

## **The Politics of Alliances During the Regime of President General Ayub Khan: A Case Study of National Democratic Front**

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### **Abstract**

The politics of alliances is the biggest aspect of an independent form of administration. Pakistan is a sample of such democracies where alliances of political parties played a vital and decisive role at the time. In Pakistan, there are many regional, religious and national political parties. These political parties are based on ethnic, religious and regional themes which is the greatest interruption in the origin of national political parties representing the whole country. Another factor that badly affected the political development of the country was the postponement of democratic rule by military dictators. Political parties in Pakistan are mainly personality-oriented and normally established to attain unimportant objectives. Some of the parties split due to their differences with party leadership. As a result of these factors, Pakistan is still behind in establishing a political party with having national plan. In Pakistan, political parties made numerous alliances from period to period to encounter any tasks, to form a government, to get a government dismissed and to get approval for certain demands from the government. After General Ayub's martial law political parties had no or very little role in the politics of Pakistan. When the martial law was lifted, political parties remained banned and had practically no role in the decision-making of Pakistan. The first alliance in Ayub's regime was the formation of the National Democratic

Front (NDF) consisting on three opposition parties: Council Muslim League (CML), National Awami Party (NAP) and Krishak Siramic Party (KSP). National Democratic Front was a movement and Hussain Shaheed Sohurwardy played a vital role in uniting these political parties. The main purpose of the movement was the restoration of democracy and abolishing of the residential structure by introducing a strong federal structure. After the declaration of the 1965 presidential election, another opposition political party's alliance was formed named as Combined Opposition Parties (COP) to challenge Ayub Khan in the election. Besides this, the nomination of Fatima Jinnah, a female candidate for president ship is a controversial question between the Muslim scholars and religious political parties in the country. Other opposition alliances like the Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) and the Democratic Action Committee (DAC) were also part of the political alliances during the regime of Ayub Khan. The paper is descriptive, both primary and secondary sources are used for information and focus on the formation, strategies and politics of the National Democratic Front (NDF).

**Keywords:** Politics, Alliance, Movement, Military Rule, Political Parties, Opposition Politics

## Introduction

In Pakistan there are many regional, ethnic, religious, and personality based political parties, and where is a history of unrestrained political disturbances, it is not rare for the creation of political alliances. Actually, these political alliances must be bogus in command to safeguard a robust democratic construction that will finally principal to the accomplishment of national political goals letting democracy to embellishment in their wake. In Pakistan there have been numerous political alliances. Ever since a creation of Pakistan no political party win a nationwide majority, alliances had to be made to attain a little objective. A numerous of these alliances were electoral alliances such as Combined Opposition Parties (COP) and Pakistan National Alliance (PNA), others were opposition alliances like Democratic Action Committee (DAC), Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM), and Movement for Restoration of Democracy (MRD). The formation of

parliamentary opposition alliances like United Democratic Front (UDF) has also been part of the political history of Pakistan.

Ayub Khan own perceptions that parliamentary democracy could not function in Pakistan because the uneducated masses could be easily exploited by the pirs and landlords.<sup>1</sup> He regarded political parties as a destabilizing institution and held the politicians responsible for all the pre-1958 ills of the country.<sup>2</sup> Slowly he learnt to be less harsh in stating his belief but his assessment did not change. During the military regime of Ayub Khan (1958-69) political parties did not function properly. In 1962 when martial law was lifted and new constitution was promulgated political parties remain banned. The primary stage in the way of assembling such view was occupied by nine politicians of East Pakistan belonging to the obsolete AL, NAP, PML, KSP, and NIP, with three ex-chief ministers Nur ul Amin (PML), Abu Husain Sarkar (KSP) and Ata ul Rehman (AL), and other six were Mujib ur Rehman (AL) Yousaf Ali Choudhury (KSP) Mahmud Ali (NAP), Sayyid Aziz al-Haq Choudhury (KSP) and Pir A. H. Muhsin al-Din Ahmad (NIP) who in a combined declaration on June 24, 1962<sup>3</sup> called for the abolition of the constitution and restoration of full democracy. In West Pakistan the support derived from mostly NAP and AL

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- 1) Ayub Khan, Friends not Masters, p.206
  - 2) Pakistan Times, March 29,1959
  - 3) M Rafique Afzal Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969 volume II 10th Edition National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, p,194

politicians and workers, first at a meeting in August presided by Khair Baksh Marri at Quetta, and the following

month the two-day Sindh Democratic Convention of political workers from the former Punjab, Sindh, NWFP (KP), and Baluchistan at Sukkur presided over by Shaikh Abdul Majid Sindhi.<sup>4</sup>

### **Formation of National Democratic Front 1962 (NDF)**

National Democratic Front (NDF) was the first democratic alliance established in Ayub's era for the restoration of democracy. It consisted on different political parties, AL, NAP, CML and KSP. When Political Parties Act was introduced in 1962, providing permission and ground rules for the formation of political parties, the supporters of the June 24 statement issued an appeal that the political parties should not be revived till the restoration of democracy.<sup>5</sup> All the parties accepted the plea except JIP, NIP, JUI and majority of the Muslim Leaguers. One of the important factors was missing that he could not detain politicians or political parties to revive with such undesirable petitions by providing them an organized forum. They therefore mooted the idea of "National Front."<sup>6</sup> Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy

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4) Dawn, September 19, 1962

5) See Jang (Karachi) July 22, 1962 and Pakistan Observer, August, 13, 1962 for statements to this effect by Nur Al-Amin, Shah Aziz al- Rahman and Mujib al- Rahman and the statesman, July 26, 1962 for statesman by Abu Hussain Sarkar (KSP), Hamid al- Haq Choudhury (KSP), Abd al-Latif Biswas (KSP) and others.

6) See the statements of the NAP leaders, Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Mahmud al-Haq Uthmani and Major Ishaq, in Dawn July 28, 1962 and Muhammad Ibrahim, Law Minister, during Martial Law (October 1958-April 1962) in Pakistan Observer, September 15, 1962

played an important role to transport the equally aggressive groups of the two wings of Pakistani politician on one stand to work for a mutual objective. As a result of his talks with the leaders of aggressive and resuscitate political parties, thirty-five leaders representing the NAP, AL, PML, JIP, KSP, and RP with nineteen from East Pakistan, met at Lahore in September to debate the formation of national front. The meeting was detained at the house of Mahmud Ali Qasuri (NAP) and Abu'l A'la Maudidi (JIP) on the two issues (i) whether a constituent assembly should be called to frame a new constitution or amendments should be made in the existing constitution and (ii) whether the proposed national front should be composed of individuals politicians, owing no loyalty to any political party, or should be an alliance of political parties. The first issue consensus was progressed easily, even a politician from Sindh, NWFP (now KP) and Baluchistan who at that moment of time demanding the breakup of one unit agreed to wait till a later date. However, on the second issue the views were alienated, many of the East Pakistani leaders powerfully opposed the revival of political parties before the refurbishment of full democracy. Though this issue was unsettled, the leaders yet decided to fight from one stage for the joint objective. On October 4, Suhrawardy made an announcement, about the formation of the National Democratic Front (NDF), and released a list of forty five supporters, which included prominent leaders of the JIP (Syed Maududi, Mian Tufail Muhammad and Choudhury Ghulam Muhammad), AL (Nawabzada Nasar Allah, Ata al-Rahman and Mujib al-Rahman), NAP (Mahmud Ali, Mahmud al-Haq Uthmani, Haider Bakhsh Jatoti and Khair Bakhsh Marri), CML (Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Bahadur Khan, Muhammad Yusuf Khattak, Z.H. Lari and Abu'l Qasim), KSP (Muhammad Suleiman, Sayyid Aziz al-Haq and Yusuf Ali Choudhury), and RP ( Col. Abid Husain). In order to involve

the EBDOed politicians in its activities, the NDF was called a movement and not a political party. However, its leadership and organizational structure were to be decided at a convention to be held towards the end of 1962; an announcement to this effect was made by Sayyid Maududi.<sup>7</sup> However, apart from internal conflicts, the NDF did not get a congenial atmosphere to function. After the Lahore meeting, the visiting East Pakistani leaders planned a tour of West Pakistan to explain their view point. Unfortunately, their very first, meeting, at Mochi Gate, Lahore, was disrupted, allegedly by the Convention Leaguers.<sup>8</sup>

### **Other Alliances of the Regime**

In Pakistan there are several political parties and where there is an antiquity of unrestrained political disorders, it is not unlikely for the creation of political alliances. In Pakistan there have been many such alliances to achieve their objectives because neither of the party in a position to win a single majority. Some of these alliances in President General Ayub Khan Regime were National Democratic Front (NDF), Combined Opposition Parties (COP), Pakistan Democratic Movement (PDM) and Democratic Action Committee (DAC).

### **Combined Opposition Parties 1964 (COP)**

After the Electoral College 1964 all the political parties demanding the adult franchise and the direct election of the member of the Assembly. But the bill does not permit to do this. In connection to this a new all-party committee of action for

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7) Morning News, October 5, 1962

8) Pakistan Times, (Lahore), September 26, 1962

adult franchise and direct elections was established to organize protest meetings; but this committee was primarily an east Pakistan AL-NAP-NIP venture meant for a specific purpose. The NDF, CML and other parties observed their own “protest days” separately. This situation facilitated the government maneuvering to muster the requisite two-third majority to pass the Bill, although the ruling party was then short of eighteen votes.<sup>9</sup> Majority of the opposition parties started to establish a new alliance. Khwaja nazim al-Din, the initiator of this move, faced little difficulty in forging an identity of views with the leaders of the NIP and the banned JIP.<sup>10</sup> AL and NAP were also accepted the plan. In June 1964, Nazim al-Din had preliminary talks with their leaders who appointed negotiating teams to evolve a common formula. Nazim al-Din, however, made it clear that the new organization would be an alliance, not a merger of parties.<sup>11</sup>

On July 21, representatives of the CML (Nazim al-Din), AL (Nawabzada Nasr Allah Khan and Shaikh Mujib al-Rahman), NAP (Abd al-Hamid Bhashani), NIP(Choudhury Muhammad Ali) and JIP (K.J.Murad) had a four day meeting at Nazim al-Din’s residence at Dhaka, where the COP was formed; and it was decided to put up common candidates for the electoral college, the president ship, and the National and provincial Assemblies, on the basis of a common programme. The COP adopted a nine-point manifesto demanding: a democratic constitution; direct elections for the National and provincial Assemblies; budgetary authority for the

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9) Morning News, March 13, 20,26, 1964

10) Dawn, June 16, 21,1964, Statement by Choudhury Muhammad Ali and Nazim al-Din

11) Ibid., June 27 July 6, 1964

legislatures; a parliamentary system; provincial autonomy consistent with integrity of Pakistan. With party at the center; restriction on presidential powers; independence of the judiciary; removal of restrictions on political parties; and release of political prisoners.<sup>12</sup>

COP programmed was a concurrence. NAP and their leadership including Bashani had different views. They had objection on the nine-point program of the COP, which repeal family law ordinance, but NAP did not able to remove from the COP agenda.

### **Pakistan Democratic Movement 1967 (PDM)**

The PDM was founded in May 1967 by the politicians of East and West Pakistan.<sup>13</sup> Negotiations for an alliance began in April. Five parties the CML, NIP,

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12) Manifesto of COP

13) Kaushik, *Opposition Front in Pakistan* p, 229

14) It was formed in 1962 by five political parties. It was not formally dissolved and PDM its member parties joined PDM upholding its ideas. For Details see Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II. pp. 209-10. Hakeem Rahat Saeed Suharwardy and Qamar Ehsan Kamalpuri, *Nawabzada, Nasrullah Khan (Khud Navisht, Taswuraat, Shairi)* (Lahore: Muhammad Nazir, Tahir Nazir, 2003), p. 72

15) PDM asked for a federal parliamentary form of government based on direct elections through adult franchise leaving defense, foreign affairs, currency, federal finance, inter-wing communication and trade with the center; removing the disparity between the east and west Pakistan within ten years, establishing complete fundamental rights, a free press and an independent judiciary, shifting the Naval headquarters to East Pakistan and appointing a defense council consisting of equal number from both the wings. Regarding the foreign policy it said that Pakistan should maintain friendly relations with all the countries irrespective of their ideological differences, and fraternal relations should be made with Muslim and Afro-Asian nations. Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 223-25. Also see Sayyid A. S. Pirzada, *Politics of Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Pakistan: 1971-77* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 29 and Hamid, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 190.

16) Afzal, *Rafique Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, p. 224.



JI, AL and NDF<sup>14</sup> participated in discussions until they reached an agreement. The new alliance was based on eight-point program.<sup>15</sup> The organizational structure of PDM comprised of a national executive, consisting of six members, including respective chairman or the president of each of the constituent parties.<sup>16</sup> Rendering to PDM the forthcoming elections were not acceptable under 1962 constitution. PDM wants federal parliamentary system, direct elections based on adult franchise, defense, foreign affairs, currency, finance, and inter wing communication for the Centre. The PDM also wants the removal of agitation between the two wings of Pakistan. Later it added the demand of the restoration of the 1956 constitution, withdrawal of the emergency, release of political prisoners, dissolution of national press trust, lifting of a ban on newspapers such as Ittefaq and repeal of Loudspeaker Ordinance.<sup>17</sup> PDM's economic program was about equal distribution of wealth among all sections of society. Except East Pakistan Awami Leagu (EPAL) all

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17) According to this ordinance the government banned use of loud speakers for public meetings and other political activities. For details see *Muslmaan*, October 26, 1963. Also see *Dawn*, April 30, 1967.

18) Afzal, Rafique Vol, *Political Parties in Pakistan*. II, p. 278 and Hebert Fledman, *Crisis*, pp. 341-42

19) This section prohibits larger gatherings. According to this section "Whoever, being armed with any deadly weapon, or with anything which, used as a weapon of offence, is likely to cause death, is a member of an unlawful assembly/shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both"<http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/1860/actXLVof1860.html> (accessed February 28, 2012)

20) Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 225-28.

21) *Ibid.*, p. 278

member parties ratified the program. EPAL, barring a few members, preferred to pursue its six point program.<sup>18</sup> Due to implementation of Section 144<sup>19</sup>, PDM leadership could only communicate with small gatherings. It gained momentum in 1968, but this was curtailed by the government through prohibitory orders.<sup>20</sup> Its leadership faced serious problems when its workers started working for the movement even before it had begun to properly plan for this purpose.<sup>21</sup>

Initially PDM succeeded in winning concessions from Ayub Khan through approval to revert to parliamentary democracy and adult franchise. But its component parties could not maintain a consolidated front to achieve success.<sup>22</sup> Policy differences within PDM caused damage to its credibility in the eyes of the populace.<sup>23</sup> The breakthrough in the movement came in the last quarter of 1968, which led to conversion of the PDM into an eight party alliance that was given the name of Democratic Action Committee (DAC).<sup>24</sup>

### **Democratic Action Committee 1969 (DAC)**

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22) S.M. Zafar, "Constitutional Development" in Hafeez Malik, ed., *Pakistan Founders Aspirations and Today's Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 52

23) Kaushik, "Opposition Fronts in Pakistan", p. 230.

24) Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 225-28.

25) Ibid., p. 267

Ayub Khan intended to celebrate from October 27, 1967 to October 27, 1968 the 'Decade of Reforms' (1958-1968) at the completion of ten years of his rule.<sup>25</sup> This announcement sparked off agitation at a mass level which proved to be a major reason of the downfall of Ayub Khan's Government.<sup>26</sup> On January 8, 1969 PDM and three other parties AL, NAP and JUI announced the formation of a new alliance called the Democratic Action Committee (DAC). Pakistan People's Party<sup>27</sup> (PPP) and NAP of Maulana Bhashani decided to not participate in it.<sup>28</sup> Political parties announced a country-wide strike from January 17, 1969 to put pressure on the government. This resolution was similar to the one which was passed on February

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26) Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 87

27) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the founder of the PPP. He belonged to a leading family of Sindh with the degree from Berkeley, Oxford and London. He joined the Cabinet in 1958 for the first time. Retaining different offices he got the portfolio of foreign minister in the cabinet of Ayub Khan. Being young and bold he enjoyed the confidence of Ayub Khan but after the signing of the Tashkent Declaration differences between the two leaders became in the lime light and Z. A. Bhutto formed his own political party named as PPP with a socialistic agenda of equal distribution of wealth among the common people and a slogan of *Roti, Kapra aur Makan* [Urdu; Food, Clothing and Shelter] for all. Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 186-88.

28) Kaushik "Opposition Fronts in Pakistan", p. 231 and Gohar, *Ayub Khan*, pp. 440-60.

29) Murtuza Anjum, *Kawn Kaisie Giā* [Urdu] (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 2000), pp. 132-133. Also see Gohar, *Ayub Khan*, p. 441 and Suharwardy and Kamalpurī, *Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan*, p. 78.

30) Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Developments: 1947-1999* (New York: Oxford University Press. 2003), p. 60. Also see Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 88.

22 and 23, 1968 at Dhaka by *Tehrik-e-Jamhooriyat* (Movement for Democracy).<sup>29</sup>

Country-wide strikes made it difficult for the government to control the situation as it was decided that the Army would not be used to maintain law and order.

Agitations created political chaos in the country. Some bold steps were required to tackle the problem but President's falling health did not allow it.<sup>30</sup>

President Ayub invited opposition leaders to reach a solution to the political problems the nation faced. He allowed the convener of DAC, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan<sup>31</sup> to invite all the political leaders to participate in discussion.

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31) Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan was born in Khangarh in 1918. He emerged as a student leader in politics around 1933 and joined a revolutionary group 'Majlis-i-Ihrrar' till the creation of Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan, he started his political career from the platform of Muslim League. In 1950 he was elected as the Member of Provincial Assembly. He joined the opposition party, 'Jinnah Awami League' and later on this party was renamed as 'Awami League'. He was selected as its vice president when Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardi was the president of the party. Nawabzada played an important role during the Tehreek-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwat in 1953. He was elected the Member of the National Assembly through indirect elections in 1962. He strongly supported Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah in the Presidential Elections of 1964 against Ayub Khan. On 30th April 1967 he succeeded in forming a five-party alliance for opposition which was named as 'Pakistan Democratic Movement'. In 1977, Nawabzada was one of the senior leaders of the Pakistan National Alliance. In the elections of 1977, he was elected as the Member of the National Assembly. He also played an active role in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) against Gen. Ziaul Haq. <http://storyofpakistan.com/nawabzada-nasrullah-khan/> retrieved on August 20, 2013.

He also announced that he will honor the demand if any of the politicians wanted to have a one-to-one meeting with him to resolve problems.<sup>32</sup> The opposition accepted the offer of the president to discuss issues in order to reach to an amicable agreement. However, they laid some conditions before they would engage in a discussion with the government. The president was unwilling to enter into a dialogue without any preconditions. DAC announced boycott of the upcoming elections unless the government was ready to accept its eight point agenda which consisted of the following demands:

1. Elections should be held on the basis of adult franchise.
2. Assemblies should be sovereign.
3. The ‘State of Emergency’ should be abolished.
4. Citizen’s rights and liberty must be restored.
5. Political prisoners should be released from jail.
6. A federal parliamentary form of government should be established

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32) Anjum, *Kawn Kaisie Giā*, p. 134 and Hebert Fledman, *Crisis*, p. 277.

33) Anjum, *Kawn Kaisie Giā*, pp. 132-33 and Hashmi, *The Governing Process in Pakistan*, p. 209.

34) Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 90. Also see Hashmi, *The Governing Process in Pakistan*, pp. 209-10

35) Afzal, *Political Parties*, Vol. II, 1998. p. 173

7. Direct elections on the basis of adult franchise.
8. Restoration of rights of labor to strike and withdrawal of all restraints on the press.<sup>33</sup>

After the DAC's demands government rapidly responded to the situation. The state of emergency which had been forced at the time of war in 1965 was raised and restriction on the press was also lifted. The government also promised to make arrangements to bring Sheikh Mujeeb-ur Rehman (Mujeeb), the Awami League Leader, to participate in the second round of the Round Table Conference (RTC) which was held at the end of February.<sup>34</sup> At the time of first round of the RTC Mujeeb was imprisoned for Agartala conspiracy case. Agartala conspiracy case was a treason case against Mujeeb and thirty four other civil and military personnel for conspiring to separate East Pakistan through an armed revolt supported and funded

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36) Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 90. Also see Hashmi, *The Governing Process in Pakistan*, p. 210. 86 Six point program of Mujeeb consisted of: (a) A federal parliamentary form of government with Universal Adult Franchise, (b) Federal government portfolios to be limited to defense and foreign affairs only, (c) the two provinces should have separate currencies with restrictions on the movement of capital funds from one region to the other, (d) All taxes to vest in the provinces of collection, (e) All foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan to be at the disposal of East Pakistan, (f) An independent militia for East Pakistan. Afzal, *Political Parties*, Vol. II, 1998. p. 169.

37) , *Kawn Kaisie Giā*, p. 141

by India. The case was disclosed by the government in January 1968. It is believed that the main conspiracy was prepared in the Indian city of Agartala that is why it is generally known as Agartala Conspiracy Case. A three-member tribunal was appointed for trial of the accused.<sup>35</sup> Second round of RTC was attended by DAC leaders and Mujeeb. In the first session of RTC, Mujeeb was not invited to participate. Before the second session of RTC, leaders of DAC, the Student Action Committee (SAC) and others like Mumtaz Daultana, Bhashani, Azam Khan, Asghar Khan and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (Bhutto) demanded his release. Due to political pressure Mujeeb and other politicians accused in the Agartala Conspiracy Case were released. To justify this, release the Criminal Law Amendment (Special Tribunal) Ordinance, 1968 was repealed. The Agartala Conspiracy Case was also withdrawn by the government. This made the environment more conducive for prolific talks.<sup>36</sup> Mujeeb called the leaders of the DAC to plan a settled method. Political leaders predominantly from small provinces of West Pakistan amenable wanted termination of “One Unit” into self-governing provinces. The DAC chosen

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38) Anjum, Kawn Kaisie Giā, p. 141

39) Yusuf, Pakistan in Search of Democracy, p. 90. Also see Hashmi, The Governing Process in Pakistan, pp. 90 Anjum and 211, Rafi Raza, “Constitutional Developments and Political Consequences”, in Pakistan in Perspective: 1947-97, ed., Rafi Raza (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 15.

a subcommittee to invent a plan but unsuccessful and it was decided to bring forward two principles in RTC: a federal parliamentary system with regional autonomy, and direct elections on the basis of adult franchise. In the meeting held on March 10, 1969 the leaders could not adhere to the agreed formula. Mujeeb raised the issue of six points<sup>37</sup> and SAC's eleven points. He also demanded representation on the basis of population and dissolution of One Unit. Muzaffar Ahmad (NAP) fully supported his demands and Mumtaz Daultana's (CML) partially. Khan Abdul Wali Khan and leaders of Sindh and Balochistan were supporting Mujeeb's demands for a federation because they believed that it was only through following this process that they would be able to attain provincial autonomy for their provinces.<sup>38</sup> Chaudhri Muhammad Ali (NIP) and Maududi (JI) limited their efforts for the authorization of the two settled demands. No optimistic result could come out of RTC. Only two points might be completed that were suitable to all: a parliamentary system of government and direct elections of the basis of adult franchise.



Ayub Khan agreed to amend the constitution accordingly but was against the dissolution of One Unit. Sheikh Mujeeb was dissatisfied by the decision and withdrew from RTC and DAC.<sup>39</sup> The primary reason why Mujeeb left DAC was that he was unable to convince others for the provincial autonomy to the extent of his satisfaction.<sup>40</sup> The next day Nasrullah Khan dissolved the DAC. According to him the DAC had achieved its basic motive and there was no further need to continue an alliance of multi-dimensional political parties.<sup>41</sup>

### **Ayub Khan Response to NDF**

Ayub Khan had wished to regulate the opposition through Political Parties Act (PPA), but quickly found Act required teeth. The EBODed politicians were too shrewd and clever to be defeated so easily. Since they could not become members, or hold offices, of any political party, they therefore united round the National Democratic Front, which was termed a movement, not a political party. Because the PPA could not be appealed in contradiction of banned politicians contributing in NDF events, the government strained to comprise the NDF movement and stop

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40) Anjum, Kawn Kaisie Giā, p. 141 and Hebert Fledman, Crisis, p. 283.

41) Hashmi, The Governing Process in Pakistan, p. 211.

42) Pakistan Times, November 15, 1962

it from flattering popular. To this conclusion, it measured the outline of new legislation to halt the EBODed politician. An alteration in the PPA was anticipated for extra cause, too. The pro Ayub ConML and the CML were holding talks for a contract, and had previously sorted out all changes but those on CML claim for the with inflection of the ban on EBODed politician. Showing receptiveness to this demand, Ayub Khan on January 7, 1963 issued two ordinances.<sup>42</sup> The regime keenness to control the situation through these ordinances is made clear by the statement of one of its ministers to the effect that Martial Law might, be re- imposed in the event of the failure of these measures.<sup>43</sup> One of the ordinances the Elective Bodies Disqualification (Removal and Re- mission) Ordinance, gave the President, discretionary power to reduce, or to waive altogether, an EBODed politician's period of disqualification.<sup>44</sup> This Ordinance induced affected reply. Inside a fortnight, twenty-one leading politicians had applied to the President, for the remission or waiver of the period of disqualification; some of them did so despite appeals the contrary from their former party associates and disciples. More applications soon followed. Those who lodged appeals included Khan 'Abd al-

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43) Pakistan Observer, January 12, 1963 Statement by Abd al Sobur Khan

44) Gazette of Pakistan (Extraordinary), January 7, 1963

Qayyum Khan, Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy, Firoz Khan Noon, Nawab Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot,, Muhammad Ayub Khuhro, Jalal al-Din (Jalal Baba) and Sardar 'Abd al-Rashid. Therefore, the regime achieved to shame numerous foremost politicians by alluring them to apply for reduction, and formerly chastened them more by not taking action on any applicant. Subsequently, in April 1963, the Ordinance itself was allowed to lapse since it was not brought before the National Assembly for ratification. When, in May 1963, the government renewed its offer, the politicians were wise enough not to take it seriously.' The second ordinance, which became law on April 17, 1963, after two days of heated debate in the National Assembly, amended the PPA to redefine a political party in the broadest possible terms include "a group or combination of persons who are operating for the purpose of propagating any political opinion or indulging in any other political activity" <sup>45</sup> Anyone who was disqualified under the PPA could not be a member or office-bearer of, or otherwise be associated with, any political party.

The government, was empowered to direct any disqualified person who was indulging or was likely to indulge in any political activity to refrain from addressing any meeting, including a press conference, or issuing any statement of a political nature to the press for a period of six months. Any person who was disqualified

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45) Ibid.,

under the PPA was not allowed to belong to, hold office in, or otherwise be connected to any political party.

Any disqualified individual who was engaging in or was likely to engage in political action might be ordered by the government to desist from speaking at any gatherings, including press conferences, or from making any statements of a political nature to the media for a period of six months. Anyone who disobeys such a rule may be punished or put in prison for two years, either way The PPA successfully discouraged lawmakers from actively joining the National Democratic Front, preventing them from enlarging the ranks of the opposition. However, it was rarely used, and no politician

Was punished for using it. One opposition MNA challenged this directive the National Assembly through an adjournment motion, but the Speaker ruled his motion out of order. Ata al-Rehman his actions, he disregarded this instruction in its entirety. Throughout the duration of the ban, he often presided over meetings that the East Pakistan NDF convened and was always present on stage. The subsequent announcements that he was unable to address the group due to the ban made it clear that the order was being disobeyed. The government didn't impose any sanctions on him.

## **NDF and its Six-point Program**

In early 1964 a last effort was made to uphold NDF's all Pakistan character. Virtually nothing had been done to unite it in West Pakistan since the Lakham House Conspiracy. Now in January, representatives of three opposition parties CML, NAP and AL met at Lahore and announced the formation of the West Pakistan NDF, with a six-point minimum programme: achievement of a democratic constitution, repeal of all repressive laws, direct election on the basis of adult franchise, release of all political prisoners, an independent judiciary and restoration of the powers of the Supreme Court and High Courts and untrammelled and unrestricted fundamental rights. It was to have a twenty-two-member central council with powers to organize branches in all parts of West Pakistan.<sup>46</sup> While in East Pakistan the situation was different, NDF working effectively till the split started between AL and NAP leadership.

This group was unable to gain momentum. CML purposely contributed although their chief Nazim al-Din was unhappy about the whole move and this augmented tension within the CML. The NAP NWFP was not excited about the change and AL attention too decreased after their party was revived. At the same time Government policy made the situation more complicated the very first meeting of

its council dispersed abruptly as a protest against the written order from the District Magistrate Lahore, deputizing two police officers to attend and record its proceedings.<sup>47</sup> The lone result of this joint deed was the observance of the Franchise Day in March and after that it reverted into inactivity. The NDF situation in East Pakistan was rather dissimilar, as it had functioned their pretty successfully since its beginning. Now a gap both in AL and NAP leadership appeared: some leaders wanting to recover their own parties to fight for sovereign objects, whereas others maintained the Party less NDF as they thought that alliances created on parties would affect in joint wrangling and clashes. The last group by expanding the objects of the NDF, strained to deter the earlier form of reviving the AL and NAP. The new NDF manifesto, adopted in January 1964, demanded:<sup>48</sup>

- 1) Restoration of the 1956 constitution
- 2) Unfettered fundamental rights
- 3) A federal parliamentary system
- 4) A sub federation of former provinces of Sindh, Baluchistan, NWFP (KP) and the Punjab with territorial readjustment full regional autonomy, leaving only defense, foreign affairs and currency with the Centre.
- 5) Direct election to the legislatures on the basis of adult franchise.
- 6) Independent of judiciary and a non-aligned foreign policy.

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46) Morning News, January 22, 1964. The Announcement was made by Nawabzada Nasar Allah Khan (AL) Mahmud Ali Qusuri (NAP) and Khawaja Muhammad Safdar (CML)

47) Ibid, February 10, 1964

But even this comprehensive manifesto could not prevent the revival of the AL and the NAP, and the NDF called their revival a violation of the front's principles.<sup>49</sup>

Despite the all circumstances NDF was still popular in East Pakistan. The NDF and their leaders does not bother to brief about the party less unity. Time and again they asked the political parties to cancel their individual entities and made a collective effort for the restoration of democracy.

### **The Lakham House Conspiracy Case**

Ayub Khan tackled the NDF task by propagating two ordinances on January 7, 1963: one was designed to wean the EBODed politicians away from the NDF by allowing them to lodge appeals to the president for the remission or wavier of the period of disqualification and the other broadened the definition of a political party to include the NDF, so as to ban their participation in or association with it.<sup>50</sup> The NDF however, went ahead with its program of reorganization. On January 27-28, 1963, its leader held meetings simultaneously at Dhaka and Karachi to decide about its organizational structure. At the meeting in East Pakistan, things moved smoothly, and it was agreed to set up a committee representing NAP, AL, ML (non-revivalist) and KSP, with Nur al-Amin as its convener, to organize branches at district and sub divisional and union council levels. But the meeting in West Pakistan led to serious complication. Thirty eight NDF leaders met at Suharwerdy's residence, Lakham house, at Karachi. Shurawardy himself could not attend the

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48) Pakistan Times, January 7, 1964

49) Pakistan Observer, February 3, 1964

meeting, because of a heart attack: and in his place, Sheikh Abd al- Majid Sindhi presided over it, while Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan acted as a spokesman of the participants. Representatives of the CML, NAP, JIP, AL and RP and some independents participated in the deliberation, which were closed to the press, prominent participant were: (i) CML Sardar Bahadur Khan, Z.H. Illahi, and Muhammad Hussain chahta (ii) AL, Nawabzada Nasar Allah Khan, Akhtar Ali Khan, Malik Amjad Hussain, and Khawaja Muhammad Rafiq (iii) NAP, Abd Al Majid Sindhi, M>H Uthmani, Abd al-wali Khan and Mahmud Ali Qasuri (iv) JIP, Mian Tufail Muhammad, Chaudary Ghulam Muhammad, Sidiq al – Hassan Gillani and Professor Abd al- Ghafur (v) RP, Mubarik Ali Shah, Zulifiqar Ali Shah and Iftikhar Ahmad Ansari and (vi) Independents, Rasul Baksh Talpur, Mauland Abdal-Sattar Niazi, Qazi Faiz Muhammad, Ata Allah Mengal and Masood Ahmad.<sup>51</sup>NIP was the only opposition party which does not attend the session. A resolution was moved by Maulana Abd al- Sattar Niazi to launch a civil disobedience movement for attaining their goals, but this was refused. Another formula set by the five-member committee, but this was rejected by the CML participants, and they told the conference that they are participating in its discussion in their separate entity and not as a representative of the party. Then the formula was forwarded to their particular parties and a ten member committee comprising Z.H Lari and Muhammad Hussain Chahta (CML), Mian Tufail Muhammad and Choudhury Ghulam Muhammad (JIP), Nawabzada Nasar Allah and Khawaja Muhammad Rafiq (AL) and Abd al-Wali Khan and Mahmud Ali Qasuri (NAP) was appointed

50) Rafique Afzal Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969 volume II p 200

51) Morning News, January 27,28,1963



to coordinate the political efforts of the parties and individuals to bring about a speedy establishment of full democracy.<sup>52</sup> At the conclusion of the meeting, a strongly worded five page resolution was released, which condemned the imposition of Martial Law in October 1958 as a well-planned conspiracy, and severely criticized the 1962 constitution, PPA and two amended ordinances.<sup>53</sup> In connection to this meeting government detained sedition on explanation of the secrecy observed as reporting in the daily Jang (January 31) “opposition leaders to launch civil disobedience movement” reported by the special police at Lahore, Mian Tufail Muhammad and Maulana Abd al-Sattar Niazi just gave the text of the NDF resolution, was arrested under West Pakistan Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance, but was released on bail. In late February, the Karachi police registered a case, later known as Lakham House Conspiracy Case, against the thirty-eight NDF leaders, under section 124-A of the Pakistan penal code, on a charge of sedition.<sup>54</sup> May 9 ten out of thirty-eight NDF leaders had been arrested. These arrests agitated the opposition greatly and in one of its meetings, at the residence of Rasul Baksh Talpur, its leaders decided to circulate the 100,000 copies of Sindhi and Urdu versions of the NDF resolution under the title of Charter of Democracy.<sup>55</sup> The government did not take any hard stance on the arrested leaders. Bail was, at first allowed to five detainees on condition that they would agree not to

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52) Ibid, January 29, 1963, and Pakistan Times, June 3, 1963

53) Pakistan Observer, January 31, 1963

54) Civil and Military Gazette, March 1, 1963

55) Ibid, May 12, 1963

make speeches or pass resolution of the kind that were being regarded as seditious.<sup>56</sup>

Lakham House Conspiracy case disturbed the NDF to achieve their objectives. Hussain Shaheed Shurwerdy departure abroad for his treatment also removed the only relation between East and West Pakistan politicians. Another issue which affects the NDF was the joint disbelief of the political leaders of different political parties amongst each other. Further to this CML and NAP under their president ship slowly disenchanted with the NDF. The CML working committee after a five-day meeting in March, resolved I that a fruitful cooperation could be secured only between nationally organized political parties and not just between individuals.<sup>57</sup> The JIP and NIP had same point of view while NAP leadership thinking of their own revival but after some indecisive discussion, they reluctantly decided to carry on its support to NDF.

## Conclusion

After the establishment of Pakistan, there were various political parties like regional and religious, but none of these parties had perform a role of a national political party. Only Muslim League could be the national political party, but it had a little support in the region. The religious political parties and other aspects of Pakistan

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56) Pakistan Times, May 10, 1963

57) Dawn, March 11, 1963.

politics were not able to attract voters and make valuable position in the assemblies. Majorities of these parties were personality oriented political parties, personal grievances of their political leader like JUI divided into JUI (f) JUI (s) and same as Muslim league remained as by different personality like Ayub khan to get a validity as the president of Pakistan.

In the political history of Pakistan political alliances played a vital role in 1954 united front was inaugurated and after that different alliance had been made to mobilize the general public against the ruler. Similarly, alliances were made against president general Ayub Khan and Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto for restoration of democracy, this alliance had a shorter duration because they had not a proper political program for the public. But this program had a significant impact for political development. NDF was the first alliance in the Ayub's regime, basically it was a movement (not a political party) against the presidential system of the Ayub Khan, restoration of parliamentary democracy and 1956 constitution. The formation of NDF and their later efforts had significance importance in the political history of Pakistan. Connecting hands by the Political leaders despite having conceptual and personality clatters for finish dictator regime was a representation of the democratic need predominant between then political campaigners. Backup the reason of authorizing

and de-authorizing of the country and identifying the cognizable right of the masses to inaugurate or depose the monarchs was additional memo assumed by the combined struggle of the political energetic unit of the civilization to inspire the disappointed and uncaring masses. NDF had greater contribution in the alliances politics and make a trend for the political parties to work for common object under the dictator rule.

### Notes and References:

- 1) Ayub Khan, Friends not Masters, p.206
- 2) Pakistan Times, March 29,1959
- 3) M Rafique Afzal Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969 volume II 10th Edition National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, Centre of Excellence Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, p,194
- 4) Dawn, September 19. 1962
- 5) See Jang (Karachi) July 22,1962 and Pakistan Observer, August, 13, 1962 for statements to this effect by Nur Al-Amin, Shah Aziz al- Rahman and Mujib al- Rahman and the statesman, July 26,1962 for statesman by Abu Hussain Sarkar (KSP), Hamid al- Haq Choudhury (KSP), Abd al-Latif Biswas (KSP) and others.
- 6) See the statements of the NAP leaders, Mahmud Ali Qasuri, Mahmud al-Haq Uthmani and Major Ishaq, in Dawn July 28,1962 and Muhammad Ibrahim, Law Minister, during Martial Law (October 1958-April 1962) in Pakistan Observer, September 15, 1962
- 7) Morning News, October 5, 1962
- 8) Pakistan Times, (Lahore), September 26, 1962
- 9) Morning News, March 13, 20,26, 1964
- 10) Dawn, June 16, 21,1964, Statement by Choudhury Muhammad Ali and Nazim al-Din
- 11) Ibid., June 27 July 6, 1964

- 12) Manifesto of COP
- 13) Kaushik, Opposition Front in Pakistan p, 229
- 14) It was formed in 1962 by five political parties. It was not formally dissolved and PDM its member parties joined PDM upholding its ideas. For Details see Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II. pp. 209-10. Hakeem Rahat Saeed Suharwardy and Qamar Ehsan Kamalpuri, *Nawabzada, Nasrullah Khan (Khud Navisht, Taswuraat, Shairi)* (Lahore: Muhammad Nazir, Tahir Nazir, 2003), p. 72
- 15) PDM asked for a federal parliamentary form of government based on direct elections through adult franchise leaving defense, foreign affairs, currency, federal finance, inter-wing communication and trade with the center; removing the disparity between the east and west Pakistan within ten years, establishing complete fundamental rights, a free press and an independent judiciary, shifting the Naval headquarters to East Pakistan and appointing a defense council consisting of equal number from both the wings. Regarding the foreign policy it said that Pakistan should maintain friendly relations with all the countries irrespective of their ideological differences, and fraternal relations should be made with Muslim and Afro-Asian nations. Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 223-25. Also see Sayyid A. S. Pirzada, *Politics of Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam Pakistan: 1971-77* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 29 and Hamid, *Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan*, p. 190.
- 16) Afzal, Rafique *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, p. 224.
- 17) According to this ordinance the government banned use of loud speakers for public meetings and other political activities. For details see *Muslmaan*, October 26, 1963. Also see *Dawn*, April 30, 1967.
- 18) Afzal, Rafique Vol, *Political Parties in Pakistan*. II, p. 278 and Hebert Fledman, *Crisis*, pp. 341-42
- 19) This section prohibits larger gatherings. According to this section “Whoever, being armed with any deadly weapon, or with anything which, used as a weapon of offence, is likely to cause death, is a member of an unlawful assembly/shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with

- both”<http://www.pakistani.org/pakistan/legislation/1860/actXLVof1860.html> (accessed February 28, 2012)
- 20) Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 225-28.
- 21) Ibid., p. 278
- 22) S.M. Zafar, “Constitutional Development” in Hafeez Malik, ed., *Pakistan Founders Aspirations and Today’s Realities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 52
- 23) Kaushik, “Opposition Fronts in Pakistan”, p. 230.
- 24) Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 225-28.
- 25) Ibid., p. 267
- 26) Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 87
- 27) Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was the founder of the PPP. He belonged to a leading family of Sindh with the degree from Berkeley, Oxford and London. He joined the Cabinet in 1958 for the first time. Retaining different offices he got the portfolio of foreign minister in the cabinet of Ayub Khan. Being young and bold he enjoyed the confidence of Ayub Khan but after the signing of the Tashkent Declaration differences between the two leader became in the lime light and Z. A. Bhutto formed his own political party named as PPP with a socialistic agenda of equal distribution of wealth among the common people and a slogan of *Roti, Kapra aur Makan* [Urdu; Food, Clothing and Shelter] for all. Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan*, Vol. II, pp. 186-88.
- 28) Kaushik *Opposition Fronts in Pakistan*”, p. 231 and Gohar, *Ayub Khan*, pp. 440-60.
- 29) Murtuza Anjum, *Kawn Kaisie Giā* [Urdu] (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 2000), pp. 132-133. Also see Gohar, *Ayub Khan*, p. 441 and Suharwardy and Kamalpuri, *Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan*, p. 78.
- 30) Safdar Mahmood, *Pakistan Political Roots and Developments: 1947-1999* (New York: Oxford University Press. 2003), p. 60. Also see Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 88.
- 31) Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan was born in Khangarh in 1918. He emerged as a student leader in politics around 1933 and joined a revolutionary group ‘Majlis-i-Ihrar’ till the creation of

Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan, he started his political career from the platform of Muslim League. In 1950 he was elected as the Member of Provincial Assembly. He joined the opposition party, 'Jinnah Awami League' and later on this party was renamed as 'Awami League'. He was selected as its vice president when Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardi was the president of the party. Nawabzada played an important role during the Tehreek-i-Khatam-i-Nabuwwat in 1953. He was elected the Member of the National Assembly through indirect elections in 1962. He strongly supported Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah in the Presidential Elections of 1964 against Ayub Khan. On 30th April 1967 he succeeded in forming a five-party alliance for opposition which was named as 'Pakistan Democratic Movement'. In 1977, Nawabzada was one of the senior leaders of the Pakistan National Alliance. In the elections of 1977, he was elected as the Member of the National Assembly. He also played an active role in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD) against Gen. Ziaul Haq. <http://storyofpakistan.com/nawabzada-nasrullah-khan/> retrieved on August 20, 2013.

- 32) Anjum, *Kawn Kaisie Giā*, p. 134 and Hebert Fledman, *Crisis*, p. 277.
- 33) Anjum, *Kawn Kaisie Giā*, pp. 132-33 and Hashmi, *The Governing Process in Pakistan*, p. 209.
- 34) Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 90. Also see Hashmi, *The Governing Process in Pakistan*, pp. 209-10
- 35) Afzal, *Political Parties*, Vol. II, 1998. p. 173
- 36) Yusuf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy*, p. 90. Also see Hashmi, *The Governing Process in Pakistan*, p. 210. 86 Six point program of Mujeeb consisted of: (a) A federal parliamentary form of government with Universal Adult Franchise, (b) Federal government portfolios to be limited to defense and foreign affairs only, (c) the two provinces should have separate currencies with restrictions on the movement of capital funds from one region to the other, (d) All taxes to vest in the provinces of collection, (e) All foreign exchange earned by East Pakistan to be at the disposal of East Pakistan, (f) An independent militia for East Pakistan. Afzal, *Political Parties*, Vol. II, 1998. p. 169.
- 37) , *Kawn Kaisie Giā*, p. 141

- 38) Anjum, Kawn Kaisie Giā, p. 141
- 39) Yusuf, Pakistan in Search of Democracy, p. 90. Also see Hashmi, The Governing Process in Pakistan, pp. 90 Anjum and 211, Rafi Raza, “Constitutional Developments and Political Consequences”, in Pakistan in Perspective: 1947-97, ed., Rafi Raza (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 15.
- 40) Anjum, Kawn Kaisie Giā, p. 141 and Hebert Fledman, Crisis, p. 283.
- 41) Hashmi, The Governing Process in Pakistan, p. 211.
- 42) Pakistan Times, November 15, 1962
- 43) Pakistan Observer, January 12, 1963 Statement by Abd al Sobur Khan
- 44) Gazette of Pakistan (Extraordinary), January 7, 1963
- 45) Ibid.,
- 46) Morning News, January 22, 1964. The Announcement was made by Nawabzada Nasar Allah Khan (AL) Mahmud Ali Qusuri (NAP) and Khawaja Muhammad Safdar (CML)
- 47) Ibid, February 10, 1964
- 48) Pakistan Times, January 7, 1964
- 49) Pakistan Observer, February 3, 1964
- 50) Rafique Afzal Political Parties in Pakistan 1958-1969 volume II p 200
- 51) Morning News, January 27,28,1963
- 52) Ibid, January 29, 1963, and Pakistan Times, June 3, 1963
- 53) Pakistan Observer, January 31, 1963
- 54) Civil and Military Gazette, March 1, 1963
- 55) Ibid, May 12, 1963
- 56) Pakistan Times, May 10, 1963
- 57) Dawn, March 11, 1963.