

Causes for the Failure of Jamaat-E-Islami in General Elections since (1970-2018)



Muhammad Hassan

Visiting Lecturer, Department of Pakistan Study, Abdul Wali Khan University, Mardan. muhammadhassaan142@gmail.com

Abstract: *Maulana Abu-Al-Ala Maudoodi founded Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP) on 26th August 1941 at Lahore. It has established its bases all over Pakistan. Its center is at Lahore, Mansurah. JIP established multiple welfare organization. It has its own lawyer's forum, student unions, doctor's forum etc. It plays multiple roles in national and international affairs. This political party has large number of workers. It is based upon some principles. Any member, who wants to join JIP, must adhere to those principles of JIP and will begin his career as workers and will gradually become its member after years of struggle. This political party is on the forefront on every domestic issue ranges from administrative to utility to finance and inflation and as well as on international issue particularly where Muslims are in miserable condition. It also plays its role through Al-Khidmat Foundation in war torn areas either within country or in foreign country and similarly provide relief to the people of disaster affected people. There are no corruption charges on any of its member and worker but this political party failed to get considerable number of seats in National and Provincial legislatures. This research works finds out its causes of its failure in general elections.*

Keywords: Jamaat-e-Islami, General Elections, inflation, Majlis-e-Shura, PNA

Introduction

This research paper will describe the causes of failure of Jamaat-e-Islami in general election in National Assembly as well as in Provincial Assembly. Maulana Abu-al-Ala Maudoodi founded Jamaat-e-Islami on 26th August 1941 at Lahore and organization at frontier province was formed in 1944 and in later years after the creation of Pakistan, while the whole organization was shifted to newly state of Pakistan under the name of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. In India, it was renamed as Jamaat-e-Islami Hindh. Furthermore, the Jamaat-e-Islami has its organization at Provinces, Districts and also has local units. It has also well Student Union under the name Jamiat-ul-Taliba which is large student organization. Every member and

organization of Jamaat that is either at Province or in District or on local level must have to follow the goals as prescribed by Central Leadership of the Jamaat-e-Islami. In Jamaat-e-Islami there are strict rules and principles to be followed by every member of the Jamaat (Almas, 2011). As far as their organizational structure is concerned, it was consists of Amir elected by Majlis-e-Shura for five year term, in his absence acting Amir will be appointed by Majlis-e-Shura for six months, local Amirs will be removed and appoint by him, he will have to select Qayyam (General Secretary) also have the power to include or terminate the member for the party. Furthermore, there is Majlis-e-Shura (Consultative Council) comprised of 50 members elected by the members of Jamaat for three years period. They were empowered to

amend or interpret the constitution and pass the budget, the policy and programme of Jamaat will be prepared by Majlis-e-Shura. Another organization is Majlis-e-Amila (Executive Council) only functioned in absence of Majlis-Shura, they have all the powers of Shura except the removal of Amir but their decision required the approval of Shura when Shura came in session. The last is the Qayyam (General Secretary) who has to assist the Amir (Bahadur, 1977). As the Jamaat-e-Islami is such well-organized political, has large organization has religious background and is working on religious ideology now the question raise why Jamaat-e-Islami failed to occupy more seats in National Assembly, in Provincial Assembly.

ELECTORAL HISTORY OF JAMAAT-E-ISLAMI

Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan (JIP) was an Islamic Movement during inception and opposed the formation of Pakistan because their aim was to transform the Subcontinent into Islamic State. After the creation of Pakistan, Jamaat-e-Islami turned into is well organized Islamic party. It has well democratic organizational structure. JIP boycotted 1945-46 elections. They first appeared in March 1951 Punjab Provincial Assembly Elections but did not give its own party tickets rather formed Panchayats or Village Circles in 37 constituencies. They put their candidates from these village councils who were its members. They only secured 200000 votes all constituencies and lost elections. On 28th April 1958, they secondly appeared in Karachi Municipal Elections and contest election on 23 seats, in this Municipal Elections JIP won over 19 seats out of 23 this proved to be their victory. Hence this victory in election was because of Muhajir community support (Nasr, The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution, The Jamaat-e-Islami Of Pakistan, 1994).

They contested 1970 elections. In this election they put forward 71 candidates from East Pakistan and 80 Candidates from West Pakistan for National Assembly. For Provincial Assemblies they contested on 174 seats in East Pakistan, 80 seats in Punjab, 37 seats in Sindh, 28 in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (NWFP) and 12 seats in Baluchistan. In National Assembly, they

got 4 seats, 1 from Punjab, 2 from Sindh and 1 from Khyber Pukhtunkhwa (NWFP) out of 80 seats contested from Provinces of West Pakistan. JIP got no seat from East Pakistan and Balochistan. In Provincial Assemblies, JIP won 1 seat in East Pakistan out of 174, 1 seat in Punjab out of 80, 1 seat in Sindh out of 37 and 1 seat in Khyber Pukhtunkhwa out of 28 (NWFP). JIP won no seat in Balochistan Assembly out 12 seats. In 1970 elections, Jamaat faced a complete failure. (Afzal, 2018).

JIP contested 1977 elections under Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) consist of nine political parties, Under PNA alliance JIP won 9 seats out of 31 contested seats. JIP won 2 seats out 20 from Punjab, 3 out of 5 seats from KPK and 4 out 6 seats from Sindh to National Assembly. The elections in 1985 contested on non-party basis. In this election JIP won 10 seats out 68 contested seats in National Assembly. JIP got 3 out of 37 seats from Punjab, 4 out of 13 seats from KPK, 2 out 15 seats from Sindh and 1 out 3 seats from Balochistan to National Assembly. In Provincial Assemblies, JIP got 2 out of 53 seats in Punjab, 5 out of 22 seats in KPK, 5 out of 24 seats in Sindh and 1 out 3 seats in Sindh Assembly. (Nasr, Vanguard of Islamic Revolution, The Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan, 1994).

JIP Pakistan in 1988 entered into Army sponsored alliance Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI) and this alliance came into existence on 6th October 1988. The president of this alliance was Nawaz Sharif and Professor Ghafoor Ahmed of the JIP was appointed as its Secretary General. Army sponsored this alliance to counter the Pakistan People's Party occupation of power. In 1988 elections took place on 6th November 1988. In this election Peoples Party got victory and took 93 votes whereas IJI got 54 seats in National Assembly. JIP under IJI alliance got 5 out of 14 seats from Punjab, 2 out of 4 seats from KPK, and got no seat from Sindh out of 8 and did not contest elections from Balochistan for National Assembly. In Provincial Assemblies, JIP secured 5 out of 20 seats in Punjab, 6 out of 14 seats in KPK and got no seat from Sindh out of 8 seats and Balochistan out of 1 seat (Manzoor Khan Afridi, 2016).

In 1990 election, IJI had given 18 seats to contest elections for National Assemblies whereas given 14 seats in Punjab, 12 seats in KPK, 11 in Sindh and total 37 seats for Provincial Assemblies. For National Assembly, JIP won 7 out of 7 from Punjab and 1 out of 4 from KPK. JIP contested on 6 seats from Sindh and on 1 Seat from Balochistan for National Assembly but did not achieve any seat from Sindh and Balochistan. In Provincial Assemblies, JIP won 12 out of 14 seats in Punjab, 8 out of 12 in KPK. It also contested on 11 seats for Sindh Assembly but did not get any seat from Sindh. It did not contest for Balochistan Provincial Assembly (Khan K. A., 2011).

President Ghulam Ishaq Khan dissolved National Assembly on 18th April 1993 on account of mismanagement and corruption. The elections would have to held in October 1993. JIP left IJI alliance on 5th May 1992. JIP formed its own single party alliance called Pakistan Islamic Front. The formation PIF alliance was criticized by many of the JIP members and workers but in view of Qazi Hussain Ahmed it was a strategy for getting victory in National Assembly election. In 1993 elections, JIP contested on 103 seats in National Assembly and on 237 seats in Provincial Assemblies. Qazi Hussain Ahmed strategy of PIF was proved failed because out 103 contested seats PIF only got 3 seats in National Assembly (Muhammad Waris Awan, 2016). PIF got one seat from Sindh and 2 seats from KPK to National Assembly. In Provincial Assemblies, PIF got only 4 seats in KPK Assembly and 2 seats in Punjab Assembly (Khan H. , 2018).

In 2002 Elections, JIP contested elections in alliance of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal. MMA contested on 183 seats out of 342 in National Assembly. Among 183 it won 59 seats, 45 general and 14 reserved for women and minorities. MMA won 68 seats out 142 in KPK Assembly, among 68, 20 seats secured by JIP. In Punjab Assembly, JIP won 7 seats out 11 MMA seats. In Sindh Assembly MMA won 10 seats whereas in Balochistan MMA secured 13 seats all were won by JUI (F) (Khan K. A., 2002 Elections in Pakistan: A Reappraisal, 2011).

In 2013 General elections, JIP won 4 seats, 3

general seats and 1 reserved for women in National Assembly. In Provincial Assemblies, JIP won 8 seats, 7 general seats and 1 seat reserved for women in KPK Assembly. JIP got 1 seat in Punjab provincial assembly. It got no seat in Sindh and Balochistan Provincial Assembly (ANFREL, 2013).

In the light of above given literature, the JIP did not achieve success in the electoral politics, it did not get majority seats in none of the Provincial Assemblies as well as in the National Assemblies. There is the research gap that what are the reasons behind getting less seats in National as well as in Provincial Assemblies.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

JIP possess a high importance in the politics of Pakistan. However during elections this party faced mixed results.

JIP is an influential party in political arena as we see that it was the party which declared Ahmadis non-Muslims. It created the hurdles for Ayub Khan's autocratic rule. It supported Yahya Khan and Zia-ul-Haq's regime. It was also the part of Zia-ul-Haq's cabinet. The problem statement is that it did not achieve its success in getting more seats in National Assembly as well as in Provincial Assemblies. The highest seats which it got 20 seats in KPK assembly in 2002 under MMA alliance, it also remained unsuccessful in achieving significant number of seats in the National and Provincial Assemblies.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The research work has significance that this research work will inform the JIP and its leader about its mistakes in the electoral politics. The JIP in the light of this research work might overcome those weaknesses and led the JIP on the path of successful electoral politics. The research work will also provide significant information to the readers about JIP, its role in the electoral as well as in the political history of Pakistan.

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

- To find the causes of failure of JIP in the general elections.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What are the causes of the failure of JIP in general elections

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research work will be conducted on non-probability method. The rolling stone method was adopted for investigating the research objective. The research work will be investigated on basis of interviews. A structured interview has been conducted from 18 interviewees. Among 18 interviewees, 7 from Jamaat-e-Islami Party, 2 intellectuals, 3 rebellions from JIP, 3 from workers of Awami National Party, 1 from Pakistan People Party, 1 from Pakistan Muslim League and 2 from Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam Fazlu Rehman (JUI-F).

ANALYSIS

JIP is the prominent and oldest party functioning in Pakistan. The JIP strictly adheres to its principles on this basis JIP recruit workers in their party. JIP has always been suffered from restraints imposed upon them by different governments particularly in the era of General Ayub Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. However, they became part of alliances of PNA, IJI and MMA under these alliance it lost its principles, name and character. The alliances with multiple religio-secular parties has been proved a setback for their victory in general elections when contest it on their own name¹. The youngsters are considering JIP as conservative party, based on strict principles of Islam, must be followed by every individual that wants to join party. Moreover, JUI-F is also playing a role of hurdle because most of their followers are Ulema, Madaris and prominent Mosques are under their control. The JUI-F are based on Deobandi school of thought to which majority of the religious people attracts. JIP abstained from contesting elections in 1997 and 2002, according to the respondent there must be continuation of

party in contesting elections by which the party could attract the followers and in this it could lead from other parties in general elections².

Other political parties like Pakistan People's Party, Pakistan Muslim League (N), Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf are the parties dominated by landed aristocrats. These landed aristocrats shift their loyalties from one party to another mostly on the recommendation of establishment. The landed aristocrats have influence in their village, mostly dominant in different areas of Punjab, the most populous city in Pakistan. The landed aristocrats use their influence on one hand and exploit the poverty and illiteracy of the people and force them to give vote to their party. However, JIP has no landed aristocrat. Besides, the establishment has also been involved in process of general elections and their some foreign forces not letting JIP to get victory in general elections, because JIP has well organized economic system which is free from usury, social system based on equity and social justice, education system based on both Western and Islamic. The foreign forces do not want JIP to get victory in general elections and form government either in Province or in Federal because if they form government, their interests in Pakistan will be harmed and scrapped³.

Pakistan's electoral system is based on brotherhood, ethnicity and provincialism. JIP is not giving any importance to these features rather it has its own objectives and procedure for making a person as their candidate for general elections. The JIP hasn't followed consistent strategy. It has mostly contested general elections under alliances and did not promote their own image on which it attracts the youth of Pakistan to vote JIP. Moreover, JIP has no particular channel through which it promotes their agenda and attract people for voting JIP in general elections as other parties do. JIP also do not utilize their funds for garnering the support

¹ Interview with Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Provincial Amir-e-Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan Professor Ibrahim Khan on 25th July 2022.

² Interview with Iqbal Khalil, Worker of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Director of Institute of Regional Studies, Peshawar, conducted on 13th August 2022.

³ Interview with Shabbir Ahmed Khan, Worker of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, former Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Province Nazim of Islami Jamiat-ul-Taliba, Member of National Assembly in MMA alliance and former General Secretary of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan.

of people for general elections⁴.

In Pakistan's electoral system civil-military bureaucracy intervene that disturb the procedure of general elections. The foreign forces are intervening in Pakistani politics as on their observations and research of Pakistan they groom new people and form party under their leadership and dominated the political scene of Pakistan. These forces also attract the youth of Pakistan but did not let them to attract towards Islamic parties and ultimately they follow secular parties. This kind of activity is also against JIP because youth play a significant role in electoral and democratic process⁵. Moreover, it has also been revealed that young people in Pakistan do not follow any agenda or ideology rather they are emotional and can be easily attracted to enthusiastic speeches of leaders of secular parties. In this way, the 18 year age for voting is not recommendable and must be 25 years of age⁶. However, JIP has proper agenda of establishing social, economic, educational and political system based on Islamic principle. But JIP do not possess support among general public because it is party of intellectual and recruiting people into party on their basic principles. During conducting interview, administrator of KPK Provincial JIP told that JIP put their candidates on the basis of voting among the workers of JIP either he has support in his concerned area or not.

The nature of Pakistani politics is very different from the nature of politics of JIP. The JIP are mostly raising the international issues such as Kashmir Issue, plight of Muslims in Palestine and in other parts of the worlds. The JIP is not

concerned too much with internal problems that are being faced by Pakistan. The workers of JIP do not connect themselves with general public they aloof from them due to which the general public do not attract towards them. The workers of JIP are intellectuals and have their own circle whereas the politician must be flexible and should interact with general public. Moreover, people in Pakistan attract not to party but to personality. The people vote to that person in general election who can do work in social services such as attending the wedding ceremony, do Namaz-e-Janaza of the people of their concerned area, to release the relative of individual of their concerned area from prison and to resolve their other issues. As far as the workers and contestant of JIP are concerned they are not being very much involved in such kind of activity. Those people who are involved in such kind of activity the people vote them like Inayatullah Khan from Dir and Mushtaq Ahmed Khan Senator in Senate of Pakistan from Swabi. Furthermore, the JIP give ticket for contesting elections only to those who strictly follow their principles either that candidate has strong support in their or do not possess any support⁷. Besides, the people do not want to vote JIP because they do not involve themselves in resolving the personal issues of people of their concerned area. The JIP had stronghold in Sindh Province but JIP because the Mohajir were their supporters but they lost this support in Sindh Province when MQM formed which protects the rights of Mohajir community in Sindh Province⁸.

The JUI-F has very strong support in southern provinces of Pakistan. Moreover, JUI-F is being

⁴ Interview with Inayatullah, Former Minister of Health 2002-2007 under MMA Alliance, Former Minister of Local Government and Rural Development 2013-2018 under Pakistan Tehrik-e-Insaf Government. He is worker of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Former Member of Provincial Assembly 2018-2023. Interview conducted on 4 September 2022.

⁵ Interview with Liaqat Baloch, Former Member of National Assembly 2002-2007, Naib Amir of Central Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Interview conducted on 27th September 2022.

⁶ Interview with Ghulam Muhyuddin, Former Judge of Peshawar High Court, presently Advocate in Supreme Court and also worker of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Interview conducted 24th September 2022.

⁷ Interview with Muhammad Iqbal, resident of Upper Dir and Lecturer in Pakistan Study Center University of Peshawar. Interview conducted on 13th August 2022.

⁸ Interview with Dr. Fakhru Islam, Worker of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and Former Director of Pakistan Study Center University of Peshawar. Interview conducted on 4th October 2022.

attracted towards power politics. During elections, they set a side from their manifesto and principles but always combined them on their own name and character with secular parties to protect their interest and get share in power at the national and provincial level. Their stronghold over Ulema, Madaris and Mosques is significant reason for their success in general elections. Moreover, illiterate people also attracted to their sign which is a book, which they consider a Quran which means that vote to JUI-F is vote to Quran. This gives a setback to JIP in general elections. The formation of PIF was optimal strategy initiated by Qazi Hussain Ahmed. The PIF led JIP to street politics and gathered support of thousands of people.⁹

All respondent from the part of JIP declared PIF an optimal strategy which must be continued. The PIF could play a role of political wing of JIP.

As far as opposition is concerned, they considered that PPP, PML-N and PTI are scheme parties groomed and initiated by establishment for the preservation of democracy through these parties. The JIP do not possess their support. Furthermore, there is a collision in aim and path of JIP. JIP on one way is recruiting the people in their party on the basis of their strict principles and wanted to establish Islamic system and on the other hand they are joining alliances with religio-secular parties who are working against their interests. Furthermore, the formation of PIF was a blunder because JIP has given its name through which it can garner support for its original party. The respondents also endorsed that JIP is being failed in general

elections because majority of its workers are not involving themselves in politics of clientalism. In this way JIP method of doing politics is against the dynamics of Pakistani politics¹⁰.

People and workers of JIP are intellectuals but at the time of the leadership of Qazi Hussain Ahmed he recruited illiterate people in the party who did not follow the principle of JIP and their inclusion was against the principles of JIP. However, JIP never become a party but remained pressure group. JIP play its role in pressurizing the government on implementation of unIslamic laws and on the initiation of unIslamic policies¹¹.

The aloofness of JIP from general public is the reason of their getting less seats in National and Provincial assemblies. Moreover, the JIP and JUI-F has same ideologies but JUI-F has vote bank among Ulema and religious students and Deobandi School of thought is giving them lead against JIP. Therefore, JIP has to create vote bank by creating a political wing as they created PIF without strict principles but should have aim of getting share in power as JUI-F get with other secular parties.¹² However, JIP created against communism as communist ideology have demolished and Soviet Union got defeated so they had no other motive to propagate and they became aimless¹³. One of the respondents from opposition revealed that there are two reason for their failure in general elections, one, it has no support among general masses and is only confined to Punjab Province and second reason is that during Pakistan movement JIP opposed the creation of Pakistan on the basis of this they did not participate in 1946 elections¹⁴. Besides,

⁹ Interview with Faqirullah Khan, President of Islamic Lawyers Forum, a wing of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan, Interview conducted on 24th September 2022.

¹⁰ Interviews with Abdul Wadood and Anwar Shah, both were the members of Majlis-e-Shura from 2000-2003 but they went against JIP and left entire organization. Interview conducted on 14th September 2022

¹¹ Interview with Advocate Anwar, Former Worker of Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan and later left Organization. Interview conducted on 22nd September 2022.

¹² Interview with Fazl-e-Elahi, former Worker of Awami National Party 21st September 2022.

¹³ Interview with Latif Afridi, Former Worker of Awami National Party, Former President of Provincial Awami National Party, Deputy Secretary of Central Awami National Party and also Former Member of Awami National Party Central Executive Committee. Interview conducted on 21st October 2022.

¹⁴ Interview with Rahim Shah Afridi, Former Worker of Awami National Party, Presently, a Worker of Pashtun Tahafuz Movement of Manzoor Pashteen

JIP is very stringent in their principles which are another reason for their failure in general elections¹⁵¹⁶¹⁷¹⁸.

REFERENCES

- Afzal, M. R. (2018). *Political Parties in Pakistan (1969-1971)* (Vol. III). Islamabad, Pakistan: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research.
- Almas, N. (2011). Thesis. *Women Wing of Jamaat-I-Islami*, 1-6. Peshawar, Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, Pakistan: Pakistan Study Center University of Peshawar.
- ANFREL, P. G. (2013). *THE 2013 NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS IN PAKISTAN*. JOINT INTERNATIONAL ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSION NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE AND THE ASIAN NETWORK FOR FREE ELECTIONS, Washington, D.C. .
- Bahadur, K. (1977). *Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan: Political Thought and Political Action* (1st ed.). New Delhi, India: Chetana Publications.
- Khan, H. (2018). *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan* (Third ed.). Karachi, Sindh, Pakistan: Oxford University Press.
- Khan, K. A. (2011). 2002 Elections in Pakistan: A Reappraisal. *Journal of Political Studies*, 18(1), 93-108.
- Khan, K. A. (2011, October). Thesis. *Religion and Politics in Pakistan: The Role of Jamaat-e-Islami (1972-2007)*, 121-123. Lahore, Punjab, Pakistan: Department of History, University of the Punjab.
- Manzoor Khan Afridi, T. U. (2016). Electoral Politics of Jamat-e-Islami Pakistan (1987-2009). *Global Social Sciences Review*, I(I), 58-76.
- Muhammad Waris Awan, R. U. (2016). Jamaat-i-Islami's Politics of Change under Qazi Hussain Ahmad's Leadership during Democratic Regimes (1987-1999). *Pakistan Journal of Social Sciences*, 36(2), 843-855.
- Nasr, S. V. (1994). *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution, The Jamaat-e-Islami Of Pakistan*. Oakland, Los Angeles, United States of America: University of California Press.
- Nasr, S. V. (1994). *Vanguard of Islamic Revolution, The Jamaat-e-Islami of Pakistan*. Los Angeles, California, United States of America: University of California Press.

and Member of their Central Executive Committee. Interview conducted on 21st September 2022

¹⁵ This point was revealed by both Saqibullah Khan Khalil, Worker of Pakistan People's People Interview conducted on 21st September 2022.

¹⁶ Sardar Hussain, Worker of Pakistan Muslim League (N). Interview conducted on 21st September 2022.

¹⁷ Maulana Gauhar Shah, Worker of JUI-F, District Amir of JUI-F of District Charsadda and former Member of National Assembly in MMA Alliance

from 2002-2007. Interview conducted on 22nd January 2023

¹⁸ Maulana Mussamir Shah, Former Member of Provincial Assembly in MMA Alliance from 2002-2007. Interview conducted on 22nd January 2023.