the first of its kind to develop an ideology based on the modern revolutionary concept of Islam in the modern world. The basic ideology of JI is to struggle for the establishment of an Islamic state based on Sharia that Muslims could perform their religious affairs in the light of Quran and Sunnah to achieve salvation in both lives. Its vision has three terms Deen, Divine order and an Islamic way of Life. The three terms have the same meanings, the Quran use the word iqamat-e-Din and JI use the word Iqmat-e-Din in the sense of Islamic way of life or Divine Order. In broader sense, Iqamat-e-Din means to follow Din (religion) individually or collectively must implement in all sphere of life. Whole Islam is necessary, whether its prayer, Fasting, Haj, zakat, socio-economic or political sphere of life. Those parts which are concerned individually have to be implemented by oneself and all those parts which can't be implemented individually would be struggled collectively. The real purpose of believer to achieve Allah pleasure and success in the

hereafter, which seems impossible without establishing Government of God in this world. The basic objective of JI is to bring revolution in the life of an individual and as well as in collective life, which Islam call for it and for this mission Allah sent his all Prophets (Jammat-e-Islami Pakistan, 2015) (Nasr S. V., 1996).

The party's political philosophy based on the concept of Theo-democracy that Political Government formed through elected representatives of the society and they will govern based on Quran and Sunnah. In other words the elected representatives will manage the state affairs according to Islamic laws and principles. The party's aim is to implement Muhammadan laws by replacing Anglo. The party believes in the concept of the Theo-Democracy where God is the Sovereign and head of the State is the God agent on the earth opposing the current form of Democracy. In this case, it is the duty of the head of the State to implement the laws of their sovereign (Simeone, 2010, pp. 133-135).

Syed Mawdudi stated that JI is established to change the system of the whole world to change the world politics, economy, ethics and society (Mawdudi S. , p. 33). The party's ideology and plan of action shows to unite the Umma for Islamic revolution which the West fear of that kind of revivalism. According to JI philosophy it is our responsibility to promote unity among the Muslims all over the world and to wipe out all ideologies such as Communism, Imperialism and Modernism. The party officials claim that the party ideology inspiration come from Allama Iqbal and Syed Mawdudi thoughts, in fact even the Darul Isalm was established in 1939 on the advice of Iqbal. Another aspect of JI ideology is the concept of Jihad notion that Jihad is an utmost and undeniable duty of the Muslims. In the past, JI workers fought the war against Indian Army and *Mukti bahni* in 1971 as well as afghan war and participated in gorilla war in Kashmir.



Jl approach toward nationalist and sectarian politics is different comparing to other Islamic and secular parties in Pakistan, the credit goes to Syed Mawdudi. The party's ideology has no inclination toward any sect or ethnic group. The party ideology is patriotic in nature, the anti-nationalist and anti-Sectarian, supports Urdu as an official language for Pakistan as it can play a vital role in revising Islamic laws, culture and history. Syed Mawdudi strongly criticized Sufism (Mysticism), according to him Sufism believe in universal brother hood and religious harmony irrespective of religious faith, he stated that Muslims of India were declined due to Sufism. However, the current leadership considered Sufism as Similar to the Pan-Islamism Movement. Jl documents claims the equal Rights of education for Men and women and according to Islamic Principles full rights will be given to the minorities (balasubramanian, 2010, pp. 75-85).

## **2.7 Organizational Structure**

Jl internal structure is different from other political parties of Pakistan. Jl has stronger democratic system than other political parties related to intra party election. It has unique system of intra-party election. If someone presents himself/ herself as candidate for any post, according to Jl constitution he/she will be automatically disqualified. Election held on regular basis after 5 years at central, provincial and District level. The Consultative bodies Central provincial and District generally decide three senior members for the election of central, provincial and District Amir respectively. Elections are conducted by *Nazim-e-Intikhab* (Controller of Election) with the coordination of consultative committee. The party leader called Amir, is elected by the members (*rukan*) of the party through secret ballot for five years. The party *Shura* (consultative Members) can impeached the Amir through two third majority. Amir has the full authority over all organization of the party and he is responsible to prepare the policies with the consultation of *Shura*. During the decision making process, if Amir is disagree on any decision, he has the power to refer back to *Shura*. In

this case the Amir has to accept *the Shura's* Decision or to resign from the post. After election, the newly elected Amir appoints Secretary General and Vice Presidents of the party with consultation of *Shura*. He has the authority to appoint any one from *Shura* Members without consultation of *Shura*. The party leaderships comprising Amir along with *Qayyam* (General Secretary), 7 vice Presidents. Provincial and District Amir are elected by concern province and District members respectively.

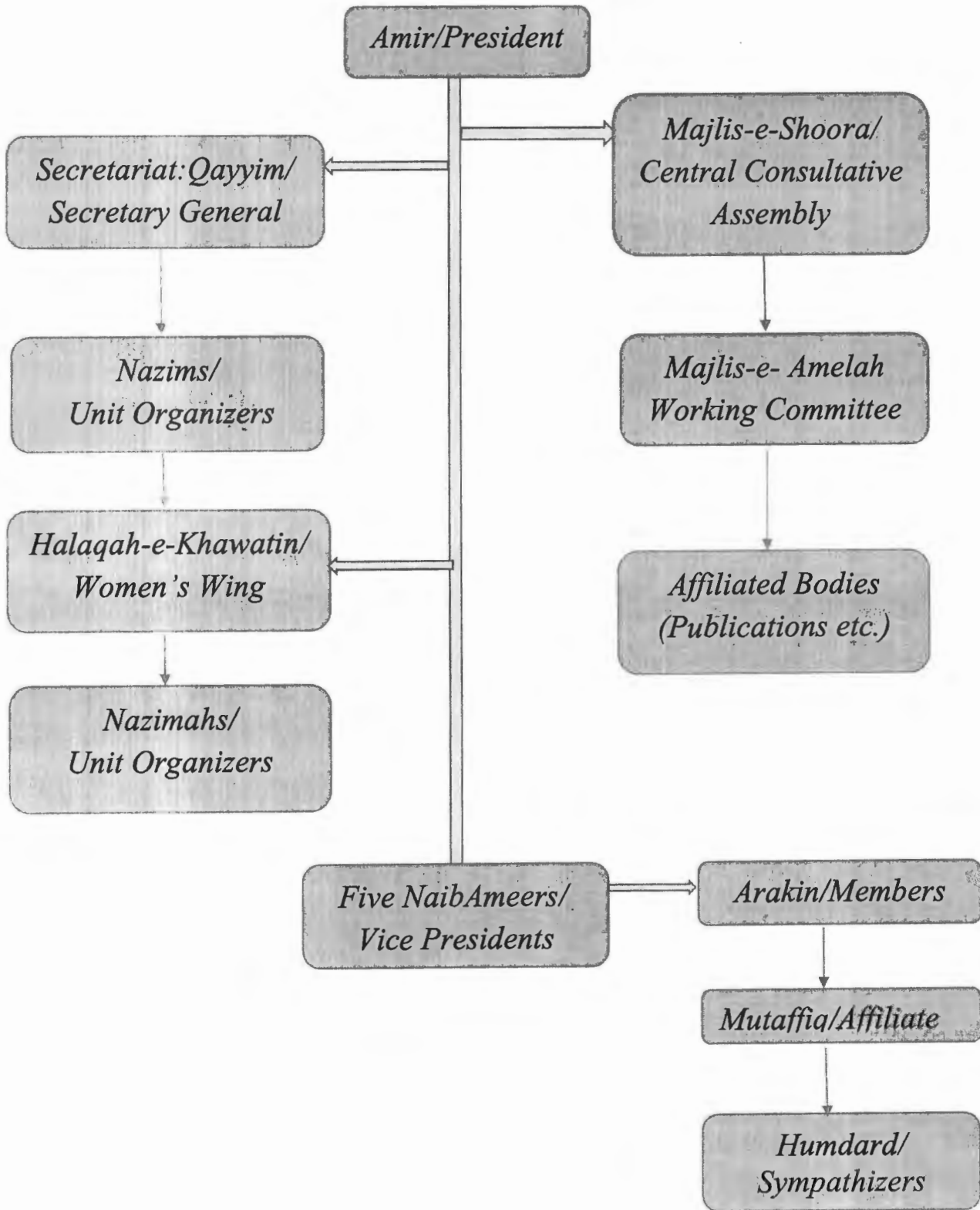
The consultative members consisted of 82 members, elected by the members for three year. The Amir has the authority to decrease or increase the duration of the *Shura* members. According to the constitution of JI, the *Shura's* meeting must held once a year, however, a special meeting would be call on the request of one fourth of the *Shura's* members. JI headquarter and Secretariat are situated in Mansoura Lahore. It has many departments dealing with organizational, financial, publications, workers' training, labor's welfare, social services, public schools, adult education, Arabic and English translation, theological institutions, and information. Provinces are distributed in to smallest units called *Halqa* or *Muqam*. The party has recruitment mainly from students and Madrassas. Generally the party calls a national level gathering (*Ijtma-e-Aam*) every five years with the aim and objectives to promote solidarity among members. (balasubramanian, 2010, pp. 62-65).

JI organizational structure is based on hierarchical setup. It's began from office of Amir to the deputy Amir, Secretary General, Consultative committee, Working committee and extended to Provincial, Divisional, District level, City, Town, and village level. All units have their own Amir, *Shura* and Secretary General from Centre to District units (Mawdudi and the Making of Islamic Revivlism, 1996).

JI claims that the party members increased up to 4.5 million till 2011. It's have two kinds simple (*muntafiq*) and organized members (*Arkan*). Currently the party has 25,000 permanent remembers.

The process to become organized member contain up to six to eight months. During this time he/she will read the concern literature and regularly attend weekly meeting in their concern districts. The party funding comes from members and from publications of JI literature, for example the monthly Urdu Magazine Tarjuman-ul-Quran. It has not any faction like other political parties (Asia Report, 2011, pp. 09-10).

Figure 2.1: Organizational Structure



JI has massive infrastructure for administrative, health, research and educational purposes, in Headquarter Mansoorah Lahore. Some of these are Islamic Research Academy founded in 1963 for research purpose, Mansoorah Hospital constructed in 1982 for health care, *Markaz Ulema-al-Islamia* established in 1980 to explore the knowledge of Islam, Syed Mawdudi International Educational Institute launched in 1982 where they teach both Islamic and secular education, The *Jamiat-ul-Muhsinat* (Center for Islamic Education for Girls) established in 1990 to provide Islamic education to girls, *Markaz Tehfiz-ul-Quran* (Center for Learning the Koran by Heart), Mansoorah Model Schools for boys and girls along with Mansoorah Model Degree College for educational purposes and JI affiliated Institute of policy studies (IPS) was established in 1979. It plays important role in domestic and international policies of JI. (balasubramanian, 2010, pp. 64-65).

## **2.8 Party Leadership**

JI was headed by influential leaders since its creation. The founder of the party Syed Mawdudi was renowned Scholar and philosopher. He remained party leader until 1972, due to health problem he decided to step down from the leadership. He was followed by Mian Tufail Muhammad who was a lawyer by profession and secretary General at that time. He was elected by the *Shura* for three terms, in 1987 he resigned and succeeded by charismatic leader Qazi Hussain Ahmad. He remained as Amir for 22 years and resigned in 2009 because of illness. He was greatly inspired by Allama Iqbal's vision of pan-Islamism. During his leadership he maintained friendly contact with national and International Islamic Organizations and Islamic movements. He visited many Islamic countries and together all the Muslims under the banner of Islam. Syed Munawwar Hassan replaced Qazi Hussain Ahmad in 2009. Apart from them there were 13 Amirs headed the party on temporary basis. After five controversial years of Syed Manawwar Hassan in 2014 ex-finance

Minister in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (KPK) government Siraj ul Haq was elected by the Central Consultative Assembly.

The office secretary General was established in 1941. It controls the party from Lahore Headquarter. It is the most important post after the head of the party in JI. He is appointed by Amir with consultation of *Shura* for five years. In the past, Mian Muhammad Tufail, Qazi Husain Ahmad, Manawwar Hassan, remained the party Secretary Generals. In 2014 Liaqat Baloch was appointed by the new Amir Siraj ul Haq for second term.

## **2.9 Affiliated Organizations**

JI has established many affiliated organizations in different field of the society. It is control by JI officials to some extent, while in broader perspective these organizations are autonomous bodies; in other word it can be called semi-autonomous organizations. They greatly extent the party range and influence and mostly new members come from these organizations. Affiliated institutions and unions propagate JI views in their sphere of influence and to consolidate JI power in specific fields such as Islami Jamiat Talaba, *Jamiat talaba Arabia* (Society of Students of Arabic ), *Islami Jamiat talibat* (Islamic Society of Female Students ) are students organizations, Pakistan Unions Forum, Pakistan Medical Association, Muslim Lawyers Federation, Pakistan Teachers Organization, Merchant's Organization, Peasants' Board, National Labor Federation and *Shabab-e-Milli* working in their specific fields. (Nasr S. W., 1994).

### **2.9.1 Islami Jamiat Talaba**

Islami Jamiat Talaba is one of the most active and effective affiliated union of JI Pakistan. It is basically a students' wing, propagate JI Ideology of Islamic revivalism at grass root level in college and university campuses. It was established soon after independence of Pakistan by Syed Abu Lala

Mawdudi on 23 December 1947 in Lahore. There were 25 students and majority of them were the sons of JI members. JI leadership mostly come from Islami Jamiat Talba, some of them are Qazi Hussain Ahmad, Manawwar Hassan, Professor Khurshid Ahmad, Siraj ul Haq, Hafiz Muhammad Idrees, Liaqat Baloch, Hafiz Salman Butt, Dr. Farid Ahmad peracha and so on. The IJT administration and organizational structure was developed by a brother hood member, who was living in Karachi at that time. The aim of IJT was to promote Islamic feeling among the students and to counter the secular ideology of Democratic Student Federation and the National Student Federation. The group organizes Islamic lecture and welcome gathering to attract new comers. The IJT was also inspired by Muslim brotherhood such as they adopted study circle and all night study session regularly.

The IJT organizational structure is look like JI organizational structure. There are four categories of membership initially pro-IJT members called supporter (*Hami*), next phase they become Friends (*Rafiq*) than candidate for membership (*umeedwar rukan*) and finally the members (*Rukan*). Only members (*Rukan*) are eligible for high official posts. The most important post is *central Nazim-e-a'la* (supreme head) coordinate by secretary general and two assistant and has central consultative Assembly as well as each provinces have their own *Shura Nazim* and Secretary General. Election are held regular basis every year for the posts of *Nazim-e-a'la*, similarly in all units.

The IJT sister origination *Islami Jamiat Talibat* (Islamic Society of Female Students) was formed in September 1969. Both organizations have close ties and coordinate with each other in their respective units. Most of the Tablibat members much like Jamiat members belong to JI member families (Information was provided by IJT Members) (Nasr S. V., 1992).

### **2.9.2 Women Wing (Halqa Khawateen )**

JI Officials claims that JI have the most organized and huge plate form of women wing. It (*Halqa Khawateen* ) was established in 1950s. More than 70% workers come from JI members families. The important post is the Secretary General and their own central *Shura*. They have no Amir. Its Headquarter is situated in Lahore Manssarah from where all units are supervised by working of Organizers (*Nazimahs*). The wing operates to increase the representation in women and also provide free education and home to the poor women. Some of JI women elected for National Assembly in the past. Recently Aisa Sayyed from Swat representing JI in National Assembly. The JI women website regularly publishes articles on current issues and every year they celebrate *Hayya day* and Hijab Day (Jamaat Women, 2015).

### **2.9.3 Social Work**

Since the creation of Pakistan, JI Pakistan has been engaged with social work. After the partition of the Sub-continent Indian Muslims migrated to the newly born state. JI workers have contracted relief camps for those Mahajirs especially in Karachi. Social work project was set up in 1951 and 1992 it was registered formally with the name of AL- khidamt foundation.

### **2.10 Conclusion**

During the initial stage of Islam, the orthodox caliphs were considered political as well religious leaders. With the passage of time the Muslims rulers converted Muslim state into authoritarian regime. Due to it the religious community isolated themselves from the state affairs, as result the concept of traditional Islam has been developed in Muslim world. When Muslim became the ruler of the India, first these Muslim rulers were not religious, second the Indian people were mainly converted in to Islam by traditional Muslims. When Syed Mawdudi presented the idea of political



Islam. It was a unique ideas for the Muslims of India even for religious community of that time. When JI was founded, very few young religious scholars joined the movement. During the JI foundation time Pakistan moment was in peak. So the movement of Islamic revivalism did not attract the Muslims of India in a large scale.

## **Chapter 3: JI Electoral History and Transformation**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The foundation of JI has been discussed in previous chapter. In this chapter its different phases of evolution will be discussed in details from 1941 to 1987. The historical background of JI spread over half century. In first phase the party was a social movement that focused on spreading its ideology throughout the country and strengthened the organization as well. After the partition of sub-continent, the party divided into two factions named JIP (Jammat-e-Islami Pakistan) and JIH (Jammat-e-Islami Hind). In the first decade, the JIP become a pressure group struggling for Islamic constitution and finally it become political party in 1957, when JI decided to participate in electoral politics. Besides it the party confrontation with Ayub government, the aftermath of 1970 election, JI electoral politics during the Bhutto and Zia regimes will be discussed in detail.

### **3.2 Post Creation Era**

JI was a social movement in the first phase before the creation of Pakistan. According to Syed wali raza Nasr (1994) "JI began with the idea that British and Hindu hegemony over the subcontinent Muslims astray from the path of Islam" (p. 27).

Soon after the JI was founded, Syed Mawdudi left Lahore for the reason that he was frightened that Pakistan movement would engulfed the new party. In priority base, Sialkot was considered the initial base and then moved to Pathankot along with other prominent leaders. From 1942 to 1947, JI Leaders have focused to strengthen intellectual organizational basis of the party. Meanwhile large numbers of JI members also shifted to Pathankot. It was the time when Pakistan movement was in peak so they wanted to keep away from the turmoil of the national politics. Syed Mawdudi had gathered young Ulemas (religious Scholars) from the different sects of Islam

including four from Deoband, Six from Madrasat-ulIslah, four from Nadva ul Islam and two from Ahle Hadith. He spread his vision through popular magazine Tur Juman ul Quran among the Muslims of the Sub-Continent. By 1945 two hundred and twenty four religious scholars have joined JI and 40% ulemas were consisted of the total members of Central consultative body. They controlled round about sixty mosques while the other had huge following among the Muslims. (Isani, pp. 137-138).

Few years later, at least one member was consisted in every state of the India except three provinces Baluchistan, Orissa and Assam. The leaders of those provinces had representatives in the central consultative Assembly of the party. In 1945, Syed Mawdudi was elected as Amir for 2<sup>nd</sup> term in the first all India convention for the next five years. He wanted to keep away himself from the Indian politics to build the party organization, focus on leadership training and his writing, but the partition of Sub-continent forced him to change his strategy. With the advent of two states JI The party divided in to two factions Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan and Jamat-e-Islami Hind. At that time, the party had 625 members, Syed Mawdudi migrated to Lahore, where he started his work with 385 members to lead the party in newly born state and the rest of members stayed in India, where they organized themselves in the leadership of Mulana Abu Lias Islahi (Ahmad M. ). At the time of partition a lot of Muslims migrated to Karachi, during that time JI workers provided social service, shelter and health care to migrated people. JI got sympathy and gained popularity in Muhajir (migrant) community in the capital of Pakistan. They started working with the institutions of the states trade union, professional organizations, and students and built its own media networks. (Keskin, 2009).

### 3.3 From Social Movement to Political Party

After independent, the basic question faces by the ruler of the state its relation with Islam. Majority of the leadership were of the opinion that constitution should be made according to teaching of Islam, but the problem was how to adjust Islam with modern state system. In the other side, secular lobby wanted to remain the Anglo-Saxon laws already existing in the country implemented by British Government, western education and secular constitution the debate started between these groups. In 1948, JI started a massive campaign to gain popular public support especially from educated people due to which the slogan "*Hamara Mutalba Islamic Dastur*" (we want Islamic Constitution) become popular slogan across the country. JI leaders demanded that constituent Assembly passed the declaration clearly affirming the "supreme Sovereignty of Allah" and Islamic Sharia should be the basic law of the country, while all anti-Islamic Laws should declared null and void as soon as possible. The JI gained the first victory, when Government passed the objective resolution in 1949. The resolution was full of Islamic principles. The objective resolution brought changes in JI basic policy, now they were preparing themselves to inter into electoral politics. In other words they indirectly has been involved in Pakistan politics. Two years later, JI directly participated in the election. (ibid)

Soon after independence, JI developed its organizational structure for successful political strategy. Mawdudi increased the party participation in politics just as he consolidated its organizational structure. Those members who were interested to bring revolution, forced the party to review its mission and strategy in Pakistan. Though the objective resolution passed by the constituent Assembly, but the constitution was not prepared for the newly born state and they were not sincere to implement constitution. However the ongoing unfavorable situation of political arena toward

Islamic goal and hostile behavior from government pushed them into direct politics. JI leaders decided to participate in election scheduled in Punjab 1951.

After creation, the first election held on March 1951 for Punjab legislature. In that election six parties participated including JI. Muslim League become the largest party of the province secured 52 percent of the total votes, independent got 23.7 percent, while the Jinnah Awami League secured 18.3 percent, JI got only 4 percent vote, whereas Azad Pakistan party, Islam League and Communist party secured 2,0.4 and 0.1 percent respectively of the total votes.

**Table 3.1: Punjab legislative Result 1951**

<b>Party position in Punjab Election excepting Muslim League</b>	<b>Seats</b>
Jinnah Awami Muslim League	32
Azad Pakistan Party	1
Jamat-e-Islami	1
Islam League	0
Communist Party	0
Independents	17

(Kamran, 2009)

The election result was complete disappointment for JI workers and leaders. The people of Punjab clearly rejected JI's candidates. Syed Mawdudi argued that workers should more diligent to propagate JI vision far and wide and to bring new members to strengthen the party in grass root

level. Despite Mawdudi's confidence, the defeat was sufficient for the party back to its original strategy.

### **3.4 The Machchi Goth Affairs 1957**

The aftermath of the election thrown the party into a serious debate. The debate stated among the senior members, whether the JI mission was religious propaganda or politics. The senior members, who were against the politics gave reference of the damaging effect of the electoral politics on the moral of the party while Syed Mawdudi suggested two plans, political activism and religious effort. The issue was not resolve successfully due to anti-Ahmadi agitation started in 1953-1954. After a long time, a general session held in Karachi in 1954 for the purpose to discuss the matter of election defeat in 1951. Finally a committee was made for investigation. They interviewed some of two hundred members of the party across the country. The committee prepared the report that the party had de track from the right path and become opportunist. In fact, the party following the popular will (*awam parasti*) and become political organization. Political activities of party deceased religious studies and even effect the worship. The *Shura* passed the four points agenda in the light of report submitted by facts and finding committee.

- 1) The party had turned from its proper path, while JI had made gain has been damaged, it should be restored.
- 2) De-emphasized the politics.
- 3) The party position based on several issues was on Quran and Sunnah, not on the Party documents nor Amir or *Shura* decision.

The review committee report and the decision of the *Shura* limited the power of the Amir and the bureaucracy. The young activists among the party were expecting to win the forthcoming election

made them excited to contest the election and to become a national party. These activists approached Syed Mawdudi to encourage him for challenging the writ of the decision of the *Shura*.

During the following years Syed Mawdudi resigned due to internal problem occurred in the party. After all a *Shura* meeting called by secretary General Mian Tufail Muhammad. The *Shura* requested to Syed Mawdudi for the withdrawal of his resignation, but he agreed on one condition that the dispute should be resolve in open party meeting. In February 1957, an open party meeting held in *Machchi Goth* a small village of southern Punjab. There were 1,272 JI members, 935 attended came across the country. Syed Mawdudi delivered six hour speech, introduced a new plane of action. He said that party would sustained the religious movement, but it would also participate in the politics. He argued that the party was established for the purpose to form divine government. We have to compete the secular forces through every field of life including politics. So the Party would review its original agenda, it would now follow Religious as well as political objectives and Propaganda with equal strength. (Nasr S. V., 1994).

### **3.5 Ayub Martial Law**

After a long period, the first constitution was approved by constituent Assembly in 1956. The constitution was based on Islamic nature along with secular laws. On the other side JI leadership demanded a little bit amendments in the constitution. However, Syed Mawdudi was satisfied that most of JI demands fulfill the constitution and reflect the national consensus. JI leadership argued that we have some reservations although the constitution has Islamic nature. On March 1956, JI issued official press release on the matter of constitution, stated thanks to Almighty Allah that after a long time the issue has been settled in a manner (Dr. Fakhur-ul-Islam, 27, dec 2013, p. 70).

After two years later, General Ayub khan imposed martial law and abolished the constitution as well as banned all political parties. The decision has been taken by General Ayub khan greatly disappointed the JI leadership, because they were looking with great expectation to the general election held in 1959. Because JI had gained significant popularity during the constitutional debate. For example, JI got victory in the Karachi Municipal corporation election in 1959. So imposing martial law means long struggle of JI for Islamic constitution was fruitless. During Ayub era. JI along with other parties were politically remained inactive. The party was mainly focused on religious, social and educational activities as well as strengthen its organizational networks. The also continued criticism on authoritarian regime, corruption and it's westernize version of Islam. As a reaction, the government officially banned the party in January 1964. Later on, Supreme Court declared illegitimate official ban on the party in September 1964 (Ahmad M. , Islamic Fundamentalism in South Asia, The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat of south Asia).

In 1962, new constitution was framed under dictatorial rule and left ban on political parties. According to new constitution presidential election to be held within three months. General Ayub was nominated for presidency candidate by convention Muslim League. JI supported Fatima Jinnah against president Ayub khan joined the combined opposition parties (COP). The PML got land sliding victory over the opposition secured 120 seats. The opposition won 15 seats and combine opposition party bagged only 10 seats. The opposition had been failed to overthrow the Ayub regime. Finally General Ayub resigned and Ayub government came to an end, his successor General Yahya khan occupied the government and imposed martial law in march 1969 (Kamran, Electoral Politics in Pakistan (1955-1969), pp. 90-94).



### 3.6 General Election of 1970

The new government announced general election in October 1970, but the shocking cyclone in East Pakistan compelled the Government to delayed general election. Millions of people were affected by the devastating cyclone in East Pakistan. According Shiekh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman thousands of people were died and 90 percent crops and houses were destroyed in 3,000 square miles. He criticized the relief work that Government is not sincere to help the effected people. Awami league used its political tool for the coming election. The government announced that election for national and provincial Assembly were to be held on 7<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> December respectively. After withdrawal and rejected applicants 1579 contestants were left in the election field for 300 national seats. Throughout the election campaign, regional political parties were getting support in their specific regions, while national parties had little gross-root support across the country. JI including rightist political parties such as JUI, JUP and Pakistan Muslim League and its three factions losing popular support as well as Leftist parties such as National Awami parties of Adul Wali Khan and Sindh United Front of G.M Syed. During the election Campaign Shiek Mujeeb urehman's six points agenda were getting popular support in East Pakistan, on other side, Pakistan people party and his leader Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto was gaining support due to his slogan of food, clothing and shelter (*Roti, Kapra aur Makan*).

Pakistan people party developed three principles, Islam is our religion, democracy is our polity, socialism is our economy and the power vested to the people of Pakistan. In contrast, religious political parties such as JIP, JUI and JUP criticized Bhutto and his economic policy declared its *kufir* (anti-Islamic). (Rizwan, 2014, pp. 30-35).

To West Pakistan, JI launched campaign against Bhutto's economic policies. Syed Mawdudi expressed that only Islam might be capable to solve the socio-economic grievances. In East

Pakistan, they launched movement to satisfy the people of East Pakistan that their first dedication and loyalties should be with Islam and Pakistan, not their linguistic and ethnic and provincial roots. In December 1969, JI distributed its manifesto for election with minor varieties emphasis about its Islamic constitutionalist platform. The party manifesto had shown only economic solution through Islamic form of Government. They attacked on feudalism and capitalism guaranteed to limit land proprietorship should two hundred acres, also recommended at least pay of Rs. 150–Rs. 200 and better working condition, but these promises did not attract the voters (Nasr S. V., 1994, pp. 130-134).

### 3.6.1 Election Result:

Awami league got land sliding victory in East Pakistan. It secured 160 out of 162 total seats allocated in East Pakistan. Pakistan people party emerged the second largest party of the country secured 81 out 140 total seats in West Pakistan. JI bagged only four out 300 total seats.

Table 3.2: National Assembly Result of 1970

Pakistan National Assembly Elections, 1970 Result						Seats
Party Name	East Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
AI	160	---	---	---	---	160
PPP	---	62	18	1	---	81
PML(Q)	---	1	1	7	---	9
CML	---	7	---	---	---	7
JUI (H)	---	---	---	6	1	7
MJU	---	4	3	---	---	7
NAP (W)	---	---	---	3	3	6
JIP	---	1	2	1	---	4

PML (C)	---	2	---	---	---	2
PDP	1	---	---	---	---	1
Independence	1	5	3	7	---	16
Total	162	82	27	25	4	300

Sources: (Baxter, 1971)

Provincial Assembly result was the blueprint of the National Assembly election result. Awami league had done clean sweep in East Pakistan. Pakistan people party secured 113 out of 144 total seats allocated in West Pakistan. JI got only four seats in both wings.

**Table 3.3: Provincial Assembly Result of 1970**

Pakistan Provincial Assembly Elections, 1970 Result						
Party Name	East Pakistan	Punjab	Sindh	NWFP	Baluchistan	Total
AL	288	---	---	---	---	288
PPP	---	113	28	3	---	144
PML(Q)	---	6	5	10	3	24
NAP (W)	1	---	---	13	8	22
CML	---	15	4	1	---	20
MJU	---	4	7	---	---	11
JUI (H)	---	2	---	4	2	8
PML (C)	---	6	---	2	---	8
SPDP	2	4	---	---	---	6
JIP	1	1	1	1	---	4
Others	1	1	1	---	2	5
Independence	7	28	14	6	5	60
Total	162	82	27	25	4	300

Sources: ibid

The JI members were greatly disappointed by election result and the questioned raised on Syed Mawdudi leadership. The election result also broke the power and image of the party. Meanwhile, Pakistan People Party and Awami league engaged for making the government. Syed Mawdudi encouraged General Yaha khan for giving permission to Mujeeb. But political deadlock remained between Pakistan people party and Awami league till 16 December 1971. As a result East Pakistan become emerged an independent state named Bangladesh on the map of the world. After the fall of Dhaka, the political forces of new Pakistan involved to get more shares at federal as well as provincial level Governments (Haqqani, 2005).

### **3.7 Bhutto Government and 1977 Election**

After war of 1971, General Yahya khan shifted the power to Bhutto. He gradually consolidated his power on government administration. In 1970 general election, the religious parties were defeated by Secular parties. However in new Pakistan they played important role during constitutional process. (Suhail, 2010 ) However JI had only 4 members in parliament. But their role was critical during the drafting of the constitution because of twenty five years' experience, where they had been struggled for Islamic constitution. Due to which 1973 constitution became a Islamic constitution (Appleby). Islam was declared the religion of state. The previous Islamic provisions were included in the constitution and the most important one the objective resolution was retained as preamble to the new constitution (Saigol). During the farming of constitution process Bhutto government had show flexibility in incorporating the Islamic provisions, but soon after he banned many pro-JI newswEEKlies and papers (Shafqat). The cooperation between JI and Bhutto Government came to an end when Khatmi Nabowwat movement started in 1974. A incident took place at the Rabwa railway station between IJT members and Ahmadiya community on 29 may 1974. The incident lead to the nation wide movement demonding that the sect be declared

non-muslim. Only one day after the incident, JI and IJT members organized the anti-Ahmadiya protest in major cities of Pakistan. Soon the government was forced by agitators. Bhutto declared the Qadianies to be outside the pale of Islam (Ahmad M. , *The Jamaat-i-Islami and the Tablighi Jamaat of South Asia*, 1992).

From 1974 to 1977 the party used the period to strengthen its cells and JI launched a social campaign for enforcement of sharia. The party renewed its effort toward people and recruitment of new workers and associations. As result one hundred people jointed the party (ibid).

Prime Minister Bhutto increasingly became unpopular and was facing considerable criticism from the opposition parties. During his last three years the government and opposition were engaged with each other. The provincial governments in NWFP and Baluchistan were dismissed and opposition leaders were harassed by all means. As a result the united opposition parties formed Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) on 8 January 1977. It was the amalgamation of religious and secular political parties (Kamran, 2008).

On 7 January 1977, the government announced the general election would be held on 7 march and 10 march for national and provincial assemblies respectively. The alliance of Opposition Parties decided to contest election in the platform of Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). There were nine political parties such as JI, the Azad Jammu and Kashmir Conference, the National Democratic Party (NDP), JUP, PDP, the PML, the APJUI (Mufti), the Khaksar Tehrik and Tehrik-e-Istaqlal (TI) (Amin, 2007).

The main contestants were Pakistan people party and PNA. The both side started elections with full strength. As compared to Pakistan people party the attendance of people at PNA's meeting was surprising. The observers could expect that PNA would able to get eighty to ninety seats out of total 200 hundred. The result of the election was surprising. Pakistan people party got land

sliding victory by winning 155 seats out of 200 in the National Assembly. JI secured 9 seats along with PNA won only 36 seats. The opposition parties have rejected the election result accused Bhutto and his government for heavy rigging in the elections and boycotted the election for provincial Assemblies (Chandio, 2011).

The opposition parties started agitation and then converted it into violent demonstration. The religious parties transformed the movement into the *Tehreek-i-nizam-i-Mustafa* (movement for establishment of Islamic system). The negotiations started between PNA leaders and the government. Despite the negotiations and agreement, there was huge gap of confidence between opposition and government. Both were exercising pressure tactics upon each other. Finally the Army patient was over imposed Martial law on July, 5, 1977. The Bhutto government came to an end (Amin, 2007, pp. 46-47).

### **3.8 Zia Era**

Soon after imposing Martial law, Zia regime promised to hold free and fair election within ninety days. But it became clear that he was not sincere in holding free and fair election and later on postponed election. On other side, PNA divided on the issue of election. The religious parties like JI, JUI joined hands with dictator while other parties of PNA left the alliance. JI leadership convinced him to stay in power until PPP and Bhutto popular support among the masses was considerably minimized. Zia regime was a great success for JI. He had long been a sincere fan of Syed Mawdudi. During his early years of his military career he used to circulate Syed Mawdudi's books among his friends and colleagues (Shah S. M., 2016, p. 191). The Zia version of Islam was derived from the deobandi and JI view of Islam. The model was taken from Syed Mawdudi theory of Islamic State (Saigol, p. 11). Furthermore the policies of Zia Islamization led to the creation of bodies like the Islamic Ideological Council, *Majlis-e Shura* (a body of advisors chosen by Zia),

Zakat (Islamic tax) committees, the Islamic University Islamabad , *local Salah'* (prayer) and, and the Sharia Courts. Majority of these were taken to JI members or its sympathizers (Haq, 2009, p. 28).

The ex-prime minister Bhutto was executed on 4 April 1979. Al though he was not still not ready for holding election. As a reaction PNA left the government. These parties formed a new alliance along with PPP to get rid of dictatorship with the name Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). During his time he used Islam to legitimize his un-constitutional government. For this purpose he shared power with Islamist groups specially gave ministries to JI senior leaders. The Pakistan Military and JI built a strong relationships with each other. JI wanted to implement Islamic sharia in the country with the help of army, while Army aimed was to extend their dictatorial rule and assistance for Afghan war. During Afghan war the religious parties of Pakistan, particularly JI and JUI supported Afghan Jihad against the USSR. By this way they developed close relations with military establishment and Zia regime. These religious parties built training camps with support of Zia regime and started recruitment *Mujahedeen* through their Madrasah networks. These activities brought the JI at lower levels become more hardliner, fundamental and pro-military (Shah J. , 2012).

### **3.8.1 Non- Party based General Election of 1985**

Pakistan people party led the movement (MRD) with support of small parties to topple the Zia regime. They demanded four point's agenda, the restoration of 1973 constitution, and an end martial law, free and fair election and vested the power to the public representatives. Though the movement was crushed by government by using force, but the government was worried from the re-uprising of the movement. So the military government decided to share the power with public representatives (ibid).

General Zia announced that general election for national Assembly and provincial Assembly would be held on 25th and 28th February 1985 respectively. Zia government was agree for election, but same time he was fearful from Pakistan people party popularity. In this regard Military government conducted election on non-party basis, because it was not acceptable to Zia that Pakistan people party would come in power. The Alliance (MRD) boycotted from the election, in spite it the turnout was 52 percent in the national Assembly election. No doubt the election turnout was satisfactory for government, but majority of the ministers of Zia cabinet rejected by the people in the election. JI candidates were contested on 61 seats, while they secured only six seats in the National Assembly (Kamran, 2009, pp. 33-38).

### **3.9 Politics of Ethnic Mobilization**

The unexpected and dramatic rise of Muhajir Qawmi Movement in Karachi and Hyderabad in the mid-1980s was very successfully ethnic mobilization. The successful nationalist and separatist movement in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) was catalyst for nationalist movements in Pakistan. The party claims that Urdu-speaking migrants (*Muhajir*) people, who migrated after the partition. They mainly came from East Punjab to west Punjab, however 20% migrants have settled in Sindh, almost in urban areas of the province. According to 1951 census, 55% people were migrants of the total population of Karachi. They claim that General Ayub was involved in systemic discrimination against *Muhajirs* community in urban areas of Sindh. They had too reservation on the decision of capital which shifted from Karachi to Islamabad as well as quota system reserved for the *Muhajirs*. Another most important factor in the rise of MQM and inclination of *Muhajir* community toward the new party was the rising nationalist sentiments of the Punjabis, Baluchi's, Pathans, and Sindhi. Up to 1980s. Majority of *Muhajir* community were opposed ethnic particularism and supported mainstream parties and lean toward "Islamic" parties. In 1970 general



election. JI was greatly supported by *Mujahir* community in urban Sindh especially in Karachi up to 1987, when Adul Sattar Afghani of JI become mayor of the Metropolitan city twice time from 1979 to 1987. The military government conducted local body election in the same year, MQM got victory in military engineered election. Farooq Sattar become the youngest Mayor of the city (Haq, 1995).

### **3.10 Conclusion**

The comprehensive and detailed analysis of JI historical background reveal that When the JI was established in 1941, the Muslims of the subcontinent compared to the Hindu were poor, less educated and less dominant. The Muslim of India were suppressed by British authority and Hindu dominancy. JI created as a movement with the notion that the Hindu and British influence and power had led the Muslims of the India away from the right path of Islam. During the formative phase JI was struggling for bringing all the Muslims under the banner of Islam. After the partition, JI main appearance is mere a Islamic organization struggling for the Islamization in Pakistan. After a decade, the party change its strategy according to the needs of time, when the JI leadership decided to participate in the politics of Pakistan. Thus the party moved from pressure group in to political party. From 1947 to 1988, the JI has been through various experiences ranging from active opposition of the military regime Ayub in 1960s to suffering from state subjugation in Bhutto government in 1970s to co-option with the military regime of Zia in the 1980s.

## Chapter 4: JI Electoral Politics from 1987 -2009

### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the JI electoral politics from 1987 to 2009 will be discussed in detailed. Qazi Hussain Ahmad became the third Amir of the party in 1987. During his 22 years term JI saw up and down during the electoral participation. It moved from pro-establishment to social and political Democratic Party. During this era, JI joined many electoral Alliances such as *Islami jamhori Ittihad* in 1988, Pakistan Islamic Front and MMA the successful coalition of religious parties in 2002. Furthermore, the decisions of JI boycotted the two elections in 1996 and 2008 will be discussed.

### 4.2 JI under the New Leadership

After 15 years serving as Amir of the party, Mian Tufail decided to step down because of his deteriorating health. Qazi Hussain Ahmad replaced him as new Amir of the party on October 1987. He was against the status quo of Pakistan Political and social structure. Hence he was not part of bureaucratic and military establishment that's why he focused on political, social and economic justice in the country. These efforts of Qazi Hussain Ahmed transformed the party from a social movement to a modern political party. He was openly against the dictatorial rule and was of the opinion that neither the afghan war and nor the Islamization process justified the abrogation of Democracy. He affirmed that Islamization measures under the Zia regime paid lip to Islam, but did not Islamized the intuitions of the state. Pakistan's political dilemma could be solved to restore democracy and by ending martial law (White, 2008).

Qazi Hussain Ahmad was born in 1938 in Ziarat Kaka Khail Sahib Village the district of Newshehra KPK (NWFP). He was the son of Mulana Abul Rab , his father was renowned religious

Scholar and political visionary person, due to which his political vision he was elected the president of Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind NWFP. He was the youngest member of his family. His two elder brothers had been workers of Islami Jamiat Talaba. He has two sons and two daughters. Among his children Asif Luqman Qazi and Dr. Sameea Rahila Qazi are the active members of JI. Apart from his mother tongue Pashtu, he had full command over Arabic, English, Urdu and Persian. He was inspired by Allama Iqbal's poetry. His speeches and conversations were collections of Iqbal poetry. Qazi Hussain Ahmad got his early education at home under the supervision of his father. He did his graduation from Islamia College Peshawar, where he further received M.Sc.in Geography from University of Peshawar. Thereafter, he had been served as lecturer for three years in Jhazib College in Saidu Sharif Swat. However, he resigned from his post due to political activities. (Qazi Hussain Ahmad, n.d.) (Usman, 2014, p. 74).

During his student life, he become the member of Islami Jamiat Talaba, where he studied Jamiat literature and devoted his rest of life for the cause of Islam. He became *rukan* (member) of JI Pakistan in 1970. He was promoted to the post of secretary General of the party in 1978. He was nominated the third Ameer (chief) of the party. He was elected twice time the member of the senate in 1985 and 1992 as well as become the member of national Assembly in 2002. He struggled for many years to bring all the religious factions closer to each other. Ultimately he succeeded in the formation of MMA (*Muthida Majlas-e-Amal*). After the death of the Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, he was unanimously elected the president. When sectarian conflict increased between Shia and Sunni. He shaped National solidarity council (*Milli Yakjehti Council*) which switch off the sectarian fire. He was also influential factor in the formation of IJI the right wing alliance against Pakistan people party. Right after assuming the leadership of the party he paid special attention to the circulation of the manifesto of the Party by taking out countrywide processions,

extending invitation to study the program of the party. Mass campaign was launched all over the country, as a result nearly 4.5 million of people joined the party. He was inventor of *Dharna* politics (set in protest) in Pakistan (The Express Tribune, 2010) (Usman, 2014, pp. 89-95).

### **4.3 Return to Democracy**

Struggle for the restoration of democracy can be traced to 1981, when MRD (multiparty oppositional coalition) was formally established for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. The movement firstly appealed to the legacy of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his populist program, but with the passage of time the movement demanded the end of martial law and the restoration of democracy. The movement compelled the military ruler, when he conducted election on non-party basis in 1985, and then promised that national election will be held in 1988. However, the sudden death of General Zia in a plane crash on 17 August 1988 made possible to held general election. The sudden death of general Zia was a dramatic exit for military establishment. The afghan jihad was in final stage and they did not want any interference from democratic forces. The army prepared a new strategy for exercising political power indirectly, and to counter the Pakistan People party. Thus they re-grouped pro-military political parties and Islamist groups under the banner of Islamic Democratic Alliance for the elections of 1988 and afterwards (Nasr S. V., 1992).

The IDA was formally established in 6 October 1988. The alliance was between Centre Rightist and Islamists such as Muslim League (PML), JI, National People's Party, Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (one group), Markazi Jamiat-e-Ahle Hadith (Lakhvi Group), Jamiat-e-Mashaik Pakistan, Azad Group and Hizbullah Jihad and Nizam-e-Mustafa Group. The alliance was dominated by PML. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi become the president and Professor Ghafoor Ahmad from JI was chosen Secretary General. Later on the alliance was renamed as *Islami Jamhori Ittehad* and Nawaz Sharif replaced Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi on October 1988. The election manifesto was declared by Mulana

Sami Ul Haq. It advocated the supremacy of Islamic Law, provision of equal opportunities for all people, equal justice and less-expensive justice, full pledge support to Afghan Jihad, to promote nuclear technology for peaceful and purpose, to support the Kashmir and Palestine issue, cooperation with non-alignment and encouraging cooperation with third world countries. Soon after announcement the seven point's agenda, confrontation stared between allies. JI was against the Geneva Accord while a faction of PML (G) supporters believed that signing the accord was a big achievement. Similarly, all the parties were not interested toward Islamization. The JI leadership were confused for long time whether remain with the alliance or not, though at last stage they decided to stay with it (Akhter, 2012, pp. 52-56).

The election campaign was on the basis of national issues, but it was also dominated by two personalities, General Zia and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The first time political used media for election campaign. IJI mainly targeted the Pakistan People party central leaders Benazir Bhutto and Nusrat Bhutto negativity. The election turnout was 42.7 percent, which was very low compare to 1985 election. No one party got the majority seats in election, while Pakistan people party emerged the largest party in the national Assembly with 93 seats. The IJI received 54 seats out of the total seats. MQM got 13 seats in the urban areas of Sindh. The independents become the third force of the parliament. Pakistan people party led by Benazir Bhutto formed the government in the face of an opponent electoral alliance the *Islami Jamhuri Ittihad* (IJI), and she became the first female prime minister in the history of Pakistan. Pakistan people party form the government in central as well in NWFP and Sindh and IJI took over the ministry of Punjab (Rizvi & Gilani, 2013)

JI got twenty six national and forty four provincial Assembly tickets for contesting election. The detail show in the table 1.

Table 3.4: Election Result of National and Provincial Assemblies of JI 1988

	Punjab		NWFP		Sindh		Baluchistan		TOTAL	
	NA	PA	NA	PA	NA	PA	NA	PA	NA	PA
Seats contested	14	20	4	14	8	9	0	1	26	44
Seats won	5	5	2	6	0	0	0	0	7	11
Special women's seats	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2
Total seats	6	6	2	7	0	0	0	0	8	13

Source: (Nasr S. V., 1994)

The JI had won eight seats of the national Assembly out of twenty six and thirteen seats of provincial Assembly out of forty four, which were given by IJI. The JI had won 26.9 and 25 percent seats of the national and provincial seats it contested respectively. It received 810,312 and 459,165 votes for National and provincial Assembly respectively. MQM won all seats from Karachi, which seriously damage the JI strong base.

#### 4.4 Left-Right wing Politics

Initially, IJI got limited success in 1988 election and was able to continue political pressure on Pakistan people party government. They were defending the populist slogan of Islamization in open platform, on other side, by this way have created difficulties for the current leftist government.

The relation between JI and IJI lead to in critical condition in 1989, when MQM had form alliance with PPP, but suddenly MQM decided to join opposition in the process of no confidence vote. After receiving considerable concession from IJI threw its lot with opposition, promising that it would vote against the government in national Assembly. Beside it MQM also playing the role of

the IJI's representative in Sindh Assembly. This political development brought the relation between IJI and JI to the brink of collapse. Nawaz Sharif was now looking toward ethnic parties for sustaining his power. In March 1990, IJI had failed to overthrow the PPP government while they encouraged the army to unseat the Benazir Bhutto from Prime Minister Chair. In the same month JI *Shura* passed a resolution that the party should left the alliance (Nasr S. V., 1994, pp. 162-165).

The IJI started allegation of corruption and mismanagement on the government. They used power full propaganda against Government, so PPP gradually loss the popular support. It was the time, which JI was in wait and watch situation. Finally on 6 august, President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dismissed the government charging proliferating corruption and mismanagement and instability in Sindh (Khan R. A., 1992).

When it became confirmed that PPP would not come again in power, the JI decided not to leave the alliance. It was expected that IJI will form the government. Due to the past unfriendly relation with IJI, JI was not welcome back eagerly and was given only eighteen national Assembly and thirty seven provincial tickets. The election campaign was running almost totally by the corps commander General Hamid Gull and his former assistant at the ISI. During the election campaign IJI chief Nawaz Sharif and JI blamed Bhutto of being a security threat for the country, alleging that Benazir Bhutto has revealed the identities of Sikh rebellions and their relations with Pakistani intelligence (Haqqani, 2005).

Manifesto for the election was announced before eleven days of the election. It was similar to the previous election manifesto. However some provisions were included like judicial system according Islamic principles, the criminal and civil case will be finalize with in forty days and one year respectively, the national income will be double in next ten years, to enhance the availability

of basic requirements for the rural rapid development and provide basic facilities to the people, creation of million jobs, distribution of gas and electricity and focus on education (Akhter, 2012). 1990 elections were conducted in very polarized atmosphere. Pakistan people party and former prime minister was under pressure due the cases that were filled against her government. On other side, IJI was the major element of the caretaker government and close ally of Ghulam Ishaq Khan. In election of 1990, an alliance of eight political parties Islamic Democratic Alliance and people democratic alliance of four other parties were the major competitors. Pakistan Muslim League, JI and National people's party along with smaller parties were included in IJI. On other side, Pakistan people party and Tehrik-e Istiqlal were prominent key players in People's Democratic Alliance (PDA) (Malik, 2012).

Table 3.5: JI Election Result 1990

	Punjab	NWFP	Sind	Baluchistan	Total
NA seats contested	7	4	6	1	18
NA seats won	7	1	0	0	8
PA seats contested	14	12	11	0	37
PA seats won	12	8	0	0	20

Sources: ibid

The JI had won eight seats of the national Assembly out of eighteen and twenty seats of provincial Assembly out of thirty seven, which were given by IJI. The JI had received 03 percent in the election to the national and 2.6 in the election to the provincial Assembly respectively.

Soon after the election JI did not join the government, because Nawaz Sharif increasingly relied upon ethnic parties such as MQM in Sindh and National *Awami* party in NWFP. The party was



disturbed by close relation of IJI with MQM, which were gradually influenced in Karachi. Nawaz Sharif was Islamic, but he was not in favor of Islamic system. JI openly criticized the government for not showing faithfulness toward Islamization and religious issues. In fact, the collection of IJI become the enemy of JI, the Muslim League, *Awami* national party and specially MQM. Furthermore the tension increased between government and JI on the dramatic changes occurred in international politics. Najeeb Government overthrow by Mujahedeen and gulf war started between Iraq and American and its allies. Government decided to accept settlement on Afghan war at the expense of Mujahedeen. On the other side government supported American allies against Iraq. JI was not in favor of the government stance. In the mid of 1993, constitutional crises started between Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan. Finally both were sent to home by Army Chief on July, 1993. The JI remained cooled toward IJI (Nasr S. V., 1994).

#### **4.5 Pakistan Islamic Front and Afterwards**

The IJI Government could not complete their five years term. It was third elected government that could not complete its tenure since 1985. Care taker government announced the new election, which was scheduled on 6 and 9 October 1993 for the national and provincial Assembly respectively. The previous alliances got dissolved, because the coalition parties either left or lost interest in them. PPP made political arrangement with PML-J under the title of Pakistan Democratic front. PML (N) decided to contest election independently. JUI (F) and JUP (N) agreed to support each other under the banner of *Islami Jamhoori Mahaaz*. *Muttahida Deeni Mahaaz* was another alliance, which was the collection of 24 right-wing and Islamic political parties led by Mulana Sami Ul Haq. JI under the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmad, established a new political organization named Pakistan Islamic Front (Rizvi & Gilani, 2013)

During the election, JI declared PPP and PML (N) as equal evil. The party tried to rise as a third force in the election. Qazi Hussain Ahmad has increased enthusiasm in his workers in the election campaign. He wanted to win the election like sudden rise of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algiers in 1991. But it was defeated badly by both parties, even it lost their previous voter bank. JI won only 3 seats in the national assembly and received total 650,000 votes. PPP emerged as the single largest party won 86 seats in the national Assembly and formed the government. PML (N) got secured 73 seats become the second largest party of the parliament. JI continued its performance as real opponent of non-Islamic rulers, while seizing power-sharing chances (Mehdi, 2013).

Pakistan Islamic Front was a unique experiment in past. It did not achieve its objective, however it can be modified. According to Professor Khurshid Ahmad (2014) Pakistan Islamic Front was a new experiment in the electoral politics of JI. it was our ( Khurshid & Khuram Murad ) idea and the leading role was played by Qazi Hussain Ahmad. He recognized that the alliance could not achieved its target due to insufficient home work. However, the initiative we had started in 90s, adopted by other Islamic movements in next three decades and now it become a model for change (Usman, p. 82).

Soon after the election, meeting had been called of the central consultative body. JI senior's leaders were not happy on the bitter experience of Pakistan Islamic Front. So heated debate started among the main decision making body, leading to the resignation of the Amir. Election was held for the new Amir, but Qazi Hussain Ahmad was elected again for the next five years (Bangash, 2009).

After three years ruling of PPP government, JI announced Dharna (sit-in) at front of parliament against Bhutto Government on the basis of corruption. Which thousands of JI workers were expected to march toward capital? The government released the order for the twin-cities police to control the routes in an attempt to stop the march. Despite all-out effort, the JI march reached to

Islamabad. The protest was being led by Qazi Hussain Ahmad along with JI senior members and other political parties leaders such Shah Ahmad Noorani (JUP), Shiek Rashid Ahmad and Muhammad Hanif Chudry of PML(N). Qazi Hussain Ahmad delivered speech that they were struggle for the establishment of Islamic system in the state as well as put allegations on the government (Mughal, 1996). The first week of November, President Farooq Ahmad Leghari dismissed the Benazir Bhutto government on charges of corruption, extra judicial killing, mismanagement, and disappointment of law and order (Haqqani, 2005).

Malik Miraj Khalid was appointed the care taker prime minister. He announced the election date to be scheduled on February 3, 1997. The election for national and provincial Assemblies were held on the same day. The main competitors were PPP and PML (N). Imran khan established a new party on 25 April, 1996 named Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf. There were forty four political parties, who nominated candidates for the general election. PML (N) got land slide victory over the opponent's secured 136 seats in national Assembly. PPP won only eighteen seats; all from Sindh province. Jamiat-Uelma-e-Islam (F) won only seat. PML (N) formed the government in Centre along with MQM, ANP, and Independents (Syed, 1998).

The JI boycotted the 1997 election, the party leadership was for an across the accountability before the election. JI leadership argued, that article 62 and 63 of the constitution to be implemented, which call for person of honest moral character only be allowed to contest election. Because Pakistan electoral political have been dominated by disqualified politicians (Bangash, 2009). During the election of 1997, PML (N) leadership categorically declared that we will establish good relation with India. In March 1998, Nawaz Sharif invited Indian counterpart in Lahore for the talk to take initiative the process of composite dialogue. Indian prime minister came to Lahore on 20 February 1999. Both prime ministers were agreed that all issues would resolve through dialogue

peacefully including Jammu & Kashmir. Qazi Hussain Ahmad declared it black day stated that government is going to betray with Kashmiris people. JI took out large scale protest against the government in Lahore. Foreign minister Sartaj Aziz had reacted that certain agencies were against the peace process were backing JI agitates (Maggsi). Professor Khurshid was of the opinion that Lahore declaration neither reflect the desire of the Pakistani people, not it is accepted by the nation. This is the agreement of the two prime ministers. Nawaz Sharif has only tried to please India and United States (Ahmad P. K., april, 1999).

#### **4.6 Pakistan under Musharraf Rule**

After the Lahore declaration, Kargil war started between Pakistan and India in 1999. kargil conflict and the lack confidence had created tension between civilian government and military establishment, which lead to the dismissal of Nawaz government by Chief of Army staff General Pervez Musharraf. On 12 October 1999, Army chief declared martial law and Nawaz Sharif was sent to Jail (Ahmad N. ).

The military government came in power initially claimed to revamp Pakistan's politics. He was secular minded general and was inspired by Kamal Ataturk ideas. Musharraf policies were totally different from Zia Islamization policy. After the 9/11 incident, he took U-turn in Pakistan foreign policy related to Afghanistan and Kashmir. He brought new orientation that the military would be committed to geographic strategic vision rather than any ideology. Military government decided to become front line state in the US war against the Taliban government and al-Qaida in Afghanistan. On the other side, Musharraf took further step against Kashmiri militants. The military ruler now became closely allied with the United States and openly created difficulties for the Islamists in Pakistan (Nasr V. , 2004).

#### 4.7 The MMA Alliance

Musharraf decision of front line state against war on terror provided an opportunity to the religious parties, which mobilize the masses against anti-Islamic policies of the government. After the US attacked on Afghanistan, thirty five religious and political parties formed an alliance named Pak-Afghan Defense Council (PADC). Majority of them were the religious parties and groups. The purpose of this platform was to express solidarity with afghan Taliban. The three major religious parties of the alliance, JI, JUI (F), JUI (S), had close relation with Taliban of Afghanistan as well as their chiefs were also from Pashtun belt. The JUI two factions had greatly ideologically influence on Taliban government. Majority of them were educated from Madrassas run by these parties. So these parties strongly condemn the unconditional policy of Musharraf in support of US against war on terror. As a reaction, military government alleged some the major religious organizations for their involvement in terrorist activities. Later on started crackdown against them. In January 2002, military regime banned six organizations alleging them for their involvement in terrorist activities in Pakistan and across the border. So the religious parties strongly condemned the government for banning these organizations at the platform of PADC (Khan K. A., 2011).

Later on, the Anti-Musharraf council lead to the electoral alliance. In May 2002, Muttahidda Majlis-i-Amal (MMA) was formally announced by six religious parties namely JI, JUI (F), JUI (S), JUP (N), Markazi Jamiat Ahle Hadith Pakistan and Islami Tehrik-i-Pakistan. Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani the chief of JUP (N) was elected the president of Alliance (Mufti, 2009).

The Alliance was the brain child and designed of JI Amir Qazi Hussain Ahmad. He conceived the MMA as means to use tug of war between the Army, the PPP and PML to Islamist parties' advantage. He believed that the Alliance would provide the opportunity for the Islamists to take control of Islamism from Secular parties or Intuitions such as military or PML. He believed that

JI and JUI at have the capabilities to create power full mainstream political force (Nasr V. , 2004, pp. 203-204).

#### **4.8 Election of 2002 and Afterwards**

A notification for the election issued by election commission of Pakistan that election would be held for the national and provincial Assemblies on October 10, 2002. A number of amendments were made in the election process. The system of joint electorate was implemented and the minimum age for the voters was reduce to 18 years. General seats were increased to 272. Candidates for the election were required to have bachelor degree or equivalent (Gilani, may, 2013, p. 29).

The Election Commission had issued a form, which did not need the declaring of religion of the voter as there was no such condition under the joint electorate system. Due to the MMA protest, it was incorporated in to the original conduct of general election order. MMA president rejected the constitutional package and demanded that government hold fair and free election. on the other side, MMA maintained anti-US temperament which helped to win the support of the voters. MMA remained successful in collecting the voters, especially in Pashtun belt, because of its anti-US stance and promised for the implementation of Islamic Sharia in Pakistan. The vice-president of MMA, Qazi Hussain Ahmad declared that if MMA would form the government, the house of the president, prime minister, governor and chief minister will turn to educational and health institutions (Khan K. A., 2011).

On 10 September 2002, MMA released their manifesto for the election it proclaimed, to implement Islamic system in Pakistan based on Quran and Sunnah, to protect ideological and geographical boundaries of the Islamic republic of Pakistan, to eliminate linguistic, ethnic and regional hatred

and establish a peaceful society based on Muslim brother hood, to promote democratic values and protect Constitution of Pakistan, to have autonomous judiciary and the supremacy of the rule of law, eradicate corruption, provincial autonomy, protection of minorities, remove feudalism, provide rights to women in accordance with Quran and Sunnah, ensure freedom of press and freedom, effort for economic progress (Daily Times, 2002).

Figure 3.1: Pakistan General election 2002

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

Source: (Khan J. , 2014, p. 302)

In the province of NWFP, MMA remarkable victory. It received 66 out of total 124 seats and formed the government. In Baluchistan Assembly, MMA secured 18 seats become the second largest party of the province. It became the coalition partner of the government in Baluchistan. Pakistan Muslim League (Q) emerged as the leading party in National Assembly secured 118 seats. The second biggest party was PPP with 80 seats third leading party was MMA with 59 seats including reserve seats in the National Assembly (Khan J. , 2014). On 23 November after forty days of the election, Mir Zafar Ullah Khan from PML (Q) become prime minister secured 170 votes out 342. Mulana Fazlu Rehman from MMA became the opposition leader of the house (Talbot, January/February 2003). The MMA campaign was run on the basis of Islamic government. When asked what system he carried for the governance, "Qazi Hussain Ahmad

replied one that is run in accordance with the constitution, objective resolution and recommendation of Islamic ideology (Khan K. A., 2011).

Analysts had the opinion that MMA success was engineered by the military ruler to made his importance to Washington, but general Musharraf rejected the notion and was of the opinion that if had to rig the election, than would have done for its party. The rising of MMA was unwelcome phenomenon to US in the context of war in terror. Musharraf tried his best to settle the deal with MMA for the formation of government in Centre, but the deal did not finalize because of conditions put by MMA, Musharraf step-down as Army Chief and the reversal of pro-US policy (Haqqani, 2005). Soon after winning the election, the MMA government in KPK vowed to declare Friday as a holiday in its place of Sunday, do away with coeducation, put a halt on vulgarity in the print and electronic media, and brought reform in interest-based banking system. Although MMA policies were mainly focused on increasing education at primary level and separation of coeducation. Qazi Hussain Ahmad stated on education “we do not want to stop female education but believe in the separation of education because it is un-Islamic. We will establish schools for female because they don’t like coeducation and it is also in consonance with our tradition and culture” (Khan J. , 2014, p. 305). On June 2003, the KPK Assembly approved a Šharia bill related to Education, Culture, economy, Justice System and government. It was similar to the Federal Sharia Act of 1991. It proclaimed that all the courts will follow the jurisdiction of the government and sharia. In July 2005, the provincial government of MMA announced *Hasba bill* to effectively implement the sharia act. The MMA strongly advocated the bill that it would minimize the miseries of the people and would provide cheap justice. But it was declared unconstitutional by supreme court of Pakistan on 4 august 2005 (Ibid).



On other side, MMA leadership started campaign against Musharraf on the issue of LFO (Legal framework order). Musharraf regime amalgamated all the amendments to the constitution made by him in the name of LFO without any approval of the newly elected parliament. The election was also held under this Act. The ruling party Pakistan Muslim league (Q) wanted to legalize LFO with the help of opposition party. The MMA supported the ruling party approved LFO in the shape of 17<sup>th</sup> constitutional Amendment put the condition that curtail the power of Musharraf as chief of Army staff and the president of the country as well. MMA got promise from the dictator to shed his uniform after one year. However, the MMA have been failed in its strategy due to the breakup of the promise by Musharraf in December 2004. The strategy adopted by MMA was highly criticized by the other parties of the parliament (Khan K. A.).

#### **4.9 Break-up of MMA and JI Boycott of Election**

In 2007, the Alliance became weakened by the increasingly different approaches taken by its two main parties, JI Amir Qazi Hussain Ahmed, an intense critic of the dictatorial regime and JUI head Fazl-ur-Rehman, who largely has supported the Musharraf regime (Kronstadt, January 24, 2008). the two leading parties JI and JUI (F) were already have been different views on the dissolution of KPK assembly and resign from national assembly in protest against president Musharraf attempt in 2007 to remain in power and now they were once again divided over the issue of boycott of next election in 2008 (Jang Newspaper, 2007). The two parties also disagreed on contesting the 2008 national elections. JI leadership were not in favor of election, stated that the elections would be rigged and well aware that its lack of electoral support would reveal its internal weaknesses, the JI *Shura* decided to boycott from the general election (Report, 2011).

#### 4.10 Conclusion

To conclude this, we can say that from 1987 to 2009 the JI started formulating its policies which were against the imperialist forces and injustices in the society. The policy of JI initiated by Qazi Hussain Ahmed mainly recruited people from the new urbanized lower classes which dominated the party. This policy shifted the support of JI from urban middle class to lower middle. By using and capturing this shifting opportunity structure, JI was able to transform the traditional Islamic politics into more modern social justice-based Islamic politics. After the failure of Pakistan Islamic front, the alliance of MMA was huge victory for JI. In political history JI got maximum seats in the parliament. There were many reasons of the MMA success, first was the anti-America feeling among the people, particularly among the Pashtun belt of NWFP and Baluchistan due to US attack on Afghanistan. The second reason was the Anti-Islam and pro-US policy of Musharraf regime, which anti-Musharraf vote polled for MMA. Third was the decision of the military regime by keeping away Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif from the politics. Fourth reason was corrupt leadership of the major political parties, who disappointed the common people. Five reasons was the clear religious agenda of MMA, which pro-Islamic vote and impotent one was the unifications of the major religious parties in one platform.

## **Chapter 5: Assessment of Jamat-e-Islami Electoral Politics**

### **5.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, the JI electoral politics will be analytically discussed in detailed. The alliance of *Islami jamhori Ittihad* and its impact on JI electoral strategies. After that all those points will be point out that consistently influence directly or indirectly on JI electoral politics from 1947 to 2009. Besides it, the contributions of Qazi Hussain Ahmad will be discussed and his transformations from a rigid party to mass based party. Moreover, the decisions of JI boycotted from the two elections and its consequences on JI electoral politics will also be part of this chapter.

### **5.2 Why JI has failed in Electoral Politics?**

The political structure of Pakistan has been occupied by Military rulers as well as civil bureaucracy throughout in the history of Pakistan. After the long dictatorial rule of General Zia, democratic System has been restored. The people of Pakistan were fed up from the processes of so-called Islamization. As a reaction the leftist Pakistan people party was succeeded by Pakistani voters in 1988 general election. Military bureaucracy promoted IJI to counter the Pakistan people party. Pakistan Muslim League headed by Nawaz Sharif was leading group of the alliance, who became chief Minister with support of Military in 1985 and 1988. Although JI was also part of the alliance, but it was restricted to limited areas. During that time, JI was engaged with Military in Afghanistan and Kashmir. Matthew J. Nelson (2005) stated that "since the early 1970s, JI has continued to embrace the path of Militancy often (but not always) in collaboration with the Pakistan Army" (p, 05). Military bureaucracy always wanted to gain JI support on external issues related to Pakistan. Furthermore Nelson writes that "cooperation with Army is an important feature for survival in Pakistan politics" (p, 15). On the other side, they always ignored the party in national politics. The

JI alliance was to counter Pakistan people party and to promote Muslim league not JI. The party just performed as catalyst for it. Due to involvement in external activities the electoral politics was not in priority basis in 1990s.

Throughout in history, the politics of Pakistan revolved around personalities. The election of 1970 general election was dominated by Shiek Mujeeb in East Pakistan and zulfiqar ali Bhutto in West Pakistan. Similarly in 90s, the two powerful personalities Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif have been dominated the whole decade. Benazir Bhutto used the name of her martyr father Bhutto in the election campaign, on other side, Nawaz Shārif raised the nationalist slogan "*Jaag Panjabi Jaag*". Therefore the populist slogans of both political parties' strong bases were Punjab and Sindh respectively. They did not left any space for other political parties including JI.

According to PILDAT survey JI is the most Democratic Party in term of regular party election, regular change in top leadership, lack of dynastic leadership in the party.

The list of parties in the order of most democratic to least democratic:

JI-56% PTI-49% ANP-46% JUI-F-43% MQM-42% PPP-34% PML-N-32%

Sources: (Mehboob, 2014, p. 12)

The survey shows that major political parties such as PML (N), PPP have lack of internal democratic system. These parties are mainly dominated by feudal. Feudalism and Democracy have two quite opposite norms. Pakistan democratic system has been remained at mercy of Military establishment or either these feudal politicians. However JI organizational structure is different from other political parties, which means that Pakistan political structure and JI organizational structure is not comfortable with each other.

JI relationship with the military establishment and the bureaucratic elite over the years has had negative consequences for the party. The JI relations with Zia regime and Musharraf condemned by other political parties and have ambiguity in their policies (Keskin, 2009). Main Tufail Muhammad the former Amir of JI had close relations with General Zia and they were in cabinet of the dictatorial government. The opponent parties criticized the throughout in electoral campaign. Again General Musharraf was elected as president by MMA, so it left negative impact on the party.

The purpose of the JI foundation was to organize a group of people such as did by Muhammad (peace be upon him) 14 century ago. Who would educate the people on Islam and Ideology? Through this way, the party would try to gain power and implement its Islamic Sharia (Nasr S. V., 1994). JI built a few Madrassas to educate the people, but it was insufficient to educate the people of Pakistan. The best possible way that the JI could spread its ideology in every nook and corner of the country through mosques. The party mostly depended on the Syed Mawdudi Literature and monthly magazine Tur ju Manul Quran. At the time of foundation 40% ulemas (religious Scholars) were consisted of the total members of Central consultative body. With the passage of time the percentage of Ulemas gradually decrease. In 1990, all the high positions were captured by westernize educated people.

Table 5.1: Education and Occupation of JI Leadership

Name	Position in JI	Education	Occupation
Q. Hussain Ahmad	Amir	Master of Science	Businessman
Khurshid Ahmad	Vice President	M.A (Econ)	Former Professor
A. Ghafoor-Ahmad	Vice President	M.A (Commerce)	Consultant
Khurram Murad	Vice President	M.S (Civil Engg.)	Cons. Engineer
Rahmat Illahi	Vice President	M.A (Poli.Sci.)	Govt. Employee
Aslam Saleemi	Secretary General	L.L.B	Former Attorney
Hafiz Mohd. Idris	Asst. Secy. Genl.	M.A (Humanities)	JI Worker
Liaqat Baloch	Asst. Secy. Genl.	M.A (Journalism)	Businessman
Feteh Muhammaf d	Amir, Punjab	M.A (Humanities)	Former Professor
Munawwar Hasan	Amir, Karachi	M.A (Sociology)	Researcher
Asad Gilani	Amir, Lahore	M.A (Humanities)	Journalist
M. Azam Faruqi	Member Ex. Comm.	M.A (Finance)	Publisher
Naeem Siddiqui	Member Ex. Comm.	High School	Journalist
Fazl Illahi Quereshi	Secy, Balochistan	M.S (Food)	Food Technologist

Source: (Isani, p. 150)

The table show that there is lack of intellectuals as well as religious scholars. Contrary to JI long term strategy, the party leadership wanted to capture the power before educating the people. The party can blame for not following its own basic program.

By estimate only five percent of the Muslim population of Pakistan were educated about Islam, ninety percent of them were uneducated with blind faith and the remaining five percent has been corrupted by Westernization. In fact, Syed Mawdudi wrote nearly 120 books to spread his message but less than twenty percent of the Pakistani people could read those books let alone understand them. Mostly religious scholars labeled him as an innovator and blamed him of establishing a new sect contrary to the traditional Islam (Simeone, 2010). Pakistan education system is divided in to two system modern education and religious education. The religious institutions are influence by different maslaks and sects of the country. Some of them believe that Syed Mawdudi brought innovation in the religion. So leaders of these religious groups warn their students to keep away from his literature. Besides it, the remaining people who got modern education mostly influence by western thoughts, that religion and politics is totally different from each other. Religion has only concern with personal matters. In fact, politics is not e duty of religious people. The general impression about most of the religious scholars is that they are not competent enough to run the affairs of the state due to the nature of their education and their grooming. As far as the common *maulvis* are considered, the society wants them to confine their role.

According to Mustafa JI objective was not to win the hearts and minds of the people, but to penetrate the structures of power, in order to enforce its concept of an Islamic Sharia from above, to complete this end, Syed Mawdudi established an “organizational machine”. He had taken from the fascistic organizational models widespread in other Islamic revivalist movements in British India (P, 335). JI was established on basis of rigid organizational structure with clear lines of authority and a hierarchal structure, as well as a countrywide network of departments along with locally-organized branches. The hierarchy started from *Hamdard* (sympathizer) followed by *mutaffiq* (affiliate) and then become rukan (member) JI is headed by Amir (leader), who consults

a governing *Shura* (counsel). The rigid organizational structure have limited the opportunity of success in electoral politics.

The popularity of ethnic political parties such as MQM, which advocating interest of a specific ethnic group also decrease the vote of religious parties including JI (Kumar, 2008). After the 1<sup>st</sup> world the modern state system of the world was established based on Nationalism. Majority of the colonial states got independent on the slogan of nationalism. Pakistan movement was also run on the basis of Muslim Nationalism. After the creation, nationalist parties gradually emerged in Pakistan. However, ethnic identities remain to be one of the most significant features of Pakistani electoral politics. The separation of East Pakistan in 1971 become a catalyst for nationalist movements. Pakistani people have different culture and different ethnicity. Majority of nationalists have their own parties and political representatives. As a result ideological parties like JI has limited access in those areas, which are dominated by ethnic political parties. During the Zia Regime, JI and Military Establishment had love-hate relations. On one side they were on one page concern to foreign matters and JI was the part of the government. On other side, Military establishment backed MQM to destroy the strong base of JI. Altaf Hussain Qurishi (2015) wrote that government was fully involved in the rising of MQM, the purpose was to shift JI *Muhajir* vote into ethnic based party.

A separate challenge to JI effectiveness in Pakistan has come from the relatively open nature of Pakistani electoral politics. JI cannot claim a monopoly over the vote bank of Islamists. (Bashir, 2009, p. 19) There are numbers of religious parties in electoral politics of Pakistan. According to international crises group (2012) in Pakistan, twenty five religious parties participating in electoral politics and contesting election. JUI (F) and JUP are the major religious parties representing Deobandi and *Barilivi* sects respectively. All these religious parties divided vote of each other.



The religious parties almost without represent some specific sect or maslak that has intensive reservations about others beliefs. Almost all these groups support its own representatives on priority basis. They commonly contest elections as separate entities and fielding candidates against each other. Although, JI is quite above any sectarianism of Sunni, Shia Deobandi, Barilvi or Wahabi, but majority of these sects have serious allegations about JI Ideology and Syed Mawdudi. When JI was founded in 1941, a few young ulemas mainly from deobandi and Wahabi sects welcomed Syed Mawdudi Mission. Majority of prominent religious scholars kept away themselves from JI.

During contesting election the religious parties make compromises or take decisions based on expediency for political gains. The people assume them to show exemplary character and high moral values. They fail to come up to the people's expectations.

The society of Pakistan are divided in different classes such as elite, middle and lower class. The elite and high middle classes are mainly believe on modernization and have liberal mine-seat. The 21<sup>st</sup> century brought rapid modernization and liberalization all over the world including Pakistan. So these classes give preference to secular parties. JI leadership and workers mainly belong to middle class. The party candidates were also mostly from middle class. JI rarely have nominated 'electable' in past elections. Electable belongs to elite class who has a strong support base in a constituency due to the numerical strength and clout of his tribe or clan or because of his status and influence as a feudal lord. In Pakistan, majority of secular parties depended on these electable.

To conclude, The JI has been unsuccessful to convert Islamic revivalism as ideology in practical shape. In Pakistan history, there were two approaches considered for success pro-military and Anti-military. The Pakistan people party was the only successful movement in the late 1960s.

Zulifqar Ali Bhutto adopted a populist rhetoric, opposed the established order, and successfully manipulated tensions between *Sindhis*, *Muhajirs*, and *Punjabis*. On the other side, the two successful political parties PML (N) and MQM adopted the pro-Military approaches in 1980s backed by military establishment.

### **5.3 The Transformations of Qazi Hussain Ahmad**

Former Amir Qazi Hussain Ahmed has left an imprint on JI current and future politics during his twenty two years at the party's helm. He can be rightly credited with JI's existing shape and political philosophy. When he became Amir of JI. The party were faced two main challenges: On one side, the party was to move from a pro-establishment to a more populist politico-religious group, while on the other side the JI was challenging by the new ethnic political force Muttahida Qaumi Movement in Karachi. Despite occasional fiddling with the establishment, the JI managed to gain some popular support. In the meantime, the party compensated for the loss of Karachi by establishing itself in rural KPK (Khyber Pukhtunkhwa). In 1990s, Qazi attracted the youth and poor class of Pakistan. Although it proved to be a difficult task to shed the legacy of supporting the government of Zia regime. Qazi Hussain Ahmad entered the party into the *Islami Jamhoori Ittehad*, which was later revealed that it was the plane of establishment to keep away Pakistan People's Party from power. However he was successful to some extent on both counts.

Qazi Hussain Ahmed understood and was aware of the new challenges posed to the traditional politics. He established the Islamic Front and built a new organization with a youth wing named *Pasban*. The basic aims of *Pasban* was to promote human rights and to work against the social, political and economic inequalities in the country. *Pasban* was not worked for a long time due to some internal issue, later on it was replaced by new organization called *Shabab-e- Milli* for the

youth representation. In 1999, under his leadership mass campaign was launched across the country, as a result nearly 4.5 million of people joined the party.

JI was led by an Amir (leader) and comprised of the consultative Assembly and the members of the party. The party members (*rukan*) was to be virtuous Muslims, with a high moral character even non-members are divided into different groups based on their closeness with party ideology. With a very rigid membership criteria, JI was restricted to the educated people or ulema, it means that common people were not able to join the party (Moten, 2003). Since 1941, the party membership was not open to the public and there was a strict criteria for membership and it was restricted to the educated or to religious scholars (Ulemas). Which meant that more than eighty percent of common people, which was illiterate at the time was unable to be part of the JI workforce. When Qazi Hussain Ahmed became Amir of the party, he changed this approach in 1993 and opened the party to political and social groups due to the widening gap between these groups, which was a great transformation in JI policy. By adopting this policy mean the open door policy, initiated by Qazi Hussain Ahmed for the entire country helped this movement to become a modern political party. It was badly needed to adopt an open door policy for all supporter around the country. After all these efforts the JI adopted to somewhat a new political structure.

During Qazi era, JI adopted policies against the imperialist power and injustices in the society. The policy of JI initiated by Qazi mostly recruited people from the new urbanized lower classes which dominated the party. Due to this policy shifted the support of JI from urban middle class to lower middle class (Keskin, 2009). Before Qazi Hussain Ahmad, JI influence was limited to young urbanized educated class. His appeal has been observed as more near the Pakistani electorate than towards the rank and file of the party. Qazi Hussain Ahmad generally used keywords in in his

speeches such as Feudal, class, masses, liberation. He mainly targeted ruling class, feudal during election campaign. By adopting public tone he attracted the lower middle class (Ahmad Q. H., p. 46).

In 1990s, JI was facing the two powerful political parties and leaders. Nawaz Sharif the leader of Pakistan Muslim League and Benazir Bhutto the leader of Pakistan People Party. Soon after 1990 election JI left the alliance of IJI. In 1993 election, the party went for election with new experience with name of Pakistan Islamic Front. But they were failed to defeat the two powerful parties of that time. Qazi understood the ground reality of Pakistan politics. Whatever the religious parties contesting separate election, they could not compete the secular forces. Due to division of Islamists vote the other political parties would take advantage. According to professor Ibrahim before 1993 election, we met with JUI (F) Amir Mulana Fazl u rehamn for alliance, but JUI (F) already made coalition with Pakistan people party (Usman, 2014, p. 117). Finally, Qazi Hussain Ahmad succeeded in his plane in 2002 election. MMA become the 2<sup>nd</sup> largest party of the parliament. Since 1987, JI for the first time secured five seats in Karachi. The party recovered its old strong to some extent.

During Qazi era, JI boycotted the 1997 and 2008 general elections. In 1997 general election, the party leadership demanded the implantation of 62 and 63 articles of the constitution. By this way they wanted to keep away corrupt" elements from entering parliament. Qazi Hussain Ahmad had given justification about election boycott, that it was not an emotional decision, but took the decision after long consultation. We knew, it was beneficial for Islamic movement to boycott form the election rather than participation. Whatever, Islamic movement could be strong through election, must be participate in election. it was harmful for us to take part in the election. we were struggling to bring reforms in the system, so it was not changed. Due to which feudal, industrialists

and corrupts people again came into power. These 5 percent people has been destroyed the country since 1947. It was a worse decision taken by JI leadership, however it was compensated in 2002 election. Again the boycott of 2008 election was poor decision taken by JI. After a long time the party recovered its vote in Karachi. Due to this decision the electoral field left vacant for other political parties of the country. The ethnic parties which is threatening JI in electoral politics such as MQM and ANP were given chances to increase its electoral power in their specific areas. Finally and foremost, the MMA came to an end. According Samia Rahila Qazi it was the decision of the *Shura* (central consultative body) Qazi Hussain was not agree with this decision. The ex- Amir Mian Tufail and majority members mainly from Baluchistan and Sindh were against to contest election (Paracha, 2015).

## Conclusion

Jamat-e-Islami is one of the oldest Islamic revivalist movement and Islamic political party and based on the thoughts of Syed Mawdudi. JI has articulated clearly political version of Islam. The party has been struggling for the restructuring of society and politics as well as the establishment of a state that would represent the spirit of Islamic law-replacing the secular state with an Islamic one. The JI is perhaps the first movement of its kind to develop systematically an Islamic ideology, a modern revolutionary reading of Islam, and an agenda for social action to materialize its vision. JI political philosophy revolved around the concept of Theo-democracy means to form government through democratic process, governing according to the rules of Quran and Sunnah.

The party was established based on strong organizational structure with clear lines of authority and a hierarchical structure as well a country wide locally organized branches. The members are recruited through a wide spread networks of madrassas and its school wings. The hierarchy started from *hamdard* (sympathizer) followed by *mutaffiq* (affiliate) and then become *rukan* (member) the party is headed by *Amir* (leader), who consults a governing *shura* (consultative body). JI has many affiliated organizations such as *Islami Jamiat Talaba* (IJT), *Islami Jamaiat Talibat* and *Jamait Talba Arabia* for students, *Khawateen* Wing for Women and *Alkhidamt* for Social work etc.

JI was formed as revivalist party in 1941 by Muslim Thinker and socio-political philosopher Syed Mawdudi, who also served the party as Amir till 1972. After the partition, Syed Mawdudi along with other JI leaders and members moved to newly born state of Pakistan. Other leaders who stayed in India established separate organization named Jamat-e-Islami Hind.

Since 1947 Pakistan, JI has not been successful to control the central power of the state, although it has a vital role in important political events that have shaped in the history of Pakistan. The party occupied central role during the constitutional debate of 1956 and 1973. Due to this the Islamic provisions were included in the constitution of 1973.

Soon after the creation of Pakistan, JI focused on the cultivation of its own leadership cadre in Pakistan's educational Institutes and promote its ideology among the students. Students wing IJT was founded in December in 1947. First time the party contested provincial election in 1951 won one seat in Punjab. The *Machchi Goth Affairs* held in 1957, where JI decided to actively participate in electoral politics, followed by strong showing in Karachi Municipal election in 1959. And since then it consistently struggle to break into Pakistan's crowded electoral arena.

During the 1950s and 1960s, the party sought to sustain a certain distance from Pakistan Military and civilian leadership. Since 1947, the party has developed the concept of left-right wing politics in Pakistan politics. General Ayub was in favor of westernize Islam while JI has mobilized opposition against his dictatorial rule. As a reaction Ayub banned the party and later on, Supreme Court declared illegitimate ban on the party. The election of 1970 was contested based on 'Islamization' as well as the slogan of united Pakistan. The electoral weaknesses of the party apparent in the election, when the party secured only four seats in the national Assembly. In 1977, JI led the alliance of PNA against secular Bhutto government. Mian Tufail the successor of Syed Mawdudi developed close relations with military establishment and supported Zia regime and his Islamization process till 1987.

In 1987, Qazi Hussain Ahmad third Amir of JI made a concerted effort to shift his party's base beyond its 'vanguardist' orientation in favor of a mass-based profile. He focused on broader concerns like social, economic and political. In democratic era, the party played an important role

in galvanizing a grand electoral alliances. JI continued to take part in the political process in the 1990s. JI joined right of Centre coalition IJI against leftist the party Pakistan people party, when it failed to achieve its Islamization objective went for new alliance named Pakistan Islamic front in 1993. Finally JI brought religious parties in one plat form against secular forces in 2002 election. The MMA was a successful alliance in political history of JI and other religious parties. During Musharraf regime the party again joined the opposition camp against the secular policies of the government. JI has contested the general elections of 1970, 1977, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1993 and 2002. Besides it, JI boycotted 1997 and 2008 general elections except 2002 general elections when JI formed government in KPK province as coalition partner of MMA, the party electoral performance has been disappointing one.

## **6.2 Findings**

The electoral history of JI point out many reasons for its failure. Pakistan political System never allowed the party to establish itself as strong force in the electoral politics. Shortly after Jinnah death, Pakistan decision making was controlled by ruling elite class, who maintained so-called parliamentary democracy till to Ayub coup. The first constitution was drafted after nine years of the independence. The ruling elite were not loyal to promote the true spirit of democracy and strengthen the political System of the country. After a decade, Pakistan political system was coming into right path. When the government announced the general election to be held in 1959. JI had been gained popularity in the country due to strong mass based campaign for objective resolution and Islamic constitution. General Ayub imposed martial Law dismissed the government, the constitution has been declared null and wide and election was postponed. He banned all the political parties including JI that opposed him. Bhutto was a civilian dictator crushed the opposition and conducted controversial election in 1977.



General Zia used Islamization not to practice Islam in a real sense in Pakistani society, but to get time to expand his regime. In Zia era, JI pro-military establishment policy left bad image on party politics.

The popularity of ethnic parties and the rising of MQM ethnic party in 1980s was a great setback for JI. In political history, personalities based politics have limited the electoral success of the party. In past Bhutto had dominated the politics and then Benazir and Nawaz Sharif have dominated the politics of Pakistan.

Since 1947, the sectarian and religious based politics of religious parties have impact on JI electoral politics. So the Islamists vote have been divided among these Religious and sectarian based parties. Pakistan political society has divided in many classes such as elitist, middle class, and rural class. JI has attracted only middle class. Feudal system of the country is also big hurdle for JI.

During the time of Syed Mawad and Mian Tufail JI voters were mainly from urban areas. When Qazi became Amir of the party, the party voters shifted from urban to rural area. So it could not attract both side in same time except in 2002 election.

The rigid organizational structure of the party never allowed more than 80 percent to be part of JI. To conclude, JI can be blame for not following its own 'master frame' and it has played their role as pressure group despite of political party in electoral politics since 1947.

### **5.3 Recommendations**

First and foremost, JI should establish a separate political wing for electoral politics like it established separate organizations in all field of the society such as IJT, JTA for students, *Shababi mili* for youth, *Al Khidamat* Foundation for Social work, women wing, Teacher Association, labor union etc. The party invite religious as well as like minded people to this organization. The political wing should have separate organizational structure and leader work under Amir of the JI. In past,

whatever JI did compromise politics criticized by the people. By this way, during the election the party will make compromises according to situation.

During the Qazi era, the model of Pakistan Islamic Front was a unique experiment in 1993. It was an open form, where all religious minded people could contest election including political parties. It could not achieved its objective due to insufficient home work. However this model adopted by other Islamic movements such as Muslim brotherhood in Egypt, Hisbu nehza in Tunisia and now it become the model for change. So it can be modified and reinstated.

JI should launch mass based campaign to bring reforms in electoral system as well as for the implementation of article 62 and 63 of the constitution. It will help to bring the honest and competent candidates to the main upper houses of Pakistan.

In 1993, Qazi Hussain Ahmad has been open membership for common people to some extent, but still it need more reforms membership process and the party organizational structure.

The party has 5 to 10 thousand vote in mostly constituencies of the country. The Pakistan electoral result show that during election silent voters give preference to the two strong contestants of the constituency. They do not want to waste their vote. Furthermore, all the other parties have stable constituencies. Due to scattered voters of JI throughout Pakistan they are hardly enable to win any seat at both levels. In 1970 general election the party got 2 million of the total votes, while secured only four seats in the national Assembly. On other side Pakistan people party received 6 million of the total votes, while secured 81 seats in the National Assembly. If there was propositional representation system. The party would have to won 27 seats in the general election. The party should struggle for proportional representation in Pakistan.

The alliance of MMA was successful experiment for religious parties including JI. In electoral history, first time JI won numbers of seats and other religious parties as well. The great electoral victory of MMA was also contributed by some other factors. But important factor was the unification of religious parties in one platform. The result of 2013 proved that religious parties have stable vote in KPK and Baluchistan.

**Table 6.1: Election Result 2013**

	<b>NA</b>	<b>Baluchistan</b>	<b>KPK</b>	<b>Punjab</b>	<b>Sindh</b>
<b>PTI</b>	7,679,954	24,030	1,039,719	4,951,216	607,382
<b>JUI (F)</b>	1,461,371	207,167	733,777	153,398	105,799
<b>JI</b>	963,909	3,627	404,895	489,772	131,141

Sources: (Election commission of Pakistan)

The result shows that JI and JUI combined vote is more than PTI, which is the leading party of KPK in 2013 general election, beside it the religious parties got majority vote than all other parties in Baluchistan. So it can be suggested that JI should go for alliance with other religious parties.

The decision-makers should remove the boycott option from the party and even do not consider it in future. The last one that the party should form supreme ulemas council (belongs to all sects) to overview the party policy in the light of Quran and Sunnah. This will have a strong impact to attract religious vote of the country.

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