

Role of Opposition Parties in Pakistani Democracy: A Case Study of United Democratic Front (UDF)

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ABSTRACT

This study is an attempt to explore the contribution and role of opposition parties to strengthen democracy in Pakistan. It also investigates and snoop the opposition alliance resulted from the politics of United Democratic Front which was a Parliamentary opposition alliance from 1973-1976 during Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (1928-1979) period. Furthermore, this alliance exhibited critical views, presented their constitutional demands and played pivotal role in constitution formation of 1973 in Pakistan. It also encapsulates the role of aforesaid parliamentary alliance in various other amendments during Bhutto Government. To explore the role of this parliamentary alliance further, UDF demonstrated resilience and put forward their critical views for the constructive, productive and active role in democratic, constitutional and political developments specifically in Bhutto regime. Bhutto's chrisamatic leadership was exquisitely responsive and dealt them tactfully regarding the UDF and opposition's demand related to constitutions and political issues in Pakistan politics. This research work presents a fact finding analysis regarding political reservations of opposition parties, depicts circumstances and various compulsions which necessitated the formation of UDF; its aims and objectives as well as political resistance of UDF to Bhutto's policies, constitutional formation and in different other constitutional amendments under Bhutto's rule.

Keywords: *United Democratic Front (UDF), Democracy, Opposition parties, Pakistan*

Introduction

In democratic structures, the nation states cannot solve their problems with the same thinking and opposition views and constructive criticism always lead towards a better solution in order to address the issues related to governance, constitution as well as masses. Even, the very creation of Pakistan was the result of oppositional politics and resistance to Hindu mentality as well as colonial subjugated policies on Muslim community in the Subcontinent. Ideological variation, political opposition, democratic process lend beauty and are the harbinger of democratic stability, political maturity and constitutional provisions

to redress whatever is yet to achieve in any democracy. However, the positive criticism of opposition on Government can promote democratic values in a state. Unfortunately, in Pakistan, a tendency is prevailed that the ruling party tries to curb the criticism of opposition and the opposition not only criticized the Government negatively but also disagreed with its policies (Parveen, 2013, p. 6-7).

After the separation of East Pakistan, General Yahya Khan resigned and handed over the charge to Z.A. Bhutto. As a result of this, Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, the then Chairman of Pakistan People's Party; became the President as well as the Chief Martial Law Administrator of Pakistan. When Z.A. Bhutto assumed the power, the country was passing through political crisis, constitutional problems and was also lacking coherent and viable policies for national interests. The economy and trade of the country were shattered, the administration was demoralized and the army was degraded. Alongside this, the country was facing multifarious problems; like constitutional challenges, political impasse and topsy-turvy economic conditions (Mukerji, 1972, p. 63)

At that critical juncture, there was a general view which was prevailing that the opposition and ruling parties would cooperate with each other because it was the need of the time to have constructive role of opposition parties and sagacious strategy by the leadership at administrative level. However, the traditional politics, vindictive political statements, rivalries, personality clashes and exchange of harsh words were the hall mark of Pakistani politics. Under these circumstances, the opposition formed a parliamentary alliance United Democratic Front (UDF), this alliance presented itself as a perfect parliamentary opposition alliance, played constructive role and contributed for the constitution making process, suggested different amendments, demands and proposals and gave healthy criticism on Bhutto's policies; specifically in constitutional formation process in 1973. On the other hand, Z.A. Bhutto was an astute and shrewd politician who tactfully dealt the opposition criticism, demands and proposals. The Bhutto led regime gave tough time to the United Democrat Front and the UDF was confronted by the brutalities of the Government. However, UDF continued to present a brave and purposeful criticism on various faulty and wrong policies of Z.A. Bhutto Government. To dig deep regarding the role of opposition in Pakistan, UDF was organized, acted as a democratic opposition alliance, occasionally threatened the Government and also held discussion on different constitutional matters purposefully and constructively. Hence, the era of Z.A. Bhutto, brought a new dimension and approach in Pakistan's oppositional politics which proved as benevolence for the constitution making and to bring needful and essential criticism for the betterment of Governance and administration in Pakistan. In this way, the role of opposition parties, in Pakistan democracy, cannot be ignored. Especially, the UDF ushered a new era of critical, constructive and purposeful politics in Pakistan.

Delving the Role of Opposition Parties in Democracy

In opposition politics, overruling of courts, healthy criticism of media, disagreement of opposition political leaders and views of common man, to point out the shortcomings and follies of Government, extend a way forward for the public welfare and to improve the qualities of Governance. However, to understand and to define the terms of opposition precisely is a difficult task. If opposition means the disagreement of any policy or action then many policies, or

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activities can be termed as opposition. In modern democracy, the role of political parties is considered as the well organized opposition to bring purposeful opposition on Government policies (Parveen, 2013, p. 6-7).

Moreover, nobody can deny the importance of opposition in any democracy, it is a noticeable fact, that “if there is no opposition, there is no democracy”. Thus, without the basic understanding of the role of opposition parties in the political structure of a country, it becomes quite difficult to understand the role of United Democratic Front during the era of Z.A. Bhutto in Pakistan. The term “opposition is usually considered as the group of persons or Political parties that are not in the authority and criticize the ruling party”. In democracy, the role of opposition parties is vital as they help the government in shaping different policies through positive criticism. They act like a watchdog in the process of democracy. They keep an eye on all policies and actions of the ruling party just for the sake of construction not for the destruction of democratic process in a country.

In parliamentary form of government, elections are the most important element to elect the government representatives. In this system, two or more parties take participate in electoral competition for the purpose of controlling government apparatus and after elections when the government is formed; then the losing party plays its part in the political structure of a country in the form of opposition. To promote democratic values in any state, democratic institutions extend healthy and a positive criticism for the amelioration, development and prosperity of people. In Pakistan, the role of UDF is an important to understand various views of opposition on the matter of national interest and for the stability, growth and promotion of democracy in Pakistan (Parveen, 2013, p. 6-7).

Understanding the Concept of Opposition in Pakistan

In Pakistan, there has been opposition by a number of political parties with a singular purpose to oppose the ruling party. There are also conservative religious parties in Pakistan. It can observe in Pakistan that the Government and opposition tussle became so complicated that it eventually led to the imposition of martial law in the country at different occasion since partition in 1947(Kaushik, 1984, p. 9).

The opposition did not play an effective role in Pakistan. In Pakistan, the opposition not only criticized the Government negatively but also disagreed with its policies. In the developing nations, due to their political systems and heritage, the opposition parties do not perform their functions smoothly and the same situation exists in Pakistan. As after independence, Muslim League deliberately discouraged the growth of opposition parties because the criticism on the Muslim League was taken as opposition of Pakistan. Later on, this tendency of Muslim League proved fatal to flourish democratic culture, after partition in 1947, in newly born state (Parveen, 2007, p.173). Hence, the deliberate avoidance from opposed political views, suppressed the very value of democratic and political culture in Pakistan. In that era, on the whole, the opposition was fragmented into religious parties such as Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat-i-Ulemae Islam, Jamiat-i-Ulemae Islam Pakistan, secular parties such as Awami League, leftist parties and regional parties. These political parties had over lapping ideologies (Mauric, 1984, p. 413). In this circumstance, the creation or formation of UDF was an essential and indispensable proposition to reach on any final solution while resolving the matter

of constitutional and political importance in Pakistan with support, political consensus and views of opposition political parties at single forum.

Background of United Democratic Front

Political observers are of the view, the separation of East Pakistan, left no choice for military generals but to hand over the Governance to civilian politician. Yahya Khan, to somehow, wanted to gain power for a longer period of time, however, countrywide protest against him, limited his choice regarding the longevity of his reign. Further, the emergence of Bangladesh simplified the situation for Z.A. Bhutto and Pakistan People's Party. After assuming the office of President of Pakistan as well as Chief Martial Law Administrator, Z.A. Bhutto sought help and cooperation from political parties in his first address. The opposition parties, not only welcomed Z.A. Bhutto's address but also supported him for the solution of the problems which were being faced by Pakistan constitutionally, democratically and administratively (Hussain, 2008, p. 74).

On the other hand, Bhutto demonstrated snobbish attitude and treated the parliamentary opposition with derision. Parliamentary opposition, having one quarter of the strength of the house, was weak enough to express its stake and concern in Pakistan constitutional matter. Alongside this, the PPP was the majority party; in two provinces i.e. Sindh and Punjab and there were coalition Government in NWFP and Balochistan. Further, Z.A. Bhutto appointed, Governors of the provinces in NWFP and Balochistan from his own party (PPP) to control these provinces without consultation with the existing provincial Governments. Besides this, National Awami Party and Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam also demanded for the appointment of Governors in Balochistan and NWFP after consulting them because they were the majority parties there. Before this, the National Awami Party and Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam also got agreed to support each other regarding formation of Governments in NWFP and Balochistan (Khan, 2005, p. 77). Abdul Qayyum Khan and other Federal Ministers alleged leaders of National Awami Party as toddy, traitors and puppets in hands of capitalist and exploiters of peasantry class (Mazari, 2001, p.279).

In February 1973, the Government got the information regarding the presence of arms in the Iraqi embassy in Islamabad and it was suggested that these arms were being supplied to Balochistan, to create distress and trouble over there. The Provincial Government sought help from Federal Government by sending civil armed forces and the Federal Government rejected the Provincial Government demand to send arms forces for help. However, Provincial Government was dismissed on 12th February 1973. The National Awami Party and Jamiat Ulama-i-Islam protested against the dismissal of Provincial Government of Balochistan and the NWFP Government also resigned against this action of Federal Government (Jafri, 2002, p. 33).

After the dismissal of Provincial Governments, both the provinces directly came under the Central Government authority and now PPP was heading the Government of four provinces. On the other hand, situation in Balochistan was just like a mini civil war and thousands of casualties occurred. Z.A. Bhutto's regime unleashed violence and arrested many politicians to suppress their activities.

Formation of United Democratic Front

Keeping in view the then prevailing situation, the opposition parties realized that it was necessary to unite for political survival and to face the Pakistan People's Party with one force. Therefore, on 28th February 1973, the opposition party organized a convention at Rawalpindi in which the leaders of various opposition groups participated except Air Marshal Asghar Khan, who declined to attend. In this convention, it was decided that a coalition of opposition parties be formed which would unitedly demand the return of democratic norms of Government (Ahmed, 1993, p. 73).

On 13th of March, 1973, a meeting opposition leaders was held at the residence of Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi. After this meeting, the announcement of the formation of United Democratic Front was made. Therefore, UDF was consisted of Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam, Jamat-i-Islami, National Awami Party, Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Pakistan, Khaksar Tehrik, PML-Council, PML-Convention, Pakistan Democratic Party and a group of members elected on independent seats of National Assembly. Furthermore, Syed Mardan Ali Shah, Pir of Pagara as well as Mufti Mahmood were elected as President and Vice President of UDF respectively. Prof. Ghafoor was given responsibility of the Secretary General and also Wali Khan was appointed its convener (Pakistan Times March 15, 1973).

Opposition Parties in United Democratic Front

- Jamiat Ulamae Islam
- Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Pakistan
- Jamat-i-Islami
- National Awami Party
- Khaksar Tehrik
- PML-Council
- PML-Convention
- Pakistan Democratic Party
- Group of independent members of the National Assembly (Pakistan Times March 15, 1973)

i) Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Islam

In the days of Movement for Pakistan, Jamiat-i-Ulemae Hind adopted the policy of pro-Congress which created general dissatisfaction among the Pro-Muslim League members. As a result, the Pro-Muslim League elements formed the Jamiat Ulemae Islam (JUI) for supporting the Pakistan's struggle (Afzal, 1998, P. 33-36). Its formation was announced at a largely attended meeting in Calcutta on 22-29 October 1945. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani was elected its first President. The JUI was hastily organized throughout the subcontinent and it made a significant contribution to the victory of Muslim League in the elections of 1945-

46. Further, in the referendum, at NWFP as well as Sylhet in 1947, the JUI supported the Muslim League. For this reason, the Muslim League leadership extended great acknowledgement to the services of JUI. Later on, this party was recognized with the identity of Deobandi School of Religious thought. The Jamiat Ulemae Islam advocated and supported for an Islamic constitution in Pakistan. This party has the manifesto: Establishing an Islamic State in Pakistan and the country would be Islamic, deriving its sanction from Quran and Sunnah, supremacy would belong to Almighty Allah alone (Kamal, 2001).

In 1956, at a big JUI convention, some Ahrar and Deobandi Ulema, including Mufti Mahmood and Maulana Ghulam Ghaus Hazarvi, joined the party. Maulana Ahmad Ali was elected its President. This development disillusioned the pro-Muslim League Ulema who dissociated themselves from the party. In Ayub's days, Maulana Hazarvi as well as Mufti Mahmood were the representatives of the party at National Assembly as well as in the West Pakistan Assembly. Besides this, the JUI took part in the 1970 general elections while achieving seven seats in National Assembly from different districts of; Bannu, Kohat and Dera Ismail Khan of NWFP as well as Balochistan. The General Secretary of JUI, Mufti Mahmood defeated Bhutto in a constituency from Dera Ismail Khan. In Provincial elections, the JUI got 2 seats in Punjab, 4 NWFP and 2 in Balochistan Assembly (Mahmood, 2002, p.157-58).

ii) Jamiat-i-Ulamae Pakistan

Jamiat Ulamae Pakistan was founded in 1948 by Muhammad Abdul Ghafoor Hazarvi and Syed Muhammad Ahmad Qadri. The All India Sunni Conference converted itself as the Jamiat Ulamae Pakistan at Pakistan level in March 1948 with Maulana Abdul Hamid Badauni as its President (Pakistan Times, June 22, 1970).

The Jamiat Ulamae Pakistan wanted the future constitution to be based on the Quran, Sunnah and Fiqah-i-Hanafi; Islam as the state religion; the head of the state to be a male Muslim of right beliefs; Government by Shura of elected representatives; the agency electing the president could also remove him who was to have equality before law like ordinary citizens; independence of judiciary from the executive; introduction of the Islamic system of education and economy including ban on interest; and enforcement of Islamic hudood etc. It enjoyed the support of the Pirs and Mashaikh, a group of religious as well as some landed elites. The Jamiat Ulamae Pakistan's took part firstly in the general elections of 1970 and won seven seats of National Assembly, four seats in NWFP and two seats in Balochistan and one in Punjab Provincial Assembly (Rizvi, 2013, p. 12-13).

iii) Jamaat-i-Islami

The Jamaat-e-Islami was founded in 1941 by Abul Ala Maududi who was the first Amir of Jamat-e-Islami. Maulana Maududi was Muslim theologian and Socio Political Philosopher. Jammat-i-Islami is the well-organized party in Pakistan. Initially, the establishment of Jamat-i-Islami was focusing to revive the original values of Islam while making it a code of life to transform the life of the Muslims. Initially its founder were assertive enough to prorogate it not as a religious or political party. However, the ideological movement of this party, related to

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various aspects of life did not confine its activities to just a single nation or a country. But, they continued their struggle to transform the moral, religious, political, social and economic system of the whole world (Gilani, 1962, p. 30).

The Jammāt tried to participate fully in the famous election of 1970 and propagated its manifesto; based on the law of Quraan and Sunnah. Politically, the Jamaat was focusing to include in its manifesto regarding provincial autonomy, separating judiciary from the country's executive while ensuring religious freedom for the minorities. It also informed the people that foreign policy would be based on Pakistan ideological needs and will focus to develop cordial relations with the Muslim countries. However, the Jamaat participated in general elections of 1970 from two wings of Pakistan and got just four seats from National Assembly and one seat in Punjab, one Sindh and one NWFP Provincial Assemblies (Mahmood, 2002, p.153-155).

iv) National Awami Party

The National Awami Party (NAP) was founded on 25th July 1957, because of a breakup in the Awami League. Maulana Abdul Hamid Bhashani, the East Pakistan Chief of the Awami League contrasted with the President of Party, Huseyn Shaheed Suharwardy, and left the party along with his supporters. Further, at a democratic workers convention which was held in July 1957 at Dhaka, the NAP was formally propelled with Bhashani as the leader of its arranging panel. The West Pakistan based Pakistan National Party (PNP) converged into NAP. The principle destinations of National Awami Party were the separation of one Unit in West Pakistan, Introduction of land reforms, provincial self-sufficiency, annulment of Defence Pact with the West Pakistan, as well as, adoption an independent foreign policy (Afzal, 1976, p. 219-222; Aziz, 1976, p. 111-14). Its eminent leaders were Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Prince Abdul Karim, G.M. Syed and Maulana Bhashani. Among these Maulana Bhashani had conspicuously took part in Pakistan Movement.

In 1970 elections, this party extended its manifesto and propagated the support for socialism, to strengthen democracy, to nationalize industries, to transform a welfare state and to forge in independent foreign policy as well as friendly relation with India. NAP, contested the general elections of 1970 and its 64 candidates took part from different constituencies of national assembly, from both the wings of Pakistan and just 6 of its candidates were successful including Wali Khan who was elected from the NWFP and Balochistan (Sayeed, 1980, p. 123). In the provincial elections, it won 13 seats in NWFP and 8 seats in Balochistan. (Kumar, 1978, p. 164).

v) Khaksar Tehrik

The Khaksar Movement was (a social movement) established by Allama Mashriqi in 1931 to free India from the British rule and to establish a Hindu-Muslim Government in India.

Allama Inayat ullah Mashriqi's followers had two Punjab based organizations: the Islam League presided over by Habib Ullah Sadi and the Khaksar Movement; the latter in turn had two factions, one led by Mian Bashir Ahmad Siddiqui and the

other by Haji Sarfraz Ahmad Khan. In 1970, an attempt to unite the three bodies, the Islam League and two factions of the Khaksars, fizzled out in no time. The Khaksar manifesto called for an Islamic order to solve Pakistan's economic problems and an Islamic bloc to forge unity among the Muslim countries. (Hussain, 1991, p. 180-81; 1998), p.68). The Khaksar Tehrik could not win any seat from National and Provincial Assemblies during the elections of 1970.

vi) Pakistan Democratic Party

Pakistan Democratic Party came in to existence in June 1969. In the first Convention, Mr. Nural Amin was elected as President as well as Nazim Hassan as General Secretary. The PDM aimed to create democratic social order on the basis of Islamic values as well as principles of justice, equality, universal brotherhood, freedom and human dignity in conformity with the Holy Quran and Sunnah. (Mahmood, 2002, p. 130). During United Democratic Front (UDF), the Pakistan Democratic Party was headed by Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan who participated actively in the opposition ranks. The real asset of the party was belonging to the stature of its political leaders especially Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan who received abundance of respect among the leaders as well as masses. However, the electoral support was always very limited. In the general elections of 1970, its party manifesto, the party called for grant of fundamental rights, acceptance of the 1956 constitution with certain modifications, pursuance of an independent foreign policy, separation of the judiciary from the executive, withdrawal from the SEATO and CENTO, compulsory teaching of the Holy Quraan and Islamiyat to Muslim children, elimination of social and economic disparities, nationalization of all big industries, abolition of the jagirdari (feudal) system.

It nominated eighty one and twenty one candidates for the National Assembly seats belong to East and West Pakistan respectively and only one of its leader, Nural Amin could win his seat from the East Pakistan in general elections of 1970. However, in Provincial Assembly elections, PDP win four seats in Punjab Assembly. (Rizvi, 2013, p. 12-13).

vii) PML-Council

Like the Conventional Muslim League, the Council Muslim League claimed to be the real Muslim League. In 1962, the meeting of council held at Dhaka showed the representation of League opinion then Leaguer's convention which was held in Karachi. The More League councilors as well as prominent Muslim Leaguers, which included the veterans belonged to independence movement, took part in the councils of Dhaka meeting than the Karachi convention. Khawaja Nazimuddin, was also elected the President of Council Muslim League. He led this party till his death in October 1964. Later on, Syed Muhammad Afzal, a Leaguer from East Pakistan, succeeded Khawaja Nazim-ud-Din in that office. Besides this, Mumtaz Daultana became its President in 1967.

During the campaign of 1970 elections, Mumtaz Daultana resigned as a President because of his deteriorating health conditions. However, his resignation was not accepted. Besides this, in General Elections of 1970, the party manifesto focused to enforce the constitution of 1956; having bicameral legislature at Centre; and to give maximum provincial autonomy with parity between the two wings. There was also the stress which was given on economic as well as social justice

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according to Islamic Principles to nationalize banks, to ensure institutions and basic industries like steel, iron, machine tools, fertilizers and chemicals. It also focused to enforce Islamic laws, independent foreign policy and withdrawal of defend pacts like SEATO and CENTO. However, the CML performance was as bad as of the other Leagues in the elections of 1970. Overall, it put up 50 and 69 candidates seats of National Assembly from East and West Pakistan respectively. However, it was able to capture only two seats in National Assembly. In Provincial Assembly, it got 6 from Punjab and 2 from NWFP (Now KPK) (Afzal, 1998, p. 33-36).

viii) PML-Convention

Chaudhary Khaliq-uz-Zaman, who was appointed Chief organizer of the Convention Muslim League organized the party throughout the country. By the time, it was formally organized, Ayub Khan decided to assume its Presidentship which he got in Dec. 1963 till 1970. The PML-Convention was actually revolved around the personality as well as policies of Ayub Khan. Although, it had regular party branches and offices in wards, cities, districts, divisions and provinces, it could not evoke popular support. But, aided by the Basic Democrats, landlords, and industrialists and patronized by the Government, it wielded comfortable majorities in the National Assembly and the two assemblies of East and West Pakistan till Ayub Khan's downfall. A large number of its leaders and activists were self-seekers interested only in political power and material rewards; there was hardly any commitment to ideology or democracy except in rhetoric. The Conventional Muslim League had no constructive programme of its own for the welfare of the people. Its basic goal was to extend unconditional support the Ayub Khan's dictatorial regime. This party praised and projected the Government policies as a King Party; in fact, it took decisions after consulting the Government. Its weak support-base was exposed when the public revolted against the Ayub regime and the whole country was engulfed in agitation in the last quarter of 1968. Massive street demonstrations against the constitution, the system of Basic Democracies Ayub's dictatorial rule and economic policies led to breakdown of the law and order machinery. The Conventional Muslim League was unable to neutralize the agitation; its leaders and activists were the targets of the public wrath and others disowned their links with the party.

After removal of Ayub Khan's regime in March 1969, Conventional Muslim League fortunes fell sharply. Many of its leaders and workers left the party and those who stayed were divided among themselves. It could neither evolve a new attractive political strategy nor present a charismatic leadership. Finally, Ayub Khan resigned from the Presidentship. Fazlul Qadir Chaudhary, a former Bengali Federal Minister and Speaker of the National Assembly, succeeded him first as a nominated and then as its elected President. Under his leadership, the party actively participated in 1970 General Elections. It put up thirty one and ninety three overall candidates from West as well as East Pakistan for National Assembly whereas it could capture only seven seats in the National Assembly. In Provincial Assembly Elections, this party got fifteen seats of Punjab Assembly, four Sindh and one seat in Sindh Provincial Assembly. (Mahmood, 2002, p. 121-22; Rizvi, 2013, p. 12-13).

Aims and Objectives of United Democratic Front

The major aims and objectives of United Democratic Front can be summarized thus:

- 1) To lift the state of emergency and to restore democracy and knowing the needs of common man and to safeguard provincial and parliamentary constitution.
- 2) Protecting the fundamental rights as well as civil liberties; and providing basic needs to the people while ending dictatorship and to strive for a democratic and Islamic authority.
- 3) Eliminating all external as well as internal conspiracies against the ideologies of Pakistan.
- 4) To eradicate Fascism in all its manifestations and to deter imposition of dictatorship in the state.
- 5) Holding a judicial inquiry into the Iraqi embassy arms conspiracy;
- 6) To ensure rights of students, intellectuals, journalists, labourers and promotion of healthy tradition.
- 7) Protecting the country's geographical boundaries and unity and to achieve an Islamic democratic federal parliamentary constitution.
- 8) Releasing of all political prisoners;
- 9) Return of the army from Balochistan. (Mazari, p.293).

Constitution Making and United Democratic Front

The task regarding to frame the constitution was a difficult one which necessitated a proactive response from Parliamentarians. It was hoped that, after the separation of eastern part, New Pakistan will not face any problem or difficulty to frame the constitution. At that juncture, the issue of Islamic provisions in constitution, distribution of power between the provinces and the centre and the kind of executive which is suitable for Pakistan; were the major issues for the parliamentarians. Further, the unity in the truncated Pakistan was important for its survival (Hussain, 2013, p. 81-82).

All the political parties and their leaders agreed, under the Accord of 6th March 1972, to choose twenty five members of National Assembly; consisted of Parliamentary leaders of all political parties; to draft the constitution according to the wishes of the people while making Islamic principles as a guiding star in the process of constitution making. At that era, Bhutto was anxious enough to adopt Presidential form of Government and other parties were willing to adopt Parliamentary form of Government. Moreover, for getting the legitimacy of the constitution, it required a national consensus and for this purpose, Bhutto sought cooperation of opposition parties.

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Mehmood Ali Kasuri, the then Law Minister as well as chairman of the Constitution Committee, became the custodian of great civil liberties, fundamental rights and openly declared that new constitution would revolve around the Prime Minister in future. In the meanwhile, there was a divergence of opinion between Bhutto and him. As a result of this problem, Bhutto dismissed Kasuri from the Ministerial portfolio. Thus, Mehmood Ali Kasuri demonstrated a strong protest by resigning from the cabinet in October 1972. Later on, Hafeez Peerzada replaced Mehmood Ali Kasuri. On 17th October 1972, Bhutto arranged a meeting of Parliamentary leaders and tried to redress the grievances of Parliamentary Committee. (Mazari, p.280).

During the discussions, Sardar Shaukat Hayat and Ghaus Bakhsh Bazenjo expressed their satisfaction on the constitutional negotiations which were done successfully. They both pleaded with rest of leaders to demonstrate understanding, tolerance and mature response to the Government proposals. On 20th October 1972, Bhutto accepted the Parliamentary form of Government and also proposed different amendments in those constitutional proposals (Khan, 1995, p. 338).

On 2nd February 1973, the Law Minister introduced constitutional bill in the National Assembly and it was debated on 17th February. Later on, the National Assembly worked as constitutional Assembly which assessed the new permanent constitution clause by clause. The majority party, Law Minister said that there is a wide open debate on all points and compromise was there except the measure of Provincial autonomy as well as about the power distribution among Federalism and Provincialism. During the debate, Government conceded some opposition views, and dropped the clause which provided a no confidence motion in the Government and it could only pass by the two third majority. However, the bill was looking just like a rough passage. Therefore, all the opposition parties like radical National Awami Party became together in the United Democratic Front and also put down almost 1600 amendments. There was a need of the modification of a bill in order to meet the needs of large majority (Hussain, 2013, p.83).

The draft constitution which was comprising of 278 articles and it possessed six schedules. The Committee conducted 48 sittings and consumed 175 total working hours. It also consumed 38 working days in all for its framing. The averaged attendance, throughout the sittings, was almost 18 out of 25 members (Hussain, 2013, p.83).

The opposition did not correspond fully with the given accord. However, different amendments which were suggested by the UDF were thoroughly rejected. On 15th March, 1973, a second charter of amendment was also submitted by UDF. Later, on 23rd March 1973, on the eve of Pakistan Day, UDF held a public meeting at Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi to express their views on the political situation as well as the effort made by UDF in the recent constitution making process. Unfortunately, PPP workers unleashed fire, killed several and injured hundred people in which majority of NAP workers was the victim (Wolpert, 1993, p. 212). The opposition parties alleged the Government of PPP and the Punjab Governor Ghulam Mustafa Khar as well as Federal Interior Minister Abdul Qayyum for this plotting of the incident. As a result of this firing incident, National Assembly session was boycotted by UDF (Dawn, March 24, 1973).

Beside this, UDF kept on to develop pressure on Bhutto and his Government specifically on his 29th March 1973 nationwide address in which he wanted to invite opposition leader for talk. For the sake of national interest, Wali Khan and other opposition leaders tried to cooperate with the Government at this important matter. In short, after hectic concentration, the Pakistan Peoples Government created environment of just mutual understanding among opposition parties. Resultantly, on 12th April 1973, the constitution of Pakistan was passed. Thus, unanimously, adopted constitution of 1973 created the environment of cooperation and cordiality among Government and opposition parties. However, the existing delay to promulgate the constitution and the continued the emergency led to various suspicions and doubts. The UDF demanded the promulgation of the constitution as soon as possible. The UDF expanded its connection to the masses in order to pressurize the Government and held its meetings at Quetta, Peshawar, Hyderabad and Lahore.

Cunningly enough, Bhutto kept on the momentum of perplexity among opposition leadership, even, throughout his career. Sometimes, he suppressed the opposition parties and the other time he used soft tones and invited them for dialogue. The UDF accepted the invitation of Z.A. Bhutto on June 28 talks, at Murree. The UDF met with Bhutto at Murree, presented their demands and Bhutto also accepted the demands of opposition verbally. However, after sometimes, Bhutto became tough on opposition with shattered the confidence of the opposition on Bhutto (Raza, 1997, p. 270).

Civil Disobedience Movement

The UDF in its meeting held at Yadgaar Chowk, Peshawar fixed midnight of August 24-25, 1973, as dead line for releasing of all the political prisoners, withdrawal of all the cases lodged against them and to call back of army from Balochistan as well as curbing of price spiral in the country. Even, UDF threatened to start peaceful Civil Disobedience Movement for the restoration of their right. Thus, the Movement started on 25th August 1973 which challenged the Section 144 in Multan and Lahore because 500 workers of the UDF have been arrested. However, this campaign of the UDF was flopped. Besides this, Government asked for investigation for those charges which opposition alleged from the Supreme Court judges. Furthermore, Punjab became the victim of massive flood which not only hampered the UDF Movement but Government extended suppressive measures to curb the impacts of Civil Disobedience Movement(Niazi, 2011, p.12).

Other Amendments and the Udf Campaign against PPP Government

After the removal of NAP-JUI ministries in Balochistan, Government ordered for military action to suppress Anti state activists. Furthermore, terrorist activities took place in Karachi, Quetta, Gujrat, Chaman, Gulistan, Sernan, Pishin, Lahore, Okara which claimed many lives. On 3rdFebruary 1975, Government moved four bills in Senate during the brief session, two bills piloted by the Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs,the bills invests the commission of inquiry composed of the judges of the superior courts with the same power of punishment for its contempt as are available to High Court. The other bill related to empowerment of Federal Government. The opposition opposed the bills and boycotted the aforesaid Senate session (Dawn, 4 February 1975).The Government also moved the Constitution (third) amendment Bill in National Assemblyon 11th February 1975 about

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safeguard against arrest and detentory or indulging in an anti-national activity. For this purpose, it was proposed in the amendment that emergency could only be ended by the Parliament after its adoption of resolution for joint session. The UDF staged walkout in protest against the amendment. However, Rao Khurshid Ali Khan, who belonged to ruling party, opposed the Bill, because it did not express the public opinion and there are fundamental needs of changes in the constitution (Nawa-i-Waqt, February 1975).

The boycott ended after an agreement was reached between the opposition and the Government on 6th February 1975. However, the amendment Bill was adopted by the house on February 12, 1975. Maulana Abdul Haq, Maulana Abdul Hakim and Mualana Hazarvi supported the bill (The Pakistan Times, June 7, 1975).

In 1975, the ruling party decided to bring fourth amendment bill of the constitution. In this bill, Under Article 19, the amendment included to be barred the High Court to restrain Government to pass a future preventive detention order. It also focused to grant the bail to those people who were detained under the prevailed detention law. The other amendments were related to Protect the economic reforms as well as representation of the minorities and freedom of press etc. After frequent interception introduced by opposition, speaker removed Ch. Zahoor Elahi, Malik Suleman and Ahmad Raza Kasuri from the house. Resultantly 12 members of the opposition including Mufti Mehmood were also forcibly removed from the house. Resultantly, the fourth constitution bill was adopted in 1975 (Dawn, June 14, 1975).

The UDF Council of Action condemned the Government for the ouster of opposition members by the Federal Security Force a federally controller civil armed establishment. Mufti Mehmood told the meeting that even though the Speaker had named only three members Chaudhary Zahoor Elahi, Malik Suleiman and Mahmood Ali Kasuri, the Federal Security Force had also dragged him out. The meeting refused to accept the Fourth Amendment Bill. The UDF asked the opposition members in Senate and Assemblies to resign. The JUIP shura met a DarulUlum Hanafiya, Rawalpindi with Maulana Darkhawasti in the chair and asked the party members to resign from the Assemblies in accordance with the UDF Decision. The opposition parliamentary group set up a five members committee to formulate the future course of action. The PPP responded by saying that if the opposition opted for confrontation the Government would have not choice but to react strongly (Dawn, June 14, 1975).

The UDF made a decision of boycotting the by-elections for not putting up a candidate for NA Karachi-7 constituency vacated on the resignation of Maulana Shah Ahmad Naurani. The JUP did not honour the decision of UDF, alleged the JUI and JI for destroying UDF and ousted from the UDF.

Last Phase of UDF

The opposition parties made all efforts to keep the UDF always alive and to intact even after the ouster of JUP. It showed its presence in the National Assembly by way of walkouts from the Assembly or occasional statement in the press. The then leader of Front, Mufti Mehmood also admitted this fact that UDF failed to provide any alternative leadership to the country. Later, constitution Fifth Amendment Bill,

the opposition tired out and became fed up with their tools and tactics of boycotts and walkouts from the house. In other words, it was a nerve breaking campaign which probably convinced them to lose their interest in UDF but to look for another alternative joint venture against the PPP regime. However, after the fifth amendment, the adoption of constitution sixth amendment bill 1976 also catalyzed the phenomenon of disillusionment for the opposition (Wheeler, 1976, p.111-118).

The opposition parties met on Jan 10, 1977 at Lahore and agreed to the formation of a new alliance known as the Pakistan National Alliance. Asghar Khan announced on Jan 11, 1977, that with the formation of the PNA, the UDF ceased to exist. Thus the Jan 10, 1977, meeting of the front proved to be its last meeting.

Conclusion

Although, the UDF remained active and survived for about four years, yet it failed to become a challenge for Zulfikar Ali Bhutto regime. Z.A. Bhutto was tactful, sagacious and sane enough to befool the UDF leadership while accepting their demands and then expressing harsh tone to exhibit his authority. The clash between UDF leaders and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was on personality based. UDF was lacking effective leadership, coherence strategy and assertive political approach which could influence the charismatic leadership of Bhutto. Furthermore, its component parties lacked cooperation and instead of working together they gave preference of their parties and worked individually. This fragmented and diversified political approach did not become productive and workable proposition to achieve objectives. Even, its leadership failed to give an agreed manifesto of the Front. It was believed due to these differences, the opposition parties failed to agree upon common candidates in the coming elections and the vote bank of these parties would remain divided as was in the 1970. In this way, this political approach minimized their forceful message to influence the then Government. The UDF Parties felt the need of the formation of a broader alliance to confront the PPP because its political strategy was not properly planned and executed. However, the formation of the PNA was due to the UDF because the opposition remained in constant contact for a long time, which made the formation of new alliance easy. Later on, this formation of the PNA, became a mass protest movement resulting in giving a tough time to Z.A. Bhutto regime that ended due to the promulgation of the martial law.

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