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Mawdudi and the Islamic State
CHARLES J. ADAMS

No discussion of the demand for an Islamic state in Pakistan and no account of the contemporary resurgence of Islam would be complete without attention to the major role played by Abul Ala Mawdudi in these movements. By far the most powerful and effective factors that worked to create sentiment for an Islamic state in the years immediately after the partition of the Indian subcontinent and the creation of Pakistan were Mawdudi and the movement which he founded and headed, the Jamaat-i-Islami. Indeed, it would be difficult to think of any issue of religious significance that has arisen in Pakistani public life concerning which the same could not be said. Mawdudi was, until his death in 1979 but especially to the time of his resignation as amir of the Jamaat-i-Islami in 1972, the best known, most controversial, and most highly visible of all the religious leaders of the country. He poured his energy unstintingly into speeches, writings, and religious and political activities, leaving behind a rich heritage of literature and thought on most of the issues that have troubled Pakistan over the years. The number, size, and range of the published writings from his pen in the periods both before and after the founding of Pakistan are truly remarkable. They are evidence of an altogether unusual degree of devotion and great creativity. Although these works were produced originally in Urdu primarily for a Pakistani or Indian audience, many have been translated into other languages of both the Islamic and the Western worlds. Thus, Mawdudi has attracted attention outside the Indian subcontinent, especially in other Muslim countries where he is now revered as one of the foremost modern exponents and interpreters of Islam. Today Mawdudi must rank among the most popular and respected authors in the Islamic domains, if indeed he is not the single most widely read writer among Muslims at the present time. His writings give strong expression to the themes basic to the present-day Islamic resurgence.

When the time comes for the religious history of Islam in the twentieth century to be written, Mawdudi’s name will unquestionably have a prominent and an honored place in its pages.
Mawardi, the great Islamic jurist and thinker, was born in the early 13th century. He was a prominent figure in the development of Islamic law and jurisprudence. Mawardi's works on Islamic law and the organization of the Muslim community had a significant impact on the Islamic world.

Mawardi's contributions to Islamic law were groundbreaking. He emphasized the importance of the welfare of the community and the need for a centralized authority to govern the Muslim state. His work, "Al-Isha" (The Foundation of the State), outlined the principles of a just and justiciable state. Mawardi's ideas were based on the concept of the "ummah," which refers to the community of Muslims.

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Mawardi's work has had a lasting impact on Islamic law and jurisprudence. His ideas on the welfare of the community and the need for a centralized authority to govern the Muslim state have been influential in the development of Islamic law. Mawardi's contributions to Islamic law and jurisprudence are still studied and discussed by scholars today.

In addition to his works on Islamic law, Mawardi also wrote extensively on other topics. His works on philosophy, politics, and religion have contributed to the understanding of Islamic thought and the development of Islamic civilization.

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But a majority of Muslims did not believe that this was the one nation along with all other Indians. They insisted that the Indian National Congress must be given a majority voice in the national assembly because it was the only way to ensure that the Muslims would be represented properly. However, the Indian National Congress was then a Minority party, with only two seats out of 400 seats in the national assembly.

The second task was to be the task of forming a service government. The Indian National Congress was not yet able to form a government. It was only in 1916 that the Indian National Congress was able to form a service government. However, it was not able to form a government for the entire country. It was only in 1920 that the Indian National Congress was able to form a government for the entire country.

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wrote a constitution for Pakistan, and the constitution-making process inextricably raised the question of the role of Islam in forming the institutions of the government and in determining its actions. Since the Pakistan movement as conducted by the Muslim League in pre-partition days was concerned largely with the mundane economic, social, and political interests of the Muslim population and since it was based on a conception of Muslim nationalism that apparently aimed at a secular and democratic state for Muslims much like that which the Indian National Congress sought to create in India, Mawdudi felt that quick action had to be taken to assure that the desires of the majority of Muslims for an Islamic system were not thwarted. Mawdudi saw the achievement of independence in 1947 as a revolution, and he called it by that name (im파라), but it was, he said, merely a revolution in the external circumstances of the Muslims and did not effect the inward and essential changes that Islam demanded. The movement for an Islamic state sought to give the country a definite Islamic stamp before it settled into some other and unacceptable mould whose impression would be very difficult to eliminate.

Mawdudi and the Jamaat-i-Islami were not alone in aspiring for the Islamic state. They were joined by a variety of other bodies and individuals, notable among them the ulama organization, the Jamaati Ulama Pakistan, and had behind them the sympathies of the mass of the population. All parties concerned were in agreement that Pakistan was to be an Islamic state though their respective visions of such a state differed widely. Mawdudi himself had discussed the nature and requirements of an Islamic policy in his writings from 1939 onwards. The expectations that people entertained about the creation of an ideal Islamic order that would solve all their problems were strongly reinforced in the difficult days immediately following partition. Faced with the almost insuperable problems of organizing a state, of dealing with refugees, and of conducting the war in Kashmir, the politicians appealed to Muslim religious sentiments as a means of rallying, uniting, and pacifying the population. It was made to seem that Islam contained the resolution of all difficulties, the one possibility for a true paradise on earth. The result was a wave of enthusiasm for an Islamic policy that swept over Pakistan, leaving the authorities little choice but to accede. From one perspective the leadership shared this enthusiasm because its general liberal and modernist version of Islam also embraced the concept of an Islamic policy. For many conservatives, however, the conception of the Islamic order held by the leadership proved difficult to distinguish from outright secularism. There is, therefore, no doubt that the Islamic state agitation was a source of great concern for the political leaders and the bureaucracy of the country who viewed it as a threat both to their own power and to the ideal of liberal democracy that inspired most of them. The government was in an uncomf...
religious parties supported these demands as did the majority of the general public. Violence soon began with the loss of Ahmadis lives and destruction of property. Because of delays by the federal government in taking steps to deal with the situation, it had finally to be controlled by the imposition of martial law in March 1953 as things were getting out of hand. Among other actions of the military authorities were the arrest of prominent ulama and of the leaders of the Jamaat-e-Islami. Mawdudi himself was brought before the military court for a part in what had happened—specifically for the publication of a pamphlet entitled "The Qadiani Question,"29 Qadiani being another name for the Ahmadis.

The summary decision of the court was greeted with a great public outcry, especially in religious circles, condemning Mr. Mawdudi to four years rigorous imprisonment in May of the same year. The sentence was not carried out, however, and Mawdudi was released after twenty months' confinement.

Although Mawdudi had not personally participated in the agitation against the Ahmadis nor was the Jamaat-e-Islami officially committed to the "direct action" of the agitators,31 he clearly had sympathy for the movement. He saw the agitation as an opportunity for advancing some of his own constitutional proposals for the Islamic state and for strengthening his hand in the political game. In consequence he joined with the ulama in discussions of the Ahmadis issue and for a time even acted as their leader and spokesman. The period of the anti-Ahmadis agitation represents the peak of Mawdudi's influence and prestige among the members of the religious class, and, as well, the peak of his influence in the affairs of Pakistan. That he was able to gain so high a standing among the ulama is somewhat astonishing in view of his strong criticism of his colleagues and his conservatism dating back to the 1930s and in view of his unwillingness in his constitutional proposals to accord to these venerable religious authorities the role of final arbiters in all matters Islamic. Mawdudi, however, was a very persuasive man, one not given to extremes in his manner of expression, and with a strong bent toward leadership he was able to use this point to advantage and shoulders above most of the ulama, and it was perhaps only to be expected that he would come to the fore as his spokesman. In any event, his role in drafting some of the documents which the ulama issued in regard to the constitutional issues in Pakistan was decisive.

When the first constitution of Pakistan was finally promulgated, in 1956, it was not the result of open public debate either in the new Constituent Assembly (the first one had been dissolved by the Governor General in 1954) or elsewhere. Rather, it was the outcome of some strenuous backroom work by the Prime Minister, Chaudhri Muhammad Ali, and was promulgated suddenly with very little notice or preparation of the public. Nonetheless, it was welcomed enthusiastically in the country, and among those who acclaimed and accepted it were Mawdudi and the Jamaat-e-Islami.

If Mawdudi's attitude toward the Objectives Resolution passed by the first Constituent Assembly was surprising, his approval of the 1956 Constitution was even more so. The constitution envisaged a government somewhat akin to the parliamentary democracy. To be sure, it contained elements of a specifically Islamic nature, but many of these were vague, and the most important of them, namely, the provision that no law would be enacted or allowed to continue in force that was contrary to the Quran and Sunna, was specifically declared to be non-justifiable, thus depriving it of real force. The constitution was a compromise between the views of the modernist liberal-political leadership, Westernized intellectuals, and the bureaucracy on the one hand, and more conservative religious groups on the other. On balance, however, the content of the constitution and the kind of state that it aimed to create were strongly tilted in the direction of the modernist preferences. In accepting it Mawdudi not only seemed to deny much of what he had previously insisted upon as characteristic of an Islamic state but, indeed, left intact very little that would distinguish him from the liberal constitutionalists he had previously so bitterly criticized for their un-Islamic ways.

The promulgation of the 1956 Constitution effectively brought to an end widespread discussion of the role of Islam in the constitution of Pakistan. Not long afterward, in early 1958, the country came under military rule, and with the exception of the interregnum of the Bhutto era, has remained under military control until this day. Both Mawdudi and the Jamaat-e-Islami continued to be active politically when permitted to do so by government, and they continued to see their ultimate purpose as the establishment of a genuine Islamic order in Pakistan. Many of the issues which they raised were of relevance to constitutional law, but the atmosphere of general public concern for the Islamic state and of interest in its nature and the means of achieving it was not returned. Only to a limited extent did some of these questions resurface in connection with the constitution promulgated by Ayub Khan and at the time of the Ahmadis issue in 1974. The role of Mawdudi and his movement from this point onward became specifically political in the sense of focusing on particular issues and of trying to achieve some degree of political power. His most important contributions to the understanding of the Islamic state belong, therefore, to the preparation period and to the period of Pakistan's history leading up to the ill-fated 1956 Constitution.

UNDERSTANDING THE ISLAMIC STATE

We may now consider the content of Mawdudi's conception of the Islamic state.11 The need and justification for an Islamic state follow from Mawdudi from the nature of the universal order. The Islamic state, therefore, is part of a broad,
integrated theology whose cardinal principle is the sovereignty of nature's creative Lord. There is, Mawdudi reasoned, basing himself on the Quran as well as his own observation, a law that governs everything that exists. That law is nothing other than the will of the Creator who ordained that things should be as they are, that the heaven should be above the earth, that the night should follow the day, and so forth. Most of nature—all of it, in fact, except the human race and they only in respect to some social and moral matters—necessarily conforms to the divine law. Some men may entertain the illusion of their own independence, but there is no independence, all in reality is ruled by God. In this sense the natural order respects the divine will and obeys it and man for that reason said to be Muslim, or in other words to be among those who submit themselves to the lordship of God. It is not necessarily so with men, however, who alone among all creation have been endowed with free will or the capacity to choose whether in their behavior they shall follow the will of their creator or not. There is no question, however, that the divine law has laid down a law (shari'ah) for human conduct just as it has ordained a law for everything else. One's attitude toward that law is the central issue of human life; upon it turns the decision whether one shall submit to the divine will for the way in which life should be lived or whether he shall rebel against it and go astray into error. Submission (Islam) brings in its train earthly blessing and heavenly reward while rebellion and refusal to submit produce only evil, unhappiness, and eternal punishment. Thus, the historical controversy that Islam has awakened has not had to do with whether God is the creator or not but with man's willingness or refusal to recognize him as Lord; the issue is not the control of nature but rather who shall claim the allegiance of men.14

The law that God has prescribed for men to follow is readily accessible to all15 who may be interested to learn its provisions; it is set forth in the Book of God, the Quran, and in the lives of those through whom God has revealed his book, the Prophets; but especially in the practice of the last Prophet, Muhammad. Prophecy is the means chosen by the divine to give concrete expression and exemplification to its will. These two, the Quran and the Sunna of the Prophet therefore, are the ultimate authorities for all true Muslims in every question that may concern either their individual or their collective lives. When the Quran and the Prophet speak on an issue, there is no higher court of appeal. If one fails to displease or impugn them would be an offense against the awesome majesty of God, to commit the unpardonable sin of associating others with the prerogatives that are exclusively His. There is one true and unimpeachable source of law, one rightful law-giver and only one, who has chosen to make his shari'ah known through the agencies of revelation and prophecy. Everything that men enact or observe as law in their societies is to be measured against the dictates and the spirit of the ultimate law found in the two great sources of all Islamic inspiration.

Now, the shari'ah in both its broad objectives and its specific provisions envisages more than the fostering of good and the avoidance of evil in the lives of individuals. To be sure, the shari'ah prescribes the modes of worship for the individual and gives guidance for personal morality and action along with many other things of purely individual concern, but it also prescribes directives for collective life as well. These directives touch such matters as "family relationships, social and economic affairs, administration, rights and duties of citizens, judicial system, laws of war and peace and international relations. In short it embraces all the various departments of life... The shari'ah is a complete scheme of life and an all-embracing social order where nothing is superfluous and nothing lacking." The shari'ah is also an organic and integrated whole whose many aspects and provisions all flow logically and ineluctably from the same basic principles. The organic and all embracing nature of the divine law Mawdudi believed to have been forgotten or neglected by Muslims for most of their history since the time of the Rightly Guided Caliphs. What is presently known as Islamic law, he said, is only part of the larger whole. It has no independent existence and can neither be understood nor enforced apart from the total system to which it belongs.17 The establishment of the Islamic system in its entirety was the goal toward which he strove; then alone could the provisions of Islamic law be properly implemented.

One of the implications of the organic understanding of the shari'ah that is repeated over and over again in Mawdudi's writings, almost like a refrain, is that the Islamic shari'ah does not recognize any division between religion and other aspects of life, and more specifically between religion and the state. There is, he insists, no area of man's activity and concern to which the shari'ah does not address itself with specific divine guidance. Thus the cultivation of private piety, worship, and the ordering of the individual's relationship with God, the matters that are normally identified as "religion" in popular parlance, do not satisfy the demands of the shari'ah. True Islamic faith must issue into social actions and attitudes, must strive for the creation of an Islamic society as well as for personal righteousness. Secularism which Mawdudi equated with the separation of religion and state or with religiousness, he considered to be the very contrary of Islam since it opened the way, as he saw it, to the exclusion of all morality, ethics, or human decency from the controlling mechanisms of society. This, he thought, was precisely what had happened in the Western world where governments and social bases he never tired of condemning as unutterably and irredeemably corrupt. In his mind, morality of any kind was simply inconceivable without religion and the sanction of eternal punishment to support it. When religion is relegated to the personal realm, men inevitably give
way to their bestial impulses and perpetrate evil upon one another. In fact, it is precisely because they wish to escape the restraints of morality and the divine guidance that men espouse secularism. The evils that arise from the domination of men over men will not recur in the Islamic system because it will be based on the life of the state to be carried on in isolation from the dictates of religion and the divine law. From the perspective of the shari'ah, life is a seamless whole that must be lived in its entirety under the perspective and within the limits set by God.

A state or some other instrument that will exercise political power is the necessary consequence of this conception of a universal divinely ordained pattern for the life of men in the world. Not only would the realization of the objective of the shari'ah to foster good and interdict evil in society be impossible without the agency of the state and the power it commands, but the shari'ah itself specifically prescribes the creation of a state as witnessed in certain verses of the Quran but above all in the examples of the Prophet and the Rightly Guided Caliphs.

...the reforms which Islam wants to bring about cannot be carried out merely by sermons. Political power is essential for their achievement...the struggle for obtaining control over the organs of the state when motivated by the urge to establish the din (religion) and the Islamic shari'ah and to enforce the Islamic injunctions, is not only permissible but is positively desirable and as such obligatory.16

Accordingly, in Mawdudi's understanding, shari'ah also provides the basic outline of the state's nature and characteristics. Guidance for Muslims about the state which they are obligated to establish, or in other words, materials for the constitution of an Islamic state, are to be found in four principal sources: the Quran, the Sunna of the Prophet, the conventions and practices of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, and in the rulings of the great jurists of the Islamic tradition.17 A careful study of all these sources is necessary to establish a state of which the state as defined in the Quran, the Sunna of the Prophet, the conventions and practices of the Rightly Guided Caliphs, and in the rulings of the great jurists of the Islamic tradition. A careful study of all these sources is necessary to establish a state where the sovereignty is defined as such, readily accessible, and well known is, according to Mawdudi, sufficient for the implicit and unwritten state constitution set out in the shari'ah to be reduced to systematic written form. For any careful student of these basic documents the necessity of an Islamic state will be inescapably clear, and it will also be abundantly evident precisely what an Islamic state is. The criticism of the many individuals—mostly liberal and Westernized modernists—who ridiculed the idea of an Islamic state as saying that the basic sources of Islamic faith offer no guidance about the practical aspects of establishing and forming a state, he rejected as ignorance or deliberate mischief-making. Pakistan's constitutional problem, he saw as relatively simple to bring to explicit expression what had so far been only implicit, to transform an unwritten constitution into a written one.18

MAWUDI AND THE ISLAMIC STATE

What then is an Islamic state? There are different ways in which this question might be approached and Mawdudi principally used two: 1) through discussion of the basic principles on which the state is erected; and 2) through consideration of its institutions and specific characteristics. We may consider these one by one.

Basic Principles

The first principle of the Islamic state is its recognition of the sovereignty of God. The practical meaning of this recognition is that God and not man is the source of law in a Muslim society.20 God must be the legal sovereign as well as the Lord of nature. No man, therefore, should be allowed to pass down orders in his own right, and no one should be obligated to obey such orders if they are given, for the prerogative of command belongs only to God.21 Neither any individual, although he be a king, nor any class or group of people, nor the state, nor even the people as a whole has the right to make law. God is the unique lawmaker and authority. There can be no legislation independent of His will in the Islamic state, and no one can change what God has decreed. The Quran denies the right of men to exercise any discretion in matters decided by God and the Prophet.22 The Islamic state must, therefore, be founded on God's law as delivered through the Prophet. Prescriptions or proscriptions laid down by rulers or governments will bear authority and be legitimate only to the extent that they rest directly upon what God has decreed or follow from it. If a government disregards the law revealed by God, its authority will not be binding upon Muslims.

Mawdudi acknowledged that the concept of sovereignty is difficult to comprehend and that it has caused great confusion for political theorists. Sovereignty is, he says, "the most disputed issue of political science." The entire problem arises, however, because men try to locate sovereignty in the wrong place; "the political philosophers have tried to place the cap of sovereignty on man, a being for whom it was never intended and whom it, therefore, never fits." True sovereignty can be ascribed only to God who is Creator, Sustainer, and Ruler of the universe. Being God, Mawdudi argues, the frame of the order of the universe, God's trace is the root cause of most human misery and calamity to the tendency of men to dominate over other men, either by claiming themselves to be rabbis or iblas or by investing objects, idols, political parties, nations, ideologies, etc. with the qualities of rabb or ibla and then manipulating the credulity of other men for their own purposes.23 These problems, both the theoretical issues and the evil consequences of misconceived sovereignty, are obviated in the Islamic state by
the state's uncompromising submission to the sovereignty of God. Every issue of law in an Islamic policy must be referred back to the will of God by reference to the Quran and the Sunna as the ultimate authorities. Thus, the basic source of everything the state will do is the divine will, and in this sense God is the only lawmaker.

The second basic principle of the Islamic state is the authority of the Prophet. The Prophets, all of them, are representatives of God, and in that capacity they exercise the political power assigned to them. They are selected among the obedience of those who have pledged themselves to accept the sov-

erignty of God. "Whoever obeys the Messenger obeys Allah," declares the Quran (S. 4.80) Thus, the kings of the prophets are the basis for hudud and the Sunna being considered one of the ultimate bases of law.

The third basic principle of the Islamic state is its status as the vicegerent of God. The state does not make or enforce law in its own name but acts as the agent of its suzerain. Again, the basis for this principle is Quranic, found in Sura 24:55 where God speaks of appointing caliphs or vicegerents in the earth. An Islamic state should properly, therefore, be called a caliphate for such is its nature. At the mundane level when it is considered alongside other states in the world, the Islamic state may be called a sovereign state because it exercises sovereignty within the territory that it controls. This sovereignty, however, does not extend to disregard of the law of God and gives it no duty either to change that law or to go beyond it.

Further, the Quran vests vicegerency as the entire Muslim citizenship of the Islamic state. The right to rule belongs to the whole community of believers. There is no reservation or special prerogative in favor of any particular individ-
al, family, clan, or class. Such a society cannot tolerate class divisions, and it will not permit disabilities for citizens on the basis of birth, social status, or profession. Instead it must give unrestricted scope for personal achievement, always of course, within the limits prescribed by God. Nor is there any room for the dictatorship of one individual or a group of persons. The ruler in an Islamic state is only one caliph or vicegerent of God among an entire commu-
nity of caliphs, and he rules only because the other caliphs have delegated their caliphate to him. He is answerable both to them on the one hand and to God on the other, as indeed all individual Muslims are directly answerable to God.

The ruler must enforce the all-embracing divine law, but he cannot legitimately go beyond its dictates to try to tell people what kind of dress they must wear, what script they must use when they write, or how they must educate their children. His personal whims or preferences count for nothing since he is but the agent of the agents of God on earth. Thus, "popular vicegerency"... forms the basis of democracy in an Islamic state while 'popular sovereignty' is its basis in a secular state. The practical meaning of this popular vicegerency is that

the government of the Islamic state can be formed only with the consent of all the Muslims, or at least a majority of them, and can remain in office only so long as it continues to enjoy their confidence.

The fourth principle of the Islamic state is that it must conduct its affairs by mutual consultation (shura) among all the Muslims. While Islam does not pre-
scribe the institutional form in which consultation must occur, leaving it to the community to devise the best and fairest means as may suit the conditions of a particular time and place, it does insist that all people concerned in a decision must be consulted, either directly or through their designated representatives whom they trust. Further, this consultation should be completely free and impartial without duress of any kind; otherwise it is hardly to be considered a consultation at all. The rule of consultation applies in the very first instance to the choice of the head of state, and because consultation must occur, there can be no question of dictatorship, monarchy, or despotism in the Islamic context.

Another of the implications of consultation is to deprive the ruler under any circumstances of the right and the power to set aside the constitution at his own will, for had he that power, he would be virtually uncontrollable.

The requirement that Islam lays down for mutual consultation and consent among the Muslims is the basis for the claim that the Islamic state is a demo-
cratic state. This democratic idea is expressed quite clearly in the Quran. God, it says, is a democratic; something that is not to be compared with any other system of government that the world has ever known. It rests upon the twin principles of the sovereignty of God and the caliphate of man. It may be called democratic in a sense because it bases itself upon God's command and will not depart from it. At the same time it is also democratic because it it allows every Muslim the right for the realization of God's will on earth and demands their constant mutual consultation in the community. The Muslims, Mawdudi says, have a limited popular sovereignty, expressed principally in their right to depose the head of government and their right to express themselves on every public issue.

All administrative matters and all questions about which no explicit injunction is to be found in the sharah are settled by the consensus among the Muslims. Every Muslim who is capable and qualified to give a sound opinion on matters of Islamic law, is entitled to interpret the law of God when such interpretation becomes nec-

essary. In this sense the Islamic polity is democratic.
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

The Constituent Assembly was established on August 12, 1946, to draft a constitution for the newly independent India. It was composed of 389 members elected from all parts of the country, representing various political parties and groups. The assembly met for the first time on October 1, 1946, and continued to function until March 26, 1950, when the Constitution of India came into force.

The Constituent Assembly was a representative body that was elected by the people of India. It was the first step towards the establishment of a democratic government in India. The assembly was responsible for drafting a constitution that would govern the country and ensure the rights and freedoms of its citizens.

The Constituent Assembly was composed of members who were elected from different regions and constituencies across India. They represented various political parties and groups, including the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League, and other smaller parties.

The Constituent Assembly was a significant event in the history of India. It marked the transition from British rule to self-governance, and the establishment of a democratic government. The Constitution of India, drafted by the Constituent Assembly, is considered to be one of the most progressive constitutions in the world, and it has remained the supreme law of India ever since.

Among the members of the Constituent Assembly, the Indian National Congress was the dominant political force, with many of its members holding key positions. The Muslim League also had a strong presence in the assembly, with many of its members serving as leaders and spokespeople.

The Constituent Assembly was a significant achievement in India's struggle for independence. It marked the end of British rule and the beginning of a new era of self-governance and democracy in India.

Specific Characteristics and Institutions of the Islamic State

The Islamic state is characterized by its unique political, social, and cultural institutions. These institutions are designed to support the goals of the Islamic state and to promote the values and beliefs of the Muslim community.

The Islamic state is governed by a religious and political system that is based on the principles of Islam. The government of the Islamic state is organized along religious and political lines, and it is designed to support the religious and cultural identity of the Muslim community.

The Islamic state is characterized by its emphasis on social justice, equality, and fraternity. The government of the Islamic state is responsible for ensuring the welfare of its citizens and for promoting the social and economic well-being of the community.

The Islamic state is characterized by its emphasis on education and culture. The government of the Islamic state is responsible for promoting education and cultural activities, and it is designed to support the education and cultural development of the Muslim community.

The Islamic state is characterized by its emphasis on environmental sustainability and resource conservation. The government of the Islamic state is responsible for promoting sustainable development and for protecting the environment.

The Islamic state is characterized by its emphasis on economic development and growth. The government of the Islamic state is responsible for promoting economic development and growth, and it is designed to support the economic well-being of the Muslim community.

The Islamic state is characterized by its emphasis on human rights and freedom. The government of the Islamic state is responsible for protecting the human rights and freedoms of its citizens, and it is designed to support the protection of human rights.
and the fascist and communist states of the modern world in their mutual espousal of totalitarianism, but as in the case of good and bad democracy he distinguished between good and bad totalitarianism. Islamic totalitarianism, he assured his readers, did not suppress individual liberties just as the limitations placed on popular sovereignty by Islam did not suppress human freedom but rather protected it. There also could be no hint of dictatorship in the Islamic state; it would, presumably, be a totalitarian theocracy. In comparison with the democracies, even with their emphasis on freedom on the one hand and the modern totalitarian states with the suppression of the individual on the other, Islam represented a balanced middle way that captured for itself the virtues of both of these extreme expressions of the political order while at the same time avoiding their excesses and shortcomings.

Individual liberties, it would appear, have to do with such things as styles of dress, the script to be used, the modes of the education of children, things mentioned above in connection with the limitations on the power of the ruler. Or alternatively, they may fall within the great category of acts that in Islamic law are classified as neutral or permitted, neither mandatory, recommended, hateful, nor forbidden; the neutral type of acts is by far the largest category of all. In connection with the rights of citizens Mawdudi also indicated some other restrictions on the power of the totalitarian state. It may not deprive its citizens of life, honor, or property unless Islamic law specifically justifies its doing so. It may deprive no one of personal liberty in the sense of incarcerating him without a just cause in law and due process. Mawdudi's own experience with the preventive detention statutes of Pakistan gave him good reason to qualify the totalitarian state in this regard. The state also must allow freedom of opinion and belief, permitting people even in organized groups, to hold such views as they will and peacefully to practice them so long as they do not disrupt the life of the state or attempt to impose their ideology on others by force. Nor where does Mawdudi enter into a detailed discussion of the precise limits of freedom in the Islamic state or explain how a state may both control everything and yet be limited in its power in certain respects, or leave a large area of conduct, indeed, the greater part of it, to individual discretion.

Another basic feature of the Islamic state consists in being an ideological state. "All those persons who, surrender themselves to the will of God are welded into a community known as the 'Muslim society' comes into being. Thus, this is an ideological society—a society radically different from those which spring from accidents of races, colour, or country." The cementing factor among the citizens of the Islamic state is the ideology that they all hold in common. This ideology aims at the human society, and the state is its instrument for that purpose. It follows that the state must uphold its ideology and protect it against every effort to subvert it. Every other ideological state, Mawdudi argues, does precisely the same thing, drawing the line at those activities which are calculated to destroy the very foundations of the system itself. The Islamic state does not insist that everyone living within its territories subscribe to its ideology, for it does permit the existence of minorities that are not Muslim and acts to protect them, but it clearly cannot permit the system to be attacked with impunity either from within or without. Two important consequences follow from the Islamic state being an ideological state. The first is that the state must be controlled and run exclusively by Muslims. It is of particular importance that the head of the state, the locus of all power and authority, should be Muslim, and others are rigorously excluded from that most important of all positions. Of almost equal weight is the need to have faithful Muslims in those other posts of responsibility where state policy is formed and the general orientation of the state's affairs determined. It is illogical in Mawdudi's eyes to expect people, non-Muslims, who do not believe in the Islamic ideology to uphold it and work out its consequences in the life of society. "It is a dictate of this very nature of the Islamic state that such a state should be run only by those who believe in the ideology on which it is based and in the Divine Law which it is assigned to administer." People of other religious persuasions may hold non-sensitive posts in an Islamic order, including fairly high ranks in the civil secretariat and even in the military, but they must be rigorously excluded from influencing policy decisions. Mawdudi held the same view with regard to the electoral system, his principal argument for the retention of the pre-partition separate electorates in Pakistan being the necessity to preserve the purity of expression of Muslim opinion without its being influenced or swayed by outside and alien factors. In British India separate electorates had been a political device to protect the rights of the Muslim minority and give it a voice against the majority; in Mawdudi's thought it had become a means of ensuring the continuing dominance of the majority and of ensuring that the minorities would have no real say in the life of the nation.

In this connection even more important for Mawdudi than the necessity for key officers and administrators to be technically Muslim was the need for them to be true and good Muslims as well. To uphold the Islamic ideology, they should be personally committed to everything that Islam enjoins and practice it in their individual lives. "The administrators of the Islamic state must be those whose whole life is devoted to the observance and enforcement of this Law, who not only agree with its reformatory programme and fully believe in it but thoroughly comprehend its spirit and are acquainted with its details." Mawdudi's vision of the government personnel of an Islamic state was that of a uniformly indoctrinated, disciplined, and cohesive cadre. Not only did he believe in a monolithic set of basic principles that would be fostered by a totalitarian government, but he apparently also saw no real room for disagreement or gen-
a discussion on basic matters within the ranks of government at any level, the nature and discipline were the keys to the ideal society that Islam seeks to create.

Caliph, or Amir: This is the major responsibility for the conduct of the state, and the real center of power. In the Islamic state, the term "Caliph," or "Amir," refers to the person who is responsible for the conduct of the state. He is the real center of power, and he is the one who is in charge of the state. The Caliph must be a Muslim, and he must have the qualities of a leader. He must be a man of wisdom, integrity, and justice. He must have the ability to make decisions, and he must have the ability to enforce those decisions. He must be able to keep peace and order, and he must be able to protect the people from harm. He must be a man of integrity, and he must be able to keep his promises.

The Caliph is the one who is in charge of the state. He is the one who makes the decisions, and he is the one who enforces those decisions. He must be a man of wisdom, and he must be able to make decisions that are in the best interests of the people.

Mawdood explains that the role of the Caliph is to be the representative of the people, to act as their servant, and to keep their interests in mind. The Caliph must be a man of integrity, and he must be able to keep his promises. He must be able to keep the peace and order, and he must be able to protect the people from harm. He must be a man of wisdom, and he must be able to make decisions that are in the best interests of the people.

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The fundamental matter in connection with the establishment of a legislative or consultative body in the Islamic state is the question of why there should be a legislative body at all. According to Mawdudi, the Islamic state is a legislative state, in that it has the duty to maintain the system of the Shari'a, the religious legal code of the Muslims. Mawdudi argues that this state will be a legislative body because the Islamic state is based on the Shari'a, which is a legislative code.

Mawdudi emphasizes that the legislative body should have the following characteristics:

1. The body should be elected by the people, not appointed by the ruler.
2. The body should have the power to make laws that are consistent with the Shari'a.
3. The body should have the power to ensure that the laws are implemented.
4. The body should have the power to punish those who violate the laws.

Mawdudi believes that the legislative body should be elected by the people because the Islamic state is a democratic state. He argues that the people have the right to elect their representatives to make laws that are consistent with the Shari'a.

Mawdudi's vision of the legislative body is aligned with the principles of democracy and the rule of law. However, the implementation of these principles in a Muslim majority state can be challenging due to the unique cultural and religious context.

Mawdudi's ideas on the legislative body in the Islamic state have been influential in the development of Islamic political thought. His ideas have been adopted by many Islamic political parties and movements around the world, including the Islamic Republic of Iran and the ruling party of Pakistan, the Pakistan Muslim League (PML-N).

The legislative body in the Islamic state is seen as a tool for the implementation of the Shari'a, which is the foundation of the Islamic state. The legislative body is expected to make laws that are consistent with the Shari'a, and to ensure that these laws are implemented and enforced.

Despite the challenges, the idea of a legislative body in the Islamic state has gained acceptance among many Muslims, especially in countries with large Muslim populations. The implementation of such a body will depend on the specific context and the political will of the leaders in power.
Mawdudi’s discussion of the operation of government in the period of the Prophet and the early years of the Ummah provides valuable insights into the role of the religious community in shaping the early Islamic state. He notes that the Prophet’s example was followed in the early years of the Ummah, and that the religion of Islam was intimately connected with the political and social life of the community. Mawdudi also highlights the importance of the hadith in the development of Islamic law and the role of the Ummah in interpreting and applying these principles.

Mawdudi’s analysis of the early Islamic state is significant because it provides a historical perspective on the development of Islamic law and the role of the Ummah in shaping the political and social order of the early Islamic state. His work has been influential in the development of political Islam and the contemporary Islamic resurgence in many parts of the world.

Mawdudi’s discussion of the early Islamic state also raises important questions about the relationship between religion and politics, and the role of the religious community in shaping the political order of society. These questions remain relevant today, and Mawdudi’s work provides an important perspective on these issues.

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CONCLUSIONS

As we have seen in the preceding sections, Mawadd's view on the issue of Islamic enaction is one that emphasizes the importance of understanding the principles of Islamic law in the context of contemporary social and political realities. He believes that the principles of Islamic law must be applied in a flexible and adaptive manner, taking into account the specific circumstances and challenges of the modern world.

Mawadd argues that the principles of Islamic law should be understood as guidelines rather than absolute rules. He emphasizes the importance of considering the specific circumstances and context in which a particular principle is applied, and he advocates for a pragmatic and adaptive approach to the application of Islamic law.

Mawadd's view is consistent with the broader trend of Islamic legal scholars who are seeking to reconcile the principles of Islamic law with the demands of modern society. This is a significant challenge, as Islamic law is based on a body of revealed text that is often seen as inflexible and rigid. However, as Mawadd notes, the principles of Islamic law are not static, but are adaptable and can be applied in a flexible manner to meet the needs of contemporary society.

Overall, Mawadd's view on the application of Islamic law is one that is both principled and pragmatic, and it offers a useful framework for understanding the complex issues that arise in the modern world. His approach is one that is both faithful to the principles of Islamic law and responsive to the demands of contemporary society.

In conclusion, Mawadd's view on the application of Islamic law is one that is both principled and pragmatic, and it offers a useful framework for understanding the complex issues that arise in the modern world. His approach is one that is both faithful to the principles of Islamic law and responsive to the demands of contemporary society.
thought to be a genuinely Islamic position, it is hard to be accepted, and there could be no possibility of disagreement about this. This understanding of Islam as a moralistic, ethically oriented community guided by the Koran and the sunna, was not the reality of Pakistan. Historically, its political leadership has been oriented toward secularism and development, not toward the promotion of Islamic values.

What we need is a group of people—leadership—comprising both the police and the political leadership, who can bring about the desired changes. This requires a strong and committed leadership that is willing to take the necessary steps to ensure the implementation of Islamic values.

As Amin of the Jamaat-e-Islami, Mawadda stood at the head of precisely the kind of group of men, organized on a buying-Islamic basis, that Pakistan needed for its realization of the Kingdom of God.

Notes
1. A list of Mawadda’s writings may be found in the annual report submitted to the government of Pakistan by the Jamaat-e-Islami.
3. The speech was entitled, “The Invaders of Islam and Its Demands,” and was published in the annual report of the Jamaat-e-Islami.
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The perspective is somewhat different when compared with the realization of the Islamic ideal for society. In this case, the Jamaat-e-Islami was not only concerned with the political changes that were necessary to bring about a society based on Islamic principles, but also with the moral and social changes that would accompany such a society. This was a more complex and challenging task, as it required not only political leadership, but also the participation of all members of society in the process of change.
The statement casts a strong light on the government's actions against Mawdudi in 1948 and on its subsequent treatment of him.


10. The pamphlet was issued prior to the ban on publications dealing with the Ahmadi question. Mawdudi was condemned, therefore, for publishing something that was not against the law at the time he composed and distributed it.

11. Some parts of the Jamaat, however, took an active role in the disturbances, especially in Karachi, as was brought out by the court of inquiry that investigated the anti-Ahmadi agitation.

12. Fortunately much of the relevant material has been assembled within the covers of a single volume and translated into English by Khurshid Ahmad under the title, Islamic Law and Constitution. A collection of Mawdudi's speeches with this title, the most important being two addresses to the Law College in Lahore in early 1948, was published originally in 1955, but in 1967 Khurshid Ahmad produced a revised and corrected edition that also included materials absent in the first edition (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1967). It is this enlarged, revised edition that we have used.

13. Ibid., p. 68.


15. Ibid., p. 172.


17. Ibid., p. 177.

18. Ibid., p. 165.

19. Ibid., p. 175.

20. Ibid., p. 177.


22. Ibid., p. 50.

23. Ibid., p. 145.

24. Ibid., p. 75.

25. Ibid., p. 177.

26. Ibid., p. 178.

27. Ibid., p. 135.

28. Ibid., p. 276.

29. This stand brought Mawdudi some criticism in view of the traditional insistence that leadership of the community must always be vested in Quresh, the tribe of the Prophet. See Rasool o Masail, vol. 1, pp. 76.

30. Islamic Law and Constitution, p. 158.

31. These examples have reference to what Mawdudi discussed in pre-partition times in the political debates with the Indian National Congress.

32. Islamic Law and Constitution, p. 278.

33. Ibid., p. 280.

34. Ibid., p. 148.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid., p. 154.

37. Ibid.

38. Ibid., p. 155.

39. Ibid., p. 266.