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Emerging the Concept of Islamic Socialism in Pakistan: Historical Analysis on Political Debates of 1970-1971 Election Campaign

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Abstract

Islamic Socialism was the concept propounded by Mr. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto during the 1970-71 general election campaign. This ideology was new to Pakistani state as the country was founded on the concept of the Two Nation Theory. Mr. Bhutto's ideology in Pakistan was viewed as against the basic concept of the religion (Islam) by the Islamists parties. The *Jamaat-e-Islami* (JI) was the main political opponent of his ideology. Mr. Bhutto believed that the socio-economic condition of the country was deteriorated and this new ideology will infuse a better life for everyone in the country. On the other hand, the *Amir* (chief) of the JI, Maulana Maudoodi, believed it as an atheist ideology and would diminish Islam from Pakistan. This paper is designed to investigate why political elites envisaged such ideology i.e. Islamic Socialism, in 1970 election? Whether this new ideology changed economic conditions of the common man as was envisaged or further worsened the political situation in the country? Further, the paper will investigate what role religious parties played particularly the JI, in countering the Islamic Socialism ideology which it was believed as atheist ideology?

Keywords: Socialism, Islamic Socialism, Two-Nation Theory, Political Islam, Sharia, Pakistan.

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Introduction & Historical Background

After the decade long rule of military dictator general Ayoob Khan from 1958 to 1969, Pakistan was in search of political stability. Since independence in 1947, there has not been a free and fair elections. Military took over in 1958 under General Ayoob Khan who remained in power till 1969. From 1947 to 1969, Pakistan experienced two forms of government. First, from 1947-58, the parliamentary under which seven prime ministers served country and parliament took nine years to frame the constitution (enacted in 1956); secondly, the presidential form of government under general Ayoob from 1958-69 (with a new constitution framed in 1962).

On 25 March 1969, general Ayoob abrogated his own constitution by handing over powers to another military general Yahya Khan who imposed martial law and thus became the second chief martial law administrator (CMLA) from 25 March 1969 to 20 December 1971 (Baxter, 1971). General Yahya announced free and fair general elections in December 1970 (Rizvi, 1991). The announcement of general elections was viewed as a sigh of relief for the political parties because under previous military government of general Ayoob they had suffered huge setbacks due to his (General Ayoob) presidential orders³ such as PRODA and PODO. According to these orders political leaders were disqualified and banned from participating in elections for the period of six years (till 1966).

Pakistan had not experienced the free and fair election on the direct vote on adult franchise (Baxter, 1971) since independence. This brought a new debate in country as in both wings of Pakistan (East and West)⁴ there was huge economic and cultural disparity. The eastern wing political elites had showed their grievances such as economic disparity and the promotion of their (Bengali) language. Since independence in 1947, they demanded for their Bengali language to be declared as the national language of Pakistan; however, the West Pakistan's political elites silenced them with the dominance of the Urdu language. After the arduous struggle, the Bengali language was recognised as the national language according to the first constitution in 1956 (Article 214[1]). Bengalis grievances further widened due to the implementation of the One Unit Scheme (OUS) by the West Pakistani political elites in 1955 (Mushtaq, 2009), which further fuelled their grievances. Their political, social and economic condition further deteriorated due the military governments harsh policies particularly the PODO and the EBDO (Shah, 2016). In 1966, the AL leadership propounded the six points agenda as the salvation for the East Pakistan's socio-economic problems commonly known as the Six Points Formula of Sheikh Mujeeb-u-Rehman. In 1968, the Awami League leader, Sheikh Mujeeb-u-Rehman was arrested under the Agartala Conspiracy case along with 35 members in conspiring with India against Pakistan. Such political situations culminated and the AL demanded for full provincial autonomy⁵ for the eastern wing (currently Bangladesh).

In such atmosphere the announcement of free and fair election by the military government of general Yahya Khan was viewed as a sigh of relief for the political parties and was welcomed by the religio-political parties. The main political parties in country were the Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) of Mr. Bhutto (from West Pakistan), Awami League (AL) of Mujeeb-u-Rehman (from East Pakistan) and Jamaat-e-Islami (JI) of Maulana

³ PRODA-Public Representatives Disqualification Act; PODO-Public Order Disqualification Order. According to these presidential ordinances, nearly 6000 politician and bureaucrats were detained and were banned from participating in political activities for six years till 1966.

⁴ In 1947 Pakistan inherited two parts such as East and the West. The West Pakistan comprised of the four provinces i.e. Sindh, Punjab, Khyber-Pakhtunkhawa, Baluchistan (became province in 1970) and the East Pakistan comprised of only one where Bengali were in majority (currently is known as Bangladesh).

⁵ Sheikh Mujeeb-u-Rehman, the leader of the Awami League propounded his six points formula in 1966, which involves separate currency, defence control and foreign policy etc. All these demands viewed in West Pakistan (consists of four provinces, Punjab, Sindh, Baluchistan, NWFP now Khyber Pakhtunkhawa, Azad Kashmir) as the demand for the separate Bengali State. This was vivid during the 1970s election campaign and aftermath till the formation of a separate country on 16 December 1971.

Maudoodi (in the West Pakistan). In this political scenario heated debate started between the secular-minded political leaders (mainly Mr. Bhutto from West Pakistan) and the religious leaders particularly the chief of JI, Maulana Maudoodi (in both wings of Pakistan). It was during that election Mr. Bhutto envisaged the term Socialism (later Islamic Socialism) whereas the JI leadership called for the Islamic government i.e. the Sharia (Engineer, 1996).

The new ideology of Socialism brought a heated debate in the country; Islam or Islamic socialism as the solution for Pakistan's poor economy. What were the factors for which Mr. Bhutto believed that Socialism or Islamic socialism could be the only solution to the issues of poor peoples of Pakistan? Can Islamic socialism work in a country like Pakistan? Why religious parties opposed the concept of Islamic socialism. To what extent religion was politicised in Pakistan during the 1970 election. In order to investigate these questions the research is conducted primarily based on the historical documents. A historical approach is taken in order to answer above research questions. In this regard the data is collected from the primary sources and secondary sources. The primary sources include the speeches and the statements of Mr. Bhutto and the *Amir* of the JI Maulana Maudoodi. The secondary sources include books, articles, newspapers etc.

Discussion

Liberalism was one of the dominant ideologies from the early 19th century till the end of World War II. Its focus was on the freedom of individual and desacralized idea of the society. After the end of World War II, new states emerged. During this time the socialist ideology emerged in the name of Socialism- as the solution for all problems of any state. Thus the idea of Marxism emerged in the newly established states- third world religion. The emergence of Hindu socialism in Indian subcontinent can be attributed with this ideology. However, despite these secular views, the Marxist and democratic socialists know very well the powerful legitimizing prospective of religion when connected with the other political ideas such as socialism. It could be said that if socialism was connected with religion then religion will create socialism legitimate particularly in traditional societies. This relevancy and legitimacy has been pushed by the ideological and religious ideologues but they were not aware of its outcomes.

The socialist believed that the means of production, distribution and exchange should be increased or regulated by the community as a whole. The mass of wealth should not be accumulated in one hand (individual); however, it should be equally distributed according to the needs and requirements of the people. The emergence of Socialism in India can be attributed with this task- for instance the foundation of Sarvodaya by Mahatma Gandhi in Indian subcontinent in the name of Hindu Socialism-The Satyagarh⁶. This was non-violent movement against the British government of India for the political change in India because they believed their rights being violated by the colonialists. In this, Gandhi emphasised the socio-economic issues of untouchables and labour arrangement in the society. The struggle culminated and two countries emerged in the name of India and Pakistan in 1947.

After the creation of Pakistan on 14 August, 1947, the country was politically and economically in weak. The weak political government at centre, the hostile enemy on eastern (India) and western borders (Afghanistan⁷). The Eastern part of the country had its grievances due to their socio-economic conditions and their representation at centre. The country could not make its constitution till 1956 and the governments couldn't function properly. Due to such state, there had been seven prime ministers in the

⁶ The word coined by Mahatma Gandhi for the protection of the rights of the Indians in South Africa where he launched non-violent movement against the colonialists. When he moved to India, the same movement was started against the British government for the rights of Indian in Indian subcontinent.

⁷ Afghanistan was the only Muslim country which opposed the Pakistan's admission to the UN in 1947. Pakistan shares longest border with the Afghanistan i.e. 2252km also known as the Durand Line; however, it is not recognised by the Afghanistan.

country since 1947 to 1958. Considering such political turmoil in country military step in and martial law was imposed under general Ayoob Khan on 27 October 1958 who remained in power till 1969.

The government of General Ayoob even could not brought any tangible changes for both wings. His tyrannical rule however had tremendous effect on the socio-political development of Pakistan. It is said that during his government 22 families controlled two-third of country's economy (Burki, 1988).

The political situation of country deteriorated to such an extent that he transferred powers to another military General Yahya Khan on 25 March 1969, who announced general elections to be held in December, 1970 (Address to the Nation on 26 March 1969). While addressing to the nation on March 26, 1969, general Yahya Khan made it clear that his ambition is to create a conducive environment for the creation of the constitutional government in country (Address to the Nation on 26 March 1969).

The announcements of general elections brought a sigh of relief for the religio-political parties as both were working hard against the previous military government. In this political environment Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (from western wing of Pakistan) who had worked as the Foreign Minister in General Ayoob's cabinet⁸ propounded new ideology i.e. Islamic Socialism as the remedy for Pakistan. In line with the socialists thinking he made his party's manifesto i.e. *Roti, Kapra Anur Makan* (Bread, Clothes and Houses) and the popular slogans of: "*Islam is our religion / democracy is our polity / Socialism is our economy*"⁹.

The concept of Islamic Socialism was propounded by Pan Islamic leader, Jamal al-Din Afghani in 1890s. He believed that the notion of zakat and prohibition of interest free systems are connected with the basic concepts of Islam and are connected with Socialism. Islam is a religion of peace. It is a complete code of life. It believed in the social justice and solidarity of the community as a whole compared to the individual as believed in the capitalist society. Therefore, it could be said that Islam is close to Socialism than the capitalism. However, this socialist notion was alien in Pakistani society. Most people, particularly religious clerics, believed Marxist socialist as anti-Islamic and believed in only one system such as the Islamic system or the Sharia or the caliphate system.

It is difficult to understand why Mr. Bhutto gave such a concept which was against the popular thinking of the Pakistani nation. There could be two reasons behind this; firstly, in order to attract general population towards his slogans which will change their economic conditions. Secondly, he might be trying to affiliate Pakistan close to Moscow rather than Washington. Whatever his motives, there was no doubt that he became much popular and people began to listen him and support him.

At first, the idea of a classless society of Islamic socialism was presented in December 1967 at Lahore (Pakistan), in which it was clearly emphasised that the remedy of all country's socio-economic problems lies in implementing Islamic Socialism system in the country. He stated that he and his party (PPP) was committed to the teachings of Islam and no law shall be made which will be repugnant to the teachings of Islam. He made it clear that his party's aim is to free Pakistan from the capitalist exploitation of the poor and make a classless society in which people shall have basic life facilities, all such things are possible by implementing Islamic Socialism in the country (Founding Meeting Document No. 4, 1967: 1).

Further, explaining the concept at the Sindh convention Hyderabad, he said "*no power on earth can stop socialism, the symbol of justice, equality and the supremacy of man...it is the demand of time and history...I am a socialist...some ridicule me of being socialist, I don't care*" (Bhutto, speeches 1966-69: 177). Connecting socialism with Islam (Islamic Socialism) he explained that the socio-economic egalitarianism of socialism is inherently grounded in the genesis of Islam. As Islam came before socialism nearly twelve

⁸ Over the Tashkent Declaration, Bhutto left Ayoob Khan and became his strongest opponent. He established his own political party i.e. Pakistan Peoples Party commonly known as PPP, on 1 November 1967.

⁹ Manifesto of Pakistan Peoples Party 1970 & 1977 reproduced by Sami Hussain Panhwar online available at: <http://bhutto.org/Acrobat/Manifestos%20of%20Pakistan%20Peoples%20Party.pdf>

hundred years therefore, it can be said that it has generated itself from Islam. He believed that there is nothing contradictory between both and he cannot see any difference in the principles of the both i.e. Islam and Socialism. He went on further to explain that the "first seeds of socialism flowered under Islam, the Islam of the days of our Prophet, the Islam of the days of the four *Khalifas* (four pious caliphs of Islam). That is the Islam which gave birth to the principles and concepts of Socialism. That is our Islam, the Islam of the people of Pakistan" (Ibid: 70).

The notion of capitalism which was Judeo-Christian tradition and should be replaced by Islamic socialism. He strongly supported his cause and believed those who do not consider Islam and socialism as a single entity are exploiters and they are those who suck people's blood. He vehemently advocated Islamic socialism in his speeches throughout the election campaign during 1970-71. He frequently used religious terms such as *Masawat* (equality), *Masawat -e- Muhammadi* (egalitarianism of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH), etc. in order to equate them with the concept of Islamic socialism. He believed that the poverty of Pakistani society could be eradicated through Islamic Socialism, which will banish poverty from its roots. He believed that he is not the inventor of this ideology but he is only following the doctrines of the founding father, the Quaid-e-Azam by preaching the idea of Islamic Socialism. He elaborated Mr. Jinnah of professing the same ideology.

He quotes Mr. Jinnah's speech of 26 March 1948, stating that Pakistan will not be going to establish a Sharia in the country. Further, he quotes Liaqat Ali Khan, the first premier of Pakistan when he (Liaqat Ali Khan) addressed to the national assembly on 25 August 1949, stated that "nowadays there are many '*isms*' being talked about but we are convinced that for us there is only one '*ism*' namely the Islamic Socialism which in a nutshell means that every person in this land has equal rights to be provided with food, shelter, clothing, education and medical facilities. The countries which cannot ensure these for their people can never progress. The economic programme drawn up some 1350 years back still is the best economic programme for us. Infact, whatever system people may try out, they all ultimately return to Islamic Socialism by whatever name they may choose to call it" (Bhutto, 1970)¹⁰.

Emphasising the importance of Islamic socialism for the society and its closeness with Islam Mr. Bhutto said "Islamic socialism is not alien to Islam. It is not in conflict with our beliefs. If British parliamentary democracy is not in conflict with Islam. I fail to understand how the values, equality and brotherhood which Islam gave to the world can be opposed to Islam. Islamic Socialism means that we will have a socialist economy according to our conditions covered by our own heritage, flowering from our own traditions and in conformity with our values and ideology. Only this kind of economic structure can provide equal opportunities for all, protect citizens from exploitation and removes the barriers between the privileged classes and the exploited classes. Socialism is in direct interest of Pakistan, an under developed country marked by internal and external exploitation. The roots of socialism lie deep in a profoundly ethical view of life. We earnestly maintain that the high ideals of Islam in relation to society can be attained only through socialist system by abolishing the exploitation by men by men. We believe that the nature of justice in the world demanded by our religion is inherent in the conception of a classless society. Islam differs fundamentally from other religions. Islam recognises no casts, Capitalists society has a class structure, which is opposed to the equality, brotherhood enjoined upon Muslims by Islam. When we call our economic programme Islamic Socialism we are perfectly within our rights and also within the moral traditions of Islam. In the name of justice, the Pakistan Peoples Party spells out Islam in concrete terms of fraternity and friendship. But our opponents, the self appointed monopolists of Islam condemn it in the name of socialism. Their manifesto is however, used the same language and the same words without calling it socialism. This only shows how they are desperately seeking to double cross the people. Such people stand condemned

¹⁰ The whole speech is available at YouTube. URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Is4_Qr5oDpY

by their own contradictions. The real reason for the spiritual trepidation of the big business and its hirelings is the prospect of nationalisation of industries and banks" (Bhutto, 1970)¹¹.

Religious Parties' Opposition to Bhutto's Islamic Socialism

The Ulema (religious scholars) under the banner of Islam criticised the Islamic Socialism. The main religio-political parties during 1970-71 election were Jamaat-e-Islami (JI), Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islam Pakistan (JUIP-Bralevi sect) and Jamaat-e-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI-Deobandi sect). The most critical among these was the JI of Maulana Maudoodi. To him this concept of Mr. Bhutto was a fraudulent ideology, which would be unacceptable for Muslims of Pakistan. He appeared as the main opponent for Mr. Bhutto during the election campaign. Maudoodi, believed that if this new ideology is according to Islam then there is no need to call it as an Islamic Socialism. Then they (particularly Mr. Bhutto) should declare that he intended to establish an Islamic state. On the contrary they changed the name of Islamic socialism to the *Masawat-e-Muhammadi* (Islamic equity). In the eyes of Maudoodi, it was a bluff game that politicians of time were playing in order to confuse the people of Pakistan and they were not sincere in making an Islamic state. The *Naib* (second in command) of the JI also opposed the Islamic socialism concept and threatened to launch a mass movement against such atheist ideology. The JUP leader Maulana Ihtisham-ul-Haq Thanvi said, about the socialism that it is a fraudulent ideology...Islam is a potent force and had been fighting with many 'isms' over the past 1400 years" (Abdullah, 2018).

A religious verdict (fatwa) against the Islamic Socialism was given by 113 Ulema, with the approval of all sects of Pakistan (Bralvi, Ahl-e-Hadith, Shia and Deobandi) on 26 February, 1970. The fatwa clearly said the socialism is an atheist ideology and anti-Islam propaganda which must be stopped before spreading in the Muslim society of Pakistan. Supporters and sympathisers of this ideology would ruin Islamic identity of the country. The support of this ideology is a great sin according to the Ulema.

The Islamists opposition affected Mr. Bhutto and his party deeply. He responded vividly. In order to counter the religious Ulema opposition to Islamic socialism Mr. Bhutto started criticising the Ulema and challenged their patriotism. He engaged religious clerics by accusing them of their role during the freedom movement particularly the *Amir* of the JI, Maulana Maudoodi who had opposed the creation of a separate homeland (Pakistan) during the Pakistan movement in Indian subcontinent¹²; as well as, Maudoodi's fatwa after 1947 that the war in Kashmir is not the Jihad¹³. Mr. Bhutto quoted these events as a political shield and criticised the JI leadership of his patriotism. He stated that "when there was a danger to the Muslims in subcontinent when the British and Hindus were opposing the Pakistan movement. The danger was obvious. When the Muslims were being massacred in the Punjab, the danger was tangible. We saw our enemies and recognised them...When Islam was in danger these people could not be seen in the ranks of the Quaid-e-Azam. They were on the other hand with Gandhi, Nehru and Patel. When the enemies were trying to endanger the very existence of Muslims these gentlemen were talking of United India and opposing Pakistan. They issued an edict of *Quaid-e-Kufur or Kafar-e-Azam* (great non-believer) against Quaid-e-Azam, when there was war

¹¹ The speech is available at YouTube. URL: <https://youtu.be/Is4Qr5oDpY?t=1285>

¹² Maulana Maudoodi had opposed the idea of making separate Muslim state during the Indian movement. His ideas were purely religious. He believed that Muslims are in majority in the North-West and Easter zones of India (nowadays Pakistan), by separating land between Hindus and Muslims it will create more rifts. All Muslims might not migrate to single country. Most will remain in the Independent India where they will be in minority under the Hindu community. Considering such Muslims' future he criticised the idea of a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. He also criticised M. A. Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan. However once Pakistan became a reality in 1947, he came to Pakistan on the belief that now a separate Muslim country is created therefore it is the responsibility of Muslims to make it according to the teachings of Islam.

¹³ In 1947, Maulana Maudoodi has said that the war in Kashmir is not the Jihad because the Jihad can be declared by the Islamic governments.

going on in Kashmir they issued fatwa against it. Why didn't they say that Islam was in danger?" (Bhutto, speeches 1970-71: 88).

In replying to the religious scholars who believe Mr. Bhutto was preaching a false ideology and had a *Kafir* (non-believer) ideology Mr. Bhutto said there are many Muslim states in the world which are based on the Islamic *Masawat* are all these *Kafirs*. "The Islamic socialism has been adopted by Algeria, Egypt, Sudan, Libya, Iraq, and Syria in their own way. Similarly, we shall adopt the same according to our circumstances. Just as these countries continued to be Muslim similarly, we shall also remain a Muslim state because we are Muslim..." (Bhutto, speeches 1970-71: 64-65).

Further, Mr. Bhutto blamed religious parties for creating confusion for the people of Pakistan by engaging them in the debate of socialism as a nonbelievers ideology. He said "if there is no Islamic socialism in Islam then there is no parliamentary democracy either?" (Bhutto, speeches 1970-71:61). Bhutto further professed if the Ulema had only problem with the name then we will call it as an Islamic Masawat (in English Islamic Socialism).

Contrary, the JI, Amir (chief/leader), Maulana Maudoodi along with other religious parties continued to oppose Mr. Bhutto's Islamic Socialism concept. Among the most critics was the leader of the JI (Maulana Maudoodi). It should be noted that Maudoodi was one of the most literary religious scholar of that time and highly respectable and had influential personality among the religious circles. His views were very clear. If socialism is on the teachings of Islam then why to calling it Socialism, why not an Islamic state, the concept of Sharia. He believed that if the political leadership was sincere with the cause of Islam then why not openly declare it as an Islamic system, why socialism? This means that Mr. Bhutto and his party (PPP) is not sincere with the cause of Islam for Pakistan for which millions of Muslims gave sacrifices in achieving a separate homeland of their own. Both big religious parties JUI and JUP were on the same page with the JI against the concept of Bhutto's Socialism. They all condemned it and criticized through their public rallies.

Maulana Maudoodi, emphasised greatly on the role of Islam in the society. The change for the political set up for the country for which he and his party the JI, was working was none except to bring the Islamic system. The truth according to Maudoodi was many Muslims living in country are just in the name of Muslims because he/she was born to a Muslim family (Maudoodi, 1985: 17), this does not mean that people follow religion in true sense. This was same for the people (particularly) Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (of PPP) in West and Mujeeb-u-Rehman (of Awami League) from the East Pakistan. Both political leaders were diverting people of Pakistan from the Islamic direction. The leadership of the JI, therefore emphasised on the Islamic principles for Pakistan. The Eastern wing of Pakistan was one thousand miles away from West Pakistan. There was no direct road route between both wings. Culturally both wings were very different from each other. The only binding factor in uniting both wings was Islam. When the leadership of the Eastern wing demanded for more aggressive stance against their Muslim brothers (of western wing), the JI leadership tried to fill this gap through religion. In the west wing of country he viewed Mr. Bhutto's Socialism as the threat to Islam. Therefore, much emphasis was given in order to counter this atheist ideology in an Islamic country.

The major political parties' leadership though were Muslims. He put more energies in West Pakistan because of the concept of Socialism. As almost the major political actors contesting for the general elections were (all) Muslims; the political party leaders who claim that they are according to Islam and associate Socialism with Islam; to him being a ruler of a Muslim state does not mean that it is an Islamic state. The Islamic state is one according to him which is governed according to the principles of Islam, according to the *Sharia* of the prophet. The *Sharia* is the way and path for the believer (Maudoodi, 1985). To this government, he called it as a Theo-Democracy. In which the government will be run by a pious Muslim with the consultation of the pious learned religious scholars i.e., the *Shura*. This Theo-Democracy would be totally different from the western type of democracy, in which sovereignty only rest in God Almighty alone

and the legislators and executive be constituted with only consultations i.e. the *Shura*. Only this would be workable solution to the political problems. He strongly believed that Islam gives new shape to human beings with a new social order.

For Maudoodi "Islam is a universal and comprehensive way of life; it is a well ordered system, a consistent whole with set answers to all problems. Its fundamental principle is *Tawheed* (believe in oneness of Allah), the unity and the sovereignty of Allah. The scheme of life envisaged by Islam is known as *Sharia* and is established on the bedrock of faith. It is on the foundation of the edifice of the moral, social, political and economic system. The ideal Islamic society consists of people who, believe in Islam, have liberated themselves from all allegiances except to Allah; such a society is free and theo-democratic" (Maudoodi, 1960:5).

The modernity will also be corrected of its evil practices by only Islam. The only solution not only for Pakistan but to the world problems lies not in the socialism but in Islam. He gave detailed account of what and how Islamic way of life is and how to implement true Islamic notions of governing the state.

The other religious parties also denounced Socialism or the Islamic Socialism concept of Mr. Bhutto. The JI, launched a fight against his Socialism. The *Yamu-e-Shakot-e-Islam* (the triumph of Religious Day) was observed throughout the country. The exodus mass rallies, gatherings and speeches were held in order to denounce the western ideology in Pakistan. The religious leadership united together to protect Islamic ideology. The Ulema also gave religious verdicts i.e. *fatwas*, in order to get public support for religious circles. However, on number of issues religious parties differ each other. This was the main hurdle of getting the popular support. This could be one of the main reasons of not winning the elections as votes were divided on the religious lines such as *Sunni, Brelvi, Shia* etc.

Election Results

The outcome of the heated debates on religion during 1970-71 election brought tremendous change in Pakistan. It was first time in the history where the religion was debated during the elections. The role of religious parties was vivid as they only focused on religious life for the people of Pakistan. They didn't focused on the economic problems of people of Pakistan. There was great economic disparity among the Eastern and the Western wings and was believed during that the 22 families were controlling two-thirds of the country's economy (Burki, 1988). The socio-economic programme under new ideology of Socialism, Islamic Socialism or Islamic Masawat was very attractive for the poor people of *Riksaw wala*¹⁴, *tangewala*¹⁵, farmers etc. because they believe their life would be changed with this new thinking of Mr. Bhutto. The nationalisation programme of the PPP and the restriction of the land for landlords was also good signs for the poor people of Pakistan because by that way they would get right of the agriculture land if continuously working on that land as promised by Mr. Bhutto. On the other hand the socio-economic programmes of Awami League of Mujeeb-u-Rehman (from eastern wing) was greatly appreciated by their community i.e. Bengali. The six points programme of Mujeeb was viewed in Bengal as the panacea of grievances of the eastern wing of Pakistan. For Bengali it was the *Magna Carta*.

The religious parties such as JI, JUP and JUI only got few seats, on the other hand the PPP got overwhelming majority by securing 81 from 138 seats from the west wing and the AL of Mujeeb by securing 160 from 162 seats in the East wing of the country. The JI, got 4 out of 151 NA seats and 4 out of 331 at provincial level (one in each province; Baluchistan, Sindh, NWFP-now Khyber Pakhtunkhawa and Eastern Wing-now Bangladesh). The other religious parties such as JUI got 7 NA seats and the JUP seven. Both the JUI and JUP got victory over the JI, by securing the election results showed the overwhelming victory of the AL party. However, Mr. Bhutto's PPP managed to secure her second position and in second line to the power. It was

¹⁴ Poor people drive motor bike (auto-riksha) to carry passengers like taxi.

¹⁵ Poor people use horses like rikshaw to carry passengers like taxi.

clear that if military general (CMLA) would allow majority party to form government it would be none other than the Mujeeb, a person which is believed to be not trustworthy according to the West Pakistan politicians. Therefore delay in transferring power tactic was used by the CMLA, general Yahya Khan, who later imposed martial law in East Pakistan. The military generals might have thought that they could silence eastern population by guns however the political tension widened. The Bengali opposed the Pakistan government and started guerrilla warfare in the name of *Mukhti Bahini* and with the help of India they managed to get a separate homeland of their own in the name of Bangladesh on 16 December, 1971. The full account of election results are seen in the table below:

Table 1. Election Results, 1970-1971

Parties	West Pakistan				East Pakistan	Total
	Punjab	Sindh	Khyber-Pakhtunkhawa (former NWFP)	Baluchistan		
PPP	62	18	1			
Jamaat-e-Islami (JI)	1	2	1	0	0	4
JUI	0	0	6	1	0	7
JUP	4	3	0	0	0	7
Awami League	0	0	0	0	160	160

Source: see Dawn, December 21, 1970; Observer, January 20, 1971. Online available at: <http://chagataikhan.blogspot.co.uk/2014/10/pakistan-votes-1970-by-craig-baxter.html>

The general elections witnessed the rise of religion in the politics of Pakistan. The religion was politicised in order to achieve the political aims and objectives. It can be said that it was first time that the religion was publically demonstrated throughout the country. Though religion was debated in 1964-65 elections but the way it was expressed by the secular (Bhutto) politicians was never been expressed before openly, and publically. Despite the popular slogans of religious parties particularly of the JI, that it would bring Pakistan on the Islamic principles, Islam in danger, Islamic way of life, Islam, the only panacea for all problems etc.; but failed to succeed in the election. The election results resulted in the separation of Eastern part of Pakistan and became Bangladesh on 16 December 1971 (Afzal, 2001). It should be noted that the eastern part of Pakistan was 1000 miles away from the western part (Feldman, 1972), nor direct land route except through sea.

After independence in 1947, the only binding factor for both wings was only the religion i.e. Islam. Apart from that their living style, dining and language were completely different (Umar, 2006). The popular religious attraction could not hold two wings of the country together and East Pakistan became Bangladesh. The religion could have served as bond between two parts if adjustments to some extent could have been made by the West Pakistan politicians. Various reasons are responsible for this separation but they are beyond the scope of this research. Many writers and intellectuals believed that the creation of Bangladesh as an independent country marked the end of the concept of Two-Nation Theory¹⁶, the basis for the establishment of Pakistan.

¹⁶ The theory was propounded by Muslim intellectual Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in 1867 while speaking to the commissioner of Benares when Hindi language in Deonagri script was to be implemented by the British (demanded by Hindus in subcontinent). To this Sir Syed stated that from now on Muslims and Hindus will not

Interestingly, the national elections brought new debate in Pakistan. The quest for religion was played by nearly all parties. It is interesting that the religion was main factor during the Pakistan movement; however, the same factor didn't work well for the religious parties during these elections. It is ironic that religious parties managed to gather huge crowds in their favour throughout the country but election results shows opposite. Mr. Bhutto played politics very well. He engaged his strongest opponent Maulana Maudoodi in explaining his position to the people of Pakistan, where he was accused of not being a patriot Pakistani due to his initial opposition to the Pakistan movement and his fatwa of war in Kashmir is not Jihad. Much of Maudoodi time and energy was on clarifying his position during the Pakistan movement and his verdict on *Jihad* in Kashmir. Further participation of other religious parties such as JUI and JUP divided the religious votes and hampered the JI in the election. This division benefited Mr. Bhutto in West Pakistan and Sheikh Mujeeb in the East Pakistan.

Conclusion

The inter-play of religion brought secular leadership under Mr. Bhutto in power after the 1970-71 election who remained in power till 1977. He propounded the concept of Islamic Socialism and believed it will improve the socio-economic conditions of the people of Pakistan. The religious parties opposed it vehemently and emphasised that such ideology was against the teachings of Islam and particularly in the country like Pakistan which was created in the name of Islam. Despite the powerful religious demands by the Islamists in opposing the socialists ideology they did not won majority of the seats on the other hand Mr. Bhutto's party (PPP) won with majority in West Pakistan and formed the government.

The concept of Islamic socialism can be considered as the vital for Pakistan if it was implemented properly, sincerely and honesty. This concept has further strengthened the religious forces in Pakistan, as they were already weary of the atheist ideology i.e. the Socialism (as they called it). Thus the politicisation of religion was made to such an extent without considering their consequences. How it will be viewed in a country like Pakistan? Will it strengthen or diminish the religious fervour in country? The subsequent years witnessed its tremendous effects in Pakistani society. If one can look deep into the concept of Islamic socialism it can be found that it has great potential in bringing change in the life of the poor peoples to which the PPP stands for. The concept was politicised to such an extent that common people viewed it as the salvation of their problems. However, when those objectives (of poor people) didn't accomplished, it frustrated them and lost trust in the political leadership.

The Islamic socialism might have succeeded in Pakistan if people's basic life needs such as health, education, economy and security have been fulfilled. Apart from other factors the fall of Mr. Bhutto's government in later years could be attributed to the failure of such ideology because he could not delivered as the life of common man remained the same and his religious promises remained the same which were highlighted by the Islamists (under the *Nizam-e-Mustafa*) and resulted in his dismissal in 1977.

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live together. Both communities are different from each other culturally as well as religiously. Muslims under Muslim League continued their political struggle and achieved a separate homeland for themselves in 1947.

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