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One Unit Scheme: the Role of Opposition focusing on Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Abstract

Like all other former colonies of Britain, Pakistan was founded with having least democratic traditions and institutions. Besides weak democratic culture, opposition played very active role in opposing Establishment of West Pakistan (One Unit) Act in 1955 and after its formation efforts were made to undo it. It is to the credit of present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (Before 2010, North West Frontier Province or briefly NWFP) that opposition to One Unit was started from here. It was initiated in West wing and then got support of East Wing of Pakistan. The movement was so genuine and strong that finally it met with success.

Keywords: One Unit; Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif; Abdul Ghaffar Khan; Anti-One Unit Front; Pakistan National Party; Pakistan Awami League.

Introduction

One Unit Scheme was simply the integration of Governor provinces of Punjab, Sindh and NWFP (present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Chief Commissioner province of Balochistan, princely states of Khairpur, Bahawalpur, Baluchistan States Union and Tribal Areas by establishing the Province of West Pakistan in 1955. It was first suggested by Choudhry Mohammed Ali during the life of first Constituent Assembly but was voted down by the Bengalis who had majority in the Muslim League Parliamentary Party. They secured the alliance of Abdus Sattar Pirzada, the Chief Minister of Sindh and Abdul Qaiyum Khan, Federal Minister from N-W.F.P to vote down both the One Unit and Zonal sub federation schemes whenever they were brought up.¹ After the dissolution of Constituent Assembly on 24th October 1954, Ghulam Mohammad instructed Mohammad Ali Bogra, the Prime Minister to form a Cabinet without a Parliament.²

The Central government then decided to push the merger plan with greater haste. A conference of Central and Provincial leaders was held in Karachi on 22 November 1954. Prime Minister Mohammad Ali Bogra told the nation over radio that he and his colleague had come to the conclusion to merge all the provinces and territories of West Pakistan into One Unit. He also disclosed that small body of administrative experts were already engaged in the task of fashioning the pattern of administrative machinery that will be necessary when West Pakistan was unified and constituted into single Province.³

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The new Cabinet used persuasive and coercive techniques to remove hurdles in the way. Iskander Mirza, interior minister and the spokesman of the cabinet likened One Unit to a steamroller, as the small pebble on the road cannot stop a steamroller so he said no one could stop the formation of One Unit.⁴ Hussain Shaheed Suhrawardy was brought in from Zurich, Switzerland (where he had gone for medical treatment) as law minister to pilot the One Unit Bill, ultimately in the hope of being raised to the position of the country Prime Minister.⁵

The scheme was designed to be implemented by gaining consent of provinces and princely states. The fate of Tribal Areas was kept in limbo. The KP Government was first to endorse the plan on 25 November 1954. Chief Minister Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan a former Inspector General of police, though a strong advocate of Center negotiated certain concessions for his province from central leadership. The approval was followed by Punjab and Sindh, where unwilling Chief Ministers were changed by those who supported the plan.

The Governor General, Ghulam Mohammed emboldened by dismissal of Constituent Assembly wanted to enact One Unit but was warned by Federal Court not to legislate but order to elect new Constituent Assembly for that purpose. Constituent Assembly was elected from members of Provincial Assemblies already existing, representatives of Princely States and Tribal Areas. The first task it did was establishment of West Pakistan (One Unit).

The Bill for establishment of West Pakistan was introduced in Constituent Assembly on 10 August 1955. After heated discussion it was passed on 30 September 1955 and the province of West Pakistan came into existence on 14 October 1955.

Opposition to One Unit

Opposition to One Unit Scheme started before its establishment. Sardar Abdur Rashid, Chief Minister of NWFP had developed differences with the Central authorities on the arrangements made for One Unit. His main points of objection were (a) meager representation in high cadre services from NWFP (b) the establishment of West Pakistan capital at Lahore (c) the installation of Dr. Khan Sahib as Chief Minister. He had bitter arguments at the floor of Constituent Assembly session with Iskander Mirza on issue of restriction placed on politicians aggravated the situation. Finally as was obvious from situation, Governor of NWFP dismissed Sardar Rashid from his office on 18 July 1955.⁶

The opposition to the One Unit scheme in the Constituent Assembly was staged by members belonging to East Pakistan. From West Pakistan the members who were in fore-front were Mian Iftikharud Din of Azad Pakistan party, Feroz Khan Noon group, Independent members, followed by only two Muslim leaguers critical of merger plan were Sardar Abdur Rashid Khan and Mian Jaffar Shah.⁷

Outside the Assembly it was severely opposed in the three smaller provinces of N.W.F.P, Balochistan and Sindh. In N.W.F.P, in the Provincial Legislative Assembly, the One Unit Scheme was criticised by members of opposition, belonging to Sarhad Awami Muslim League. The Awami Muslim League was founded by Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and his supporters.⁸ Later, it joined hands with Awami League of Suhrawardy.⁹ During the budget session in March 1955 members of opposition Khan Samin Jan and Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan criticised

the plan as a scheme of domination by Punjab over small provinces and unworkable plan.¹⁰

In May 1955 Pir Sahib went to Karachi to meet Suhrawardy, the President of Awami Muslim League and to apprise him of the Anti-One Unit feeling among the people of Frontier province. H.S. Suhrawardy, as Law Minister was one of the chief exponents of the Scheme refused to co-operate with Pir Sahib on this issue.¹¹

After that Pir Sahib started looking around for like minded persons, to seek their co-operation in opposing the One Unit. Pir Sahib along with General Secretary, Provincial Awami League, Master Khan Gul went to Murree during the preliminary session of Constituent Assembly in July 1955 to discuss the issue with members of the Assembly. Abdul Ghaffar Khan was also there with the same purpose.¹² Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the founder of *Khudi Khidmatgar* movement¹³ was banished from entering his home province. He lived on the west bank of river Indus near Ghazi to be surrounded by Pashto speaking people.¹⁴ As a result of arguments on the floor of Constituent Assembly, restrictions on movement of Ghaffar Khan were lifted and he entered after seven years of imprisonment and exile to his home province.

Anti-One Unit Front

Abdul Ghaffar Khan unlike his brother Dr. Khan Sahib¹⁵ consistently opposed the One Unit scheme.¹⁶ An emergency compromise between Red Shirts and Awami League (Manki Group) was formed. On One Unit issue, a joint convention of the important workers of both organisations was held at Manki on 29 July 1955. It was presided over by Abdul Ghaffar Khan himself. In this convention 'Anti-One Unit Front' was formed and resolution was adopted demanding from the government that the merger plan should not be implemented without ascertaining the people's view. Otherwise, both parties would launch a united struggle against its implementation. The Anti-One Unit Front propaganda meetings were started from 3 August 1955 when Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif under-took a tour of southern districts of Frontier.¹⁷ From Anti-One Unit Front platform they left no stone unturned to wreck the plan. Addressing a public meeting at Uthmanzai on 2 August 1955, Abdul Ghaffar Khan alleged that the Government was of the view that One Unit was beneficial to the country but they were of the opinion that it is not, especially the Pakhtun community would suffer politically and economically on joining the plan. He also demanded impartial and honest election.¹⁸

Abdul Ghaffar and Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif visited the southern region of NWFP jointly from 2 to 9 August 1955.¹⁹ On 10 August, along with Abdus Samad Achakzai (Wror Pakhtun leader) of Balochistan, the Anti-One Unit Front staged a public gathering at Chowk Yadgar, Peshawar. It was addressed by Samin Jan (Sarhad Awami League), Bacha Khan and Achakzai on behalf of the people of NWFP and Balochistan.²⁰ It was followed by several meetings, gatherings, processions and addresses of Bacha Khan, Abdul Wali Khan, Khan Samin Jan, Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai and many others.²¹

Pir Sahib also visited Karachi to organise Anti-One Unit Front at all Pakistan level. With the approval of Khan Ghaffar Khan it was decided that on 22

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and 23 August 1955 a grand meeting of Front would be called. The meeting was attended by representatives from NWFP besides G.M. Syed, (Sindh Awami Mahaz), Wror Pakhtun and Maulana Bahshani.²²

On 17 September 1955, Pir Sahib along with Maulvi Shakirullah left for Chitral, before this Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan accompanied by Sarhad Awami League leader Samin Jan Khan left for Balochistan. In their absence, the 'Anti-One Unit Front' continued its activities. Khan Habibullah of Mian Gujar in the company of Mir Mahdi Shah of Kankola on the same day had programmed a tour to form Anti-One Unit Front Committees. They elected office bearers and members of working Committees of some villages. They informed several representatives of other villages to form committees and submit lists of the names of office bearers.²³

On same day Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Samin Jan Khan (Sarhad Awami League) while entering Quetta, were arrested. Public meetings and protests were staged by the Anti-One Unit Front. In a public meeting at Pabbi, Pir Ahmad Shah of *Khudai Khidmatgar* stated that the only fault of Ghaffar Khan was that he demanded that One Unit issue should be referred to the people for expressing their verdict. Fazal Karim said that Abdul Ghaffar Khan was invited to Balochistan by the masses and was arrested by the agent to Governor General who was an Englishman, was this democracy? He informed the audience that the appointment of Ghulam Ishaq Khan as secretary was objected on the ground that he was junior (to many Punjabis).²⁴

At Peshawar on 18 September 1955 a public procession of *Khudai Khidmatgars* and Awami Leaguers was taken out in protest. They marched through the city and raised the following slogans; *EK Unit Murda Bad*; (To hell with One Unit) *Ek Gonghet Murda Bad*; (To hell with One veil) *Hakumat-e-Balochistan Murda Bad*; (to hell with government of Balochistan) *Bacha Khan Zinda Bad*; (Long live Bacha Khan) *Samim Jan Khan Zinda Bad* (Long live Samin Jan Khan). Later a public meeting was held at Chowk Yadgar, addressed by the leaders of Anti-One Unit Front. Wali Muhammad Tufan recited a Pushto poem saying:

OH Unit walo Punjabiyo (Oh Unit producers Punjabis), you are compelling me to accept Zilat(disgrace),

By taking Danda(stick) in your hands.

Oh Sponsors of the One Unit you are deceiving us in the name of

Wahdat (unity), we could not tolerate the Lung (dress) of the Punjabis by force.

Oh Punjabio don't tell me the benefits of One Unit,

*The concept of Azad Pakhtunistan is present with me.*²⁵

Meanwhile, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan along with his companions were released from Jail and deported to Peshawar. On 1 October 1955, at Peshawar, a convention of the Frontier Anti-One Unit Front' was held under the presidentship of Samin Jan Khan. It reiterated the demand of a referendum in the smaller units of Pakistan before the establishment of One Unit. It asserted that the people of the

Frontier province would not accept the decision to form One Unit until the people wishes were ascertained. In a resolution, the false propaganda that Anti-One Unit Front was creating hatred and discord between the Pakhtuns and Punjabis was condemned and declared that all people in Punjab were our brothers and along with them we would serve our country.²⁶

On 5 October 1955 a convention of consultative committee of Anti-One Unit Front of West Pakistan was held at Karachi, it was attended by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, G.M. Syed, Abdus Samad Achekezai, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Riaz Hashmi and Hyder Bux Jatoi.²⁷ After two days of deliberation it was declared that it would oppose the integration of West Pakistan by all democratic and constitutional means at its command.²⁸

The Anti-One Unit Front formed by Pir Sahib of Manki Sharif and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (Frontier Gandhi),²⁹ strived hard to oppose the establishment of One Unit. After establishment of One Unit the Front focused its attention to undo it through pressure tactics. The front had already attracted the minor parties of Sindh and Balochistan. In early December 1955 the opposition leaders including Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Pir Sahib of Manki, Mian Iftikharud Din, G.M. Sayed, Pir Hassam-ud-Din flew to Decca to attend Awami League Conference and to discuss with Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani the prospect of establishing an all Pakistan based opposition party.³⁰

Later on Abdul Ghaffar Khan carried out his programme of organising public opinion. He travelled and addressed rallies in the nook and corner of the area; demanded the dissolution of merger plan; he further demanded that frontier region should be named as Pakhtunistan as the Punjab is for Punjabis, Sindh is for Sindhis and so on. He warned the authorities of coming storm if, merging arrangement was not cancelled.³¹ Bacha Khan was arrested in his village Shahi Bagh on 16th June 1956,³² for delivering seditious speeches and for anti-government activities. His trial was opened in West Pakistan High Court on Monday, 3rd September 1956.

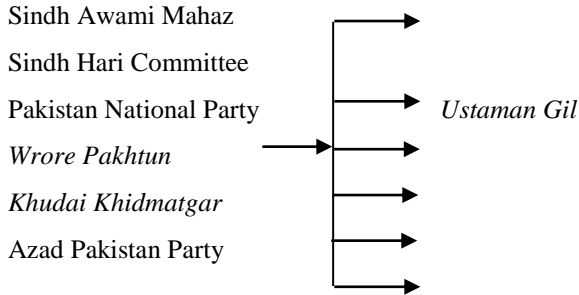
5 October 1956 was commemorated as Bacha Khan Day by Anti-One Unit Front. A protest meeting was held at Chowk Yadgar Peshawar, under the auspice of Arbab Abdul Gaffoor Khan and Hussain Bahksh Kousar. They protested and said that Bacha Khan was old and ill but he was kept in solitary confinement in prison. Prayers were offered for him in the mosques of Peshawar, Maulana Faqir Ahmad of Muhallah Khudadad specially prayed for him in sermon.³³ Finally Abdul Ghaffar Khan was released by court after fine and minor imprisonment on 24 January 1957.³⁴

The Anti-One Unit Front also established its women wing on 16th October 1956. It held a public meeting under the chairmanship of Mrs. Mian Humayun Khan at Sikanderpura at her residence. It repeated the demands already put forward by the Front³⁵ (Mian Humayanun Khan of Peshawar was a Khudai Khidmatgar leader).

Pakistan National Party (PNP):

The struggle started by the joint efforts of Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Pir of Manki Sharif in establishing Anti-One Unit Front bore fruits. It further developed

into West Pakistan Anti-One Unit Front and a step further it was going to develop into a National political party. *The Pakistan Times* reported on 10 September 1956, ‘A Land Mark in the Pakistan political history, formation of the Pakistan National party was hailed by leaders of six constituent parties who addressed a public meeting in Lahore outside Delhi Gate’. The six parties included Sindh Awami Mahaz, Sindh Hari Committee, *Ustaman Gil*, *Khudai Khidmatgar*, *Wrore Pakhtun* and Azad Pakistan Party



The principal aim of the party described was the disintegration of One Unit.³⁶ *Khudai Khidmatgars* was represented by Amir Mohammad Khan. He urged the people to organise public opinion to force the rulers to hold fair and impartial election. He also negated the allegation that Pakhtuns hated Punjabis. He stated that Punjabis were as dear to us as Pakhtuns.³⁷ The party’s first convention was held in Lahore from 30 November to 2 December 1956, which stressed at the economic reforms in Pakistan. In the two day conference held in Hyderabad the party passed resolution to undo One Unit and suggested zonal federation for West Pakistan. That the four units should be demarcated out of the West Pakistan province keeping in view the linguistic and cultural affinities of the people. The names of the units would be according to the names of the former four provinces. The units be given complete autonomy and were to be knitted together in a federation.³⁸

In 1957 Pir Sahib of Manki decided to quit active politics. The heavy mantle of opposition from Frontier was placed on the shoulders of Abdul Ghaffar Khan. On 27 January 1957 (after three day of his release), he announced to join the Pakistan National Party.³⁹ The Pakistan National party had already decided that instead of setting up a new organisation, it would operate through the existing party organizations of the six component party.⁴⁰

On 31st March 1957, Abdul Ghaffar Khan addressed a largely attended Public meeting at Babra, Charsadda, where Red Shirts had been fired upon in 1948. About 4,000 women also attended the meeting. Khan Amir Muhammad Khan, president Frontier National Party observed that ‘the One Unit of West Pakistan which we called undemocratic and unworkable when it was being imposed, is now accepted by the party in power as having totally failed. Abdul Ghaffar Khan in his address said the country’s salvation laid only in fair and free election and the sooner it was held better for the people and for the country which was continuously losing its prestige in the world’.⁴¹ In a public meeting of Pakistan National Party, outside Mochi Gate, Lahore on 11 March 1957, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan claimed that the people of Frontier were politically so advanced that

the biggest 'jagirdar' or 'nawab' couldn't win election against an ordinary peasant if latter deserved. The meeting was presided over by Sheikh Rafiq Ahmed and was addressed by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Sheikh Abdul Majid Sindhi, Khan Abdus Samad Achakzai, G. M. Syed, Mahmud Ali Kasuri and Mir Ghaus Bakhsh. In the meeting the party reiterated its demand of setting up zonal federation in place of One Unit.⁴²

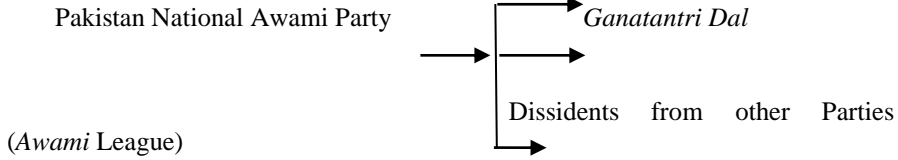
The Pakistan National Party was anti-One Unit in its core. Its primary objective was to dismember the integration of One Unit. Its member party (Sindh Awami Mahaz), had nearly a dozen members who held the balance of power between Muslim League and Republican Party in the West Pakistan Provincial Assembly.⁴³ The Republican Party under the leadership of Dr. Khan Sahib was the spokesman of establishment, which favoured One Unit. Both parties co-operated in Provincial Assembly against Muslim League, which was their common enemy. The Muslim League which was supposed to be the architect of One Unit Scheme vacillated in its perseverance by the beginning of 1957. Finally it decided to cooperate with National Party for dismemberment of One Unit.

On this issue the negotiations between the leaders of National Party and the Muslim League for a united front against Dr. Khan Sahib's ministry on the basis of opposition to One Unit continued in Lahore, before the definite official stand of the Muslim League working committee.⁴⁴ Ultimately its Working Committee and its Parliamentary Party in the West Pakistan legislature decided to oppose One Unit and to support the resolution that had been moved in the West Pakistan Legislative Assembly to replace One Unit by a zonal federation.

During the budget session of West Pakistan Provincial Assembly in March 1957 One Unit came under strong criticism from the members belonging to different parties.⁴⁵ But when opposition demanded voting President Iskander Mirza suspended the Constitution in West Pakistan and Governor Rule was announced.

Pakistan National Awami Party

The national leaders of West Pakistan's former small provinces did their best to undo One Unit. For this purpose they joined hands with the opposition leader of former Punjab and formed the Pakistan National Party. They were also negotiating with the leaders of East Pakistan to establish a national opposition party. The party approached Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bahshani of Awami League due to his radical views. By June 1957 Bahshani developed serious differences, especially on foreign affairs with his party.⁴⁶ Maulana Bahshani called a three day democratic convention at Decca on 25 July 1957, attended by thousands of political workers. It was also attended by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, Abdul Majid Sindhi and Mahmudul Haq Usmani.⁴⁷ In Dacca on 26 July 1957 'a new all Pakistan political Party to be known as the Pakistan National Awami Party was born at the opening session of the all Pakistan democratic workers convention.'⁴⁸



The component parties and leaders of new Party were heterogeneous in their approaches. Maulana Bahshani wanted full regional autonomy except defense, foreign affairs and currency. While Pakistan National Party was against One Unit, the Ganatantri Dal tendency was communist in its core but all believed in the democracy and people's welfare.⁴⁹

In August 1957 the Awami League of Pir of Manki Sharif was dissolved. Pir Sahib was persuaded by his trusted former colleagues Arbab Sikander Khan, Arbab Abdul Ghafoor Khan, Master Khan Gul and Haji Fakira Khan of Hazara to return to active politics or to join the National Awami Party. It was also learnt that Pir Sahib was reluctant to join National Awami Party, as the party had adopted a policy and programme that was opposed to originally formulated Sarhad Awami League stand over the issue of One Unit. The National Awami Party had expressed its willingness to accept Zonal Federation in place of One Unit. While Sarhad Awami League Council had decided against One Unit plan and full provincial Autonomy in West Pakistan two years before.⁵⁰

In August 1957 as the West Pakistan Assembly session was approaching nearer, both the major Assembly parties, viz Muslim League and Republican were anxious to enlist the support of National Awami Party to claim majority in the Assembly. The past history of the component parties of National Awami Party was anti-Muslim League so it tilted towards Republican. Republican Party appointed three member negotiating committee of Dr. Khan Sahib, Sardar Rashid Khan and Feroz Khan Noon. While National Awami Party appointed four members committee comprised of G.M. Syed, Abdus Samad Achakzai, Abdul Majeed Sindhi and Iftikharud Din. After heated discussion an alliance was concluded between both parties.⁵¹

The agreement signed on 13 September 1957 was based on the support of National Awami Party in the legislature to Republicans and the latter support to demolish One Unit and bring in its place zonal federation of autonomous units based on language and culture.⁵²

The Assembly session after 20 March 1957 was scheduled to start on 14 September 1957, after six months. On 17 September 1957 MPA from Tharparkar District Ghulam Mustafa Bhurgari moved a resolution in West Pakistan Assembly which stated that the Assembly recommends to the government to communicate the view of this Assembly to the National Assembly that the province of West Pakistan be reconstituted as a sub federation with four or more autonomous provinces.⁵³ G.M. Syed supported the resolution. Many members spoke in favour of resolution. On the same day the resolution was adopted by 170 to 4 votes. Muslim League didn't take part in discussion or voting, it remained neutral.⁵⁴ Still the ink of the resolution was not dried that President

Iskander Mirza, Prime Minister and Army Chief General Ayub Khan strongly condemned it.

Opposition during Army Regime

The Marital Law regime on 7 October 1958 dissolved the parliament and provincial assemblies. It also placed ban on political activities and outlawed the political parties.⁵⁵ Martial Law was lifted after promulgation of Constitution of 1962 and limited political activities were restored since 2 July 1962. The first meeting of Sarhad NAP (National Awami Prty) was held on 27 August 1962. The NAP meeting, attended by about 1000 workers, appointed Abdul Wali Khan, son of Abdul Gaffar Khan, as organiser for contacting all democratic elements in the Frontier Region. And to explore possibilities of formation of National Front and authorised him to form a committee to assist him in the matter. The meeting by a resolution on One Unit accepted that the main cause of misunderstanding between different people of West Pakistan was the imposition of One Unit and demanded ascertaining of opinion in smaller areas about its future. Another resolution demanded setting up of a medical board for examining the condition of political prisoners and detainees and their transfer to jails near their homes so that their relatives could meet them without much difficulties

With the revival of political activities, One Unit issue once again came to the front. NAP spokesman demanded its dissolution from very first meeting after revival of political liberty. It repeated same demand in a largely attended public meeting presided over by Fasih Bacha of Charsadda, sponsored by NAP on 12 October 1962. Maulana Abdul Hamid Bahshani, leader of defunct National Awami Party, in his visit to Peshawar at a meeting of NAP workers said that One Unit was imposed from above and the people were not consulted in that matter, so the only method to solve the problem was to hold referendum to ascertain the wishes of people.⁵⁶

But the government was adamant on supporting the scheme of One Unit. It's spokesmen from top to bottom, President, Governor of West Pakistan, its ministers and down to its officials defended the One Unit scheme and all achievements of authorities were contributed to it.⁵⁷

On one hand the East Pakistanis were demanding provincial autonomy and economic share. On other in the West Pakistan major demand was restoration of democracy and dissolution of One Unit. With passage of time this demand, according to Shorash Kashmiri, the editor of *Chattan*, became a favourite issue of all opposition leaders.⁵⁸

The Dissolution of One Unit

Ayub Khan rule lasted for more than ten years (1958-69). After a popular agitation it came to an end in March 1969 after imposition of second Martial Law. The political activities were restarted in June 1969 in the country. With other demands, dissolution of One Unit was also presented before General Yaya Khan. On 28 November 1969, in an address to the nation, the President and Chief Martial Law Administrator declared that a Legal Framework for the elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies and delimitation of constituencies for that purpose of such elections would be given by 31 March 1970 and he further

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declared that the Province of West Pakistan would be dissolved and in its place four provinces would be constituted.⁵⁹

Conclusion

The political dilemma of Pakistan was and is that it lacked sincere leadership. One Unit Scheme which certainly had many political and administrative benefits but the persons who were in power were certainly not moved by the benefits of the plan because if they were they must have satisfied opposition. On other hand repressive measures were adopted for the Plan. Any criticism was considered as treason. Instead of suppressing opposition it could have been encouraged for development of backward areas.

The opposition to One Unit had positive nature. It not only brought opposition groups of West Wing close to each other but this issue brought the opposition East wing close to them as well. It developed a sense of national feeling among the masses. Had the issue been better coped certainly the history of Pakistan would have been different.

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- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ *Pakistan Legal Documents(henceforth PLD)*, Proclamation of Martial Law, Government of Pakistan notification no. 977/58, dated 7 October 1958, vol. no. x. 1958, p. 500.
- ⁵⁶ *Khyber Mail (Peshawar)*, 22 August 1963.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*,14 November 1962, 17 March 1963. *Shahbaz (Peshawar)*, 9 May 1963.
- ⁵⁸ *Weekly Chattan (Lahore)*, vol. 22, issue no. 24, 28 July 1969.

⁵⁹*PLD*, Gazette of Pakistan, Extraordinary, 30 March 1970, President order no. 1, 1970, Province of West Pakistan (Dissolution) Order, 1970, pp. 218-9.