

Past and Tense: Noorani, Bhutto and the early years of the 'New Pakistan' 1972-1976



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Abstract: *Despite the disaster in East Pakistan, General Yahya Khan wanted to maintain his position of authority. However, a "minicoup" on December 20, 1971, forced General Yahya to resign, and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto became the Chief Martial Law Administrator (CMLA) and President of Pakistan. Bhutto spoke eloquently to the people after assuming office, heralding a "new" beginning for Pakistan and promising to uphold democratic institutions and hold his government responsible.*

The present study mainly focuses on the political role of Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani to confront Bhutto's Socialism and his 'autocratic' regime in and outside parliament as a parliamentarian and the president of Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan – a leading Religio-political party of the time.

Keywords: Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Pakistan, Pakistan People's Party, Maulana Shah Ahmed Noorani, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto

Introduction

On taking power Zulfikar Ali Bhutto announced a 'new' beginning for Pakistan and extended eloquent assurances to its citizens that he would rebuild the democratic institutions and made his government accountable. He also assured the nation of the end of autocratic rule but ironically he decided to continue Martial Law.

On 24 December 1971, to cool the public anger over the East Pakistan debacle, Bhutto ordered the formation of a commission of inquiry, to be headed by Chief Justice Hamood-ur-Rehman. The term of reference defined by the head of the state were "to inquire into the circumstances in which the Commander Eastern Command surrendered and the members of the Armed Forces under his command laid down their arms and cease-fire was ordered along the borders of West Pakistan and India and along the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir." (Niazi, 2006) The terms of reference given to the Inquiry Commission were so limited in their scope that no useful purpose was likely to be served by

their investigation.

As the terms of reference were designed by those who played a key role in the events, therefore, the Terms had two major defects; firstly, they restricted the inquiry to the professional military aspects and further restricted it to the events in East Pakistan. The first omission was meant to protect the political leadership and the second omission was intended to cover up the Military High Command. The reasons for these omissions as obvious as daylight because the political and military leadership which designed these Terms of Reference were controlling between them, the Government of Pakistan, military apparatus and their acts of omission were highly detrimental to the result of war. It, therefore, suited both of them to give a bad name to the East Pakistan Commander and his troops and not to bring anything else under discussion. (Niazi, 2006)

While addressing a public meeting at Karachi Maulana Noorani informed the public that "attempts are being made to distort the country's

history” (Jang, 1972), he assured the public that history written with the blood of the martyrs would not be distorted. He refuted the impression that Gen. Niazi (Commander of East Pakistan) and his troops did not fight on. Maulana Noorani requested Sheikh Mujibur Rehman to stop killings in East Pakistan (Bangladesh) and expressed his sorrow on the government’s lack of interest in the issue of return of 93,000 prisoners of war (POWs). (Jang, 1972)

For the solidarity of the country he gave the following five-point formula:

- i. Open trial of Gen. Yahya Khan.
- ii. Expeditious return of the POWs from India.
- iii. Lifting the Martial Law, introduction of an interim constitution and convening of the sessions of the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies.
- iv. Islam must not be used as political stunt, but reforms (social and economic) should be introduced in the true light of Islamic brotherhood and social justice. These reforms must be made through parliament following democratic norms.
- v. Ban on armed forces taking part in politics. (Jang, 1972)

By mid February 1972 the government got a complete control over the large part of printed press by taking charge of the National Press Trust. The board of directors and board of trustees of the trust were suspended thus creating an ‘official media’. (Mazari, 2006) As one of the leading politician commented:

The reporting of the ‘independent’ press soon became no different from the official media of the National Press Trust. Political reporting was largely restricted to the daily uttering of Bhutto and his underlings. Even reports on the proceedings of the National Assembly gave coverage only to the government benches. On occasions there would be mention of speeches made by the opposition and its leader(s). (Mazari, 2006)

Maulana Noorani who firmly believed in the freedom of press condemned this state of affair

and warned the government that the very existence of Pakistan would be endangered if voice of the newspapers, which was in fact the voice of the nation, was suppressed. (Jang, 1972) He also criticized Bhutto’s decision to quit Commonwealth (Ali, 1972) and accused him being a party to the debacle of 1971. (Dawn, 1972)

The continuation of Martial Law was disturbing the democratic and political forces of Pakistan. The matter of framing a constitution was also in limbo. Maulana Noorani while addressing the public meeting at Karachi criticized Bhutto for establishing one party rule in the country by crushing opposition (parties) with the ‘weapon’ of Martial Law. He also demanded that the future constitution should be based on the Quran and Sunnah and threatened the government that his party would resist the enforcement of a constitution repugnant to Islam. (Ahmad, 1993)

On the other hand, in the tripartite accord of 6 March 1972 among PPP, ANP and JUI among the other things it was decided to continue Martial Law till 14 August 1972 and the National Assembly would be called into session on 14 April 1971. Maulana Noorani who claimed to believe in democracy demanded the immediate withdrawal of Martial Law. (Nawabi-Waqat, 1972) (Das, 1970) To chalk out future plan of action two days before the inaugural session of National Assembly Maulana Noorani convened a meeting of independent and opposition parties MNAs at Rawalpindi. The meeting took the following decisions:

- i. To work for the introduction of an Islamic constitution and the supremacy of democracy.
- ii. To vote against the interim constitution (which was announced by Bhutto on 11 April 1972).
- iii. Immediate end of Martial Law.
- iv. A five member committee was made with Maulana Noorani as its convener to achieve the above-mentioned objectives. (Dawn, 1972)

It was due to the efforts of this committee that the various opposition parties agreed unanimously to nominate Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari as a joint opposition candidate for the election of President of the National Assembly.

Later on the issue of continuation of Martial Law by Bhutto, the members of the opposition parties remained adamant that now the National Assembly was officially in existence, democratic norms must return. (Mazari, 2006)

Bhutto made an offer to the opposition that Martial Law would be lifted on 21st April instead of 14th August if the Interim Constitution was adopted by 17th April. (Dawn, 1972) The opposition accepted the offer and with the adoption of the draft of the interim constitution on 17 April 1972 which was consistent with the government's policy of non-recognition of Bangladesh (as empty seats were kept for East Pakistan members of the National Assembly) martial law was lifted on 21 April 1972.

A twenty-five member's constitution committee including Maulana Noorani five other opposition MNAs (Naeem, Autumn 1987) was appointed to prepare the draft of the permanent constitution. Maulana Noorani welcomed the decision of lifting Martial Law in his address to the inaugural session of the National Assembly and demanded the future constitution to be based on the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah and on the twenty-two points of the *Ulama*. (NAOP, 1972)

The following day Maulana Noorani in his address in the National Assembly pointed out that all the provisions of Martial Law Regulations (MLRs) had been included in the Interim Constitution and no time limit had been mentioned for the abrogation of un-Islamic laws. He also demanded the government to ban liquor, music, dancing, night clubs and gambling. Maulana Noorani also demanded that the definition of a Muslim must be included in the constitution. He defined Muslim as "One who believes in the unity of God and his Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) as the last Prophet, is a Muslim otherwise he/she is a Mirzai/Qadiani..." (NOAP, 1972) (Sadiq, 1974)

Maulana Kausar Niazi, Minister for Information, *Auqaf* and *Hajj* also spoke on this occasion. He defended the draft of the Interim Constitution by saying that it contained sufficient scope for the establishment of an Islamic ideology and principles. He also criticized the role, *Ulama* were playing in Pakistan. He was of the view that if the parties of the *Ulama* particularly JUP and its supporters and JUI and its members would be asked to draft an Islamic constitution, they would bring coded law such as Pakistan Penal Code (PPC). He challenged *Ulama* to produce a unanimous definition of Muslim before the house. (Sadiq, 1974)

The challenge was accepted by Maulana Noorani and his party (JUP). He along with Maulana Abdus Sattar Khan Niazi, Maulana Ghulam Ali Okarvi, Maulana Muhammad Ali Rizvi and Maulana Abdul Mustafa Al- Azhari finally drafted a definition which was not only comprehensive but also approved by the JUI MNAs. It was also decided that Maulana Abdul Haq of JUI would present it before the house to show the unity of the religious parties on this very issue. (Sadiq, 1974)

The release of over 93,000 POW's, the return of some West Pakistan territory captured by India and the relations with the newly created state of Bangladesh and with India were important issues that required the government's immediate attention. To discuss these issues Bhutto flew to India on 28 June 1971 to negotiate peace with Indian Prime Minister Indra Gandhi. The summit conference between the two Prime Ministers opened on the same day at Simla. An agreement was finally arrived at on 2nd July and was signed.

The terms of agreement finally made at Simla were not favorable to Pakistan. The agreement ignored the most important issue of the return of the Pakistani POWs and conceded the territory captured by India during the 1971 war to form a new line of control in Kashmir. Pakistan also agreed not to raise the Kashmir issue in United Nations or other international forums. This issue was instead to be discussed bilaterally. (Mustafa, 1972)

Maulana Noorani declared Simla Agreement “worse than the Tashkent Declaration” because, according to him by signing it Pakistan had not only accepted the Indian aggression in East Pakistan, but also agreed to the cease fire line in Jammu and Kashmir as international border by backing out of her stand on Kashmir. (Nawa-i-Waqat, 1971) (Ali, The Simla and The Tashkent Agreements, 1972) (Dawn, 1972)

When Bhutto government showed the sign to recognize Bangladesh JUP under the leadership of Maulana Noorani started a public campaign against the government move and declared East Pakistan as an inseparable part of Pakistan and took a stand that even the National Assembly could not recognize Bangladesh. Maulana Noorani asked the people to unite against internal and external evil designs against the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan. (Dawn, 1972)

Addressing a public meeting outside Mochi Gate, Maulana Noorani stressed the need of holding fresh general elections after the permanent adoption of the constitution. He said that the majority of the people of Pakistan were against the recognition of Bangladesh and if new elections were held they would vote for those who wanted reunification of two wings of the country. (Dawn, 1972)

He added that every member of the National Assembly had pledged himself under the Interim Constitution to safeguard the integrity of Pakistan at all cost and therefore nobody had a right to recognize Bangladesh. Maulana Noorani said that it was being said that Bangladesh had become reality and we should accept this reality but before accepting this reality the people of Pakistan must be told of other facts which had separated East Pakistan from the West Pakistan. (Dawn, 1972)

Pointing out the government propaganda for the recognition of Bangladesh he said people were being told of the losses which Pakistan would have to incur in case of non-recognition of Bangladesh. It was being linked with the repatriation of POWs and the establishment of trade relations. He asked that India had committed aggression in East Pakistan by

incurring an expenditure of billions of rupees, how could it permit Pakistan to recapture the trade market of Bangladesh. He was of the view that by recognizing Bangladesh we would only be encouraging India to conspire for the disintegration of West Pakistan. (Laghari) Under the President-ship of Maulana Noorani the leaders of opposition parties in a meeting at Lahore decided to work unitedly against the recognition of Bangladesh. Bhutto realizing the success of opposition campaign changed the position and decided against recognition for the time being. Though Maulana Noorani succeeded in uniting the opposition but the three JUP MNAs from Punjab Mehr Ghulam Haider Bharwana, Mian Muhammad Ibrahim and Shaibzada Muhammad Nazir Sultan favored recognition of Bangladesh contrary to the party line. (Laghari)

The PPP established its government in Sindh headed by Mumtaz Bhutto, a cousin of Z.A. Bhutto. The PPP had drawn nearly all its support from the rural Sindhis. In the urban areas, where the migrants from India after the creation of Pakistan had largely settled, votes had gone to the opposition parties particularly to JUP which had seven members in the Sindh Provincial Assembly. Its parliamentary leader Prof. Shah Faridul Haq was the leader of opposition in the Sindh Assembly.

The Chief Minister of Sindh declared that a bill would be moved in the provincial Assembly declaring Sindhi to be the only official language of the province. By June, official Sindh government forms were being printed in English and Sindhi. (Outlook, 1972) (Shafi, 1972) Sindh Assembly despite the opposition and walkout of Urdu speaking group passed the Sindh Language Act on 7 July 1972. The passage of the bill resulted in widespread agitation and protests in Karachi and other urban centers and rural town, such as Larkana.

The agitation took a violent turn resulting in the death of scores of people. Curfew had to be imposed in certain areas of Karachi like Pak Colony Nazimabad and Liaqatabad. Curfew was also imposed in Hyderabad, Hala, Tandoajm and other rural towns in Sindh. Maulana Noorani strongly condemned the killing of innocent

people and blamed the provincial government for backing these riots and trying to pave the way for the creation of 'Sindhudesh'. (Nawa-i-Waqat, 1972)

Bhutto invited a number of opposition leaders to discuss situation in Sindh. On 13 July 1972 the opposition delegation including Maulana Noorani, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, Mufti Mahmood, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed and Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari met with him. Bhutto put the sole responsibility of making the crisis on his cousin Mumtaz Bhutto and accused him of overreaching ambitions. (Mazari, 2006) He told the delegation, "Murtaza Bhutto wants to project himself as a Sindhi Nationalist. He got elected on my coat-tails and now challenges my supremacy in the province". (Mazari, 2006) The delegation demanded Bhutto to resolve Sindh issue at the earliest. (Nawa-i-Waqat , 1972)

An agreement was finally reached between old and new Sindhis representatives on language issue in Sindh. It entailed that Sindhi would become the official language of Sindh, Urdu would be honored and promoted as a national language and for a period of twelve years no one would be disadvantaged in public employment or transactions on the ground that he did not know Sindhi. (Dawn , 1972)

Though the language issue was resolved by the agreement but 'Muhajir' ethnicity started taking its firm roots in the urban areas which resulted in the culmination of a semi –militant organization by the name *Muhajir Qaumi Movement* (MQM) which resulted in declining the strength and hold of religious political parties (like JUP) who believed in Islam as a bond of solidarity to its people.

Maulana Noorani had been insisting that since Pakistan was established in the name of Islam and could be saved only if it becomes an Islamic state. To make the future constitution democratic and Islamic he not only mobilized public support but also worked actively as a member of constitution committee.

Addressing JUP workers at Karachi Maulana Noorani said that his party would co-operate with all those who wished to help frame an

Islamic constitution and oppose those who were working against it. (Pakistan Times,1972)

He recalled the services of *Ulama* to Pakistan and said leftists forces had always created hurdles in the way of the establishment of an Islamic society. These forces, he said, were apposed to Islam because they did not believe in religion or in the ideology of Pakistan. He expressed his party's determination to thwart any move to stop the introduction of an Islamic constitution. (Pakistan Times,1972) There were speculations in the press that Bhutto wanted a French system of government to be introduced in Pakistan. Maulana Noorani announced that the united opposition parties would resist any such move strongly. (Dawn , 1972) Bhutto invited the leaders of parliamentary parties in the National Assembly for discussions on constitutional issues on 17th October. After four days of hard bargaining, an accord was reached on 20 October 1972. (Mazari, 2006)

Some of the important features of the Constitutional Accord were:

- i. Islam was designed as a state religion. (Cleary, 2005)
- ii. The proposed oath of office for the President and the Prime Minister which provided for them to be Muslim.
- iii. The establishment of a council to propose the Islamization of laws.
- iv. A federal parliamentary system of government answerable to the National Assembly.
- v. All action would be taken in the name of the President but the chief executive would be the Prime Minister, the President would act on the advice of the Prime Minister on all the matters which would be binding on him in all respects.
- vi. The National Assembly would elect one of his members to be the Prime Minister who would be called upon by the President to form the government.
- vii. It would be the right of the Prime Minister to seek the dissolution of the National Assembly at any time, even during the

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pendency of the motion for a vote of no-confidence against him.

viii. In order to ensure stability in the country, the following provisions would be incorporated in the constitution

- a. A vote of no-confidence could be moved unless by the same resolution, the name of another member of the Assembly was proposed as his successor.
- b. A vote for no confidence could not be moved during the budget session.
- c. Once the vote for no-confidence was defeated, a subsequent vote of no-confidence could not be moved for a period of at least six months.
- d. For a period of fifteen years or three general elections thereafter, which ever was longer, a vote of no-confidence could be deemed to have failed unless passed by the majority of not less than two-third of the total membership of the National Assembly.

ix. The creation of the 'Council of Common Interest' to redress provincial grievances regarding the distribution of water, revenue from the sale of natural gas and minerals and industrial developments. (Mazari, 2006)

Maulana Noorani expressed his satisfaction over the constitutional agreement, and demanded that the permanent constitution to be framed ensuring democracy and supremacy of Islamic law in the country. (Morning News, 1972) He was hopeful that the constitutional accord would bring the confrontation on the issues of federal parliamentary system and provincial autonomy to an end. He said that by the unanimous adoption of the constitutional framework the confrontation between the center and the provinces would also come to a halt. (Mazari, 2006)

He was of the view that by including Islamic clauses in the constitutional accord particularly the declaration of Islam as state religion and Islamic oath for the President in which the definition of Muslim would be included by doing so the feelings of the overwhelming Muslim majority in the country were respected. (Mazari, 2006) He hoped that peace would then return in the political atmosphere of the country and added that then it could be said with confidence that the permanent constitution would be ready and introduced in time. (Mazari, 2006)

The government moved a constitution bill in the National Assembly on 30 December 1972, and the opposition found that it did not fully correspond with the Constitution Accord they had signed in October 1972. The opposition blamed the government of violating the constitutional accord.

In his address to the nation on radio and television Maulana Noorani highlighted the following points resulting in government violation of the accord:

- i. Placement of the basic Islamic laws, as no law repugnant to the Quran and Sunnah would be framed, in the section of principal of policy.
- ii. No guarantee was provided that all laws would be brought in accordance with the teachings of the Quran and the Sunnah.
- iii. Ineffectiveness of the proposed Islamic Council which was to determine Islamicity of laws.
- iv. Decrease in the number of seats for the National Assembly and Senate.
- v. Curtailment of the power of Judiciary.
- vi. Incorporation of Martial Law Regulations (MRLs) No. 59, 89, 91 and 144 in the draft constitution and continuation of the Political Parties Act (PPA) of 1962.
- vii. Deprivation of certain fundamental rights promised in the constitutional accord. (Pakistan Times , 1973)

Later on, in February 1973, Bhutto dismissed the

Baluchistan government after the discovery of a large cache of arms in the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad. NAP and JUI also had coalition government in NWFP, and as a protest against this action of the federal government the NWFP government resigned. Maulana Noorani condemned the dismissal of the Baluchistan and NWFP governments by Bhutto and considered it an act to pressurize the opposition to sign the controversial draft constitution. (Dawn , 1973) Maulana Noorani appealed to the people to observe 2nd March as *Yawm-i- Islami Dastur* throughout the country. (Nawa-i-Waqt , 1973)

The opposition were feeling dejected the way Bhutto government was behaving so at the convention of the opposition parties held in Islamabad on 28 February and 1 March 1973 it was decided to form a coalition of opposition parties under the name of United Democratic Front(UDF). (Zahid,2022)

In a press meeting on 29th May, Maulana Noorani warned the government that interference in the affairs of the Government of AJK would have negative repercussions on Pakistan as well as the rest of the Muslim world. He mentioned that AJK Assembly was an independent institution and had the powers to pass a resolution on any issue. The President of AJK had been elected on the basis of adult franchise, and also was competent to take any decision which might not be agreeable to the political executive of Pakistan. (Jang, 1973)

He said Pakistan people's party could confidently claim that the party was elected through popular vote, and it had the legal right to rule the country. On the same grounds the AJK government could make this claim with more justification as its President had been elected through adult franchise.

Maulana Noorani said any 'illegal step' against the AJK government would frustrate the aspirations of the Muslims of the occupied Kashmir. If the lawful government was not allowed to function in the region, the people of occupied Kashmir would be reluctant to decide their future in favor of AJK (Pakistan) which would cause an irreparable political loss to Pakistan. (Jang, 1973)

Maulana Noorani expressed the apprehension that official policy vis-à-vis AJK and Baluchistan might culminate into something very serious. He maintained that the interference in Baluchistan had eroded all ethical and democratic norms after the dismissal of a constitutional government in Baluchistan. He said, all claims of the PPP about the desolation and democracy stood fully exposed. (Jang, 1973)

He asserted that if the law and order situation was the only basis for intervention in Baluchistan and AJK, then there was a stronger case for such action in Sindh and Punjab, which remained disturbed throughout. (Jang, 1973)

Maulana Noorani believed in Muslim brotherhood and was a staunch support of Muslim cause throughout the world. He also supported the Palestine Cause. During Arab- Israel war of October 1973 Maulana Noorani fully supported the Arabs against Israeli aggression and urged government to provide all possible material help to the Arabs in their war against Israel. (Saeeduddin, 1976) Addressing a public meeting at Arambagh (Karachi) he said that it was our religious duty to help Arabs brethren. He cautioned the people against the expansionist design of Israel. Later on he urged Prime Minister Bhutto to hold special session of National Assembly to discuss in camera the various steps the government had taken in support of Arab Cause. (Dawn , 1973)

Following the footsteps of his father, Maulana Shah Abdul Aleem Siddiqui, Maulana Noorani remained active in the struggle to protect the finality of Prophet Muhammad (*Tahaffuz-e-Khatm-e- Nubuwat*). He participated in 1953 Anti- Qadiani Movement and in 1954 he focused his attention on the missionary activities abroad and countered the *Qadiani* propaganda activities internationally.

From the start of political career in 1970 Maulana Noorani politics revolved around the issues of the enforcement of the *Nizam-i- Mustafa* and to safeguard the *Maqam-i- Mustafa* (sanctity of the Prophet Muhammad).

Qadianis who don't believe in the finality of

Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) remained hot target of Maulana Noorani. It was he who demanded that the definition of 'Muslim' to be incorporated in the constitution of Pakistan. He demanded so because *Qadianis* were projecting themselves as Muslims despite of the unanimous fatwa of all major Muslim schools of thought that they (*Qadianis*) were non-Muslims.

As discussed earlier it was also due to the efforts of Maulana Noorani along with other religious parties and their leaders that the constitution of Pakistan debar non-Muslims from occupying the offices of President and Prime Minister of Pakistan.

Maulana Noorani was elected as the President of World Islamic Mission (WIM, 1974) (WIM) at International Islamic Missionary Conference at Bradford UK on 12 May 1974. (WIM, 1974) After attending the conference he went to Saudi Arabia and on his return home on 26 May 1974 brought a copy of a resolution against *Qadianis* adopted by the *Rabita- al Alam-i- Islami* in a meeting at Makkah on 6 -10 April 1974. (Zia-i-Harm, 1974)

As soon as Maulana Noorani started his anti-*Qadiani* campaign highlighting the *Rabita- al Alam-i-Islami's* resolution against *Qadianis* an incident took place at Rabwah Railway station which resulted in a national level anti- *Qadiani* Movement.

It happened so that on 22 May 1974, the students of the Nishtar Medical College boarded a train to Peshawar for a tour. As the train stopped at Rabwah, a predominantly *Qadiani* town that housed the community's spiritual and organizational headquarters the students raised the slogans of *Khatm-i- Nubuwat Zindabad* (Long Live the Finality of Holy Prophet Peace be upon him). upon their return from Peshawar on 29th May, hundreds of *Qadianis* armed with knives and sticks fell upon them, as a result, more than thirty students were injured. (Nawa-i-Waqt , 1974) The news of this event infuriated the Muslim Community throughout the country.

The provincial government of Punjab arrested some culprits and appointed Justice. K. M. A. Samdani, a judge of the Lahore High Court to

investigate the incident. The Chief Minister Punjab, Hanif Ramay appealed for calm. Violent demonstrations began soon and an organization dedicated to preserving the belief on the finality of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him), '*Tahaffuz-i- Khatm-i- Nubuwat*' was established which demanded the following things:

- i. The *Qadianis* should be declared as non- Muslim.
- ii. *Qadianis* must be removed from the government key posts.
- iii. The Head of the *Qadiani* community Mirza Nasir Ahmed and culprits of Rabwah incidents should be arrested immediately.
- iv. Rabwah should be declared an open city. (Zia-i-Harm, 1974)

Maulana Noorani who wanted to settle the *Qadiani* issue permanently started convincing the members in the parliament in this regard. After many weeks of hard work on 30 June 1974 Maulana Noorani presented a resolution in the National Assembly to declare *Qadianis* as non-Muslims through an amendment in the constitution. The resolution was signed by 37 members of National Assembly belonging to both the opposition and treasury benches. (Tarazi, 2009)

The resolution gave a new momentum to the anti- *Qadiani* Movement which brought the Government under great pressure to declare *Qadianis* as non- Muslims. Finally Bhutto agreed to discuss the issue in the House in camera.

From 30 June to 7 September, 1974 the National Assembly which was converted into a special committee, which further set up a steering committee to assist, had different sessions and finally after extended considerations passed the second amendment to the constitution on 7 September 1974. (Constitution Second Amendment Act, 1974)

Clause (3) was added to article 260 explaining there under who was non- Muslim under the constitution. The new clause stated that, "a person who doesn't believe in the absolute and

unqualified finality of the Prophet-hood of Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) as the last Prophet or claim to be Prophet, in any sense of the word or of any description what-so-ever, after Muhammad (Peace be upon him) or recognizes such a claimant as a Prophet or a religious reformer, is not a Muslim for the purposes of the constitution or law". (NAOP Debates, 1974)

Article 106 was also amended to make mention of *Qadianis* amongst the non- Muslim faiths described in the Article for the purpose of reservation of special seats for them. They were referred to as 'Persons of the *Qadiani* Group or the Lahori Group (who call themselves '*Ahmadis*'). (NAOP Debates, 1974)

The constitution's (second amendment) bill thus successfully resolved an important issue which caused two nationwide movements of 1953 and 1974 resulting in the many losses of lives and valuable property.

Maulana Noorani gave credit of the success of this movement to the people of Pakistan particularly *Ulama* and students who kept it alive (Zia-i-Harm, 1974) but expressed his sadness that the government had not removed *Qadianis* from the key posts and Rabwa had not been declared as an open city. (Nawa-i- Waqat , 1974)

Later on to counter the negative propaganda of *Qadianis* against National Assembly decision and to inform the Muslim world about the historical decision of 7th September Maulana Noorani under the banner of WIM led a delegation of his party members to a world tour. The delegation visited Middle East, Africa, Europe, USA and North America.

Giving details of the tour Maulana Noorani claimed that 80 % centers run by *Qadianis* all over the world had been closed and 35 countries had declared *Qadianis* as non- Muslims. (Dawn , 1975) According to him as a result of National Assembly's decision round about 50000 *Qadianis* embraced Islam. (Qaisar, 2001)

The National Assembly adopted the Fourth Constitution Amendment Bill on 14 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. (Khan, 2005)

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. (Nawa-i- Waqat, 1975) 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 25th November which decided not to hold talks with the government in future and to resign from Assemblies at a later date if necessary. (Khan, 2005)

To mark the completion of four years of Bhutto's misrule, 19th December had been nominated as 'Black Day' by the opposition parties. Maulana Noorani along with Asghar Khan and Sher Baz Mazari tried to led a relay at Karachi's Katrak Hall. The government used the force and got them arrested. What happened on that day was described by Sardar Sherbaz Mazari:

On the morning of the 19th December, we were informed that FSF and armed police had taken charge of all the routes leading to Katrak Hall, an area adjacent to the well known Empress Market. Asghar Khan, Maulana Noorani and I were forced to disembark from our vehicles near Empress Market as the police had blocked the road. A crowd of several

thousand had already assembled there. We forced our way through the blockade on foot, as the sheer number of the crowd...which had become very enthusiastic upon our arriving on the scene... was too daunting for the police to handle. We walked few hundreds yards down the main road before turning right into the long alley which led to the Hall. When three of us entered the gates at the end of the alley, a large body of police made their sudden appearance. A DSP quickly took three of us in his custody as the rest of the police contingent charged the crowd following us in the alley, with their steal tipped lathis. The narrowness of the alley made their task all that much easier as the police had only to contend with those in the front. As those in the front fell to the blows of the police, others fled towards the rear, creating panic. Later I was informed they brutally cleared the alley all the way to the main road... Asghar Khan, Noorani and I were taken to the Soldier Bazaar police station and detained there. After a while an angry crowd swelled outside and police decided to release us before the situation got out of hand. (Mazari, 2006)

A week before the announcement of the general elections by the government Maulana Noorani presided over a joint meeting of the central parliamentary board and *Majlis-i- Amla* of JUP to discuss the prevailing political condition of the country. The meeting declared that it was the need of the hour to forge a complete unity among the opposition for the democratic process under the prevailing political situation and to take part in the elections. (Nawa-i- Waqat, 1977) By mid 1976 Maulana Noorani started working for an alliance of the opposition parties against PPP (Afrasia, 1976) which resulted in the form of formation of a grand alliance of opposition parties including JUP by the name of Pakistan National Alliance.

Conclusion:

Following Pakistan's 1971 crisis Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's leadership promised democratic reforms and accountability but was overshadowed by the continuation of Martial Law, creating disillusionment among the opposition and public. His administration forming of the Hamood-ur-Rehman

Commission to investigate the East Pakistan debacle with limited scope and control over the media and political opposition further heightened tensions. Maulana Noorani emerged as a vocal critic both inside and outside the parliament advocating for a free press, the immediate lifting of Martial Law, and an Islamic constitution based on Quranic principles. He condemned Bhutto's domestic policies and the Simla Agreement, which he saw as detrimental to Pakistan's territorial and ideological integrity. Noorani's stance on the recognition of Bangladesh also fueled opposition, reflecting deep divisions within the country over its future direction. Despite these challenges, the constitutional accord of 1972 laid the groundwork for a federal parliamentary system and sought to balance Islamic principles with democratic governance. However, ongoing ethnic and political conflicts, particularly in Sindh, along with Bhutto's authoritarian tendencies, left Pakistan grappling with the tensions during this turbulent period. Maulana Noorani played a crucial role in shaping the political landscape of Pakistan during a time of significant upheaval. His commitment to Islamic principles, particularly in securing constitutional recognition for Islamic laws and opposing Qadianis, reflected his dedication to preserving the sanctity of Islam in the state. Noorani's influence persisted as he continuously sought to align Pakistan's political framework with Islamic teachings while ensuring the protection of democratic norms and fundamental rights.

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