

Hamida Fatima¹: Muhammad Shafique²

Intra-Party Factionalization in Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP): From Inception to 1977

Abstract

Religious parties are supposed to be more open to factionalization on the relation between religion and politics and interpretation thereof. This tendency of factionalization can be seen aggravated by personal claims of authority, superiority and leadership venerations. The purpose of this paper is to explore and analyze the nature of factionalization in Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP), a representative political organization of Ahl-e-Sunnat Bareilvi school of thought, from 1947 to 1977. Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh, took an active part in the creation of “Pakistan” from the platform of All India Sunni Conference with an intention of establishing an Islamic state. After the formation of Pakistan, these Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh, observing a sectarian danger to the rights and beliefs of Ahl-e-Sunnat, established Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (hereafter as JUP). The JUP provided platform to Ulema and Mashaikh who already had strong religious identities and following. They had good relationship with Quaid-e-Azam and other high officials. Maulana Hamid Badayuni and Shah Abdul Aleem Siddiqui (father of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani) were assigned the task of informing the world about the objectives of the establishment of Pakistan. The party played a vital role for the establishment of a religious identity of Pakistan. However, like every religious group and party, JUP had to face serious type of factionalization by its inception. This research paper is intended to examine whether the religious issues had forced the dissident groups to form factions or political issues had caused rifts within the party. It is important to analyze that to what extent these intra-party conflicts affected the stability and recognition of JUP as religio-political party.

Key Words: Bareilvi School of Thought; Spiritual Personalities; Khanqahs; Dissident Groups; factions; Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP); Pakistan politics; Religious Political Parties of Pakistan

Introduction

The history of religions and religious communities reflects a sort of conflict, contradictions and exclusionist tendencies along with sectarianism and heretical labeling. The history of Muslim communities also exhibits sectarian, schools and circumstantial evidence of conflict, violence and exclusionism. One can find a number of reasons including the conflict on the interpretation and understanding of religious scriptures, practices, persons or circumstances. The tendencies can be observed throughout the history. Major problems may be leadership claims, evolutionary nature of universe and integrating scripture and rituals with the evolutionary nature of the universe and society.

South Asian society also witnessed a sort of integration and factionalization among the Muslim communities. Both the processes can be seen functional and operative simultaneously and at a time. After the fall of the Mughal Empire, although Muslim community was divided politically, yet began to integrate culturally and religiously. Although some factions of religious parties opposed the Pakistan Movement, dominant number of Muslim parties and population supported this movement. Pakistan Movement became an embodiment of religious identity and enthusiasm. After the formation of Pakistan, these parties were enthusiastic enough to implement Islamic injunction into politics and statecraft. They were sure of the supremacy of theological class as well as their distinctive sects. However, the success and continuity of imperial political elite to take over the new state rang the alarm among the religious communities and theological class.

¹ **Hamida Fatima:** Associate Professor, Govt. Postgraduate College for Women, Khanewal

² **Dr Muhammad Shafique (CA):** Professor, Department of History and Civilization Studies, BZU, Multan

All India Sunni Conference's leaders from Pakistani areas, especially Syed Ahmad Saeed Kazmi raised voice as how their opponent schools of thought were gaining political strength in the official circle of government of Pakistan especially Maulana Maududi of Jama'at-i-Islami and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani of JUIP. Therefore, the Ulema belonging to Sunni Conference, began to take interest in national political affairs and constitution making process. Syed Ahmad Saeed Kazmi in a letter to Abu al Hasanat Qadri explained the situation of Sunni voices and asserted the Sunni leadership to rise up for their interests. He wrote:

The parties which were actively supporting Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind before creation of Pakistan including many of leaders and workers of Jamiat Ulema-e-Hind, are still opponent of Pakistan. As they became sure that Pakistan would definitely come into existence, they surprisingly joined the Muslim League and acquired such a great influence that their leader (Shabbir Ahmad Usmani) has exercised complete sway over the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.....Now they are receiving tribute and applause from the public with their demand for the enforcement of Sharia in Pakistan. Although the demand is quite commendable in itself, in this garb it stems from motives which are not only against the interests of Ahl-e-Sunnat but also detrimental to our existence...Despite all this, we are oblivious. Our world of violence and chaos today is the same as it was before. We were not something earlier and we are not in any account today even though we have a majority in the Muslim world.We are facing a deplorable situation. We have no distinction and respect from the Government of Pakistan which is established as a result of our sacrifices. There has no result of our services, but our religion and sect, life and property, honor and dignity seem to be surrounded by some of the most serious dangers. It is all due to our disorganization."³

In this context, the Sunni Ulema decided to form a formal religio-political party. A meeting of Sunni Ulema was called in Madrasah Islamia Arabia Anwar-al-Uloom, Multan in March 1948 and after due deliberations establishment of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan was declared formed. . Syed Ahmad Saeed Kazmi narrated the following objectives of Party in the letter written to Syed Abu al Hasanat. ⁴

- 1) To defend the centrality of the person of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in the state
- 2) To Struggle to implement the prophetic law
- 3) To strive for the stability of the role of Ahl-e-Sunnat
- 4) To unite Ahl-e-Sunnat according to the teaching of Islam
- 5) To serve the nation by uniting Ahl-e-Sunnat for a common cause
- 6) To struggle for the establishment of Islamic government, without colliding the other school of thoughts⁵

JUP very soon after its establishment began to organize its religious and political activities and institutions. First of such activities was the organization of "Bazm-e-Tanzeem" under the supervision of central organization, under the presidentship of Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Tarannum⁶. Shariat Day was celebrated on Friday 7th May 1948 and meetings were called to highlight the importance of Sharia in daily Muslim life as well as in affairs of government. First gathering was organized outside Mochi Gate Lahore, presided by Abu al Barakat Syed Fazal Shah JalalPuri. The Pirs who supported Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan had already established Jam'iyat-ul-Mashaikh on 7th January, 1948. . Jihad-e-Kashmir was also supported publicly, assisted financially, leaders of Jamiat especially President of Jamiat Abu-al-Hasanat visited Kashmir personally to encourage Kashmiri Mujahids,⁷ and celebrated

³ Syed Ahmad Saeed Kazmi, Maqalat-e-Kazmi, Part 2, Maktaba Zaiya, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, 1978, p.p 464-465

⁴ Ibid, p. 466, Following Ulema were elected for different party posts to make first organizational body of JUP. Allama Abu-al-Hasanat, Dewan Syed Aal-i-Rasool Ali Khan, Allama Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Mufti Sahibdad Khan, Khawaja Qamarud din Sialvi, Allama Ahmad Saeed Kazmi, Syed Ghulam Mueenud din Naimi KakaKhail, Maulana Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash, Maulana Abu al Faiz Qalandar Ali Shah, Maulana Syed Khalil Ahmad Qadri. Other members of JUP Majlis-i-Amla were Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Tarannum, Maulana Muhammad Umar Naimi, Maulana Syed Amanat Ali Shah, Maulana Mufti Ijaz Wali, Maulana Muhammad Noorullah Naimi, Maulana Faizul Hasan dars, Maulana Nasir Jalali, Maulana Saraj Din Bahawalpuri, Maulana Ghulam Jahaniaan Qureshi.

⁵ Ibid, p. 466

⁶ Ibid, p.479

⁷ Zahid Husain Anjum, Pakistan Ke Adaary, New Book Palace, Urdu Bazar Lahore, Lahore, p. 377

Kashmir Day on April 15, 1949.⁸ Jamiat also started to commemorate the days of companions of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) .

Jamiat played its role in the process of formation of constitution of Pakistan and initiated Tehreek Tahaffuz Khatm-e-Nabowat.⁹ For, an All Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention (APMPC) was organized in Karachi. Second convention was held in Lahore on July 13, 1952 and a "Majlis-e-Amal" was formed to decide the matters regarding Qadiani issue¹⁰ with Maulana Abu al Hasanat Syed Muhammad Ahmad Qadri as its President.¹¹ This Majlis demanded government to dismiss Qadiani minister Chaudhary Zafrullah from foreign ministry and declare Qadianis as Non-Muslims. Government arrested all leaders including President Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan Abu al Hasanat Qadri and his only son .¹² During the same movement, differences arose between Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan and other parties of Majlis-e-Amal and during passage of time, these differences grew rather than diminished. These differences did not allow JUP to flourish as a religious and political party, rather it was further divided into many from 1953 to 1971. The following pages analyze the nature and causes of such factionalization.

First phase of Factionalization: Tehreek Tahaffuz Khatm-e-Nabowat (1953) and aftermath.

The first sign of factionalization in JUP can be traced during the anti-Qadiani Movement of 1953. It was basically an organizational and leadership conflict. All Pakistan Muslim Parties had initiated the movement and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni of JUP was one of the initial five members committee to make future strategy for the movement. These parties called a joint meeting and in spite of presence of President JUP, Abu al-Hasnat Qadri in Lahore, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Vice President JUP, attended All Pakistan Muslim Parties Convention as representative of JUP in Lahore on July 13, 1952. All Parties formed a Markazi Majlis-i-Amal to make future strategy. Majlis-e-Amal wanted to take direct action against the government's inadequate measures against the Qadianis. The issue divided the JUP in opinion. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, President of JUP Karachi and Sindh along with group of his fellows, was in favor of direct action, while Maulana Abu al-Hasnat Qadri and group of his fellows were reluctant slightly to initiate a direct action against government¹³. Therefore both factions began to function separately and factions continued till the second phase during Ayub Era. The factionalization was based on the cooperation with the government or not.

Second Phase of conflict: Ayub Khan's martial Law and reform Agenda

The second phase of factionalization begins with Ayub Khan's Martial law and reforms and issues like establishment of Auqaf Department, Family Laws, women's participation in politics, Sighting Eid Moon became major bones of contention and factionalization.

Dissidence to support for Martial Law

When Ayub Khan imposed Martial Law, all parties were banned to continue political activities. Sahibzada Faizul Hasan was a former vigorous member of Majlis-i-Ahrar (MJA), joined JUP and was elected as President of JUP West Pakistan. He was staunch supporter of Ayub Khan. According to him, the support of President Ayub Khan was not merely a political act but a religious necessity of Ahl-e-Sunnat¹⁴. He tried to create sympathy about Ayub's Martial Law among Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh. However some Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh did not like Martial Law. Instead of developing political harmony between Martial Law government and JUP through the struggle of

⁸ Malik Mahboob ur rasool Qadri, (edit) Tameer-i-Millat ke ley Jamiat Ulema Pakistan ki Siasi Jidojihad, International Ghausia Forum, Jauharabad, Pakistan, p.352

⁹ Syed Ahmad Saeed Kazmi, Maqalat-e-Kazmi, Part 2, Maktaba Ziaiya, Rawalpindi, Pakistan, 1978, p.477

¹⁰ Report of the Court of Inquiry to Enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953, Printed by Punjab Superintendent, Government printing Punjab, Lahore, 1954, p.79

¹¹ Ibid, p.80

¹² Sadiq Qasuri, Akabar Tehreek-e-Pakistan, Fazal Noor Academy, Gujrat, 1970, p.102. The other nominated members of Majlis-e-Amal were following Sunni Ulema e.g. Maulana Muhammad Baksh Muslim of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Tarannum of Hizbul Ahnaf, Maulana Ghulam Din of Hizbul Ahnaf, Maulvi Noor-ul-Hasan Bukhari of Tanzeem-i-Ahl-Sunnat-wal-Jama'at, Sahibzada Faizul Hasan of Anjuman Sajjada Nashinan-i-Punjab (ASNP), Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi of Anjuman Sajjada Nashinan-Punjab (ASNP), and Maulana Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash

¹³ Mujeeb Ahmad, Jam'iyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1993, p.12

¹⁴ Muhammad Basharat Ali Mujaddadi and Muhammad Naveed Iqbal Mujaddadi, (edit), Tazkara Mushaikh Alu Mohar Sharif, Tanzeem al Islam Publications. Gujranwala, 2009, P.583

Sahibzada Faizal Hasan, intra-party differences were created in JUP. Some Sunni scholars like Mufti Muhammad Husain Naeemi, did not like Sahibzada Faizal Hasan Shah's friendship with Ayub's government at all. The main reason for the displeasure of these ulema was that according to these Ulema, Sahibzada Faizul Hassan Shah had made JUP West Pakistan as Ayub Khan's darbari party of Ayub Khan. According to him, the Jamiat had also taken the responsibility of interpreting Ayub Khan. These differences began to mount by the introduction of Ayub's reform.

Establishment of Auqaf Department 1961

Establishment of Auqaf department in 1961 to monitor and regulate the functions of the Shrines and religious Auqaf directed hit the interests and benefits of Pirs, Gaddinashins and Sajjadanashins of Khanqahs and shrines. This department was responsible to regulate the finances of the shrines and mosques. Before the establishment of the department, these shrines and mosques were in the direct control of Ulema and Mashaikh and they were collecting the donations and other alms presented by visitors to the shrines and mosques. The establishment of Auqaf department was highly resisted by Ulema and Mashaikh. Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi, Vice President of the MJUP, raised his voice against this action of Ayub government. He criticized the governmental action to collect funds from shrines. He and other Ulema considered this step of Ayub Government in favor of socialism and declared it a conspiracy to nationalize Islam.¹⁵ However, a group of JUP who did not own any shrines or old Auqaf in Pakistan supported the government as an act to control the power of Ulema and Mashaikh. This difference of opinion caused internal dissension to the JUP, which became severe later on.

Muslim Family Laws 1961.

Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of March 1961 created embarrassment among the Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh. Many scholars objected to Sahibzada's behavior in this regard. In the opinion of these scholars, Sahibzada Faizal-Hassan's silence on the implementation of these laws is in defiance of religious requirements, but some political and social compulsions were preventing him from taking bold action, but the scholars misunderstood his silence. It caused dissension among Ahle-Sunnah. Therefore, a section of the leading scholars of the country started demanding strict policy from him, but they could not get the desired response from Sahibzada Faizal Hasan¹⁶. Sahibzada Faizal Hasan Shah who was also unsatisfied with the un-Islamic character of Ordinance, tried to cool down and tone down the anti-Ayub sentiments but Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh did not accept his reconciliation policies¹⁷. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, President of MJUP, was also declared it un-Islamic.

When Ayub Khan lifted up the Martial Law, all political activities were revived. JUP was also revived and conducted its meeting on August 5, 1962 in Lahore. In this meeting prominent Sunni Ulema discussed the future program of JUP. Sahibzada Faizal Hasan Shah was elected as its interim President.¹⁸ On December 10, 1962, a meeting of MJUP was held. Sahibzada Faizal Hasan presided over the meeting. In this meeting new organizing bodies of Markazi Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (MJUP) and West Pakistan Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (WPJUP) were formed. Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazmi was elected new President of MJUP. Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah was elected as new President of West Pakistan Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (WPJUP). Nazim-i-Ala'a was Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi. A problem was created when in press, it was wrongly reported that Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni had been elected as new president of MJUP. Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazmi accepted the report to avoid any confrontation in party and withdrew in favour of Maulana Badayuni¹⁹. He accepted the office of Nazim-i-Ala'a of MJUP. But soon in 1963, he joined Jamia Islamia Bahawalpur as Shaikh al Hadees²⁰. Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazmi was the person who initially struggled to unite Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh on a single platform of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan to save the rights of Ahl-e-Sunnat Sawad-e-Azam. He was the founding member of Jamiat. So he did not raise any question on the situation and joined Jamia Islamia Bahawalpur. In this way, Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, a sincere Sunni Alim and politician who played important role in the establishment of Pakistan became president of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP). Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni was nominated as member Islami Mashawarti Council in 1962.

¹⁵ Zia-e-Haram, November 1970, p.p.30-32

¹⁶ Iqbal Ahmad Farooqi, Tazkira Ahl-i-Sunnat wa Jma'at, Maktaba Nabwiya Ganj Bakhsh, Lahore, 1987, p.228

¹⁷ Ibid, p.327

¹⁸ Monthly Rizwan, Lahore, August 1962, pp.3-5

¹⁹ Monthly Al-Habib (Jamiat Number), Lahore, October 1970, p.3

²⁰ Muhammad Sadiq Qasuri, Akabar Tehreek-i-Pakistan, Fazal Noor Academy, Shareef Printing, Gujrat, 1978, p.106

Conflict on Woman Candidacy for Presidential Election 1965

Presidential election caused disunity among the members of MJUP on the question of favor of Ayub Khan or Fatima Jinnah. Some of Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh i.e. Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah, Allama Ahmad Saeed Kazmi, Mufti Ahmad Yar Khan Naeemi, Allama Abdul Mustafa Alazhari, Alama Shafi Okarvi, Pir Karam Shah Al-azhari, Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi, Maulana Muhammad Bakhsh Muslim etc. were against the leadership of woman in government affairs. Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah was the female candidate for presidency against Ayub Khan. Maulana Abu-al-Barakat Syed Ahmad Qadri²¹ and Maulana Abudul Hamid Badayuni gave fatwa separately against the candidature of Fatima Jinnah based on the Hadees “ a nation that appoints a woman as its ruler shall never prosper”²² . A meeting of the Working Committee (Majlis-i-Amla) of West Pakistan JUP and Central Jamiat-ul-Mashaikh was held on December 5, 1964 in Dar-al-Aloom Hizab-al-Ahnaf Lahore. The meeting was attended by more than six hundred and fifty Ulema and Mashaikh. The Ulema and Mashaikh present in the meeting, on the motion of Allama Ahmad Saeed Kazmi endorsed the fatwa of Maulana Qadri in favour of Ayub Khan²³. Sahibzada Mahmood Shah Gujrati, Vice President of the WPJUP, raised his voice in the favour of Fatima Jinnah. He denounced the fatwa of Sunni Ulema. His group conducted a meeting in Gujrat in November 1964. In this meeting Mufti Bashir Husain, President of Gujranwala JUP, presented a resolution in support of Fatima Jinnah as a candidate for the post of President of Pakistan. In this meeting, Sahibzada Mahmood Shah Gujrati was elected as President of the WPJUP in place of Sahibzada Faizal Hasan Shah. MJUP took disciplinary action against Sahibzada Mahmood Shah Gujrati and expelled him from the basic membership of the MJUP on account of his condemnation of the fatwa of Sunni ulema²⁴.

Conflict on Eid Moon Sighting 1967

During the reign of Ayub Khan in 1967, a controversy appeared over the sighting of the moon. According to the government's Ruwit-e-Hilal Committee, the Eid moon had appeared, so Eid was to be celebrated on Thursday, January 5, while according to other religious leaders and scholars, Eid should have been on Friday. The clerics affiliated with the JUP, especially Mufti Muhammad Husain Naeemi, not only rejected the decision of the Ruwit-e-Hilal Committee, but also began to criticize the decision in mosques sharply. Considering this dangerous for the government, Ayub Khan's government started to detain these ulema so that the ulema could be stopped propagation against Ayub's government²⁵. On this issue, Sahibzada Faizal Hassan, supported the government that depend the the factionalization in JUP. **Intra-party Conflicts on Policy matters**

The leaders of WPJUP had not good liaison with MJUP. Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah, President WPJUP, did not bother to consult with central organization. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni was not consulted by him on the policy matters²⁶. WPJUP had hold on provincial matters due to good liaison with Ayub Khan. The leaders of WPJUP ran their provincial body independent from the MJUP. The central body was limited only to Karachi. Central organization of MJUP was remained paralyzed and inactive when he expelled some members of the Majlis-i-Shura unconstitutionally. Sunni Ulema raised the objections on officials of MJUP and WPJUP that they did not form proper policy to get recognition of graduates of Sunni Madaris in Armed Forces while graduates from Deobandi Madaras were well recognized in Armed Forces and they were getting jobs in army.

Establishment of Jam'iyat-al-ulema-i-Pakistan, Lahore (JUPL)

Sunni ulema continuously discouraged with the behavior of Sahibzada Faizal Hasan Shah and these annoyed Sunni Ulema established their own Jam'iyat-al-ulema-i-Pakistan, Lahore JUPL in 1968. A meeting of Sunni ulema was conducted in Lahore under the Chairmanship of Mufti Ijaz Wali on June 20, 1968. In this meeting it was decided to reorganize WPJUP, so that unity of Sunnis can be revived and the beliefs of Sawad-e-Azam Ahl-e-Sunnat could be protect. The next meeting held in Lahore on July 4, 1968. In this meeting, resolution to depose Sahibzada Faizul

²¹ Muhammad Basharat Ali Mujaddadi and Muhammad Naveed Iqbal Mujaddadi, (edit), Tazkara Mushaikh Alu Mohar Sharif, Tanzeem al Islam Publications. Gujranwala, 2009, P.582

²² Mujeeb Ahmad, Jam'iyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1993, p.23

²³ *bid*, pp.23-24

²⁴ Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, December 07, 1964

²⁵ Mujeeb Ahmad, Jam'iyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1993, p.32

²⁶ *ibid*p.27

Hasan was presented by Mufti Muhammad Husain Naeemi. A vote of no confidence was passed against Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah and deposed him from the President ship of the WPJUP. JUPL, a new faction of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan, elected Mufti Muhammad Husain Naeemi as President and Qazi Muzaffar Iqbal as Nazim-i-A'ala. Important Sunni Ulema and Mashaikh supported the establishment of JUPL e.g. Pir Syed Muhammad Ayub Shah of Chaura Sharif, Maulana Arifullah Shah Qadiri, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi etc. JUPL had no link with MJUP and WPJUP. On otherhand, on August 15, 1968, a convention of WPJUP of Sahibzada Faizul Hasan was conducted. Maulana Abu-al-Barakat was chairman of the convention. Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazmi presented a resolution in favour of Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah which was passed by ulema. In this convention almost 300 ulema were present including Mufti Ijaz Wali Khan. It was important to note that Mufti Ijaz Wali Khan was that prominent JUP leader who attended the meetings from both sides i.e. JUPL of Mufti Muhammad Husain Naeemi and WPJUP. In first meeting i.e. Mufti Ijaz Wali Khan presided over the meeting of JUPL, and in meeting of WPJUP, he attended the meeting.

JUPL conducted a convention in Lahore on September 28, 1968 after completion of its reorganizational process. More than 5000 ulema attended the convention. On this occasion five candidates submitted their nomination papers for the post of President but Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi became the unopposed President of JUPL²⁷. That is why this faction of JUP was called JUP Hazaravi. The leaders of JUPL did not like the role of Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazmi because he promised to remain neutral in the tussle between two groups i.e. Mufti Muhammad Husain Naemi of JUP and WPJUP of Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah²⁸

Deposition of Badayuni

Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, President MJUP, had good relation with government. He frequently used to attend the meetings of ruling party, Convention Muslim League. JUPL which was later called as WPJUP (Hazarvi) deposed him from his party rank through vote of no confidence on January 5, 1969²⁹ due to his good relation with Ayub government and Maulana Hazarvi was appointed as president MJUP. Maulana Badayuni wrote a letter to Maulana Arifullah Qadiri about the decision of WPJUP (Hazarvi). However he continued to work as de facto President of the MJUP. He called a meeting of Majlis-i-Amla of the MJUP in Karachi. In this meeting, it was observed and discussed that provincial body had no right to depose Maulana Badayuni. Majlis-i-Amla also decided to dissolve the WPJUP (Hazarvi). An ad hoc committee was formed under the chairman ship of Mufti Ijaz Wali Khan³⁰. This situation was twisted greatly when Mufti Muhammad Husain Naeemi, Vice President of WPJUP (Hazarvi), resigned from basic membership of WPJUP (Hazarvi) in favor of Maulana Badayuni on January 5, 1969³¹.

This pro-Ayub and anti-Ayub divide continued on the issue of joining Anti Ayub Movement. Sahibzada Faizal Hasan group and Maulana Badayuni group, both stayed away from this movement while Mahmood Shah Gujrati led WPJUP (Hazarvi) group joined Pakistan Democratic Movement against Ayub regime³².

Third phase of Factionalization: the Bhutto's Islamic Socialism

In March 1970, 113 ulema published a fatwa that socialism was Kufr (Heretic) and it was haram to vote for socialist parties. Similarly, according to fatwa signed by 3,000 Ulema (scholars) the ideologies of socialism, communism and capitalism based on atheism were declared Kufr.³³ In other words, followers of these ideologies were declared "Kafir". Due to this issue Sunni opinion was divided. According to a prominent leader of JUP, Sahibzada Mahmood Shah Gujrati, no one who recites Kalima could be declared kafir. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto appreciated the stance of Sahibzada Gujrati and came in Gujrat to thank him for favoring PPP's politics and offered him a ticket for National Assembly but Sahibzada Gujrati did not accept the offer. Sahibzadah Mahmood Shah never joined the united group of JUP and supported Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Pakistan Peoples Party.

²⁷ Ibid, p.30

²⁸ Monthly Arafat, October-November 1968, pp.4-5

²⁹ Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, January 6, 1969

³⁰ Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, January 10, 1969

³¹ Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, January 6, 1969

³² Jam'iyat, February 20, 1969, p.8

³³ Ibid, p.60

The Jama'at-i-Islami (JIP) celebrated the Shaukat-i-Islam Day on May 31, 1970 but JUP leaders like Maulana Badayuni, Maulana Noorani and Maulana Sa'adat Ali Qadiri (all from Karachi) wanted to celebrate it on Rabi-ul-Awal 12, the day of birth of Holy Prophet (PBUH)³⁴. However, the leaders of JUP Punjab Qamarud din Sialvi, Pir of Golra Sharif, Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi, Maulana Muhammad Husain Naeemi etc. favored the day suggested by JIP i.e. 31st May.

Struggle for Unification of JUP and Conflict regarding Intra-Party Elections.

The MJUP had totally ceased to take active part in the political activities. Some sincere Ulema began to resolve the internal problems and to unite the factions of MJUP. On January 25, 1969, Abu-al-Barakat Syed Ahmad Qadiri, convened a meeting in Lahore to check the shortcomings in the organization of party. At that occasion, coordination committee was formed to solve the problems. Majlis-i-Amal of Ulema-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat was formed. Majlis-i-Amal was consisted of thirteen members. Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi was appointed its convener. On April 4, 1970, a meeting was convened to unite Sunnis. All groups of JUP were present in this meeting except Mahmood Shah Gujrati. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni was also absent but he intimated that he would accept the decision of meeting. Resigns of Mufti Ijaz Wali Khan, Syed Khalil Qadiri, Maulana Badayuni, Maulana Hazarvi, and Sahibzada Faizal Hasan were collected in the meeting. A Sunni Board was formed. The board was known as Majlis-i-Amal Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan. Twenty five members board had authority to make policies and manifesto of party. Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi was appointed its convener. Due to lose grip of leadership, this board could not become functional for next two months.

For unification of all factions of JUP, a newly established Majlis-i-Amal held a special meeting in Toba Tek Singh on June 14, 1970. In this meeting the names of office bearers were to be announced. Khawaja Qamar Sialvi was elected as unopposed President. There was conflict arose whether this election was party election or election for organizing body of Majlis-i-Amal. According to Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi, Khawaja Qamar Sialvi was elected as President for Majlis-i-Amal and not for JUP³⁵. However Khawaja Qamarud din Sialvi had his own point of view that he was elected as President of JUP because after this election, the role of Majlis-i-Amal had finished.

Khawaja Qamar-ud-Din Sialvi, President of the JUP, neither work for further improvement and strengthening of the organization and nor resign from his post. According to some members like Mahmood Rizwi, Qamar Sialvi was not the president of JUP. Sahibzada Faizul Hasan and Syed Khalil Ahmad Qadri were also not happy on the presidency of Khawaja Sialvi. The reason of their discontentment was that according to them, majority of Sunni Ulema were not happy with Khawaja Sialvi. However Sahibzada Faizal Hasan claimed presidency of JUP as he believed that majority of Sunnis were with him. On other hand according to Syed Khalil Ahmad Qadri he would accept the intra-party election if majority of Sunnis would accept these intra-party election³⁶. Some personalities like Allama Abdul Mustafa al-Azhari, Zahur al Hasan Bhopali, Professor Shah Farid ul Haq, Maulana Jamil Ahmad Naeemi, Mufti Ijaz Wali Khan and Malik Akbar Saqi urged upon Khawaja Qamar Sialvi to function as President or resign from his post. A committee was also constituted to conduct intra-party election if Khawaja Qamar Sialvi did not clarify his position before committee.³⁷ The other objection about the President-ship of Khawaja Qamarud din Sialvi was raised by Maulana Sa'adat Ali Qadri President JUP Karachi. He objected the nomination of Khawaja Sialvi due to his behavior which he showed during the meeting.

Intra-party controversy over joining other Religio-Political Islamic parties

Maulana Ehtesham-ul-Haq Thanvi of Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam wanted to form alliance of religio-political parties to participate in the elections announced in 1970. Maulana Noorani and Maulana Sa'adat Ali Qadiri of Sindh JUP attended the meeting which was called by Maulana Thanvi on June 24-25, 1970. Majlis-i-Amal of the JUP which met under the chairmanship of Allama Rizvi, already decided not to attend the Karachi meeting³⁸. Khawaja Qamar Sialvi, in separate statement rejected the opinion of entry in any alliance. JUP did not join the election alliance but supported rightist parties in turn of favor for its candidates. Parliamentary board received 105 applications for

³⁴ Daily Jang, Karachi, May 19, 1970

³⁵ Mujeeb Ahmad, Jam'iyyat 'Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979, National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Islamabad, 1993, p.50

³⁶ Ibid, p.51

³⁷ Ibid, p.116

³⁸ Mashriq June 16, 1970

National and Provincial Assemblies of Punjab and Sindh but issued tickets to its favorite candidates. Ulema belonging to Gujrat and Sialkot warned to leave the party if tickets were not allotted to their suggested candidates.³⁹ In return, Bhutto government supported the splinter group of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan. Sahibzada Faizal Hasan, president of JUP (Sahibzada group) was given protocol instead of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani⁴⁰. In the same way four provincial members of JUP in Punjab assembly were encouraged by PPP government. As a result, there were rifts appeared and increased day by day among MJUP factions. The JUP was performing its activities as religious party since its inception and had not been able to emerge as a strong political party organizationally. Therefore it had been divided into different factions prior the announcement of holding of election 1970 such as : JUP (Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah Group), JUP (Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi Group), JUP (Allama Abdul Hamid Bidayuni Group), JUP (Syed Mahmood Shah Gujrati Group), JUP (Syed Khalil Ahmad Qadri Group), JUP (Mufti Ijaz Wali Khan Group), JUP, Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi.⁴¹ However, they won seven national Assembly seats, four Punjab Assembly seats. Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani was elected the parliamentary leader of MJUP.

Differences between party leaders and parliamentary leaders

Due to East Pakistan crisis, Maulana Noorani, President of Parliamentary group of JUP, took some decisions without approval of high command of JUP which created conflict among party leaders and parliamentary leaders. Khawaja Qamarud din Sialvi, president JUP, was not happy regarding meetings of Maulana Noorani with Mujeebur Rehman and Yahya Khan. In the first week of April, he used his authority as President JUP without consulting the working committee or executive committee and deposed Maulana Noorani from leadership of parliamentary party due to breaching of party discipline. The decision of President JUP, Khawaja Qamar Sialvi, was condemned by JUP leadership and other Sunni leaders. Two members of Majlis-i-Amila of JUP including Allama Mahmood Ahmad Rizvi, Nazim-i-A'la of JUP, resigned in protest⁴². However, on one hand Sahibzada Faizal Hasan welcomed the party decision against Maulana Noorani and on other hand, an emergency meeting of JUP MNA's and MPA's from Sindh and twenty other members of the General Council was held in Lahore under the chairmanship of Allama Abdul Mustafa al-Azhari. According to decision of meeting, Sahibzada Faizal Hasan was accused to create intra-party rift and it was decided to expel Sahibzada from the party⁴³.

Sahibzada Nazir Sultan, Mian Abraham Barq and Mehar Ghulam Haider Bharwana were elected as member National Assembly on MJUP tickets. They joined JUP before election but they were not loyal to JUP and its leadership. They showed their disfavor with their party JUP on different occasions e.g. they favored Sahibzada Faizal Hasan Shah instead of Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, parliamentary leader of JUP. Sahibzada Faizal Hasan was opponent of Maulana Noorani and he was staunch supporter of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and his government. Secondly, they objected the joining of JUP with United Democratic Front (UDF) because NAP was a component member of UDF. According to these members, NAP had performed different activities against Pakistan and Islam. Thirdly, they rejected the stance of their party and accepted the recognition of Bangladesh. When UDF boycotted the session of National Assembly, these three members did not participate in the boycott. Maulana Noorani as parliamentary leader of JUP issued show-cause notice to these members but they did not respond to these notices. They were expelled from party. This internal conflict in JUP was aggravated by Bhutto government. Now the conflict of pro-government and opposition became central.

In October 1975, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani nominated Maulana Ahmad Ali Kasuri as JUP candidate against the wishes of JUP Punjab for the Lahore by-election. As the nomination of Ahmed Ali Kasuri was against the wishes of JUP Punjab, the provincial organization did not take full part in the election campaign of Ahmad Ali Kasuri, so the JUP candidate Maulana Ahmad Ali Kasuri was defeated. This defeat weakened the party internally as well as on the political front. Another major event that weakened the JUP as a political party was the secession of Usman Kennedy from JUP in 1976. Usman Kennedy, who split from Maulana Noorani due to differences, had the

³⁹ Mashriq, October 1, 1970

⁴⁰ Daily Nawa-i-Waqt, Lahore, September 16, 1974

⁴¹ Malik Mahboob-ur-Rasool Qadri, (edi.) Tameer-i-Millat ke leiy Jamiat Ulema Pakistan ki Siasi Jidojahad, International Ghausia Forum, Jauharabad, Pakistan, p.357

⁴² Ibid, p.80

⁴³ Ibid, p.81

full support of the Bhutto government, so instead of resolving the differences, Usman Kennedy joined the PPP government.

Conclusion

Religio-political parties seem genetically bound to conflict and factionalization in many ways and the same can be found functional in the nature of the Jamiat ulema Pakistan. The factionalization appear to be of multifaceted either on the interpretation of religious tenets, application of religious beliefs to politics or on the issues linking politics with religion. With a claim of 'religion as a way of life' the interpretation becomes central with a hierarchical authority among the religio-political leadership.

From its inception till onset of 1977, JUP had to face many conflicts. These conflicts were of multi-nature. The main conflicts which affected the working of Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan were the personality clashes between office bearers of JUP. Important office bearers were Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, Sahibzada Faizul Hasan Shah, Maulana Mahmood Shah Gujrati, Mufti Muhammad Husain Naeemi, Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi, Mufti Ijaz Wali, Syed Khalil Ahmad Qadri, Khawaja Qamaruddin Sialvi and Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani. Although all these spiritual personalities were staunch lovers of Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) and supporters to defend the place of Hazrat Muhammada Mustafa (PBUH) and wanted to perform duty as custodian of Ahl-e-Sunnat to protect rights and beliefs of Ahl-e-Sunnat, yet they were strong critic of work of each other. Since the JUP affiliates belonged to monasteries (Khanqahs) and madrassas, they had a vast number of their followers. They considered themselves the biggest custodians of the party due to their strong grip on Sunni vote bank of their followers and their strong ties with government figures. Therefore, instead of focusing on the strength of the party, they tried to form separate groups of the party due to their strong sense of superiority over one another.

One of the main reasons for the differences in the party was that the party organization consisted of groups with two opposing ideologies, such as Maulana Badayuni, who was supporter of the stance of Muslim League regarding formation of Pakistan, and was President of Markazi Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan while Sahibzada Faizul Hassan, who belonged to Majlis-e-Ahrar, was president of provincial branch of the JUP. Both leaders of JUP had no coordination to run JUP as political party. As a result, due to disagreements between the central and provincial leadership of the party, the party became stagnant and became weaken internally. The tug-of-war, which lasted for more than 10 years, adversely affected the JUP's working as a political party, which led to the formation of many splinter groups within the party. Although all the JUP groups i.e. Badayuni group, Hazarvi group, Sahibzada group, Gujrati group, Khalil Ahmad Qadri group and Mufti Ijaz Wali group, were united in 1970 and appeared as strong religio-political party getting prominent position after PPP and Awami League in election 1970 but due to previous differences, JUP once again was divided during 1970s. During 1970s, JUP had to face many political and organizational conflicts which led to the factionalization of party again. The role of governments i.e. Ayub Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto could not be forgotten in the weakening of JUP which ultimately led to the weakening of representative religio-political party of Ahl-e-Sunnat. It was analyzed that religious issues like establishment of Auqaf department, Muslim Family Law Ordinance, presidential election 1965 and moon sighted issue during Ayub era had forced the dissident groups to form factions. In the same way political issues like support of Martial law government of Ayub Khan, Anti-Ayub movement, joining of JUP with other religio-political Islamic parties, conflicts on election tickets, East Pakistan crisis and offers of Bhutto governments had caused rifts within the party. These religio-political and political issues created conflicts among JUP which later on paved the way for many intr-party organizational conflicts. It was also analyzed in the study that after entering politics, religious scholars, Pir, Gaddi-Nashins, and Sajjada-Nashins belonging to JUP, engaged in gaining power and authority. Their attitude not only weakened the party gradually but it became a responsible big factor of factionalization of JUP. In short other than personality clashes and claims of superiority, pro-government and opposition stances were the major cause of factionalization in JUP.