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Political Participation and Role of Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan (JUP) in Early Constitutional Phase of Pakistan 1948-58

Abstract

Pakistan became an independent county on the map of the World in 1947 on religious grounds. Though the religious parties opposed the idea of a separate state at an early stage but later on a section of Ualmas joined the struggle for freedom. Despite opposition, mostly religious parties have destined in Pakistan and play their role in constitution making process which was lacking for approximately nine years. This paper intends to investigate the role of religious parties after the partition in the constitution making process in general and Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan (JUP) in-depth analysis. Moreover, it is an attempt to analyze the performance of JUP during the first decade in line with the objectives of the formation of JUP.

Key words: JUP, Early Constitutional Phase, Objective Resolution, Constitutional development in Pakistan, Ulema 22 Points, Constitution of 1956, Tehrik Khatam-i-Nabuwat 1954

Introduction

Religion has a long standing with the political affairs of the state and the relationship among religion, politics and the nation-state is closely linked to the principles that create political legitimation and the basic character of a state. The rise, fall, and sustainability of states have been linked with religion. The analysis of this entanglement seems to be necessary, especially due to the popular belief that in the light of the decolonization process in Pakistan represents the sole state that after a legacy of British rule came into existence on the basis of religion or rather, only because of their religions.

The history of subcontinent is replete with the religious activism and political activities. The political parties who pose to claim themselves as purely secular parties in their nature used the religious tool to exploit the masses for their purposes. The subcontinent political atmosphere has observed the religious inclined politics by all the groups or nations of subcontinent. The Hindu Mahasaba, Shudhi and Sanghtan were the examples of Hindu extremist political parties, Akali Dal by the Sikhs and Majlis-i-Ahrar, Khaksar Movement, Jamiat

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Ulama-i-Hind and many other religio-political parties were founded by the Muslims. The elections of 1945-46 ultimately resulted into the division of subcontinent into two states as India and Pakistan. The underlying study is an attempt to figure out the role of religious parties and especially the Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan.

Founding Phase of JUP (1948)

This studies covers the establishment of Jamiat Ulama-e-Pakistan's objective and organizational structure. It also sheds light on the participation of J.U.P. in the political spheres of Pakistan; especially the major event in the politically history of Pakistan after its creation from 1948-1958. The role and contribution becomes very important as the people of the country expected that country would be an Islamic state as had been guaranteed by the heads of the Muslim league during the struggle for peaceful land for every Muslim and Non-Muslim. But the political situation was not good. It was not an easy task for the Muslim League as well as leadership state to give its promise into practical shape. Before the creation of Pakistan, there were many Religio-political parties working for their individual interest; mostly, Parties wanted freedom only from British rulers. These Parties were not in favor of Muslim league and the division of Hindustan but actually their objective and motive to throw out the British from their homeland (India) as they were also against the establishment of Pakistan.

No doubt Pakistan came on the map of 20th century world with the hard struggle of Muslim League Leadership and the popular support of the masses belongs to Muslim Community for the stance of Islamic State but they became the part of new state politics. The religio-political parties started their political input in the politics of Paksitan and keenly taking interest in politics of the new state. Such Parties working outside the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan gradually increased their pressure for the immediate replacement of the Pakistan Penal Code (PPC) and other statues by Islamic Laws.¹ Jamiatg ulema e Pakistan one of the amongst parties made their passage towards the politics of country after its establishment.

The Sunni Ulama felt intrigued by the close relationship between the Pakistan Muslim League and Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Islam (JUI). The Muslim League had nominated Maulana Shabber Ahmad Usmani (President of Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Islam) as a member of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and in the Muslim League circle he was referred to honorific title of „Sheiykh Al-Islam“. Although the Barelvi Ulama were not ignored it but they certainly received no official recognition.²

For the development of the people of the country, the Sunni (Barelvi) Ulama felt that they have to make an organization, which defend the rights of common people. It protects economic, equality, and justice for all citizen .they said that this organization will provide help to Muslim league for the making of Pakistan a real spiritual and welfare state.³ After the creation of Pakistan, only seven month and fourteen days, Sunni Ulama made an organization for the purpose of enactment of

Islamic laws and try to enforcement of Nizam-i-Mustafa in newly created state Pakistan.⁴

On March 4, 1948, Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazimi in a strong worded letter to Maulana Abu Al-Hasanat Sayyid Muhammad Ahmad Qadiri, expressed his

frustrations. He pointed out the unity in other sects of Islam and expressed his grief over the divisions among the Ahl-i- Sunnat (Barelivi) in Pakistan. He also criticized the Congressite Ulama for getting Official posts and in this connection, Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazimi, mentions particularly the nomination of Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani as the member of CAP.⁵ Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazimi opinioned that these Ulama were not sincere in demanded for an Islamic Constitution and Islamic State. Infact, they are working to usurp the rights of the Ahl-i- Sunnat, and crush them forever.⁶

Maulana Kazimi discussed the role of the Sunni Ulama in the movement of Pakistan, he wrote that Muslim League had spurned them, even their creed , life and honor were in sever danger by the intrigues of the opponents. He stressed that unity is the need of time and unity among the Sunnis make them more powerful than others. They have to work under one Ameer of Ahl-e-Sunnat for the establishment of religious State in Pakistan. However, he stated that they were not against any sect or creed of Islam, but as they were in majority in Pakistan. He said that it was their right and duty to work for the safeguarding of the rights of Sunnis.⁷

After the inspiration of Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazimi, Sunni (Barelvi) Ulama established a Jamiyyat Ulama Pakistan on a temporary basis, and called a meeting on March 26-28, 1948, in the Madrasa-i-Islamiah Arabiah Anwar Al-Uluma, Multan to organize it permanent basis. An invitation letter from Sayyid Sher Shah Gilani (President of the Central Reception Committee) was sent to all the leading Sunni Ulama and Mashaikh.⁸ In invitation letter , Gilani wrote that *“Our biggest goal is just one, that is the blood sacrifices of millions of Muslims is not waste, Pakistan can truly be declared an Islamic Government and the full implementation of the Islamic constitution and law. It should have the full protection of religion of Ahl-Sunnat.”*⁹ In response of the letter, Ulama and Mashaikh from all over the country participated in the meeting on March 28, 1948, in Multan and decided to rename AISC (All India Sunni Conference) as the *MJUP* (Markazi Jamiyyat al Ulama-e-Pakistan) and continue its activities in Pakistan. The following were elected its office bearers:

Maulana Abu Al-Hasanat Qadiri	President ¹⁰
Diwan Sayyid Al-i-Rasul Ali Khan	Vice President
Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi	Vice President
Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazimi	Nazim-i-Alaw
Maulana Ghulam Muinud din Naimi	Naib Nazim-i-Alaw
Maulana Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash	2 nd Naib Nazem-i-Alaw
Maulana Qalander Ali Shah	Secretary

Information¹¹

Some other members of Markazi Majlis Aamla were also elected like Maulana Ghulam Taranum, Maulana Muhammad Umar Naimi, Maulana Seyyid Amannat Ali Shah, Maulana Mufti Ijaz wali, Maulana Mohammad Nurullah Naemi etc.¹²

The Objectives of the Party

- 1) To make Pakistan a true Islamic state.
- 2) To work hard for the elimination of all the Social and moral evils.
- 3) To sacrifice their lives and wealth for the unity and stability of beloved country Islamic Republic of Pakistan.
- 4) To propagate pure religion based teachings of the Islam in all the Muslims and persuade them to become themselves as practicing Muslims, by creating the spirit of religious-cum political awareness.
- 5) To create the real soul of Jihad in the Muslims.
- 6) To divert their attention from western culture and civilization, on the way to Islamic civilization and its culture.
- 7) To demand distribution of seats for the Ulama in the national Assembly as well Provinces Assemblies in direction to guide the administration.
- 8) To transforms of Khanqah into teaching and learning centers like the Mosques.
- 9) To patronize the Shrine ,Mosque and Awqaf.
- 10) To review the syllabus of the educational institution and to make the teaching of Tafseer Hadith, Fiqh and Islamic History compulsory for the students.
- 11) To organize Muslim militia and invoke the spirit of jihad in them.
- 12) To work for pan-Islamism.
- 13) To struggle for the prosperity of the Muslim Ummah and Pakistan, thus secure peace in all over the world.
- 14) To organize branches of the Jamiyyat Ulama-I-Pakistan in all over the country and in this process, not to indulge in any activity against other religious and political organizations.¹³

Restrictions on Party Membership

Membership of the party was not for all Muslims, even those Sunnies have not religious minded, they could not become the member of the party. Membership of party was restricted to only for Sunni Ulama, Khatibs and religious-minded persons.¹⁴

Flag of MJUP

The flag of the *MJUP* was unfurled and its surface was light green, with an emblem of the shrine of the Prophet (PBUH), with dark green outline. The Kalimah Tayyibah was embroidered with golden thread in the center of the emblem of the tomb. The name of the party, Markaz-i-Jamiyyat-al-Ulama-i-Pakistan, was written at the bottom of the emblem. The Flag represented that the *MJUP* works for the „Tawhid wa Risalat“ and the Prophet (PBUH) is the patron of its creed.¹⁵

Political Participation since 1947

Sharia Day (1948)

Markzi Jamiyyat Ulama Pakistan and Jamiyyat al-Mashaikh observed a Sharih Day (Yawm-i-Shariat) on May 7, 1948, in its struggle to vow for Islamic state of Pakistan. JUP held a conference in front of Mochi gate, Lahore under the supervision of the Party president Maulana Siyyed Muhammad Afzal. Maulana Afzal demanded Islamic constitution in Pakistan as soon possible.¹⁶ The day was successfully celebrated in the major cities of Pakistan, especially in Punjab, because people of the Punjab always play very important role in every movement. Other major cities like Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Jhang, Gujranwala, Dera Ismail Khan, Jehlim, Gujrat, and Multan, Shariat day was celebrated. Ulama and Khatibs, in their Friday sermons adopted resolutions. They demanded an Islamic Constitution in Pakistan. Ulama were sent the copies of these resolutions to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and Prime Minister of Pakistan Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.¹⁷

Delegation of MJUP met with the Quaid-i-Azam.

After the creation of Pakistan, first time, the Sunni (Barelvi) Ulama and the MJUP leaders drafted the outlines of an Islamic Constitution for Pakistan, according to the Point of view of Sunni school of thoughts, but the demise of Maulana Naimud-din (Muradabadi) effect on this. The second attempt in this direction was made on Abdul Alim Saddiqui's visit to Pakistan in the Mid of 1948. In a meeting of Sunni Ulama, a Committee headed by Maulana Abdul Alim Saddiqui was formed, which prepared a draft of an Islamic Constitution for Pakistan. Maulana Ahmad Saeed Kazimi represented MJUP on this committee. A delegation headed by Maulana Abdul Saddiqui met to Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah and presented this draft to him. After a three hour long discussion, "Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah" (Governor General of Pakistan) assured to the delegation, that after the adoption of this draft by CAP (Constitutional Assembly of Pakistan) this constitution would be enacted. But, Alas! This promise was not fulfilled due to the death of great leader of the Pakistan Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah in September 1948.¹⁸

Jihad in Kashmir (1948)

After the establishment of Pakistan, the Indian government first came to Kashmir's place to reject Two Nation Theory to destroy Pakistan's security and fulfill the dream of a secluded India. The first elected prime minister of Pakistan Khan Liaquat Ali Khan showed the punch and made the Indian rulers shake. Jamiyyat co-operated with Mujahadeen of Kashmir and celebrated Kashmir day on April 15, 1949.¹⁹

In May, when the Indian offensive forced Pakistan to save Muzaffar Abad capital city of Azad Jammu and Kashmir the Amir of Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan Seyyid Abu al Ala Maududi allegedly said that the war in Kashmir was not a Jihad.²⁰ The president of the MJUP Maulana Abu al Hasanat Qadiri and some other Sunni Ulama gave a „Fatwa“ denouncing Maulana Maududi's point of view and declared the fighting in Kashmir as a Jihad. Maulana Naimuddin Muradabadi accompanaid by Maulana Mustafa Riza Khan visited Lahore. A meeting was held at Dar-ul-

Ulum Hizbul Ahnaf Lahore in which the Kashmir issue was discussed and it was decided that to take practical steps for the Jihad in Kashmir.²¹

Financial Support of Kashmiris

After decision, the *MJUP* actively participated in the jihad by providing food and other necessities things to the Mujahideen of Kashmir and Kashmiri refugees as well. Millions of rupees were provided to the Mujahideen of Kashmir and including Jersey, Coats, Blanket, Medicine and clothes. The party convened public meetings at various places in Lahore , collected funds and with these funds , provided seven jeeps ,three trucks , loaded with clothes , eatable things and other necessities of daily life , worth Rs;81512.²² Some of these relief items were personally distributed at the refugee"s camps by the President and Nazim I Ala of the *MJUP*. The leaders of *MJUP* also visited the camps of the Pakistan Army and tribesmen in various sectors. While addressing them, they paid rich tributes to their courage and services for defending the country.²³

For the help of Kashmiris, the government of Azad Kashmir welcomed the moral and financial support of the *MJUP*. The president of Azad Kashmir Sardar Muhammad Ali Ahmad Shah and chief of Staff General Abdul Rehman presided over the *MJUP* meeting or attended these as chief guest.²⁴ The president of the all Jammu and Kashmir Muslims Conference Choudhry Ghulam Abbas lauded the services of the *MJUP* for the cause of Kashmir problem, especially for providing financial support.²⁵

Kashmir Day/ Pakistan Day

MJUP (Markzi Jamiyyat Ulama Pakistan) observed the Kashmir Day (Yawm-i-Kashmir) on April 15, 1949, all over the Pakistan, Leaders of the Party adopted resolutions for the immediate settlement of the Kashmir issue. The speakers explained very briefly about the social, cultural and economically linkage of the state of Kashmir with Pakistan.²⁶ On Friday, August14,1950, the *MJUP* observed Pakistan Day (Yawm-i-Pakistan) in which resolutions were adopted and demanded that the Kashmir issue must be solved through a free consent of Kashmiris according to their wishes.²⁷

Settlement of Refugees

After the establishment of Pakistan, Government faced many problems; one of them was Settlement of refugees. The Refugees have not any shelter home to live, because they were migrated from India to hear Pakistan. Prior to the formation of Jamiyyat, migration of the refugees was a major issue and it continued. Jamiyyat, with its establishment, called for the resettlement of refugees as they suffered economic and social problems in poor migration. The President and Secretary of *MJUP* play their role in settlement of new comers from India in proper way, so that they live in a peaceful land of Pakistan.²⁸

Constitution Making Prosess and the Role of JUP

Objective Resolution (1949)

With the acceptance of the Pakistan plan of June 1947 and the passing of the Indian Independence Act (1935) the CAP came into existence. The Principal task of the CAP (Constitution Assembly of Pakistan) was to set up a *constitution* for the new state, however likewise, until that constitution was hooked on impact; it

was empowered to go about as the central lawmaking body under the “Government of India Act 1935” with fundamental corrections.²⁹

The *MJUP* (Makazi Jamiyyat Ulama Pakistan) and many other religion based parties had no portrayal in the CAP, yet it influenced ultimately the process of law making, particularly the Islamic character of things to come constitution. The first practical step in framing the constitution was taken on March 12, 1949, when CAP adopted the Objected Resolution, moved by first Prime Minister of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan.

When the first Parliament of Pakistan elected, President of Pakistan Liaquat Ali Khan met to Shaikh-ul-Islam Khwaja Muhammad Qamir-u-Din at Seyal Shareef and offers him one seat in parliament as an honor. But Khawaja did not accept it, because the Objectives of all India Conference were not to achievement of Govt. or Assembly seat. He said that we can serve to the people without getting power of the Govt. In making of Objective resolution in 1949, Jamiyyat not take part inside the Assembly session but supported it by outside support. The resolution consisted on eleven points and passed by the Constituent Assembly.³⁰

Twenty-two Points of Ulama

After the withdrawal of the interim report, the B.P.C. had appointed a suggestion sub-committee to consider proposal on the Islamic character of the constitution. Meanwhile thirty-one Ulama belonging to different religion parties and organizations met in Karachi in January 1951. The meeting was convened by Maulana Ehtaishamal Haqq Thanvi of JUI and it was presided over by Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi President of JUI. There were five Sunni Ulama and Pirs present in the meeting, but only Molana Abdul Hamed Badayoni and Muftii Mohammad Sahibdad Khan presented the “*MJUP*”. In the meeting, Ulama framed 24 points of an Islamiic State.³¹

In 1951, people were demanding the Islamic constitution but rulers not agreed, they said that what type of Islamic laws, school of thoughts or sect laws would be followed by government...? They pointed out some reasons that Barelvi, Deobandi, Wahabi and Shea”s were not on one page. According to point of view of the rulers, Ulama were considered a big hurdle on the way of development an Islamic Constitution. This issue was solved under the leadership of Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayouni. The Ulama prepared twenty-two (22) points, all the religious leaders of Sunnies, Deobandies and Ahl-I-Hadith (sects) accepted these points unanimously.³²

Basic Principles Committee

In mid-April 1949, after the adoption of the Objective Resolution, a BPC (Basic Principles Committee) representing all parties were set up to report on the basic principles of the future constitution. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni demanded representation of the *MJUP* on the constitution making Committee; however, there was no response from Government.³³

To the facilitate its work , the B.P.C. appointed a board of **Talimat-i-Islamiah**, to advice on matter emerging from the Objective Resolution and other matters as might be stated to it by numerous sub-committees of the B.P.C. On September

1950, Prime Minister of Pakistan Khan Liaquat Ali Khan presented the temporary report of the BPC to the Constitution Assembly of Pakistan, which was adopted on October 6, 1950 by the CAP. This report suggested that the future law of Pakistan

should include the Objective Resolution as instructional key of the government strategy. The report proposed that facility would be made „in various spheres of government actions“, as to allow Muslim to live according to the principles of Qur’an and Sun’nah.³⁴ The initially report of the B.P.C. was not received by Ulama and religious parties. The Islamic provisions of this report were considered inadequate by them. As a result of strong criticism, the interim report was withdrawn on November 21, 1950.³⁵

The controversy in constitution making continued to center around the Islamic character of the future constitution of Pakistan and nature of its federal structure. The letter issue over shadowed the ideology one. The Bengalis of East Pakistan, who were in majority, demanded dominance in center, which was not acceptable to the West Pakistanis. The principle of party between East and West Pakistan might have resolved the constitutional deadlock, but its maker Khan Liaquat Ali, was martyred on October 16, 1951. After the death of Liaquat Ali Khan, the new Prime Minister Khwaja Nazim-ud-din presented his report to the C.A.P. on December 22, 1952, based on the principle of the party. As this report gave weightage to smaller units of West Pakistan, now it was not acceptable to the Punjab.³⁶ The report which was finalized on the basis of discussions and recommendations of B.P.C. of conference and it also presented in conference on December 22, 1952 wrote according to the recommendations and the suggestions of sub-committee, which were centered around the Twenty-two principles of Ulama Conference.³⁷

The Nazim-ud-din report was considered by the Ulama in a convention, held in Lahore on January 11-18, 1953. The convention suggested inclusion of five Ulama in the Supreme Court, who along with some judges should have the authority to take decision on the repugnancy matters. Maulana Abu al Hasanat Qadiri and Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni attached a note of dissent preferring an Ulama board chosen from a list of “the names of the Ulama of Pakistan from such religious organizations of Ulama as have been working an central and provincial levels in a regular manners since the establishment of Pakistan, and whose organizations are intact up until now and the head of the State should notify their names”.³⁸ After the dismissal of Khawaja Nazim-ud-din Ministry in April 1953, the next Prime Minister Muhammad Ali revolved the task of constituents making. By the mid of 1953, it leaked to the press that temporary law would be presented to the C.A.P. as its next disclosed, but according to a statement of Muhammad Ali Bogra, it was to contain provisions on the already agreed points.³⁹

A week before the Assembly meeting, the *MJUP* demanded that the BPC report as amended by the Ulama in January 1953, be adopted. It was agreed that the provision for the distribution of seats might be changed. The *MJUP* urged for the rejection of interim constitution.⁴⁰ Due to the opposition of the religious parties the idea of an interim constitution was dropped. Next come Muhammad Ali Bogra’s formula, providing parity in the combined houses. This formula, along with the report of the B.P.C. presented to the C.A.P. on October 7, 1953. The member National Congress Pakistan firmly restricted the Islami arrangements of the report.

But the revised report retaining the preface adopted. In 1954, the C.A.P finally accepted the constitutional report and adjourned, it meet on October 27, 1954, to make the statutory Bill.⁴¹

At the point when Governor General Malik Ghulam Mohammad intended to dismissed the National Assembly, Ulama started a vigorous campaign to prevent that possibility. In a convention, Leader of JUP Shah Murad Hussain Hashmi expressed his satisfaction over the progress into practice the principles of the Holy Quran and Sunnah in Pakistan, Shah also highlighted the need for the opening an ecclesiastical department to help implementation of the Islamic principles in matters of divorce, inheritance, religious, education and maintenance of Masajid. Malik Ghulam Muhammad (Governor General) dissolves the C.A.P. on October 24, 1954. Maulana Abdul Hamid Badayuni, sent the congratulatory telegram to Governor General Malik Ghulam Muhammad for dissolving the Assembly.⁴²

Tehrik Khatam-i-Nabuwat 1954 and role of JUP

The crucial turning point in the life of Jamiyyat before the constitutional role is the prophesy of 1953. In the beginning of March 1953, widespread disturbances broke out in major cities of Punjab, which in some places continued till the middle of April 1953. These disturbances took so disastrous turn that in several places military had to be called in, and in Lahore, Martial Law had to be proclaimed, which remained in forces till the middle of May 1953. There were more than fifteen casualties in this disturbance.

The immediate cause of these disturbances, commonly known as the “anti-Ahmadi (Qadiani) Movement or Tahrik-i-Tahaffuz-i-Khatm-i- Nabuwat” was the speech delivered by Choudhary Zafarullah Khan, the Minister for Foreign affair , before the Anjumaan-i-Ahmadi-yah at “Jahanger Park Karachi”, on May 18, 1953. Zafrullah Khan said that:

*“Ahmadiyyat was a plant implanted by God Himself that this plant had taken root to provide a guarantee for the preservation of Islam in fulfillment of the promise contained in the Quran that if this plant were removed Islam would no longer be a live religion but would be like a dried up tree having no demonstrable superiority over other religions”.*⁴³

Zafrullah’s addressed extremely hated by the Muslims all over Pakistan especially in the capital city Karachi and Punjab. After his speech, All religious parties meeting was called at Karachi, at which Mualana Abdul Hamid Badayuni represented the MJUP. The meeting demanded that the Ahmadies be declared a non-Muslim minority, Zafrullah Khan be removed from the office of Foreign Minister and Ahmadis be removed from all key posts. Another All Muslim Parties Conference was held on July 13, 1952 in the Barkat Ali Muhammadon Hall at Lahore. Mualana Badayuni again represented the MJUP inspite of that fact, the President of the MJUP was in Lahore at that time. After repeating the same three demands made in Karachi, it was decided to form a Markazi Majlis-i-Amal to decide upon the future program of action.⁴⁴

In the first week of July, the Punjab Government clarified of its position about the demands of the Majlis-i-Amal that the demand relating to the declaration of Qadianies as a minority had nothing to do with the Punjab Government and that the demands should be pressed in a constitutional manner without resorting to

breaches of law.⁴⁵ In a press statement, Maulana Abu al Hasanat Qadiri, welcomed the statement of the government and declared that he would not permit

any party to achieve its political objectives by exploiting and that those who advocated breaches of law would not have his cooperation. He criticized disorder, lawlessness and provocative speeches of the supporters of these demands and stated that the demands relating to the declaration of the Qadianis as a minority could be successfully pressed in constitutional manner.⁴⁶

Maulana Qadiri was a calm and cool minded religious leader. He did not favour any Direct Action against the regime to compel it to accede to the demands. This divide the Majlis-i-Amal in two groups: one favouring the directly action and second-one denouncing it. A delegation led by Molana Hassnat Qadiri, met Khwaja Nazimuddin the Prime Minister of Pakistan in Karachi on August 13, 1952 and apprised him of the demands concerning the Ahmadis.⁴⁷

The outcome was distinctly disappointing for the delegation as the Prime Minister declined to accept their demands. A delegation led by Maulana Qadiri also met to Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana the Chief Minister of the Punjab on September 29, 1952 and placed before him their grievances against the Ahmadis, including the grant of land for an exclusively Ahmadiyah Colony at Rabwah. The Chief Minister promised to look into the matter.⁴⁸ When Prime Minister went to Lahore on February 16, 1953, a deputation led by Maulana Qadiri met him in order to inquire from him his policy in regard to the demands. Khwaja Nazimuddin indicated that the demands could not be accepted. "Maulana Qadiri presided over the "Majlis-e-Amal" meeting held on Feb. 26, 1953, which were joined by the majority of the supporters of the direct action and also a resolution was approved to launch peaceful "raast-iqdaam" in favor of the their demands. On February 27, 1953, Maulana Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi and other leaders of the MJUP were arrested in Punjab".⁴⁹

The Nazim-i-Ala of the *MJUP*, Maulana Kazimi, neither participated actively in the movement nor in the meetings of the Majlis-i-Amal, so he did not arrested. Maulana Abu al Hasanat Qadiri's son Maulana Khalil Ahmad Qadiri, and "Joint-Secretary" of the *MJUP* were sentenced to be death, they were punished due to active role in Anti-Qadiani movement.⁵⁰

Second Constituent Assembly was elected in June 1955, which held its inaugural session in July, 1955. On December 10-12, 1955, an All Pakistan Sunni Conference was held at Mochi Gate, Lahore under the leadership of *MJUP* for the resumed their pressure for an Islamic constitution. The Ulama of different religious parties join the conference. In presidential address, Maulana Abu al Hasanat Qadiri appealed to the Government to enact an Islamic Constitution in which Pakistan must be affirmed as "Islamic Republic" and state's supreme must be a Muslim.⁵¹ "In conference, Markazi Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan demanded that constitution should have an Islam eccentric, relying at the principles of the Holy Qura'an and the Sunah, keeping in view "Objectives Resolution", and that the President of the islamic country should be a Muslim and Fiqah-e-Hanfi confirmed as the constitution of the state as mainstream people of Pakistan is Hanfi".⁵²

On December 10-12, 1955, annual All Pakistan Sunni Conference, held in Lahore, deep concern was expressed about the deteriorating moral values of the people and Islamic moral system was demanded: prayers were offered for the martyrs of the anti-Qadianis movement and compensation was demanded for their families. In

another resolution, the *MJUP* condemned the anti-Islamic attitude of the USSR, pro-Zionist policies of the USA and UK. In same session, Sahibzada Faizal Hassan Shah move the new office bearers were elected, Sahibzada Faizal Hasan Shah was elected as President and Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Tarannum as Nazim-i-Ala. The *MJUP* re-organized its Tablighi department called Bazm-i-Tanzim, and renamed it as „Shubah-i-Tabligh“. Maulana Tarannum was nominated as its president. Its main purpose to educated the people about the Islamic rituals and inculcate them the love of Allah and His Prophet (PBUH) through useful literature.⁵³

Constitution of 1956

On January 9, 1956, constitution bill was introduced to the C.A.P. which was welcomed by the *MJUP* and religious parties. On January 10, 1956, the *MJUP* appointed a sub-committee for review and develop the draft. This panel suggested specific modifications in the draft that:

“to make the federation more powerful and provide lawful guarantees for the basic human rights and the Islamic (Hanafi) character of the constitution”.⁵⁴

On February 8, 1956, All parties of Islamic Constitution Committee called a convention of the Ulama and Mashaikh for recognized the modifications that had been arranged earlier by the different religious groups as JUI (Jamiyyat Ulama Islam), NIP (Nizam-i-Islam Party), JIP (Jamat-i-Islami Pakistan), JAH(Jamiyyat Ahl-i- Hadith), and *MJUP* (Markazi Jamiyyat Ulama Pakistan) and also put forward further demands.⁵⁵

After the nine year of establishment of Pakistan, the first constitution enforced on March 23, 1956, made provision for some of these proposals. *MJUP* welcomed the new constitution. However, it has been observed that neither of these references (Islamic Provision) made Pakistan into more of an Islamic state than it had been before the constitution of 1956 was drafted.⁵⁶

All Pakistan Sunni Conference

The session was held in Lahore in December 1-3, 1956 in which In a session on December 1-3, 1956, held in Lahore, *MJUP* discussed different issues relating to the socio-political and religious condition of the country. In the resolutions, this Sunni Conference condemned the proposal of joint electorates and illegal merger of “State of Jammu and Kashmir” by the Kashmir assembly with India and denial of the right of self-determination to the Kashmiri people. It also criticized the aggression of UK, France and Israel against Egypt and demanded the expulsion of UK from the Baghdad Pact and withdrawal of Pakistan from the Commonwealth. The Conference declared the report of the Muslim family Laws Commission as un-Islamic. It pledged to work against the increasing socialist activities of pro-Moscow parties.⁵⁷

According to the article 198-B of the Constitution of the 1956, the Sunni conference demanded appointment of an Ulama Board to supervise the legislation according to the Principles of the Holy Qur’an and Sunnah-i-Nabvi, and that the *MJUP* represented on the Board. The meeting also demanded declaration of

‘Friday as a weekly Holiday’.⁵⁸ Seven annual, All Pakistan Sunni Conference was

held in Lahore on March 1-2, 1958, Maulana Abu-al-Hasanat Qadiri presided over the conference. He expressed his dismay over disunity among Ulama and the Mashaik. This conference repeated some of the resolutions passed at the previous conferences, e.g. on the issue of the joint electorates, Muslim Family Laws Commission and other socio-political issues. He also announced that the *MJUP* would contest the forthcoming elections as an independent political party.⁵⁹

Conclusion

The study explores the participation of religio-political parties in the early phase of Pakistan which was defining and curtail as well as it is believed that the Partition of India was done under the ideology of the Two Nation theory. The founders of Pakistan and the masses have the view that the newly born state will be governed under the principles of the Holy Qur'an and Sunnah. Moreover, it was also affirmed that minorities have freedom of worship within territorial limits and to live their lives according to their traditions. On the other hand, JUI leader Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani got membership in the constitution Assembly, which made the Brailvi Ulama to think about their representation in the assembly. Under such circumstances in 1948, Brailvi Ulama called the "All India Sunni Conference" at the land of Suffies Multan, and established a political wing for Brailvis named "Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan". In the same year, Bharat illegally invaded Kashmir; JUP not only stirred the passion of Jihad in the people but also collect and supplied eatable and necessary things for the people of Kashmir.

In 1954, JUP and other religious parties launched the movement against Ahmadis (Qadiani) for their declaration as non-Muslim. JUP played as key contributor in that movement, protestors of JUP made rallies and call strikes at Lahore and other cities. As a result, the government-imposed Martial law in Lahore and registered FIRs against the leading Ulama of JUP and JI to crash the movement but the leadership of JUP was not suppressed by such measures. Afterward, JUP continued propagation against Qadianis in conferences and others. It was also demanded that the "Islamic constitution" should be according to „Fiqh Hanfi" in the country. After a long struggle and time, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan passed the constitution of 1956 which was at last enforced on March 23, 1956. The leadership of the JUP welcomed new constitution, but they have to wished all provisions must be according to the Principles of the Quran and Sunnah. Other side relations between civil and military were not good and on October 7, 1958, General Muhammad Ayub Khan proclaimed Martial Law, all the political parties were banned and their offices were sealed. As the MJUP was working mainly as a religiously party on the basis of al-amr bil-ma'a ruf wl nahi an al munkar (the manding of what is good and the restraining from what is evil), it was hardly affected by Martial Law. It continued its activities under the name of Idarah-i-Tamir-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat⁶⁰ and kept contact with the Sunni masses in Urs ceremonies, processions of Eid-i-Milad-un-Nabi and at annual meeting of its Madaris.

Notes and Reference

¹ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, (Islamabad: National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993), 1.

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- ² Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley, 1963, 31.
- ³ Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi jadu jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d., 349.
- ⁴ *Ibid* , p.349.
- ⁵ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 2.
- ⁶ Muhammad Ahmad Qadiri, *Rudd-i-Markaz Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan*, Lahore, 1949, 9.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, 11-13.
- ⁹ Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi jadu jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d., 349.
- ¹⁰ Muhammad Ahmad Qadiri, *Rudd-i-Markazi Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan*, Lahore, 1949, 15.
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, 15-16.
- ¹² Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi jadu jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d., 350.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, 82-83.
- ¹⁴ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 4.
- ¹⁵ Ghulam Muinuddin Naimi, *Al-Ilm wa Ulama*, Lahore, 1957, 24.
- ¹⁶ Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi jadu jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d., 351.
- ¹⁷ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 4.
- ¹⁸ Muhammad Salim Qadiri, *Muballigh-i-Azam-i-Islam our Ruhan I Peshwa*, Faisalabad, 1989, 24-25.
- ¹⁹ Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi jadu jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d. 352.
- ²⁰ K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1958*, Islamabad, 1976, 143.
- ²¹ Muhmud Ahmad Ridvi, *Sayyidi Abu al Barakat*, Lahore, 1979, 47.
- ²² Muhammad Ahmad Qadiri, *Rudd-i-Markazi Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan*, Lahore, 1949, 18-22 and 10-74.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 41-48.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 20 and 52-53.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.
- ²⁶ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 6.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, 6-7.
- ²⁸ Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi Jahu Jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d., 350.
- ²⁹ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1947-58*, Islamabad, 1976, 137.
- ³⁰ Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi Jahu Jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d., 352. On the other hand, another author named Mujeeb Ahmad claims that Qari Hakim Ahmad Philibhiti was present in the CAP as an observer of MJUP, supported the Objective Resolution. For more details see, Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-I-Pakistan*, 7.
- ³¹ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 8.
- ³² Malik Mahboob Rasool Qadri, *Taimeer-i-Millat k ley Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan ki sayasi Jahu Jahid*, International Ghosia Form, n.d., 353.
- ³³ Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley , 1963, 195.
- ³⁴ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1947-58*, Islamabad, 1976, 142-144.
- ³⁵ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 8.
- ³⁶ K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1958*, Islamabad, 1976, 145-148.
- ³⁷ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1947-58*, Islamabad, 1976, 150-151.
- ³⁸ Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley, 1963, 290.
- ³⁹ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1947-58*, Islamabad, 1976, 153.
- ⁴⁰ Leonard Binder, *Religion and Politics in Pakistan*, Berkeley, 1963, 318.

⁴¹ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 10.

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- ⁴² *Ibid.*, 10. It is interesting that, MJUP had a feeling of closeness for Ghulam Muhammad as he was a mureed of Pir Waris Ali Shah of Lucknow. For more details see *Weekly Zindagi*, (Lhr.) December 6, 1970, 39.
- ⁴³ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 12.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.
- ⁴⁵ K.K. Aziz, *Party Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1958*, Islamabad, 1976, 10.
- ⁴⁶ *Report of the Court of Enquiry into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953*, Lahore, 1954, 85.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 110.
- ⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 129.
- ⁴⁹ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 14-15. (In fact, The Tahrik I Tahaffuz I Nubuwwat was initiated by the Majlis I Ahrar I Islam and various other parties joined it.)
- ⁵⁰ *Faidan*, August 1978, 30. Later on, it was changed by by Seven-year imprisonment.
- ⁵¹ Muhammad Ahmad Qadiri, *Khutbah-i-Sadarat*, Lahore, 1956, 17.
- ⁵² Ghulam Muinuddin Naimi, *Makaz -i- Jamiyyat Ulama Pakistanki Salana Tablighi wa Tanzimi All Pakistan Sunni Conference ki Report*, Lahore 1956, 37.
- ⁵³ Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jamiyyat Ulama-i-Pakistan 1948-1979*, Islamabad, National Institution of Historical and Cultural Research, 1993, 17-18.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 8.
- ⁵⁵ M. Rafique Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan: 1947-58*, Islamabad, 1976, 190-191. It stated that the committee demanded the major amendments proposed that: the name of Pakistan, President should be Muslim, and separate electorates should be retained.
- ⁵⁶ Lawrence Zering, *Pakistan: The Enigma of Political Development*, Kent, 1980, 174.
- ⁵⁷ Ghulam Muinuddin Naimi, *Makaz -i- Jamiyyat Ulama Pakistanki Salana Tablighi wa Tanzimi All Pakistan Sunni Conference ki Report*, Lahore 1956, 110-113.
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14-15.
- ⁵⁹ Muhammad Ahmad Qadiri, *Khutbah-i-Sadarat*, Lahore, 1958, 4, 9.
- ⁶⁰ *Weekly Jamiyyat*, Lahore, August 20, 1968, 3.