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THE POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES OF MUSLIM ACTIVISTS IN PAKISTAN ABOUT AN ISLAMIC STATE

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ABSTRACT

This article depicts the activism generating religio-political thoughts of some popular Muslim activists of Pakistan belonging to different Islamic parties like Jamaat-e-Islami, Jamiyat Ulama-e-Islam and Jamiyat Ulama-e-Pakistan. As Pakistan was established on the name of Islam so, various questions arise about the nature of an Islamic government. For example, what is the conceptual and historical background of an Islamic state? How Islamic government is beneficial for resolving the problems of a nation? What is the structure of an Islamic government and what are the rights and responsibilities of the rulers and the subjects? The ideological activity of Muslim activists during first decade of Pakistan was devoted to answering these questions. The ideologies of different Islamic political parties regarding these questions are the focal point of this paper. By using analytical method, primary and secondary sources utilized in the shape of writings and speeches of prominent Muslim scholars of Pakistan and books and articles are analyzed to explain the Muslim activists' concepts of an Islamic state. It is found out that, according to the Muslim activists, the only Creator has the right to form the law and man is only to obey. Islamic government is neither a hereditary, nor a dictatorship but a theo-democracy which is constituted by the educated representatives of the public on one hand and on the other hand, it is responsible before God.

INTRODUCTION

The era of freedom movement witnessed that most of the *Ulama* was not in favor of establishing a separate country like Abul A'la Maududi (Mehmood & Ahmad, 2018, p. 24-25) and Jamiyat Ulama-e-Hind (Faruqi, 1963, 103-108). But after the creation of Pakistan, all the Islamic forces initiated struggle to

construct the new country as Islamic state or to make its constitution purely according to the Quran and *Sunnah*. There were some prominent Muslim activists in Pakistan who, by their ideas, provoked the consciousness among masses for Islamic government and the implementation of Islamic rules. Among Muslim activists, Abul A'la Maududi, Khurram Murad, Prof. Khurshid Ahmad, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani, and Shah Ahmad Noorani were the Muslim scholars who presented religio-political thoughts and worked for implementation of *Sharia*.

In this article, the ideologies of these Muslim activists will be described in brief but Abul A'la Maududi's ideology has been discussed in detail because it is the comprehensive ideology which has the crux of all ideologies of his Islamic contemporaries. Knight describes ideology as "coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs and values" (Knight, 2006, p. 619-26), and Skocpol elaborates ideology as an idea system deployed as self-conscious political arguments by identifiable political actors. Particular alliances or groups make and implement ideology during their political conflicts or when they want to prove the use of state power as reasonable (Skocpol, 1997, p. 204). The ideologies of these Muslim scholars provided a dimension to the struggle for making a religious state. A state where Allah Almighty is declared as the only sovereign Whose rules in the form of Quran and Sunnah are implemented and the rulers use the authority as a sacred trust is considered as an Islamic state (Maududi, 1990, p. 253-62) and (Hasan, 1986, p. 504-05).

Abul A'la Maududi:

Abul A'la Maududi (1903-1979) after getting his education in Quranic Tafseer, Usool-al-Figh and Hadith started his practical career as a journalist and editor of Al- Jameah, a newspaper of Jamiyatul Ulama in India during 1924 to 1927. He worked for Islamic revivalism through his own journal Tarjuman-ul-Quran and wrote a book Al-Jihad Fil-Islam in 1932. He established Jamaat-e-Islami on 31st of August, 1941. Initially, there were 75 active participants who became its founding members. After partition of Indo-Pak, he demanded implementation of Islam in the newly established country. When agitation broke out against Qadianis during Khawaja Nazimuddin period, he wrote a pamphlet against Qadianis. To curb the agitation, the government imposed Martial Law in Lahore. He was arrested and Martial Law court sentenced him to death on 11th of May, 1953. Public pressure against the death sentence caused in changing the death sentence to life imprisonment. That imprisonment was also set aside by the High Court and Maulana Maududi got freedom from all charges against him. Maulana Maududi took 30 years to write Tafheem-ul-Quran, a well Known Quranic Tafsir (Suleiman & Gadau, 2018, p. 36).

He effectively led Jama'at-e-Islami and did hard struggle for the application of Islamic principles in various fields. He elaborated the concept of an Islamic state through his speeches and writings.

Abu A'la Maududi's Ideology:

'Islam is a complete code of life' is the central theme of Abul A'la Maududi's ideology which was evident behind his struggle for enforcing Islamic Political System in Pakistan. He mentioned that Islam gives clear guidelines about ethical, political, social, economic and spiritual systems for mankind (Maududi, 1996a, 417-70).

During his early political career, his two works titled "Masla-e-Qaumiat" (Maududi, 1982) and "Musalman aur Mawjuda Siasi Kashmakash" (Maududi, 1938) were published. In these works, he criticized the contemporary concept of nationalism by calling it a concept of West and equal to secularism. In "Al-Jihad fil Islam" he proved that there was a great harmony between the Islamic laws and the modern respectable and accepted ideas of the world about peace and war (Ansari & Ishaq, 1979, p. 394). He became the lifetime editor of Tarjuman-al-Quran in 1933. He propagated his ideology by using this forum and by writing some other works like Masdar Quwa al-Muslim, Mafaheem Islamiyah hawl al-Deen wal Dawla and Usus al-Iqtisaad bain al-Islam wal Tuta al-Muasirah.

Maududi espoused the ideology of Pan-Islamic nature of Islam by rejecting the composite nationhood and nationalism presented by Jamiyat Ulama-e-Hind and Indian National Congress. He called the nationalist slogans of Congress and west dominant civilization as a deception for Indian Muslims (Abul A'la Maududi, 1938, p. 40-57). On the other side, he was also not in the favor of Muslim nationalism as the ideology of Muslim League due to its narrow approach of confining Muslims and Islam in a limited geographical boundary. Instead of this, Maududi considered Islam as an ideology having a universal agenda. In his opinion, the mindset of the leaders of Muslim League was influenced by the concept of nation state of the west and its secular style of democracy and it was against the essence of universal identity and character of Islam (Haqqani, 2005, p. 23-24).

Western Style of democracy, Secularism and Nationalism were considered as evils by Maududi due to their un-Islamic nature. Although, the world considers them the basic components of the modern civilization (Aziz, 2001).

Conceptual Background of the Ideology:

Islam never ever ignored the importance of state in its entire history. All the Prophets tried to establish Allah's rule over the world. Some prophets established standardizes form of government like Hazrat Yousaf (a.s), Hazrat Musa (a.s), Hazrat Daood (a.s), Hazrat Suleman (a.s) and Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH). Other prophets tried to make reforms in the existing system and criticized the bad governance. Good and positive reforms cannot be implemented in the world only by advices or suggestions. Islam needs a political power to bring reforms in the world. Islamic state is necessary for institutionalized a good social, economic and political system in the society (Maududi, 2021, p. 15-17).

Western concept of non-religious state has a specific background. It is actually a reaction of the collaboration of Pope (religious) and the king (materialist) which gave assent to barbarism. So, the rebellion against the religion resulted in secularism. Secularism movement was started in 1832 AD by George Jacob Holyoake to set apart the politics from religion. The purpose of secularism movement was to confine religion within the boundaries of individual life instead of interfering in the combine and political life of the society. In its initial period, secularism only proclaimed the total freedom of an individual and non-inclination towards the religion but in latter period, its one part started opposing religion and become a zealous exponent of socialism and materialism (Maududi, 2021, p. 19-20).

Arnold J. Toynbee confessed in open words that secularism has been completely failed to provide peace and prosperity to an individual. Happiness can only be achieved as a byproduct by setting a higher spiritual purpose (Toynbee, 1957, p. 56).

Abul A'la Maududi also exposed the dangers of secularism. According to him, secularism spread disbelief and suspicions and directed a man towards materialism. It snatched aim from a man's life and made him selfish. So, the world is witnessed of two world wars. It destroyed the ethics and good values of humanity. Consequently, thousands of social evils were born and peace and satisfaction had been vanished. By making materialistic advantages as an aim without any spiritual purpose, one cannot even get the trivial worldly benefits (Maududi, 2021, p. 20-21).

Movement of secularism become popular in the west and achieved political support. So, western countries adopted secularism and by making politics disintegrated with religion, they become secular states. When secular west poured harmful impacts in Muslim *Ummah*, a hot debate was started for the need of establishing an Islamic state where politics and religion cannot be treated separately.

With the new developments in the politics of Muslim world, the adherents of Islam needed a new central authority which would be responsible to impose *Sharia* in the politics of Muslim *Ummah*. So, Muslim scholars started using the concept of Islamic state as the alternate to the caliphate system in their writings.

Abul A'la Maududi argued that by founding an Islamic state based upon the principles of Quran and *Sunnah* i.e. by implementing *Sharia* rules, real Islam can be revived and restored. In the process of founding the Islamic state, the Muslims would have to get rid from *Jahiliya* and the western influence. By taking these practical steps, Muslims can be construct an Islamic society (Zhongmin, 2013, p. 29).

Maududi contemplates the bad conditions of the world especially the Muslim *Ummah*. He quite rightly blames the governments for the degradation of Muslim societies. According to his view point, all the evils that we observe in our surroundings are due to bad governments. These governments make evil

laws. The wealth and men resources like police and military are at their disposal. All administrative powers are in their control. So, all the wickedness and evils are spread directly or indirectly by the corrupt governments (Maududi, 1996b, p. 308).

Panacea for all the Problems of the Muslim Ummah:

Maulana Maududi's purpose to establish Jamaat-i-Islami was to start a struggle for revival of *Sharia* based Islamic system. He wanted to establish this system based on divine principles of the Holy Book *Quran Majeed*, the directions and guidelines of the Holy Prophet Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH) and the practices of the four rightly-guided caliphs. He called it the system of "Caliphate after the pattern of Prophethood" (Maududi. 2004, p. 27).

He considered the separation of politics from religion as a deviation from the Islamic line. The faith of a person reaches at its level of perfection when he acts upon the instructions of divine principles and tries to establish *Hakumat-i-Ilahiya* (Maududi, 2021, p. 15-19). So, it was a part of *iman* (belief) to start a political struggle for the establishment of Islamic state which was a panacea for all the problems of the Muslim *Ummah* (Nasr, 1994, p. 16).

Foundations of Islamic State:

Sovereignty: According to his ideology, the real sovereign power of the Islamic state is the Allah Almighty only. So, any order of the God would be considered as law. God has unlimited authority. Individuals of the state have to obey His orders without any reservation. In a relationship between God and man, God has all rights but individuals have no right to God. All rights enjoyed by a man are bestowed by God and if He infringes any right then it would be ceased to exist. Any legal right comes into existence due to its creation by the lawgiver. And when the lawgiver takes it back then the demand of that right becomes out of question. Any human being, whether he would be a ruler, cannot achieve the status of a sovereign. Not any human being has the right to enforce his own rule upon the other person. Because no person is the creator of any other person. So, only Allah Almighty has the right to rule because He is the creator. Moreover, if unlimited authority would be given to any person and his every decision would be considered as correct and praiseworthy then the result would appear in brutality and wickedness. So, to admit the lawful sovereignty towards Allah Almighty is called *Iman* (belief) and Islam, and its refusal is called *Kufr* (atheism) (Maududi, 2021, p. 228-31).

Status of the Prophet (PBUH): All Prophets are the representatives of lawful sovereignty of Allah. They are the messengers. People should have to follow and obey the Prophets because people become aware of the orders of God by the Prophets. It means, any order given by the Prophet would be considered as the order of the God. So, Allah has given the status to the last Prophet (PBUH) as the final authority to decide in any dispute. God made it compulsory for the people to obey His own orders along with the orders of His messenger (Maududi, 2021, p. 231-32).

Democratic Caliphate: Caliphate is the right to every person who admits the sovereignty of God and considers the laws of God, conveyed by his messenger, as the supreme laws. This is democracy but it has a clear difference with that of western democracy. In western democracy, the people have the right of sovereignty but in Islamic democracy, the people have the right only to become a caliph instead of the sovereign. In both, Western state and Islamic state, the governments are formed or changed by the opinion of the voters but the difference is clear. Western democratic state is considered as sovereign and self-authoritative but the Islamic democratic state or the Caliphate is submitted to the rule of Allah. Islamic state operates within the prescribed limits of Allah. If the state would cross the God's limits then it would lose the right to be obeyed (Maududi, 2021, p. 233-34).

According to Abul A'la Maududi, the ruler (*khalifa*, *Amir or Imam*) is responsible to obey the rules and authority of God, and on the other side, he gives respect to the opinion of citizens. So, he is not considered as a dictator or an absolute authority rather he is the dual representative of God and the Muslims (Esposito, 1984, p. 147).

Power of the Islamic Ruler: As there is a necessary rule about the obedience of a ruler, according to which if the *Amir* gives order within the prescribed limits of Quran and *Sunnah* then there will be total submission to that leadership. But there is no obedience for a person who is disobedient to Allah (Maududi, 2021, p. 269-71). It means that if the order of the ruler is in accordance with the will of God then the will of the ruler will be considered as the will of God. So, in this situation, any word spoken against the will of the ruler or any action taken against the government will not be tolerated because it will be treated as *fitna*.

Boundaries of State's Organs and their Interrelationship: Legislature of the Islamic state cannot legislate any law opposite to the Quran and *Sunnah*. Legislature makes rules and regulations to impose the clear orders of Allah and his Prophet (PBUH). In those matters where the orders of Quran and *Sunnah* hold more than one interpretation, the legislature would decide which interpretation would be imposed as law. It means, legislature would be consisted with religiously educated members. In case of lacking of any orders about any matter, the legislature would enact new laws according to the general principal of Islam present in the books of *Fiqh*. And in case of absence of any general principal, the legislature is free to make any law which would not be contrary to any Islamic order or principal (Maududi, 2021, p. 235).

The function of executive is to execute the rules of God in Islamic state and to produce suitable conditions for the implementation of Islamic principles. Quran used the term *Olal-Amr*, and Hadith used the term *Omaraa* for the executive. Executive heads would operate within the limits prescribed by the God and His messenger. Judiciary also give its decisions according to the rules of God instead of following the wish of the people. If any judge gives his decision opposite to the will of God then he would be considered as disbeliever, wrongdoer and rebellious (Maududi, 2021, p. 236-38).

When we analyze the interrelationship of these three organs i.e. legislature, executive and judiciary, we see the President as the head of all these three organs. The Prophet of Allah and the caliphs had the status of president in their respective eras. Under the headship of president, every organ plays its role separately (Maududi, 2021, P. 238-41).

Purpose of Islamic State:

According to Maulana Maududi, the primary objective of the Islamic Government is "iqamat-e-Deen" (imposition of religious laws). Islam describes the objectives for which an Islamic state is essential to establish. The purpose of Islamic state is to launch a welfare program in the whole state for the betterment of humanity. The main feature which distinguishes an Islamic state from an un-Islamic state is not mere to get peaceful environment, to secure its boundaries or to elevate the standard of its citizens but to flourish virtues and erase the evils (Maududi, 2021, p. 242).

Strategy to Establish the Religious Government:

Instead of bringing the holistic change in the structure of the state, Maulana Maududi wants to adopt a way to educate and refine the lives of general public. By purifying the lives of people through education and teachings of Islam, the whole system would be changed. The purified and educated people will capture the top ranks of the government and at this stage revolution is required. After revolution, *iqamat-e-deen* would be implemented.

Maulana Maududi wants some initial changings before revolution. He is not in favor of violence and sudden change. The revolutionaries, in view of Maududi, are not the common people but the trained and educated Islamic activists. He advocates the top-bottom approach and wants the reforms in government leadership which will ultimately change the society because the common people always follow the leaders (Maududi, 2021, p. 2-4).

We can say, the aim of the political struggle is not for the underdeveloped or deprived class as we see in Marxism. Rather its primary goal is to provide trained leaders to the society.

Formation of Government:

To run the affairs of an Islamic state, the structure of the government is formed on following foundations.

Appointment of the President (*Amir*): The appointment of the president of the Islamic state is dependent upon the free will of the people. Nobody has right to become an *Amir* by force. Not any family or any class has monopoly on it. There might be different ways to know the will of the people about the selection of the president (Maududi, 2021, p. 245).

<u>Theo-Democracy:</u> The head of the government will rule on the basis of people's confidence. He has no right to rule if he loses the confidence of the

general masses. This character of Maulana Maududi's theo-democracy is a symbol of evolutionary perfection (Maududi, 2021, 245,284).

The *Amir* of the polity will be the executive head of the government having enough knowledge about *Sharia* along with administrative experience. General masses will elect the executive head of the religious government through secret ballet. A *Shura* (legislature) will provide assistance to the *Amir*. He would be bound to act upon the advices by the *Shura* while performing the state duties (Zaman, 2004, p. 103).

Formation of the *Shura* (**Legislature**): *Amir* (president) takes suggestions from the legislature. The members of the legislature should be trustworthy by the people. People should be satisfied by their ability, sincerity and good-will. By voting, people can express their opinion about the selection of the members (Maududi, 2021, p. 248).

Essential Features of the Government:

There are four essential principles which should be evident in the Islamic government.

- i. The *Amir* (president) should face the public and their representatives. He should perform his duties after consultation with the members of legislature and he should be answerable to them.
- ii. There should be no party system. In party system, the ruling party produces its supporters by spending public wealth and by the strength of these supporters, the party imposes its favorite decisions.
- iii. Government system should not be based upon so much complex principles that it would be difficult for any worker to perform his duty or make any person responsible for any misconduct.
- iv. Such people should be nominated for the rank of *Amir* (president) and the members of legislature who contain more and more Islamic characteristics (Maududi, 2021, p. 249-50).

Qualification of the Rulers (Olal-Amr and Umara):

There are two types of qualifications for the president and members of legislature. For the first type of qualification, there are four standards:

- i. To be Muslim.
- ii. To be a man.
- iii. To be wise and mature (Aaqil o Baligh)
- iv. To be resident of *Dar-ul-Islam* (Islamic state)

Almost every male Muslim citizen can be eligible for the ruling class but to choose the most suitable persons for the elite posts, there is second type of qualification. Quran and *Sunnah* explained the standards of this type of qualification. Among these standards, following are more prominent:

- i. To be honest and trustworthy (*Ameen*)
- ii. To be pious and virtuous (*Mutaqi*)
- iii. Having the power of knowledge (Alim)
- iv. Having the power of body (Qavi)
- v. Have control upon his wishes (Adil)
- vi. Not to be greedy of ranks

It is the duty of election commissioner to make the voters aware of these standards before conducting elections (Maududi, 2021, 250-52).

Rights of Citizens and the Government:

Following are the popular rights of citizens upon their government:

- i. To protect their life, assets and honor
- ii. To protect their personal liberty
- iii. Freedom of speech
- iv. Freedom of sect
- v. Provision of basic rights

There are some noteworthy rights of government upon citizens which are as under:

- i. Citizens should obey the orders of government
- ii. They should remain faithful and well-wisher to the government
- iii. To be willing to sacrifice one's life and property for the protection of Islamic government (Maududi, 2021, 254-58).

Khurram Murad:

A notable scholar, Khurram Murad (1932-1996) was born in Bhopal. After the creation of Pakistan, he was shifted in Karachi. He first became the member of Jamiyat-e-Tulaba Pakistan. In 1949, he became the *Nazim* of Karachi Jamiyat. He met with Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami Maulana Maududi during his arrival in Karachi in 1950. He became the head of constitution making committee in 1952, which formed the constitution of the Islami Jamiyat Tulaba Pakistan under his headship. As he was a notable engineer too. So, he provided services as a chief civil engineer in East Pakistan where the Jamaat appointed him Amir of Dhaka in 1963. He launched a campaign, in East Pakistan, in favor of Mohtrama Fatima Jinnah during the Presidential elections in 1965. After the separation of East Pakistan, along with other civil and military personnel, he was also arrested by Indian army where he spent two years in jail. In October 1987, he became Jamaat Amir of Lahore and then in December, he became Naib Amir-i-Jamaat of Pakistan. He was also appointed as an editor of Abul A'la Maududi's journal Tarjuman-al-Quran in July 1991. His struggle for the improvement in the standards of thought provoking knowledge resulted in the establishment of Mehran Academy in Sakhar and Idarah Manshoorat in Lahore (Jamaat-e-Islami, n.d.).

His Religio-political Thoughts: Khurram Murad, by his different writings, depicted his views about the sovereignty of God in all worldly affairs. Like in one place, he stressed complete surrender and submission of man to the Quranic teachings. A person who does not submit to the will of God is declared as *Fasiq* (openly wrongdoer) and *Kafir* (infidel). The course of action must be adopted as the Quran requires to adopt irrespective of the society's dictations (Murad, 2005, p. 111-13).

In his views, the present bad situation of Muslims is due to not obeying the teachings of Quran. If anybody studies Quran, he does not act upon its orders accordingly. If one acts then he acts upon some part of it and rejects its other part (Murad, 2005, p. 115).

He says that the teachings of Quran invite its adherents to start a movement. A movement against the wrongdoers. The divine book provokes the people living in solitude to come out and start a struggle collectively against the infidels. The last Prophet (PBUH) of God abandoned his life of isolation and raised his voice against the lords of evil. People gathered around this single voice and a movement was started against the disbelievers and ultimately a kingdom of the God was established on the face of earth. Now, in these days, if people want to establish the God's kingdom, they should take guidance from the divine book i.e. Quran. By acting upon the orders of the Quran practically and by calling all the mankind to Allah's will, people will go through different stages of a movement like that of Hijrat, Jihad, Badr, Ohad, Khandaq in which they will face Abu Lahab, Abu Jehl, Jews and other hypocrites. In this path, people would have to deal different types of characters. So, people will discover the real meaning of Quran by practically facing the situations in real world (Murad, 2005, p. 117-18). So, he gives a lesson from the history that the Muslims should be ready to suffer hardships in the course of implementing the God's rules in their respective countries.

Prof. Khurshid Ahmad:

Prof. Khurshid Ahmad was born in 1932 in Karol Bagh Delhi. After partition, the whole family moved to Pakistan in February 1948 and settled in Karachi. He started his religio-political activities through the study circle of Jamaat-e-Islami. In 1950, he became the member of Jamaat and served as *Nazim-e-Aala* of Islami Jamiat-e-Tulaba from 1953 to 1955. Along with acquiring higher education, he constantly and actively worked for the Jamaat-e-Islami (Hassan, 2011, p. 75-81). In 1970's during General Zia's period, he provided his services to Islamize the national economy of Pakistan. By his speeches and writings, he introduced the concept of Islamic economics and islamization of banking system. He also conducted and chaired the conferences and seminars on the Islamic Financial system during 1980's which had great impact on the Islamization program of General Zia regime (Hassan, 2011, p. 99-100).

<u>His Religio-political Thoughts:</u> Prof. Khurshid Ahmad signified the completeness of Islam. He says that Islam has provided instructions for every aspect of human life. This collective system of instruction is called *Sharia*. Quran orders to obey the *Sharia* in its full essence. State is the most important

institution among other institutions that man has made for his civilized life. Islam never ignored the importance of state throughout its history. The crux of the struggle of all the Prophets was to bring the contemporary worldly powers in obedience to the God's orders. They spent their energies to impose *Deen-e-Ilahi* (Islam) on earth. Islam contains every type of laws like civil and criminal procedure codes and rules about trade, business, marriage, divorce and inheritance etc. If the government is not achieved to Islam then a big and most important part of its *Sharia* becomes suspended, useless and unworkable. Without the establishment of an Islamic government, the agenda and the objective of Islam remains incomplete. State is used as a tool to implement and strengthen Islam (Ahmad, 1963, p. 401-08).

Professor Khurshid Ahmad mentioned the characteristics of an Islamic government. The primary characteristic is that the Islamic government is an ideological state. Its base is not upon color, cost, language or homeland. Its original base is upon Islamic ideology. It proclaims God's political sovereignty and implement the God's rules. The subjects will obey the Islamic state if itself obeys the God's will. Subjects of an Islamic state will obey *Olal Amr* (rulers of Islamic state). If the ruler gives orders contrary to the injunctions of Quran and *Sunnah*, then it would not be considered as valid. Islamic state provides an environment which facilitates Muslims to easily obey the orders of God (Ahmad, 1963, p. 409-14).

According to Prof. Khurshid Ahmad, Islamic government is slightly different to theocracy. In a theocratic state, a specific religious group practically enjoys the authority. Their opinion is considered as law which could not be challenge. That religious group uses all authority on the name of God without answerable to anyone. In Islam, there is no presence of such a religious group. Everyone can get the status of *Olal Amr* only by fulfilling the conditions of knowledge and piety. Islamic state is not a hereditary state. It is *Shurai* and democratic. The rulers form the policies by the consultations with the members of *Shura* (assembly) and run the system of the government by the consent of *Jamhoor* (public). Everyone is equal before Islamic law. All the citizens enjoy the rights of life, wealth, honor, personal liberty, freedom of opinion and sect, legal and social equality, etc. Islamic government is actually a welfare state. Its responsibility is not only to provide the economic needs but also to dispense the knowledge and training for good ethics and civilization (Ahmad, 1963, p. 418-37).

Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani:

Shabbir Ahmad Usmani (1887-1949) was the son of Maulana Fazl-ur-Rahman Usmani who was a member of *Majlis-e-Shura* of Darul Uloom Deoband and had a close link with Qasim Nanautvi (Rizvi, 1981, p. 68-71).

He got his Islamic education in *Madrassah Deoband* from renowned Islamic scholars like Maulana Mehmud-ul-Hasan, Maulana Barkatullah and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi. After completing his education, he joined Fetehpur *Madrasa* as head teacher. He actively worked for Jamiat Ulama-e-Hind and also took part in *Tehrik-e-Khilafat*. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi brought him

back to *Madrasa-e-Darul Uloom Deoband*. He supported the cause of Pakistan which was against the interests of Jamiyat Ulama-e-Hind (JUH) (Akbarabadi, 2007, p. 106). So, he left JUH and founded Jamiat Ulama-e-Islam in 1945 (Dhulipala, 2015, p. 357-59). At that time, some other *ulama* in the leadership of Shabir Ahmad Usmani rejected the concept of 'Nationalism' and by establishing the new organization, they succeeded to bring some prominent Ulama to Muslim League (Pirzada, 2000, p. 9-10).

After creation of separate state, he worked for the establishment of an Islamic government in Pakistan. He worked for forming a *Sharia* group within Muslim League with the help of *Pir* of Manki Sharif and laid stress to the government by their speeches to frame an Islamic constitution (Rizwan et al., 2018, p. 48). For setting up an Islamic system at governmental level, Shabir Ahmad Usmani tabled the resolution in constituent assembly two times and mounted pressure to take the steps for making Islamic provisions. Baluchistan and Frontier provinces provided main support to JUI. Although, it was less influential than Jamaat-e-Islami but its focus was also to create an Islamic state (Talbot, 2005, p. 29).

<u>His Religio-political Thoughts:</u> Shabbir Ahmad Usmani termed Pakistan in his speeches as *Madina* in early Islam. He laid stress upon the necessity of a separate country for Islamic government because the last Prophet (PBUH) had to migrate from *Mecca* to *Madina* for establishment of an independent Islamic state. He considered the creation of Pakistan as the first step in the process of Muslim's purification from all the bad identities based upon class, region, language, race or sect. He gave an optimistic view that all the sacrifices would be resulted in the triumph of Islam in the shape of Pakistan's dominance as the Islamic government like that of Islamic government of *Madina* (Usmani, 1946a, 27-28).

He rejected the current classification of the societies based upon race, culture, homeland or languages. He believed upon only two classes according to the Prophet's prophecy i.e. *Momin* (believer) and *Kafir* (disbeliever). He says that all the individual distinctions of Muslims merge into Islam like that of all the rivers join at the end and fall into ocean. So, all the Muslims in India are in combined form to make one nation. Denying of this fact is a big lie (Usmani, 1946b, p. 125-27).

He advised Muslims not to think so that after the creation of a new country, there will establish an Islamic government immediately. The Prophet (PBUH) could establish the Islamic government by crushing the enemies in an instant but the God's government required the struggle of Muslim *Ummah* which is a gradual process that requires at every step the guidance of Prophet (Usmani, 1946a, p. 14). So, he laid stress upon the struggle for making Pakistani state like that of *Madina* the rules of God should be implemented and the citizens of Pakistan should sacrifice for achieving that sacred objective.

Shah Ahmad Noorani:

Shah Ahmad Noorani (1926-2003) was greatly influenced by Ahmad Raza Khan Brelvi. During his young age, he along with his fellow pretested against the law about the ban on cow slaughtering and wrote a pamphlet against this law. As a result, he was arrested but this reaction prompted him more to support the mission of All India Muslim League for a separate homeland (Ahmed, 2015, p. 8). After the partition, he moved to Karachi along his family and settled there. He actively participated in politics to serve Islam and became a member of parliament as MNA in 1970 and 1977. Then he became senator in 1980 (Wasim, 2003). He remained the leader of Jamiyat Ulama-e-Pakistan (JUP). Before *Tehrik-e-Labaik*, JUP was the mainstream political party of Brelvi sect. He also resisted Pervez Musharraf policies on the platform of Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal (MMA) as its president ("Shah Ahmad Noorani", 2003).

His Religio-political Thoughts: He had a clear view about the state's constitution that it should be Islamic (Rahman, 1970, p. 275). He was in favor of social welfare state which should be based upon the principles of Quran and *Sunnah*. He expressed these views while elaborating the main points of Jamiyat Ulama-e-Pakistan's manifesto in 1970. He also rejected the systems of capitalism and socialism (Scruton, 1984, p. 52). He wanted to eradicate the class conflicts based upon ethnic or regional prejudices and laid stress to form an Islamic constitution which would be enforced to get rid of all the evils of class differences (Scruton, 1984, p. 45-46). He clarified that his party would never accept any constitution having provisions against Islamic principles (Ahmad, 1993, p. 44).

CONCLUSION

By analyzing the religio-political thoughts of Abul A'la Maududi and his contemporaries, we see some commonalities. All Muslim activists cum thinkers have strong belief that the mission of all the Prophets, Caliphs and *Imams* is to hoist the flag of *Nizam-e-Ilahi* (the system of Allah Almighty) on the face of earth by establishing an Islamic government throughout the world in which there should be no rule implemented contrary to divine rules and orders. So, the religious activists in Pakistan tried to implement an Islamic system because they considered the struggle for establishing an Islamic state as a condition of *Iman* (faith) and to accept the western system of government opposite to divine rule as a kufr (atheism). These Muslim scholars introduced the concept of theo-democracy. The Amir (Islamic ruler or president) is called Olal-Amr because he must be obeyed. To these activists, Muslim ruler should not be a dictator. He is appointed by the public with certain conditions and he is responsible before God. He consults with the members of Shura (legislature). The ruler and the legislative members should have command over Sharia. Islamic government performs all its functions within the prescribed limits of the sole sovereign power i.e. Allah Almighty. It works for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of the differences about class and creed in their subjects.

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