

**Party politics within political alliance: Case study  
of Jaamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan's political role in  
United Democratic Front (1973-76)**

**Dr. Zahid Ahmed**

*Assistant Professor-History*  
*Department of Behavioral and Social Sciences*  
*National University of Medical Sciences,*  
*Rawalpindi*  
*zahid.ahmed@numspak.edu.pk*

**Dr. Syed Akmal Hussain Shah**

*Assistant Professor*  
*Department of History and Pakistan Studies*  
*International Islamic University,*  
*Islamabad*  
*: akmal.hussain@iiu.edu.pk*

**Abstract**

*The paper mainly focuses on the political role of Jamiaat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan(JUP) - one of the main religio-political party during Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's era (1972-77) – within United Democratic Front (UDF) (1973-76) the first opposition parties' political alliance of the period. To counter Bhutto's absolute power JUP played a leading role in and outside the parliament. In this study, a descriptive analysis is employed to cover the party's early active political role and later aloofness due to negative party politics within the alliance.*

**Keywords:** Jamiaat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan (JUP), United Democratic Front (UDF), Maulana Noorani, Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

Pakistan political history is full of politics of alliances representing conflicting outlooks and manifestos. After the separation of East Pakistan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto's taking over the power as the President and the Chief Martial Law Administrator, the country was facing multiple grave problems to be resolved and demanded acumen ship from both the government and the opposition.

However, the opposition feeling dejected the way Bhutto government was behaving decided to form a coalition of

opposition parties under the name of United Democratic Front (UDF) at the convention of the opposition parties held in Islamabad on 28<sup>th</sup> February and 1<sup>st</sup> March 1973.<sup>1</sup>

The convention was attended by Jamiaat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan, Jamaat Islami, Jamiaat-i-Ulema-i-Islam, National Awami Party, Pakistan Democratic Party, *Khaksar Tehrik*, Muslim League and independent members of the National Assembly. The *Tehrik-i-Istaqlal* did not take part in the convention.<sup>2</sup> The participant resolved to form United Democratic Front on the basis of the following points:

- i. To safeguard and protect the geographical entity and unity of Pakistan;
- ii. To achieve truly Islamic, Democratic, Federal and Parliamentary Pakistan;
- iii. To secure the fundamental rights of all citizens;
- iv. To liberate the people from all sorts of exploitation;
- v. To wipe out every evil trade of fascism and defeat all attempts to impose dictatorship.
- vi. To support provincial autonomy consistency with the requirements of national integrity and resist any undemocratic and improper interference by the center in the affairs of a province;
- vii. To free the press and all other media of mass communication from all immoral and undemocratic curbs;
- viii. To carry out an unremitting struggle for the rights of students, intellectuals, journalists and workers;
- ix. To secure the release of POWs at the earliest;
- x. To adhere to healthy political principles and traditions;
- xi. To combat all internal and external conspiracies against national ideology and;
- xii. To secure the revocation of the National Emergency Proclamations.<sup>3</sup>

The Central Council of UDF held its first meeting on 12<sup>th</sup> March 1973 and elected Pir Sahib of Pagaro as President, Maulana Mufti Mahmood and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan as vice Presidents and Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad as General Secretary.

The General Council also decided to set up two committees known as central and the constitutional committees. The former included, besides all the office bearers of the front, Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi (JUP), Haji Sarfraz Khan (KT), Khan Abdul Wali Khan (NAP) and Sardar Sher Baz Khan Mazari (an independent) as members. The central committee which was in effect the Action Committee of the UDF was meant to formulate its policies and determine the action vis-à-vis the government and its policies.

The constitution committee was to introduce amendments in the National Assembly on the behalf of the opposition parties. It was comprised of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Aziz Ullah Sheikh, Qazi Muhammad Salim, Maulana Zafar Ahmed Ansari, Ahmad Raza Kasuri, Ghafoor Ahmad, Ghaus Bux Bizanjo, and Ghulam Farooq. In addition, a coordination committee was also set up with Maulana Noorani as the convener.<sup>4</sup>

#### **Constitution making and UDF**

The UDF constitution committee drafted its proposal for essential amendments in the constitution bill which were sent to Bhutto on 16<sup>th</sup> March. These proposals press for a more Islamic and democratic constitution demanding the following points:

- i. To strengthen the constitution's Islamic provision;
- ii. Allow superior courts to review the decision of special tribunal;
- iii. Reduce the government's preventive detentions and emergency powers;
- iv. Soften the requirements for passing a no-confidence motion against the Prime Minister;
- v. Lower the voting age to 18 years;
- vi. Make the Election Commission autonomous;
- vii. Rationalize the constitutional protection to be given to law made during the operation of Martial Law;
- viii. Provide job security to civil servants.<sup>5</sup>

UDF decided to hold a public meeting at Liaquat Bagh, Rawalpindi on 23<sup>rd</sup> March. It was subjected to an organized attack by armed Pakistan People Party workers and Federal Security Forces (FSF). Over twenty persons were killed and most of them were NAP supporters from NWFP.

After the Rawalpindi incident the opposition unanimously decided to boycott the preceding of the National Assembly causing the dilemma. To have the constitutional deadlock resolved Bhutto invited Maulana Noorani along with the other members of UDF's Action committee for discussion on the constitution to be held on 2<sup>nd</sup> April.<sup>6</sup>

Opposition was divided on the acceptance of Bhutto's invitation. A strong lobby was advocating that the UDF must reject the invitation. On the other hand Maulana Noorani, Sardar Sher Baz Mazari and Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad were in favor of accepting the invitation to put forward to the government the UDF view point on the future constitution.<sup>7</sup>

Finally, the talks were held between the Six UDF Action Committee members and Bhutto and his team on 2<sup>nd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> April. After the conclusion of the talks on the evening of 4<sup>th</sup> April Bhutto handed over an aide-memoire wherein he conceded to some of the UDF demands. However UDF, decided to continue the boycott of the National Assembly Session on 7<sup>th</sup> April.<sup>8</sup>

In a last minute effort Bhutto and his team had detailed discussion with UDF leaders during the course of which mutually agreed amendments to the disputed articles were worked out. Accordingly, the opposition members returned to the National Assembly on the afternoon of 10<sup>th</sup> April and the constitution bill was passed unanimously. JUP decided to abstain from voting of the constitution bill. Explaining the decision Maulana Noorani said that constitution was completely neither Islamic nor democratic, and his party would continue its efforts to make it in accordance with *Nizam-i- Mustafa*. He said that they would continue to fight for inclusion of more Islamic and democratic clauses in the constitution.<sup>9</sup>

#### **Within party opposition against JUP's joining UDF**

JUP under the leadership of Maulana Noorani decided to play the role of an opposition party in and outside the parliament despite the government offer of ministries in the federal and provincial cabinet.<sup>10</sup> Maulana Noorani however was aware of the fact that, "for those who dared oppose him (Bhutto) in the heyday of power, he had nothing but contempt".<sup>11</sup>

Though the parliamentary opposition was weak and its total strength at no time exceeded one quarter of the strength of the house and posed no threat to the government but it was treated

roughly by Bhutto<sup>12</sup>, who used all his means to weaken the control of Maulana Noorani on his party by supporting Sahibzada Faizal Hasan.<sup>13</sup> The radio and television were instructed to replace the former's name with the latter's.<sup>14</sup>

The three JUP MNAs from Punjab Mehr Ghulam Haider Bharwana, Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq and Sahibzada Nazir Sultan joined Sahibzada Faizal Hasan to challenge Maulana Noorani's leadership. They supported Government campaign for the recognition of Bangladesh and criticized JUP joining UDF on the ground that since NAP activities were against Islam and Pakistan JUP must not associate itself with NAP a component party of UDF. They also charged Maulana Noorani for not consulting them on important issues.<sup>15</sup>

To end the self-declaration of Sahibzada Faizal Hasan as President of JUP Punjab a joint meeting of the JUP Central and Provincial *Majlis-i- Shura* and *Amla* was held at *Madrassa Jamia Rizvia Mazharul Ulum* which elected Maulana Abur Sattar Khan Niazi as the President and Maulana Muhammad Sharif Rizvi as *Nazim-i-Ala* of JUP Punjab. The meeting not only canceled the basic memberships of Meher Ghulam Haider Bharwana, Mian Muhammad Ibrahim Barq and Sahibzada Nazir Sultan (the three JUP MNA's elected from Punjab), but also bestowed the proud titles; *Qaid-i-Ahl-i-Sunnat* (the leader of *Ahl-i-Sunnat*) on Maulana Noorani and *Mujahid-i-Millat* (Soldier of the nation) on Maulana Niazi respectively.<sup>16</sup>

Maulana Noorani who was working as acting President of JUP after the resignation of Khawaja Qamaruddin Sialvi<sup>17</sup> convened an All Pakistan convention of JUP, at Khanewal on 26<sup>th</sup> – 27<sup>th</sup> May 1973. With the announcement of the convention government backed 'Sahibzada Group' started criticizing JUP's decision of joining UDF who's component parties included NAP, JIP, and JUI.

At the very well attended Khanewal Convention office bearers of JUP were elected. Maulana Noorani and Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi were elected unopposed as president and *Nazim-i-Ala* respectively. Syed Muhammad Ali as vice president and Zahural Hassan Bhopali as information secretary.<sup>18</sup>

In the convention the issue of JUP's joining of UDF was also debated. The opponents led by Maulana Ghulam Ali Okarvi contended that the Front was comprised of the parties like JI and

NAP, with them JUP had fundamental differences on religious and political grounds. Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi defended the decision to join UDF but agreed with the dissenters that JUP had serious religious differences with JI. While Maulana Noorani and Maulana Niazi observed that JUP had aligned itself with NAP, JI and other components of the Front on the basis of 12 points program. The debate which was started in the evening and continued till mid night generated a lot of heat and finally the convention endorsed the JUP decision to join UDF.<sup>19</sup>

After the Kahnewal convention JUP under the leadership of Maulana Noorani once again became active in UDF political struggle. Party leaders along with other UDF leaders, addressed public rallies in main cities of Pakistan demanding the lifting of the state of emergency, holding of fresh elections after the promulgation of the new constitution.

UDF observed 20<sup>th</sup> July as 'Baluchistan Day' to high light government's high handedness and to demand the restoration of democratic government in the province. Addressing party workers in Karachi Maulana Noorani said that the people of Punjab, Sindh and NWFP by observing Baluchistan Day demonstrated their full support to the people of Baluchistan in their struggle for the restoration of democracy and rule of law in the country.<sup>20</sup>

He cautioned his party workers to be on guard against those forces who were trying to disintegrate the country. He alleged that the people of Baluchistan were being victimized for no fault of their own 'we could not be a silent spectator to such happenings' he declared. He stressed the need for strengthening democratic institutions in the country to bring about political stability. He also assured that his party would fully protect the rights of the people of Baluchistan.<sup>21</sup>

To discuss national affairs and the recognition of Bangladesh, Bhutto held talks with the UDF at Murree on 29<sup>th</sup> June 1973, which proved to be unsuccessful. Later on when the government adopted a resolution for the recognition of Bangladesh, in the National Assembly, the opposition parties boycotted the National Assembly session.<sup>22</sup>

To make its protest more powerful UDF held convention at Lahore on 29<sup>th</sup> July, 1973, heated debate took place over the

decision to launch a nationwide civil disobedience. JI was hesitant on the issue and on a point of disagreement Ahrar Party decided to leave UDF. Latter on, in another meeting it was decided to launch civil disobedience movement on 24<sup>th</sup> August. In the same meeting Wali Khan was elected as the leader of the opposition and Maulana Noorani as the secretary General.<sup>23</sup>

On 12<sup>th</sup> August 1973 the election for the Premiership was held. Maulana Noorani was nominated by the UDF as its candidate, three JUI MNAs, Maulana Hazarvi, Maulana Abdul Hakeem and Maulana Abdul Haq, left the opposition benches and supported Bhutto, who was nominated as the Prime Minister winning 109 votes in the house, against Maulana Noorani's 28 votes.

After the election of Prime Ministership the constitution formally came into force on 14<sup>th</sup> August 1973. Chaudary Fazal Elahi was sworn in as President and Bhutto was sworn in as Prime Minister of Pakistan. Speaking on the occasion Bhutto said that days of palace intrigues and coups were ended and that venom and violence in politics must stop.<sup>24</sup>

Just two days after the enforcement of the new constitution and on contrary to his above mentioned statement Ghaus Baksh Bizenjo former Governor of Baluchistan, Sardar Khair Baksh Mari former CM of Baluchistan and Sardar Atta Ullah Mengal an MNA from Baluchistan, were arrested on various charges of malpractices, corruption and sedition activities. Thus the confrontation with the opposition was initiated by Bhutto in a big way.

#### **JUP and UDF Civil Disobedience Movement**

On 20<sup>th</sup> August UDF action committee, in a meeting at Lahore decided to launch civil disobedience as per schedule. At the time serious flooding had taken place in Lahore and other parts of the province. "The JI who wished instead to take part in the organizing flood relief work, were angrily condemned by Maulana Noorani who accused them of cowardice and betrayal of common cause."<sup>25</sup>

In the same meeting it was decided that Wali Khan, Arbab Sikandar and Mufti Mahmood would lead the opposition campaign in the NWFP, Nasrullah Khan and Zahur Elahi in Punjab, Sher Baz Mazari in Baluchistan and Ghafoor Ahmad and Maulana Noorani in Sindh and Karachi.<sup>26</sup>

JUP not only actively participated in UDF 'Civil Disobedient Movement' but also in flood relief activities. In an interview with the daily Dawn Maulana Noorani said that the continued denial of democratic rights to the people of Baluchistan and the arrest of Baluch leaders was becoming an open invitation for foreign interference in Baluchistan and NWFP. He demanded early unconditional release of political detainees.<sup>27</sup>

He also expressed dissatisfaction at the lack of proper relief measures in almost all areas of Punjab and Sindh and alleged that PPP leaders were just busy in 'helicopter borne flood survey' and doing little on the ground for the relief of the flood affected people.<sup>28</sup> While addressing party workers Maulana Noorani alleged that relief camps set up by his party for flood affected people, in Multan and Layallpur (Faisalabad) were ransacked by *Goondas* (hooligans). However, he said, his party would continue providing whatever relief it could to help flood affected people of the country.<sup>29</sup>

Addressing a news conference, after a visit to the flood-affected areas in Hyderabad and Nawab Shah districts Maulana Noorani said that opposition parties were not allowed to help the flood affected people who were facing a lot of difficulties because the relief funds were being misused. He claimed that as compared to the relief work done by PPP, which was being used for the ruling party's propaganda to build up the image of its leaders, many parties in the UDF were actively engaged in relief work as it was a national issue. Maulana Noorani demanded setting up a rehabilitation commission comprising of ruling party and opposition representatives or a committee headed by Supreme Court Judges for the fair distribution of Prime Minister's Flood Relief Fund.<sup>30</sup>

For his strong criticism of the government policies, Maulana Noorani faced similar strong reaction from the ruling party when stones were thrown and bullets were fired at him at Khairpur Railway Station soon after he boarded the Khyber Mail. He was returning to Karachi after meeting the UDF chief Pir Pagaro in Pirgo Goth.<sup>31</sup>

Maulana Noorani despite the government policy of harassment of the opposition leaders and workers kept on criticizing the government's highhandedness. He met Abdul Hai Baluch a NAP MNA at city court Karachi who was arrested by the government.

Dr. Abdul Hai informed Maulana Noorani how he was kept in 'C' class despite of High Court order to transfer him to 'A' class jail to which he was entitled as an elected MNA. Maulana Noorani condemned the way Dr. Abdul Hai was treated by the government and declared the government's action of declining 'A' Class to Dr. Abdul Hai as a contempt of court.<sup>32</sup>

#### **JUP's gradual aloofness from UDF**

Although Maulana Noorani was elected Vice President of UDF in mid May 1975, yet the relation between UDF and JUP became strained on the issue of the UDF decision to boycott the by-elections. "The (UDF) decision was based on the simple premise that as the government had been consistently manipulating the result of every by- election.... It was pointless to participate in them. Further ... that boycotting these elections the results would be rendered meaningless and bereft of true elections legitimacy."<sup>33</sup>

Maulana Noorani and his party disagreed with the decision. He declared that to explain the opposition's point of view the only way of mass-contact was to participate in the by- elections as the government had enforced press censorship and section 144.<sup>34</sup> In fact it was JUP which had won the only by- election by the opposition during the Bhutto government and that was from (Sindh) the home province of the Prime Minister. It gave great confidence not only to Maulana Noorani but also to his party.<sup>35</sup> The issue of boycotting of by-elections became more serious issue within UDF when on 18<sup>th</sup> July Maulana Noorani resigned from his seat in the National Assembly on the directive of JUP parliamentary board and on 26<sup>th</sup> July, he was elected senator from Sindh.<sup>36</sup>

The Central Executive Committee of the JUP decided to contest the by-election to the vacant seat of Maulana Noorani and called upon the UDF to revise its decision of the boycott of the by-elections.<sup>37</sup> According to Maulana Noorani UDF decision was not unanimous, "a decision", he said, "which was not unanimous, could not be forced upon the JUP".<sup>38</sup> He pointed out that UDF had allowed Bostan Ali Hoti to contest the Provincial Assembly seat from Karachi and questioned the contradiction in the UDF decision. He clarified that it was not the JUP flouting the UDF mandate and regulations but some other component parties within UDF.

He pointed out that UDF had once taken a unanimous decision to launch a civil disobedience movement. The decision was drafted by the JI leaders (Maulana Muhammad Tufail and Prof. Ghafoor Ahmad) but later when *Majlis-i- Shura* of the JI decided otherwise, the *Jamaat* flouted the UDF decision and did not participate in the movement.

Maulana Noorani mentioned that contesting by- elections was a part of political and democratic process and JUP being majority party among the opposition in Sindh, had to continue the process to train its workers for the upcoming general elections in 1977.<sup>39</sup> Despite all the persuasions of Maulana Noorani and his party, UDF in a meeting at Lahore on 29<sup>th</sup> July decided to uphold its decision to boycott all by- elections.<sup>40</sup> Three member delegation of UDF met Maulana Noorani on 23<sup>rd</sup> August to try to heal the rift between UDF and JUP but in vain.<sup>41</sup>

The only party which supported JUP in the by-election was TI a non-component of UDF. While JI a component party of UDF supported Abdul Sattar Edhi an independent candidate. JUP lost the by-elections due to non-cooperation of UDF parties which resulted its aloofness from UDF.

On the other hand, at a UDF meeting held on 13<sup>th</sup> October at Lahore in contravention of their own earlier decision to boycott all future by-elections, Choudhry Zahoor Ellahi, Nawabzada Nasrullah and Malik Qasim strongly supported Ghulam Mustafa Khar's candidature for a provincial assembly seat from Lahore in the upcoming by-election. Astonishingly on 21<sup>st</sup> October JUP was expelled from UDF for violating the boycott decision of the alliance.<sup>42</sup>

Despite of UDF unfair decision, JUP supported the opposition struggle against the National Assembly adopted the Fourth Constitution Amendment Bill on 14<sup>th</sup> November, 1975. According to it High courts were forbidden from prohibiting the making of an order for preventive detention of a person or to grant bail to anyone so detained. This was the major curtailment of constitutional jurisdiction of High Courts denying them jurisdiction to come to the aid of political victims or even grant such people bail during their detention.<sup>43</sup>

This amendment was passed in a very unfortunate manner members of opposition in the National Assembly wanted to have debate but were denied to avail the opportunity to speak and were

physically thrown out of National Assembly by the security staff led by Sergeant At Arms. The amendment was thus passed in the absence of the opposition.

Maulana Noorani challenged the Fourth Amendment in a writ petition in Lahore High Court filed on his behalf by Ch. Rafiq Ahmed Bajwa Advocate and Muhammad Ismail Qureshi Advocate.<sup>44</sup> The way the fourth Amendment was introduced soon galvanized the opposition leaders. The UDF leaders announced boycott of the National Assembly proceedings, which was upheld by JUP. Later on Maulana Noorani attended the meeting of the heads of the opposition parties in Islamabad on 25<sup>th</sup> November which decided not to hold talks with the government in future and to resign from Assemblies at a later date if necessary.<sup>45</sup>

To mark the completion of four years of Bhutto's misrule, 19<sup>th</sup> December had been nominated as 'Black Day' by the opposition parties. Maulana Noorani along with Asghar Khan and Sher Baz Mazari tried to lead a relay at Karachi's Katrak Hall. The government used the force and got them arrested.

### **Conclusion**

JUP as one of the major opposition political party played a leading role during the Bhutto era. It joined UDF to oppose Bhutto's dictatorial rule. JUP played an active political role in UDF till mid-1975. The composition of the alliance gave a number of small and relatively less known parties, who had no representation in the National Assembly, the same weight as those of any major party in UDF affairs, similarly ill rational and biased policy of complete boycott of the all by-elections not only caused JUP's aloofness from the collision but also weakened and detracted the alliance. Despite of all this JUP supported the opposition through thick and thin to oppose PPP's authoritarian rule and later join a nine parties Pakistan National Alliance which replaced UDF to contest 1977 elections against Bhutto's PPP.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> *Dawn (Karachi)*, 2 March 1973.
- <sup>2</sup> “POLITICS OF UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT” TD, Private Collection, Maulana Muhammad Younas Noshahi, Hafizabad, 1.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.
- <sup>6</sup> Sherbaz Khan Mazari, *A Journey to Disillusionment* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1999), 197-98
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>8</sup> *Morning News (Karachi)*, 16 April 1973.
- <sup>9</sup> *Jassarat (Karachi)*, 31 October 1972.
- <sup>10</sup> M. Asghar Khan, *We've Learnt Nothing from History: Pakistan Politics and Military Power* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 57.
- <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>13</sup> Sahibzada Faizul Hasan joined JUP after leaving Majlis-i- Ahrar and was elected as the President of JUP West Pakistan in 1955 after the adoption of 'One Unit Scheme' on 5 October 1955. While Maulana Noorani was elected as First (Senior Vice) President, Maulana Ghulam Meher Ali and Muhammad Yousaf as Vice-Presidents, and Mufti Muhammad Hussain Naemi as Nazim-i- Ala of JUP West Pakistan respectively. *Nida-i- Ahl-i Sunnat*, August 2003, 15. Later on, after the dissolution of 'One Unit Scheme' and restoration of its separate provinces by CMLA Yahya Khan on 28 November 1969, Sahibzada Faizul Hasan declared himself as the President of JUP Punjab. While Mufti Ejaz Wali Khan challenged his President-ship and created his own group. The President of JUP Khawaja Qamar uddin Sialvi dissolved both the groups of JUP Punjab and appointed Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi as the convener of JUP Punjab. *Anwar-i-Raza (Mujahid-i-Millat Number)*, November 2002, 157.
- <sup>14</sup> *Pakistan Times (Rawalpindi)*, 27- 29 March 1973.
- <sup>15</sup> Government of Pakistan, *White Paper on the conduct of the General Elections in March 1977*. (Rawalpindi: Government of Pakistan, 1978), Annexure 171, 480.
- <sup>16</sup> *Anwar-i-Raza*, November 2002, 157.
- <sup>17</sup> He resigned in October 1972 from the President-ship of JUP because of his old age. *Zindagi*, 24-30 September 1973, 12.
- <sup>18</sup> *Dawn (Karachi)*, 29 May 1973.
- <sup>19</sup> *Pakistan Times (Rawalpindi)*, 28 May 1973.
- <sup>20</sup> *Dawn (Karachi)*, 23 July 1973; *Morning News (Karachi)*, 23 July 1973.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>22</sup> *Dawn (Karachi)*, 31 July 1973.
- <sup>23</sup> Mazari, *Disillusionment*, 317.
- <sup>24</sup> *Dawn (Karachi)*, 15 August 1973.

- <sup>25</sup> Mazari, *Disillusionment*, 320.  
<sup>26</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>27</sup> Ibid.; For the details of JUP role in UDF ‘Civil Disobedience Campaign’ see JUP Karachi, “Khabarnama” Handwritten Document, September 1973, Private Collection, Maulana Jameel Ahmed Naeemi, Karachi, 2,5.  
<sup>28</sup> *Dawn (Karachi)*, 25 August 1973.  
<sup>29</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>30</sup> Ibid., For the details of the flood relief work of JUP see JUP Karachi, “Khabarnama”, 1,3.  
<sup>31</sup> *Jassarat (Karachi)*, 3 September 1973, *Dawn (Karachi)*, 3 September 1973.  
<sup>32</sup> *Nawa-i- Waqt (Rawalpindi)*, 17 September 1973.  
<sup>33</sup> Mazari, *Disillusionment*, 370.  
<sup>34</sup> Mujeeb Ahmad, *Jam ’iyyat ’Ulama-i- Pakistan (1948-1979)* (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research Pakistan, 1993), 112.  
<sup>35</sup> Ibid. *Alfatah*, 3-10 October 1975, 6-7.  
<sup>36</sup> *Nawa-i- Waqt (Rawalpindi)*, 27 July 1975; *Dawn (Karachi)*, 19 July 1975.  
<sup>37</sup> *Morning News (Karachi)*, 28 August, 1975.  
<sup>38</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>39</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>40</sup> Mazari, *Disillusionment*, 378.  
<sup>41</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>42</sup> Mujeeb, *JUP*, 114.  
  
<sup>43</sup> Hamid Khan, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2005), 294.  
  
<sup>44</sup> *Nawa-i- Waqt, (Rawalpindi)*, 12 December 1975; Syed Muhammad Hafeez Qaisar, *Aik Alam- Aik Sayasatdan* (Karachi: Al-Noor Publications, 2001), 197  
<sup>45</sup> Khan, M. Asghar, *My Political Struggle* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 45.