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"Whose Fallure in Pakistan?"

Dr. Kaleem Siddiqui's articlo "Whose Failure in Pakistan?" (Impact, 2:15, 22 Dec. 1972-11, Jan. 1973) is thought-provoking in more respects than one. He is correct when he says that the failure of the political leadership of Pakistan. cannot be laid at the door of Islam, But his observations about 'Maulana Maudoodi and his Jamaat-e- Islami' betray lack of information or a hasty generalization, or both. The Jamaat-e-Islami did not become identified with the status quo, instead it alone rebelled against the status quo and paid dearly for it'. On the other hand the parties that represented the status quo were 'successful' because they did not attack the traditional scats of power, which the Jamaat had done. Sheikh Mujib's Awami League and Mr. Bhutto's Peoples Party represented directly or indirectly the power- complex of Pakistan politics-bureaucracy, feudal and industrial interests, foreign powers and the traditional ground forces. The Jammat-e-Islami was too much of a rebel to the system and so committed to change it as to be accepted or even tolerated by the establishment. The slogans of the Awami League or the PPP must not confuse any perceptive political analyst. One must try to peep beneath their very thin veneer.

Any one who has some understanding of the political realities in Pakistan would find it difficult to agree with Dr. Siddiqui's other view that 'Maudoodi and the Jamaat also became identified with ritualised Islam". Here again he shows ignoranco or simplicity. In fact what he terms ritualized Islam was represented by Jamiat ul-Ulema Pakistan and the Jamiat-e-Ulema Islam, and if the 1970 election results were a reliable indicator (which many analysts dispute) of political success, this 'ritualised Islam' fared much better than the anti-status quo Islam of the Jamaat-e-Islami (the two Jamiats secured central seats as against 4 by the Jamaat). In at least two provinces of West Pakistan one of them even fared better than the PPP.

Dr. Siddiqui states that Maudoodi committed the most elementary of mistakes in predicting political behavior on the assumption of peoples belief. Any one who cares to study the Manifesto of the Jamaat or any other literature would agree that Dr. Siddiqui has perhaps tried to read some- thing in the mind of Maudoodi, which was not there. The entire Movement of the Jamaat was directed towards the problem of rebuilding the broken bridge between belief and behavior, individual and social, According to Maudoodi's analysis the real problem that besets the Muslims is the disruption of the link between belief and action. He does argue that action must follow belief but does not presuppose that this would come about automatically. He did not predict political behavior on the basis of religious belief, on the other hand his efforts precisely were and are directed towards awakening the consciousness that this should. The Jamaat as a movement is nothing else but an effort to educate create a new social and political commitment to one's belief. The approach covers not merely the 'salvation of the soul' but is also directed equally to transforming this 'immediate business of living. Maudoodi has tried to integrate 'belief' and 'reason' because one without the other is meaningless. Perhaps Maudoodi's failure lies in not pursuing the path of exploitation of politics, or of slogan-mongering. But he instead aimed at an ideological revolution through political education and rational persuasion. That is why the Jamaat has scored better amongst the educated as against the unknowing classes. Over eighty per cent of the 2 million votes the Jamaat got in 1970 came from the hearts of the cities. In Karachi it got about thirty per cent of the votes cast. In East Pakistan its position was second to that of the Awaml League; while the Jamaat received 10% of the total votes cast, 12% were shared between some ofurteen parties in the Opposition.

The post-1970 and continued success of the Islami Jamiat-e-Talaba in almost all the colleges and universities of West Pakistan can also be seen as a measure of success of this policy of rational persuasion. The Jamaat has yet to cover a vast ground, but it is not guilty of assuming that political behavior follows automatically from religious beliefs.

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