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Politics of Combined Opposition Parties (Cop) During Ayub Khan Era (1958-1969)

Abstract

This Paper is about the Combined Opposition Parties, an electoral alliance which challenged Ayub Khan in the 1965 Presidential election. The alliance not only challenged but it gave a tough time through its effective mass mobilisation both in the urban and rural areas to one of the strongest military ruler in Pakistan. The alliance played a vital role in initiating critical debate and discussion in place of dead conformism, in rekindling and refurbishing the enfeebled and dying flame of democracy in Pakistan and thus setting the nation a new towards a democratic destiny. Furthermore this alliance made a female as its candidate for Presidentship which is a debatable issue among the orthodox Muslim scholars and religio-political parties of the country. The paper focuses on the political background, formation, strategies and politics of COP to get rid of the military ruler. The paper is mainly descriptive in approach yet partial analytical approach is also employed. Both primary and secondary sources of information are used in this article.

Key Words: Democracy, Alliance politics, Military rule, Opposition politics, Political parties, Election.

Introduction:

Ayub Khan came into power after imposition of martial law in the country in October 1958.¹ He assured the nation about lifting of martial law with the fulfilment of its objectives i.e. removal of all the political, social, economic and administrative confusions that prevailed in the country.² He banned all the Political parties, their offices were sealed and their capital was confiscated as according to him, "...the politicians had ruined the country through their corrupt practices".³ In the first couple of years, he paid attention towards administration of the country and strengthening his rule. He formed a Constitutional Commission which suggested presidential system instead of parliamentary for the country, in its report on May 6, 1961.⁴ Ayub Khan gave a new constitution of his own to the country on March 1, 1962⁵ and took oath as President under the new constitution after lifting of martial law on 8th of June⁶. Soon ban on political parties and their activities was also waved off with the adoption of the Political Parties Act on July 16, 1962.⁷ Supporters of Ayub Khan, on his advice organized themselves as Convention Muslim League and he became its President on 24 December 1963.⁸

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Ayub Khan after getting firm control of the internal situation started preparing ground for presidential election in 1965. A formal systematic campaign was launched in his favour through speeches and statements, which recounted in glowing terms his services and achievements and his status and prestige as world statesman.⁹ The campaign asking for electing him as president for lifetime¹⁰ alarmed the politicians across the country. No matter how weak, faction ridden and effete the opposition was but its ranks were still not altogether denuded of persons capable of upsetting the unanimous-election campaign. Khawaja Nazimuddin took the initiative to unite the politicians which took him several months of intensive travelling and manoeuvring to talk to and convince the opposition leaders to face the forth-coming elections unitedly.¹¹

Formation of Combined Opposition Parties:

As the Presidential election (scheduled to be held in January, 1965) approached, Khawaja Nazimuddin, President of Council Muslim League, toured the country, met with the leaders of various political parties and discussed the political situation in the county.¹² Resultantly, the opposition parties organised themselves into an alliance known as Combined Opposition Parties (COP) on July 21, 1964, at Dhaka.¹³ Component parties included the Council Muslim League led by Khawaja Nazimuddin and Mumtaz Daultana, the Awami League of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, the National Awami Party (NAP) factions of Maulana Bashani and Abdul Wali Khan, the Nizam-i-Islam Party headed by Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, and Maulana Maudoodi's Jama'at-e-Islami.¹⁴

The unity of such diverse and discordant elements showed that the policies of Ayub Khan were more hateful than their own differences. The alliance aimed to put up joint candidates for the Presidentship and for the National and Provincial Assemblies.

9-Points Programme as a Challenge to Ayub:

COP on July 24, 1964 gave their nine points programme for the Presidential elections¹⁵ which included; demand for full guarantees of all basic rights of the people; direct election based on adult franchise; federal parliamentary structure guaranteeing full provincial autonomy, curtailment of the powers of the President; independence of judiciary based on separation of judiciary from the executive; withdrawal of ban on the functioning of political parties and release of all political prisoners and repeal of all repressive laws.¹⁶ Removal of economic disparity between the two Wings of Pakistan and to equalise the per capita income between the two Wings; to provide equality of opportunity and the widest possible distribution of wealth; effective and speedy settlement of refugees; and effective measures for flood control in both Wings.¹⁷ Full guarantee for the rights of minorities, in particular their right to practise their religion and develop their culture. Other points were solution of the Kashmir problem in accordance with the UN resolutions; an independent foreign policy keeping in view the honour and interests of Pakistan; implementation of Islamic provisions of the constitution and establishment of true Islamic society along with amendments of the Family Laws Ordinance.¹⁸ Chaudhry Mohammad Ali of Nizam-i-Islam party who skilfully tried to place every type of compromise in it prepared this programme.¹⁹

Ayub Khan Response to COP's 9-Points Programme:

Ayub Khan was nominated as Presidential candidate by Con-ML; who gave a comprehensive and attractive manifesto to the nation, where a conscious effort was made to respond to all the 9-points of the COP. The main points were that the will of the people is supreme in all matters of the State and that democracy in Pakistan must be based on pragmatism rather than dogmatism and must safeguard the basic right of the people.²⁰ About his future programmes, he announced to provide for the widest, possible and most equitable distribution of wealth, to adopt all practical measures to prevent the recurrence of floods in EP and to rehabilitate those affected by it. Further, he vowed to ensure the stability of the prices of goods and to prevent inflation and to work out a code of ethics for the press. He maintained to achieve parity between the two Wings of the country in the light of the constitutional provisions and to advance the ideology of Muslim nationalism, which will enable Pakistan to serve as a strong base for collaboration with other Muslim countries of the world. He reiterated his commitment to continue to strive for the right of self-determination for the people of Jammu and Kashmir. He announced to provide full protection and safeguards to minorities in Pakistan and to ensure for them equal opportunities, rights and privileges.²¹

COP and the challenge of Nominating Presidential Candidate

The problem of nominating a single agreed upon candidate became very intricate for COP due to personality clashes. The heterogeneous opposition alliance appeared for a while undecided on a candidate or was unable to find one of sufficient stature to challenge Ayub and it seemed to be leading towards a fiasco due to internal discord. Khawaja Nazimuddin of Coun-ML was considered initially but was dropped soon due his old age.²² Afterwards, the name of General Mohammad Azam Khan came under discussion²³ but was dropped due to JI's opposition and Maulana Bhashani's condition that the COP would not accept any one as a candidate who had been associated with the martial law of October 1958.²⁴ Azam Khan, no doubt, would have been a strong rival as he could count on solid support from EP and a fair measure of sympathy in the Western wing.²⁵ His removal from the field must have been a matter of some satisfaction to Ayub as he was satisfied that COP would never agree on nominating a single presidential candidate and in this way, they would fail to compete him.

The COP leaders²⁶ met at Lakhum House Karachi on September 17, 1964²⁷ and unanimously nominated Miss Jinnah as their Presidential candidate which she refused in the beginning but afterwards agreed.²⁸ Initial response of Ayub Khan was that of satisfaction to the prospective candidature of Miss Jinnah as he was convinced that she would not accept the proposal of COP.²⁹

Khawaja Nazimuddin, Chaudhry Mohammad Ali, Maulana Bhashani and Sheikh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman met Miss Jinnah and COP proudly announced on September 18, 1964, that Miss Jinnah would be their candidate for the forthcoming presidential elections.³⁰ The COP thus sprang a surprise as she was a strong candidate³¹ capable of competing Ayub Khan. By that time she had not accepted any political office and was above all such blames, which could be put on other leaders. She always raised her voice against the undemocratic steps taken by different governments. Miss Jinnah was a venerable woman, deeply respected

throughout the country. Her entry had upset all calculations of the regime and turned the presidential election into an event of first importance. It brought to the surface latent forces of disaffection and exposed at the same time the weakness and limitation of Ayub Khan's rule.³² Opponents were bewildered by the ecstatic manner in which the people celebrated Miss Jinnah's decision to fight Ayub. She had no experience of government, no knowledge of administration and no contact with international leaders. Nevertheless, she was ideal of the people and wherever she appeared hundreds of thousands of people gathered only to catch a glimpse of her. She was frail and elderly and could hardly speak any of the national languages but her charisma was irresistible. The masses and opposition political parties saw her as the only person who could bring down Ayub's authoritarian rule and restore the democratic rights of people.³³ Her decision was taken as a hope and was welcomed by the political opponents of the regime.

Elections in the country turned out to be on personality basis rather than on a programme. However, with this significant difference that whereas Miss Jinnah represented political revival, Ayub Khan stood for the maintenance of military bureaucracy. Ayub's personality and conduct had been put to test due to the concentration of authority in his hands. The constitution and the dictatorial nature of Ayub Khan's rule, indirect elections, corruption and nepotism more pointedly, the fortunes made by the members of Ayub Khan's family, figured as prominent issues.³⁴ Miss Jinnah took up all these issues and leashed out against the regime in a countrywide campaign. Although the Electoral College comprised a mere 80,000 Basic Democrats as voters and there were restrictions on public meetings, she attracted enormous crowds belonging to different political parties grouped together as an alliance. The people thronged to hear her and found an emotional release through a sense of participation. The COP leaders articulated what the people had felt but dared not express. Thus, it was that when she castigated Ayub Khan's rule, there was a tumultuous response from the people as she articulated their feelings. Her authoritative tone and fearless manner recalled to the people mind her illustrious brother and with him the memories of a mass movement. The COP launched a forceful election campaign and the people responded with enthusiasm.³⁵

The COP organised a series of public meetings for Miss Jinnah. In her first round of public meetings, she toured major cities of WP along with other leaders of the alliance including Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Lahore Hyderabad and Karachi in which large number of people participated. While defining democracy and freedom, in her speech at public meeting organized by COP in Peshawar on October 1, 1964 she said that,

“Manifestation of freedom lies in the exercise of your vote directly in the favour of your candidate for the head of state, and member of National and Provincial Assemblies. The symbol of your freedom is your vote and you must have the inalienable right to exercise the right directly for a candidate of your choice.”³⁶

The COP leader informed the people about their responsibilities in this critical juncture of national life. She said,

“...You have to restore your right of free expression. You have to restore your privilege of free speech and free association. You have to maintain and encourage the independence of judiciary. You have to provide a system of easy and speedy administration of justice... I am sure that you will not miss the opportunity that has been provided to you through these elections.”³⁷

Addressing a public meeting at Lahore, Miss Jinnah asked the people to get up and spread the message of freedom, democracy and a life of dignity to every part of the country.³⁸ She told the people that if they wished to rehabilitate democracy and regain their self-respect and their inherent right, their obvious course was to refuse to temptation or pressure. She urged them to support the nine point’s programme that the COP had placed before them.³⁹ Miss Jinnah assured the people that she would even sacrifice her life for the restoration of democracy.⁴⁰ The first phase of COPs campaign of mobilising masses at the major cities of WP remained very successful. The halo around its candidate, brightened with each public appearance of her.⁴¹

The ruling political party maintained a discrete silence during the period because no one in the government had the courage to utter a word of criticism against Miss Jinnah. Ayub was initially a bit disturbed because he could not understand how to launch a campaign against her when not a word of criticism can be uttered against his rival. He repeatedly urged his associates to expose Miss Jinnah’s lack of experience in politics and her old age. All that Ayub’s associates could manage was to criticize the political advisers and politicians around her and attack their bona-fides.⁴² Ayub finally decided to take up the challenge himself and started addressing public meetings. He addressed his first public meeting at Peshawar on October 13, 1964.⁴³ The local administration gathered a large crowd into the meeting ground but he did not have Miss Jinnah’s charisma and had no experience of public speaking.⁴⁴ His knowledge of Urdu, which was the only common language the crowd in WP understood, was limited like Fatima Jinnah. However, he learnt quickly and overcame this deficiency after the first three or four public meetings started speaking with much confidence. However, he was handicapped by the fact that he could not criticize Miss Jinnah because attacking an old lady would be considered unbecoming of a gentleman. While his party was getting more and more demoralised and succumbing to internal differences, the five feuding opposition parties had succeeded in forging a powerful combination. The real problem of Ayub’s associates was that they were all convinced that he could never allow the situation to reach a point where he might lose the elections. They were certain that if things went too far he would call upon the army to put an end to popular hysteria. Only Ayub knew that he had no choice but to go through the process he had initiated himself. If he was to become the victim of the process the armed forces would not come to his rescue, since they too could see the crowds that daily paraded the streets denouncing Ayub and his constitution.⁴⁵

After finishing public meetings in WP, Miss Jinnah proceeded to EP where the AL led by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman, was carrying on a crusade against the Ayub regime. The people of EP felt that they had been deprived of all their rights and that the province was no better than a colony of Islamabad. Miss. Jinnah was the only hope of changing the unjust and oppressive system. The crowds that greeted her in EP were even larger than those in WP.

Leadership of the COP told the people in their speeches about the corruption, inefficiency and dictatorial from of government of Ayub Khan. Miss Jinnah appealed the people to take full advantage of the opportunity and prefer democracy to dictatorship.

In another speech at Chittagong, Miss Jinnah criticized Ayub's suggestion of joint defence with India and termed it as bargain over the sovereignty of Pakistan.⁴⁶ In the public meeting at Rajshahi, she appealed the people not to allow them to be exploited and stressed on unity.⁴⁷ Commenting to the criticism that the self-centred and power hungry opposition leaders of COP use her as tool she said,

“It is being said that these leaders have joined hands for selfish motives. I am afraid, I have nothing to give them nor have I anything to offer you except a struggle for the sake of the principles of freedom and democracy which the present regime has flouted during the last few years”.⁴⁸

The general masses and the press believed that the COP has posed a real threat to Ayub Khan and it would not be easy for him to win. The campaign raised serious questions about Ayub's style of governance. Allegations of corruption against Ayub's family, particularly his son Gohar Ayub were openly levelled and widely believed.⁴⁹ Even his reforms came under severe criticism. His land reforms were seen as an elaborate design to consolidate the power of landlords and bureaucrats and his Islamic reforms, especially the family laws were criticized as deviation from *Sunnah*.⁵⁰

Amid this heated debate of criticism and counter criticism; came the time for the election of Basic Democrats. Under the Electoral College Act, passed on April 17, 1964, both provinces were divided into forty thousand units each.⁵¹ Every unit had to elect a member for Basic Democracies. The 1962 Constitution and the 1964 Electoral College Act authorised the Basic Democrats to function as the Electoral College for the election of Provincial and National Assemblies and the President.⁵² The elections of basic democrats ended on November 19, 1964 with both sides claiming an over-welcoming majority.⁵³ Miss Jinnah in her letter of December 6, 1964, congratulated the member of the Electoral College on their victory in the elections of basic democrats and appealed them to cast their vote considering it a sacred trust.⁵⁴

Quagmire of Nomination Papers:

Ayub Khan from ruling party submitted his nomination papers on November 22, 1964 and from COP Miss Jinnah submitted her nomination papers on November 26, 1964. Five other candidates also submitted their nomination papers. Three of them were ministers of Ayub Khan's cabinet. According to the 1962 Constitution only four people could contest Presidential elections. COP, therefore, warned the government of hazardous consequences if Miss Jinnah was screened out. COP objected the nomination of Ayub Khan saying that Field Marshal can never be retired; therefore, Ayub despite of being retired was still the government servant as Field Marshal and was not eligible for contesting presidential elections. However, Election Commission ruled out this objection.⁵⁵ COP advised Ayub Khan to

consult Supreme Court for the controversial question. In this way when Ayub Khan was pressurized, his ministers took back their nomination papers.

Ayub still had to fix a date for the presidential elections. His term was expiring on March 23, 1965 and under the Constitution, the elections to the office of the president had to be completed at least 20 days before that date. Ayub finally decided that the elections would be held on January 2, 1965.⁵⁶ The Election Commission announced on November 30, 1964 the names and symbols of eligible candidates. Ayub Khan was allotted with the symbol of 'flower' and Miss Jinnah with 'lantern'.⁵⁷

The neophyte confrontation meetings:

The final phase of the campaign was marked by a series of confrontation meetings. Presidential candidates would appear before the members of the Electoral College in principal towns and after making an opening statement, would answer the questions put to them by members of the Electoral College. These meetings were presided over by judges of different High Courts and all questions were deposited in a box. The ruling party managed to put a very large number of questions into the box so that when the presiding officer put hand in the box the likelihood was that he would draw out a question of ruling party's preference. Some of the presiding judges were amenable to government pressure; others were more than willing to show their loyalty to Ayub Khan; they rejected questions they thought would be considered offensive by Ayub.⁵⁸

The first confrontation meeting was held at Rawalpindi. The COP candidate Miss Jinnah gave answers to all those allegations raised by Ayub with solid reasons and logic. Answering to the objection that she knew nothing about politics, she said, "I know the politics that Ayub Khan does not know. He is an army-man. He knows well about the tactics of army but knows nothing about politics".⁵⁹ Responding to the allegation that she had lust for power, Miss Jinnah said that millions of people would not have supported her if she had lust for power. Unlike Ayub Khan, people were not forcefully brought for the success of her public meetings.⁶⁰ She had come in politics to transfer the power of the country to its real rulers. Pointing to the people, she said that they were the real rulers and she just wanted that they would have the right to enthrone or dethrone.⁶¹

Miss Jinnah accused Ayub Khan of giving away Pakistan's water to India. She also reminded basic democrats of Ayub's offer to the Prime Minister Nehru in 1959 for joint defence of the sub-continent.⁶² She questioned Ayub's performance as President and accused him of making the life of common man miserable and for instability in prices of goods and services. She made him responsible for extremely unfortunate economic conditions of the country. She also blamed him for income inequality and economic disparity between the two wings of the country. She accused him of giving away Pakistan's territories to China and Iran. She also blamed him for the division of the ML.⁶³

Miss Jinnah advised the people and the members of the Electoral College to know their own inherent strength and use it for the good of the people.⁶⁴ The major objective of COP campaign was to put an end to one man's rule. COP ended its campaign on January 1, 1965 and in its candidate in her last meeting with the

Electoral College, asked them to vote for the stability of democratic institutions and stronger Pakistan. On the other hand, Ayub Khan asked to vote in favour of Presidential system of the country.⁶⁵

Election Results:

The polling took place on January 2, 1965. Heavy polling was reported in the morning and results started coming in after 1 p.m. Arrangements were made that the results were to be announced by Radio Pakistan as they were released by the presiding officers at the polling stations. The Chief Election Commissioner announced the results, which gave a clear majority to Ayub Khan. Out of 80,000 members of Electoral College, the total number of votes polled were 79700, in which 49,951 (63.31%) voted for Ayub, and 28,691 (36.36%) for Miss Jinnah.⁶⁶ However, in EP the gap was much narrow. Miss Jinnah had 18,434 votes against Ayub's 21,012, giving him a winning margin of only 2,578 votes. In WP, Ayub won in all division and district except Karachi but in EP, he won only in two divisions, Rajshahi and Khulna, and lost in Dhakha and Chittagong.⁶⁷ K.M. Kamal and Mian Bashir Ahmed the other two presidential candidates secured 183 and 65 votes respectively, while 810 votes were rejected.⁶⁸

Thus, in spite of mammoth public gatherings of Fatima Jinnah, COP could not manage to sweep the election. The reason was obvious, that in case of election based on BD system, public meetings were of no use. COP objected that the entire conduct of the elections was marred by flagrant official interference, police high-handedness, intimidation, corruption and bribery.⁶⁹

Many causes were attributed to COP's defeat in the presidential elections. The ruling party accused COP of disintegration of Pakistan.⁷⁰ Another charge was that according to the rulings of Islam a woman could not be the head of the state and due to that reason Ayub Khan got the favour of religious section of the population. The third charge put against the COP candidate was that she was against Basic Democracies and intended to scrape the system after coming into power. Because of the propaganda, Basic Democrats for their own existence and survival voted in favour of Ayub Khan.⁷¹ The ruling party used officially controlled print and electronic media to their favour and expanded the charges levelled against COP. Despite all these charges, it is a reality that the way people supported Miss Jinnah one can confidently say that she would have got victory if general elections were held on the basis of adult franchise. She, despite her meagre resources and limited means of communication, managed to get victory in some areas. In this way, she won the elections on moral ground.

Waning of COP:

After the presidential elections, the COP called a session to decide the strategy for the coming elections of the National and Provincial assemblies. In this session, the leaders considered to boycott the elections as it was discussed to be unreasonable to participate any more in the elections. The alliance however, decided to participate in the coming elections. Results of these elections were of complete failure and disappointment for the alliance. The reason behind it was that COP after losing the presidential elections lost the spirit and participated in the elections half-heartedly. Although the alliance leadership appealed the members of Electoral

College to vote only for the candidates of the alliance for the realization of the hopes and aspiration of the people and hasten the end of autocracy and dictatorship but it did not bring any change in their attitude.⁷²

The defeat of COP in the presidential and subsequent national and provincial assemblies elections does not mean in any way that it was a useless practice. Under those circumstances COP was bound to lose. The alliance however, thereafter losing its strength and unity as Council Muslim League made efforts to dominate it. Miss Jinnah though the unanimous candidate of all the component parties of the alliance showed her sympathies for the League and advised other parties of the COP to merge into Council Muslim League and fight against undemocratic force with unity and discipline. However, the component parties focused on their respective political agendas⁷³ resultantly the alliance became ineffective and politically moribund.

Conclusion:

The formation of COP and its subsequent struggle is of formidable importance in the democratic history of Pakistan. Joining hands by the political leaders despite having ideological and personality clashes for ending authoritarian regime was a depiction of the democratic urge prevalent amongst the then political activists. Supporting the cause of empowering the disempowered of the country and recognising the cognisable right of the masses to enthrone or dethrone the rulers was another message given by the joint struggle of the politically active section of the society to encourage the disillusioned and indifferent masses. COP's participation in the election initiated a political dialogue in the country to replace the authoritarian's monologue of the previous six years. The presidential elections presented the beginning of the end as for the first time and on a nationwide level, Miss Jinnah's arguments exposed the absurdity of the system, its shortcomings and the tall claims of its author. Once this occurred, Ayub Khan, despite of his electoral victory could not legitimise his constitution or his regime. The moral ground for his removal has been prepared and the nation's conscience awakened, it was only a matter of time before the regime and its high priest was swept aside.

The greatest contribution of the alliance lay in crystallizing the country's democratic temper and traditions, in initiating critical debate and discussion in place of dead conformism, in rekindling and refurbishing the enfeebled and dying flame of democracy in this land and thus setting the nation a new towards a democratic destiny.

Notes & References

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² General Ayub's first broadcast to the nation on October 8, 1958. *Dawn* October 9, 1958.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Zulfiqar Khalid Maluka, *The Myth of Constitutionalism in Pakistan*, (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1995).p.182.

⁵ Lawrence Ziring. *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century: A Political History*. (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 1997).p.265.

⁶ Rizvi, *The Military and Politics*, P.121.

⁷ *Dawn*, July 17, 1962

⁸ Ziring. *Pakistan in the Twentieth Century*, P.274. Ayub Khan presented himself for the presidency of the League on December 15, 1962 and became its President on December 24, 1963.

⁹ Sharif al Mujahid, "Pakistan's First Presidential Elections" in *Asian Survey*, June 1956, V:6, pp.280-294.

¹⁰ Agha Hussain Hamdani, *Fatima Jinnah Hayat Aur Khidmat*, [Urdu] (Islamabad: National Commission for Research, History and Culture, 1978), p. 86.

¹¹ Sharif al Mujahid, "Pakistan's First" pp.280-294.

¹² Salim Younas. *Siasi Ittehad Aor Pakistani Seyasat Par Un Ke Asarat*. (Lahore: Jang Publishers, 1993).p.68.

¹³ Fakhru Islam, "Political Alliances in Pakistan", an article Published in *Pakistan* (the bi-annual journal of Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 1987), p.72.

¹⁴ K.B. Sayeed. *The Political System of Pakistan*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1967). p.217.

¹⁵ *Dawn*, October 31, 1964.

¹⁶ Particularly the withdrawal of harsh and discriminatory executive directions like; Security of Pakistan Act and similar other laws providing for detention without trial, interference with the peaceful functioning of political parties and other political institutions or interference with the freedom of citizens and the Press, EP Public Safety Ordinance, 1958, WP Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance 1960 and similar laws, Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908, WP Criminal Law Amendment Act 1963, and the FCR, Press and Publications Ordinances, Loud speakers Ordinance; and University Ordinances.

¹⁷ M. Rafiq Afzal, *Political Parties in Pakistan, 1958-69*. (Islamabad: National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research, 2000).Pp.308-311.

¹⁸ For more details see complete text of the nine points Manifesto of COP.

¹⁹ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, Pp. 387-388

²⁰ This included the freedom of speech, freedom of association and freedom of assembly under the rule of law. Hamdani, *Fatima Jinnah* , Pp. 88 — 90

²¹ Afzal, *Political Parties*. Pp.312-316.

²² Younas. *Siasi Ittehad*, p.68. This idea was strongly opposed keeping in view the falling health of Nawabzada Nazimuddin.

²³ Azam Khan was once the right hand of Ayub Khan and ex-governor of East Pakistan.

²⁴ Ibid. pp.68-69.

²⁵ Saima Rana, "Miss Fatima Jinnah Life and Services." [Unpublished M A. Thesis] (Mansehra: Department of Pakistan Studies, Govt. Post Graduate College, 2003).p.91.

²⁶ Khawaja Nazimuddin, Shafiq Aslam, Shafi Inayatullah and Abul Qasim Anwar represented COUNCIL while Professor Ghulam Azam, Sabir Hussain, Rehman Ali, Syed Gohar Jilani, Maulana Muslehuddin and Zafarullah represented J; Nawabzada Nasarullah, Sheikh Zaharuddin, Sheikh

Mujibur Rehman and Shah Aziz-ur-Rehman represented AL; Mehmoodul Haq Usmani, Mian Mehmood Ali Qasoori, Afzal Bangash and Yousaf Khattak represented the NAP.

²⁷ Rana, "Miss Fatima, p.91.

²⁸ Agha Ashraf, *Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah*, (Lahore: Abdul Aleem Qureshi, nd.), p. 56.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 91.

³⁰ Altaf Gohar, *Ayub Khan Pakistan's First Military Ruler* (Lahore: Sange-Meel Publications, 1993), pp. 274 — 275.

³¹ Due to her glorious past, strong character and being the sister of Quaid-i-Azam was respectable for the nation.

³² Akhtar Hussain. "Political Alliances during Bhutto and Zia Regimes-1971-1988." Unpublished, M.A. Thesis. (Peshawar: Pakistan Study Centre, University of Peshawar, 1998).p.22

³³ Rana, "Miss Fatima, p.93.

³⁴ Hamid Yousaf, *Pakistan in Search of Democracy 1947-77*. (Lahore: Afrasia Publications, 1980). p.87.

³⁵ Hussain. "Political Alliances," P.23.

³⁶ Tour Programme of Miss Fatima Jinnah, File No. 273, pp. 34 - 35

³⁷ Tour Programme of Miss Fatima Jinnah, File No. 274, pp. 22 - 23.

³⁸ Azhar Munir, (trans), *Madar-i-Millat Ka Jamhori Safar* (Lahore: Frontier Post Publications, 1993), p. 110

³⁹ The programme was published in *Dawn* October 31, 1964.

⁴⁰ *Jang*, July 9, 1982.

⁴¹ Rana, "Miss Fatima", p.96.

⁴² The major criticism was that the political leaders around her were not loyal to Pakistan and their ideologies are extremist and if implemented will ruin the integrity and solidarity of the country. Rana, "Miss Fatima", p.96

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Gohar, *Pakistan's First Military Ruler*, p. 276.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 277.

⁴⁶ Ibid, p. 119.

⁴⁷ Salahuddin Khan, *Speeches, Messages and Statements* p. 364.

⁴⁸ Ibid, p. 366.

⁴⁹ Gohar Ayub Khan who was serving in Pakistan Army, left the Army and initiated business activities with his father in law Lieutenant General Habibullah Khan. They jointly established Ghandhara Industries , which prospered soon. This led to criticism on Ayub and his family. M.B. Khalid, *Aiwan-e-Sadar mai Soola Saal*, (Lahore: Deed Shunaid Publications, 1988).p.141.

⁵⁰ Rana, "Miss Fatima", p.96.

⁵¹ The Basic Democracies order was issued on October 29, 1959, to provide for the basic democratic institutions throughout Pakistan. Mustafa Chowdhry, *Pakistan its Politics and Bureaucracy*, (New Delhi: Associated Publishing House, 1988).p.52.

⁵² Habib-ur-Rehman Jalib Marwat, "The System of Basic Democracies under Ayub Khan" Unpublished, M.A. Thesis (Mansehra: Department of Pakistan Studies, Govt. Post Graduate College, 1997 - 1999), p. 31.

⁵³ Gouhar. *Ayub Khan*.p.279.

⁵⁴ Ibid, Pp. 96 - 97.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Gohar, *Ayub Khan*, Pp. 280 - 281.

⁵⁷ Ashraf, *Madar-i-Millat Fatima Jinnah*, p. 59.

⁵⁸ Gohar, *Ayub Khan*, Pp. 282 - 283.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 97,

⁶⁰ *Mashriq*, July 9, 1985.

⁶¹ *Nawa-e-Waqat*, July 17, 1987.

⁶² Ziring, *Pakistan In The Twentieth Century*, p. 282.

⁶³ Hamdani, *Fatima Jinnah*, p. 98.

⁶⁴ Salahuddin Khan, *Speeches, Messages and Statements*, p. 435.

⁶⁵ Hamdani, *Fatima Jinnah*, p. 99.

⁶⁶ Khawar Mumtaz and Farida Shaheen, *Women of Pakistan*, (Lahore: Vanguard Books Pvt. Ltd., 1987), Pp. 44-57.

⁶⁷ Gohar, *Ayub Khan*, p. 286.

⁶⁸ Ayub Khan, *Friends Not Masters*, p.254.

⁶⁹ Rana "Miss Fatima" P.104.

⁷⁰ The reasons they presented were the slogan of NAP for complete provincial autonomy and separate economic systems for both wings.

⁷¹ Hamdani, *Fatima Jinnah*, p. 101.

⁷² Tour Programme of Miss Fatima Jinnah File No. 275, p. 43.

⁷³ *Jang*, July 9, 1982.