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THE POLITICS OF CONVENTION MUSLIM
LEAGUE (1962-69)

By

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Preamble



The present research is a study of the politics of the Convention Muslim League (1962-69). In the first chapter, I have dealt with the formation of the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) together with the connected political development during 1958-62. This also includes the recommendations of the Constitution Commission (1961) and the Political Parties Act, 1962. The second chapter gives a detailed analysis of the Pakistan Muslim League's two constitutions.

The third chapter deals with the reorganisation of the party. This chapter explains the various organisational matters, enrolment drive and elections of the various tiers of the party. Another important aspect discussed in this chapter relates to the efforts of rapprochement between the two rival factions of the Muslim League i.e. Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) and the Muslim League (Council). The manifesto of the party forms the fourth chapter of the present study. This chapter provides a full analysis of the programme/manifesto of the party. The various articles of the manifesto have been examined and explained with reference to the political development taking place then.

The fifth chapter, as its very name 'General Elections' shows, relates to the election of 1964-65 in Pakistan. It gives a picture of the forces active in the elections, the election manifesto of the various political parties and the holding of the election. The sixth chapter analyses the political forces prevalent at that time and explains the causes of the eventual at that time and explains the causes of the eventual demise of the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) in 1970. The final chapter provides an inkling of the overall functioning of the party. Thus the present work provides a full account of the politics of the Convention Muslim League from its birth to end.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND:
FORMATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE
CONVENTION

From October 7, 1958 to July 16, 1962 political parties in Pakistan remained under ban. The Martial Law regime had excluded 'politicians and political parties from the political system in order to provide stability for their social, administrative, economic and political reforms'.¹ The political parties were so weak and unorganised in their ranks that they could not put up any resistance to this 'politics of control',² and to the new set up created by the regime. It was only on July 16, 1962 that the Political Parties Act was passed by the National Assembly which provided for the revival of political parties in the country.

The need for such an act was felt for the revival of political activities in the country. The absence of political parties had meant the absence of a common platform and a programme for the consideration of the electorates. In such a vacuum the legislators were to experience greater difficulty in organising their politics once the assemblies were convened. This dilemma was evident at the time of the elections of speakers and deputy speakers of the assemblies.

1. Mohammad Rafiq Afzal, Political Parties In Pakistan (1958-69), History Commission: Islamabad, 1987, p.3.

2. Robert Laporte Jr., Power and Privilege, London, 1987, p.55.

Initially the assembly members organized themselves along regional and provincial lines. The members from East Pakistan and West Pakistan clearly huddled in separate caucuses to work out their respective strategies. This was not what the President Muhammad Ayub Khan had desired from the partyless house. But the legislators had feared that continuation of ban on political parties would lead to a deepening of cleavage and conflict. Such a state of affairs finally forced the President to reconsider his earlier programme of having a partyless political system.¹

On the other hand, the group of politician who had collaborated with the regime and especially his ministers and pro-government central legislators engineered the idea of having a ruling political party.² Ayub Khan who was earlier opposed to any partybased system gave up his previous thinkings. On July 20, 1962 in a meeting with assembly members, he suggested his supporters the formation of a broad-based nationalist party.³ In the same meeting he urged on his supporters to get on with the job of building a party that

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1. Muhammad Ayub Khan, Friends Not Master: A Political Autobiography (Urdu version), Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 363-364.
 2. Joint Press Conference by Central Ministers and MNAs see. Pakistan Times, June 23, 1962.
 3. Dawn July 21, 1962 (see also Ayub's Autobiography op. cit., pp. 363-364).

would represent the government in assemblies.¹ It was also known that the President had desired of his group to name the party as the Muslim League which had been earlier banned along with the other parties in October 1958 on imposition of martial law.² Hence, when the President gave up his earlier hostility to political parties, some organised activities such as lifting of ban from the politicians and political parties followed.

On July 4, 1962 a bill providing for the formation and regulation of political parties was drafted by the cabinet and introduced in the house. The bill passed eleven days later, July 15, 1962.³

The Political Parties Act containing ten articles came into force at once.⁴ Thus ended the forty five months old ban on political parties. The act, however, prohibited the revival of certain parties which may be 'foreign aided' or formed with the object of 'propogating any opinion, or acting in a manner, prejudicial to Islamic

1. Ibid.

2. Lawrence Ziring, The Ayub Khan Era: Politics in Pakistan 1958-69, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971, p.33.

3. News item see: Dawn July 16, 1962.

4. Press report see: Gazette of Pakistan(Extra Ordinary), Karachi, July 16, 1962.

ideology or integrity or security of Pakistan.¹ Similarly, certain persons were debarred from becoming members of a political party such as those disqualified under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO), 1959.² The act also provided for the regulation for lawful political activities and further laid down the procedures for making a reference by the central government to the Supreme Court against the party operating in contravention of the Act. The decision of the Supreme Court given on such reference were to be final.

The framers of Political Parties Act (1962) had contended that certain restrictions on political parties were a must as earlier recommended by the Constitution Commission of 1961.³ The Commission had deliberated the question of failure of parliamentary democracy and had observed that:

In our opinion, the real causes of the failure of parliamentary form of government in Pakistan was lack of leadership resulting in lack of well-organised and disciplined parties, the general lack of character in

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

3. Report of The Constitution Commission, Pakistan 1961, Karachi, 1961, p.6.

the politicians and their undue interference in the administration."

The Commission further stated:

If we want to have a democratic form of government, our endeavour should be to create conditions in which parties based on principles can emerge and we hope that such parties will soon come into existence in the form of government we have recommended, because we have said more than once, the legislators hereafter will not be like their predecessors coming into the political field solely to exploit their position to their personal advantage. They would, on the other hand, be from a class of persons who are anxious to represent the difficulties and the inconvenience of those who have elected them, and to legislate for the benefit¹ of their constituencies and the whole nation.

II

Following the passage of the Political Parties Act 1962, almost all political parties resumed their organizational work. This process was smooth in case of all parties except the Muslim League. The League was split largely into three groupings: Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) set up on September 5, 1962, the Pakistan Muslim League (Council) emerged on October 27, 1963² and the third grouping known as 'non-revivalists'. The last would not revive

1. Ibid., p.80.

2. Rafiq Afzal, op. cit., p. 53.

their party activity till the restoration of full parliamentary system. Their leader was Nurul Amin,¹ a prominent politician from East Pakistan. The constitution of the original Pakistan Muslim League provided for two principal bodies of the organisation, a council and a convention.² The council was the highest organ of the party which was to remain alive till the formation of a new one on fresh election. Normally, a meeting of the council was called by the general secretary of the League or, in his absence, by one of the two joint secretaries, under instructions of its President or in his absence, of the vice-president. A meeting of the council could also be requisitioned by seventy-five councillors if they gave a signed notice to this effect. The constitution also provided for a 'convention' of the party, but no specific procedure was laid down for its meeting. So the Ayub Khan's supporters resorted to convening a meeting of the 'leaguers' convention and his opponents revived their politics through the council of the league. Thus the two separate organisations³ were established: the Muslim

1. News item see: Pakistan Times, July 26, 1962.

2. Rafiq Afzal, op. cit., p.54.

3. For detailed discussion of politics of the revival, see Rafiq Afzal, op. cit., p.54.

League (Convention) and the Council Muslim League.

One reason for the split in the league rank was the non-availability of the party's former President, Khan Abdul Qayyum Khan, at the time under detention for his speeches and activities against martial law. Now, what was left of the league heirarchy was Maulana Akram Khan, vice-president (from East Pakistan) and the two joint secretaries Abul Qasim (from East Pakistan) and Manzare Alam (from West Pakistan), the first two active in the Council and the last in the Convention formation.

Ayub Khan had showed interest in the Muslim League (as earlier discussed), his political advisers and supporters captured the Muslim League. The President had already stated that 'the organisation through which the freedom struggle was successfully waged had a value and prestige no other party possessed. So basically it was the President who wanted to steal the name of Pakistan Muslim League to make it his 'hand maid'.¹ For this reason the supporters of the regime won over the important league's functionary, Manzare Alam, formerly a joint secretary of the league. At

1. Mushtaq Ahmed, Politics Without Social Change, Space Publishers: Karachi 1971, p.62.

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the behest of the regime, Manzare Alam initiated moves during July 1962 to revive the organisation. Initially, he consulted the leading West Pakistani Muslim Leaguers including Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, a former Punjab Chief Minister and Sardar Bahadur Khan the President's brother.¹

Later on, a controversy had surfaced when Maulana Akram Khan against the wishes of the regime announced the party's revival in August, 1962.

He directed the party's branches to start functioning at once. The governmental pressure was exerted on him to withdraw his directives. Even Ayub Khan showed his displeasure for Maulana Akram.² Maulana Akram who had earlier called a meeting of Muslim League's Council on September 29, 1962 at Dacca suddenly cancelled the meeting under the pressure of the regime.³

A body of the two central ministers and three parliamentary secretaries known as the 'ministerialists' was formed to prepare a scheme to reorganise the Muslim League under the aegis of the Council of

1. Dr. Safdar Mehmood, A Political Study of Pakistan, Lahore: S.M. Ashraf, 1972, p.105.

2. See Editorial of Dawn August 19, 1962.

3. Press statement by Maulana Akram see: Ibid.

the party. But the things did not take their course as per the expectations of the ministers. They soon realised that a majority of the councillors were against them. Secondly, the prominent leaguers enjoying the support of the councillors were not willing to associate themselves with the 'ministerialists'.¹ Then the ministerialists decided to hold a convention of the leaguers. The formal decision to this effect was taken at a meeting of the federal cabinet presided over by the President on August 16, 1962.² To avoid any legal or constitutional lacunna, the ministerialists called it the Leaguers' Convention not the League Convention. The Chairman of the Convention's reception committee clarified this point by stating that the name 'Muslim League Convention' was never given to the Convention.³

For this scheme, the pro-government Muslim Leaguers and the ministerialists made desparate attempt to find some one who, as President of the Convention, could command the confidence of the majority of the Leaguers. Thus they approached Raja Amir Muhammad Khan of Mahmoodabad, Maulana

1. See Editorial of Dawn August 19, 1962.

2. Press Report see: Pakistan Times August 17, 1962.

3. Press Statement see: Dawn August 30, 1962.

Akram Khan and Maulana Ihtesham-ul-Haq Thanvi, the last a prominent leader of the Jamiat-al-Ulema Islam. They did their level best, though unsuccessfully, to persuade Maulana Akram Khan, a Vice President of the party, to preside over the Convntion. He, in the absence of the President, was constitutionally competent to call the meeting of the Council. Finally, Choudhary Khaliquzzaman was chosen to preside over the Convention scheduled for September 4, 1962. The conveners, with no minister among them, invited about a thousand delegates to the Convention to form a broad-based Muslim League party.¹ The ministers were apparantly excluded from the list of the Conveners in order to dispel the impression that the Convention was a ministerial show. However, their presence and active participation was very much felt.² The list of the delegates from various regions were thoroughly checked by the Conveners of the respective regions. The invitations were so selective that some prominent Leaguers like Mian Mumtaz Daultana were not invited whereas such persons as Maulana Syed Abu Ala Maudoodi, Amir of Jamaat-e-Islami who had no League affiliation

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1. Joint press statement by the Conveners of the "convention" see Pakistan Times, August 24, 1962.
 2. Central Minister: Abdus Sabar Khan, Fezal Qadir Chaudhary, A. WAheed Khan, Khan Habibullah and Z.A. Bhutto were quite active in the convening of the convention see Press Report Dawn, August 27, 1962.

in the past was amongst the invitees.¹ The object of selective invitations was to ensure that the proceedings of the session remained smooth. The Muslim Leaguers outside the Convention had termed the Convention as 'unconstitutional' and 'unauthorised'.²

III

The two-day (September 4-5) Convention of the Muslim Leaguers opened in Karachi under the presidentship of Choudhary Khaliquzzman. The delegates numbering twenty-seven, all from Karachi, formed the reception committee.³ Nearly eight-hundred delegates attended the session and its deliberations making the Convention a well-attended session. Even members of other factions and some erstwhile Republicans⁴ had also joined. The delegates

1. Ibid, September 4, 1962.

2. Press statement by Sheikh Enaitullah, General Secretary, Punjab Muslim League see Morning News September 4, 1962.

3. Press Release see Pakistan Times August 24, 1962.

4. The Republicans were mostly ex-Muslim Leaguers who had had left the Muslim League and joined newly formed Republican Party (1965) at the behest of Iskandar Mirza then the President of Pakistan. The party rose to power first in West Pakistan and later on in the Centre. The Republican party neither at the Centre nor in the Provinces had a policy or programme and its members in the legislature had no bond of loyalty save their common stake in the government. No matter of principle or ideology had involved in the secession from the Muslim League (Mushtaq Ahmed, Government And Politics In Pakistan: Space Publishers, Karachi, 1970, pp. 142-143.

had assumed that the 'President would eventually join them, which had promoted this large gathering.¹

The Convention got off to stormy start with the East Pakistani delegates noisily demanding the release of Khan Abdul Qaiyyum Khan, President of the defunct Muslim League, then under detention. East Pakistani delegates shouted slogans 'we want our leader Qaiyyum Khan's release; we do not want this Convention without him; there will be no Muslim League without Qaiyyum Khan'.² However, the delegates from West Pakistan did not join East Pakistanis in demanding the release of Qaiyyum Khan. After some noisy scene, however, the All Pakistan Muslim Leaguers' Convention adopted a resolution asking for the release of Khan Qaiyyum. Actually, the people invited from North West Frontier Province were the supporters of Khan Habibullah Khan, who was a rival to Qaiyyum Khan in the frontier politics.³ Hence the main body of the opposition to Qaiyyum's release comprised of these Frontier delegates. The proceedings of the open session on September 5, 1962 were also held up due to students's interruption. The local students

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1. Richard S. Wheeler, The Politics in Pakistan: A constitutional Quest Itacha: Cornell University Press, 1970, p. 238.
 2. News service see Times of India, September 5, 1962.
 3. Press report see Jang September 6, 1962.

had asked to allow a resolution demanding repeal of the University Ordinance. The Conveners had refused to take up their resolution and contended that the interruptionists were hired miscreants not the students.¹

Another noteworthy feature of the opening session was the stress laid by all speakers, including Choudhary Khaliquzzaman not to allow the League to become the 'king's party'. Choudhary Khaliq claimed that the new Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) was not going to be a 'Ministers show'.²

The Convention was able to accomplish its main task at the opening session when it approved a three-point scheme for reorganisation of the league. Choudhary Khaliquzzaman was made the chief organiser of the party. He was delegated powers to appoint committees; one for drawing up the party's constitution and the other for framing its manifesto.³ Next day, September 5, 1962, the constitution and rules of the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) were adopted. Thus, the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention)⁴ a split party of old Muslim League

1. Press report see Dawn September 6, 1962.

2. News Analysis see Times of India September 4, 1962.

3. A resolution adopted by the Convention see press report: Dawn, September 5, 1962.

4. Henceforth to be referred as PML (Convention).

came into existence with the blessing of the regime.

From the analysis of above political development, following conclusions emerge: Firstly, the new body was created at the behest of the regime in order to give stability to the presidential system of Ayub Khan. The Organisers had given an impression that the PML (Convention) was not going to become a hand maid of the government. This did not prove true as the 'ministerialists' were quite active in the formation of PML (Convention). Secondly, the party was formed in such a hurried manner, that it created division among the Leaguers. This split and conflict within the Muslim Leaguers had relegated the public image of the party which had played a vital role in the freedom movement. Thus the scheme of the regime to reorganise the Muslim League at the cost of its disintegration had negative impacts for the newly introduced party politics.

CHAPTER II

CONSTITUTIONS OF THE PARTY

The Leaguers' Convention which was held in Karachi from September 4-5, 1962 had adopted various resolutions and the party's constitution. A separate resolution laying down in broad outline a programme for the reorganised Muslim League (Convention) for future achievement was also adopted. These included: giving the country a national objective, eradication of poverty and ignorance and uniting the entire Muslim world under the banner of Islam.¹ Among the other resolutions approved by the convention was one on Kashmir, which urged the government to take immediate and effective measures to liberate the millions of oppressed Muslims in occupied Kashmir. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan was the prime force behind this resolution. By another resolution, the Convention strongly condemned the continuous oppression and forcible eviction of Muslims from different parts of India and urged the government to take effective steps to prevent the 'genocide of Muslims in India.'² The next

1. A Resolution adopted by the Convention see Pakistan Times, September 6, 1962.

2. Press report: Dawn, September 6, 1962.

resolution adopted in the Convention urged the government to take immediate remedial measures to wipe out the disparities in the socio-economic conditions prevailing between East and West Pakistan and between developed and underdeveloped regions of West Pakistan. The mover of this resolution was Shamsul Huda from East Pakistan who had demanded inter-wing parity. This move was also supported by Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan from the Western wing. In fact, they had regretted that the resolution was not initiated by West Pakistani politicians: The Convention asked the government to release all assets, records and offices of the Pakistan Muslim League.¹ By another resolution the Convention demanded the amelioration of people's condition.²

II

The Convention also adopted a new constitution for the party containing sixty-four articles by retaining most of the provisions of the previous constitution of the Pakistan Muslim League. Abul

1. Press report see: Pakistan Times, September 6, 1962.
2. Dawn September 6, 1962. (This resolution was designed to highlight the unhealthy living condition of Layri area which had a large concentration of migrants from India).

Hashim, a former Secretary General of the Pakistan Muslim League and a member of the Rules Committee had drafted the new constitution for the reorganised party. Most important aspect of the convention was that it had adopted report dealing with its constitution and rules. The report had laid down aims and objectives of the PML (Convention) and had suggested certain amendments to the old constitution. The Secretary of the convention, who was also the Joint Secretary of the Muslim League prior to its dissolution in 1958, read out the report before the convention.¹ No room for discussion on report was provided. The adoption of the constitution was rushed through in such a haste that few delegates understood what was being proposed and what changes were being made.² Only the provisions which intended to debar ministers and parliamentary secretaries from holding offices in the reorganised PML (Convention) was laudly proclaimed. This was done to demonstrate that the PML(Convention) was no more a handmaid of government ministers.³

The constitution of the party declared that

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1. News Analysis see The Statesman September 8, 1962.
 2. Press Report see Dawn September 10, 1962.
 3. Editorial see Niwa-i-Waqt, September 9, 1962.

the association would be called the Pakistan Muslim League. The aims and objectives of which were to be:

(I) To safeguard and preserve the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan:

(II) To ensure:

- (a) That the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam are fully observed and enforced in Pakistan.
- (b) That the muslims of Pakistan are enabled to order their lives, in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Quran and the Sunnah.
- (c) That the fundamental rights, including equality of status, of opportunity, and before law, social, economic and political justice and freedom of thought, expression belief, faith, worship and association subject to the laws of the state and public morality are guaranteed to all citizens of Pakistan.
- (d) That the legitimate interest of the minorities are fully safeguarded and they are free to profess and practice their religions:
- (e) That the special and generous treatment shall be accorded to backward sections of the population with a view to accelerate their educational and economic and social progress:
- (f) That the independence and impartiality of the judiciary are fully secured and maintained: and
- (g) That practical steps are taken to advance progress in moral, material, social, economic and cultural life of the nation with a

view to enable the people of Pakistan to attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nation of the world and make their full contribution towards peace, prosperity and progress of humanity.

- (h) To establish and maintain friendly relations with other peace-loving nations of the world and specially to strengthen fraternal relations with other Muslim State and the people.
- (i) To promote the causes of peace, freedom, justice and democracy through-out the world: and
- (j) To take practical steps from time to time for the achievement and furtherance of these aims.¹

As for the organisation of the PML (Convention), its constitution pledged that the Pakistan Muslim League was to be a popular and democratic organisation of the Muslims of Pakistan. It further laid down:

- (i) The Convention of the Pakistan Muslim League; as constituted under section 13:
- (ii) The Council of the Pakistan Muslim League as constituted under section 18:
- (iii) The Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League as constituted under section 33:
- (iv) The Provincial Muslim League as constituted and affiliated to the Pakistan Muslim League as constituted under section 31:

1. Dawn, September 6, 1962. (For constitution)

- (v) District and City Muslim Leagues and their branches as constituted under section 44:
- (vi) Branches of the Pakistan Muslim Leagues, if any, outside Pakistan which are recognised in accordance with section 46:
- (vii) Parliamentary Boards: There shall be a Central Parliamentary Board and Provincial Parliamentary Boards as constituted under section 42:
- (viii) The office-bearers and members of the various bodies of the Pakistan Muslim League must be members of a primary Muslim League. Provided that no member shall be an office-bearer in the League organisation, if:-
 - (a) He has not been a member of some primary branch for at least one year or
 - (b) He is Minister, Minister of State, Deputy Minister, or Parliamentary Secretary in the Pakistan Government or in any provincial government.

Every candidate for membership of a Primary Muslim League must possess the following qualifications:

- (a) He must be a Muslim,
- (b) He must be a citizen of Pakistan,
- (c) He must have completed 18 years of age:
- (d) He must not be a member of any other political organisation declared as such by the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League.¹

It was also resolved that all the office-bearers of the party would be elected. The upper tier

1. Ibid.

of the party was to consist of a president, a vice-president, a general secretary, a treasurer and two joint secretaries. A similar structure would follow at the provincial, district, tehsil and union council levels. The council of the party would consist of two hundred members, equally distributed between the two wings of the country. It would exercise the function of convening the meeting of the convention. It was empowered to elect the President and to consider and pass resolutions with regard to all matters arising from time to time, and to affiliate, suspend, dissolve or disaffiliate a provincial Muslim League. The party's executive would be a Working Committee of thirty member, all of whom would be president's nominee. Here, the president would follow the procedure given in the constitution. The Working Committee would consider and pass resolutions and take necessary steps with regard to matters arising from time to time relating to party's objectives. The constitution also contained provisions for the amendment. The constitution could be amended or altered only at the council of the party, of which a two-third majority was necessary. The party's constitution also explained the various duties of the office-bearers. The President would be head of the entire organisation and would exercise all the

powers inherent in the office.

The constitution committee defended these amendments to be absolutely essential in the interest of the party. It may be added here that for all other purposes the old constitution remained alive. The constitution committee report had also abolished the party's council and the parliamentary boards of 1958 - before imposition of martial law. The reduction in membership of the council from 180 from each wing to 100 was to save money on transport between the two wings. The result was that the wing in which the council meeting was held got an unfair advantage over the other because of their larger delegations.¹

Furthermore, the amended constitution increased the members of the working committee from 22 to 30 and also made certain subjects as concurrent subjects to fall within the jurisdiction of the Working Committee also.² Previously, they fell exclusively in the council sphere. This was to enable the working committee to dispose of matters at its own sitting.

1. Press report see: Pakistan Times, September 7, 1962.

2. Press report see: Dawn, September 7, 1962.

A number of delegates from the two wings complained that their proposals were not allowed by the conveners of the convention. For example two delegates from East Pakistan claimed that their proposal that the President of Pakistan should not hold any office in the party was overlooked. They further contended that parity should be maintained in the affairs of the party.¹ Similar was the fate of their other proposal that location of the party secretariat should rotate and the President and the general secretary should not be from the same wing. The constitution was actually adopted in haste and no amendment was incorporated. It was just a command performance from the 'ministerialists'. In many respects, the adopted constitution had resemblance with the 1962 constitution of the country. Its provisions regarding the aims and objectives, the need to preserve the integrity and solidarity of the state, the minorities rights and fundamental rights and foreign affairs were just a replica of the country's constitution.

However, its organisational structure was well laid out and defined. The various organs of the party and their functions and powers were duly

1. News item see: Dawn, September 7, 1962.

explained. The President of the party, like the President of the country, was given an authoritative role in the organisation. The constitution, though adopted in a hasty manner, had given to the new body strong foundations and comprehensive rules to enable it to meet all eventualities.

III

By mid-May 1965, general elections in Pakistan for all tiers, i.e. for the office of the President and for the members of the national and provincial assemblies were completed. After the elections, PML(Convention) had emerged as a sole majority party in the country. The President, however, was not happy with its performance especially when it had lost about 100 assemblies seats to the independents. On the basis of the election results, the President modified the constitution of the party and started a new phase of enrollment. He also directed the government agencies to implement his election manifesto and urged his party to work for the

socio-economic uplift of the people. On March 26, 1965, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto was nominated as the general secretary of the party.¹ His nomination was very much hailed by the public and the mass media. It was expected that he would give a new look to the party and its constitution. In the light of the president's directives, a draft constitution containing salient feature was explained in the Council meeting held on July 14, 1965.² The draft provided that the PML would in future hold party elections for a five-year term and the basic tier of the party were to be the Union Muslim Leagues. The Council also authorised the President in his capacity as head of the party to finalise the constitution. Various amendments were suggested by the members, therefore, the Council authorised the President to constitute a sub-committee to receive these amendments and consider them within 15 days. While explaining the basic principles, the President said that the foundations of the party would be raised from among the common people. Unless the people actively worked in the party it could not grow into a mass organisation.³

1. News item see: Dawn, March 27, 1965.

2. Press report: Dawn July 15, 1965.

3. Ibid.

He also said that the party tiers would, henceforth, correspond with the present administrative set up of the two provinces. While explaining this important element, Law Minister S.M. Zafar stated that the party paraphernalia always functioned as a liasion between the government and the people. Under the new constitution, it was decided that the provincial presidents of the PML(Convention) be nominated by the President at the centre and not elected as had been the practice hitherto, a democratic provision.

Following the recommendations of the meeting of the council, the President appointed a nine-member committee to examine all the amendments suggested in the original draft of the party constitution. The committee was headed by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto,¹ The other members of the committee included Khawaja Shahabuddin, Abdus Sabur Khan, S.M. Zafar and provincial presidents and general secretaries of the party. Manzare Alam was appointed to act as secretary of the committee.

1. News item see: Pakistan Times July 27, 1965.

Finally, the new constitution of the party was enforced by the party chief, Muhammad Ayub Khan, in April, 1966. The main feature of the constitution was that it reconstituted the party organs on the pattern of the Basic Democracies scheme. Following were the distinctive features of new constitution:

The Constitution guaranteed reasonable recognition to active members of the organisation, For the membership of the Union Muslim League Councils (the primary tier) 20 seats were reserved for persons who enrolled at least 50 primary members resident within the Union or town. The office-bearers of the Council were to be elected by these members.

The Thana or Tehsil Muslim League Council would comprise the office-bearers of all the Union Leagues within the Thana or Tehsil limits.

In East Pakistan there would be a Muslim League organisation in each sub-division to be known as Sub-divisional Muslim League covering the area of the sub-division for which it was constituted.

The office-bearers of all the Thana Muslim Leagues within the sub-division would be members of its Council and elected officer-bearers and six other members of the Working Committee.

There were to be a District Muslim League in each district of East and West Pakistan. But in East Pakistan the League would be the Fourth tier and in West Pakistan the third. Representatives of the District Muslim Leagues in East Pakistan would go to the East Pakistan Provincial Muslim League Council while of West Pakistan to the respective divisional Muslim League Councils.

In West Pakistan the office-bearers of the District and City Muslim Leagues would compose the divisional Muslim League of their respective Division and elect its office-bearers. The membership would also include 11 elected representatives sent by each District and City Muslim League within the Division and all elected members of the District Council, Cantonment Boards, Municipal Committees, Municipal Corporations within the division.

The Working Committee of the Divisional Muslim League would also co-opt 10 members to provide adequate representation to women, labour, youth, Muslim League National Guards or volunteer organisations, associate members or other special interests of the division.

The Divisional Muslim Leagues would elect representatives for the West Pakistan Muslim League according to the quota to be allotted to them by the Working Committee of the Provincial League.

Besides 200 members elected by the District and City Muslim Leagues in case of East Pakistan and by the Divisional Muslim Leagues in West Pakistan, all Chairmen and Secretaries of these bodies would be members of the Provincial League Council.

The Governors and all Provincial and Central Ministers belonging to the Muslim League when the party was in power would be ex-officio members of the respective Provincial League Council.

Members of the party in the Provincial and Central Legislatures also would be members of the Council.

The Constitution further provided for co-option of 30 members by the Provincial Council to give representation to special interests such as labour, youth, women, Muslim League National Guards, etc.

The Central Body of the Pakistan Muslim League were to be consist of the Presidents

and Secretaries of the two Provincial Leagues and the Islamabad Muslim League.

One Hundred members would be elected to the Council by East Pakistan Muslim League Council, 93 by the West Pakistan Muslim League and seven by the Islamabad Muslim League.

The Governors of the Provinces and all the Central and Provincial Ministers belonging to the League and all office-bearers of the Pakistan Muslim League were to be ex-officio members.

The President of the Pakistan Muslim League was authorised to co-opt members not exceeding one-fourth of the total number otherwise provided for to give representation to special interests such as labour, youth, women, National Guards and associate members, etc.

There would be one or two/Vice Presidents, a Secretary-General, two Joint Secretaries and a Treasurer to be nominated by the President. The President will also nominate not more than 30 members on the Working Committee of the Pakistan Muslim League.

The Constitution provides for the holding of Central Council meeting at least once a year alternately in East and West Pakistan.

The normal term of a Council of the Pakistan Muslim League was fixed at five years unless otherwise determined by the Pakistan Muslim League Council.

The central Body was also authorised to build up a reserve fund which shall be invested in a manner beneficial to the Muslim League. Funds from this fund would not be withdrawn except by a two-third majority vote of the Pakistan Muslim League Council.

The constitution empowered the President of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Presidents of the two Provincial bodies,

with his concurrence, to pass orders where the constitution does not make any specific provision or makes insufficient or doubtful provisions or if a difficulty arises in the application of the provision of the constitution or the rules made under it.

The orders thus passed by the President were binding and would operate as if they were embodied in the constitution or the rules as the case may be.

Pending the reorganisation of the party under the new constitution the old set-up would continue unless otherwise directed by the President.¹

The organisational pattern of the League was closely modelled on the structure of Basic Democracies. Not attempt was made to hide this fact. Even the nomenclature closely followed that used for the Basic Democracies. The overall political strategy was only too obvious. It was designed to give the PML(Convention) hierarchy a full control over bodies of the Basic Democracies from the bottom up. It was assumed that once it was done, they part would perpetuate itself in powers.² The new constitution thus curtailed the role of the opposition at the grass roots i.e. basic democrats unit. Actually, the President wanted to control the Basic Democrats by bringing

1. Press report: Pakistan Times, April 8, 1966
Extracts.

2. Editorial: Pakistan Observer July 31, 1966.

them into the fold of PML(Convention). As a soldier he wanted in his political organisation supporters who would be imbued with discipline and not just be a disorderly crowd. He thus restricted his patronage only to a few. This discouraged the growth of dedicated and loyal workers. The introduction of the new constitution highlighted that the party was still in its formative phase. It was still a mob composed largely of MNAs, MPAs, Basic Democrats, Chairmen, industrialists, bureaucrats and a sprinkling of ex-army officers. By the time the party enforced the new constitution, two important figures - Zulfikar Ali Bhutto (general secretary) and A.K, Fazlul Qadir Choudhary (Speaker of the National Assembly), had left the party.

Commenting on the new constitution, the Pakistan Observer in its editorial "Neither Fair Nor Politics" proclaimed: that the Convention League had ignored the views of the opposition leaders and the people relating to disparity between the two wings of the country.¹ On the other hand the PML(Convention) leadership viewed such criticism as the evil designs of the disruptionists

1. Ibid, April 20, 1966.

who were bent upon wrecking the national solidarity and integrity of the country. It was a fact that despite Ayub Khan's repeated statements regarding uplifting of living standard and removal of disparities among the various regions, the new constitution was silent on this aspect. Similarly, the provision in the constitution regarding linkage of Basic Democrats with PML units was highly criticised by the opposition. It was defended by PML leadership, its general secretary stated that it was not possible to constitute separate units than those of the Basic Democracies for the Muslim League organisation under the present circumstances. Moreover, he pleaded that the Muslim League did not have a separate machinery to do that job.

During its new phase of enrolment a new turn occurred when some EBDed politicians wanted to join the PML. On May 23, 1966, in a statement, the general secretary of the party said that most of them were working against the present government overtly and covertly and as such the question of their return to the party fold did not

1. Ibid, April 20, 1966.

arise. He argued that these leaders had a right to join any party but certainly they would have no place in the league.¹ But later on, in December 1966 the working committee decided to welcome them into its fold provided that they accepted its philosophy and obeye its constitution.²

By June, 1966 the overall law and order situation in East Pakistan was speedily deteriorating due to protests and riots in that wing. In this situation, the Awami League (Sheikh Mujibur Rehman faction) was projecting its six-points. The East Pakistan PML (Convention) had been occasionally taking notice of such developments. In its meeting on June 25, 1966 the provincial party strongly condemned the opposition leadership and termed them anti-state elements. East Pakistan PML (Convention) also resolved to hold 'National Integration Day' on August 14, 1966 in East Pakistan.³

The significant event after the elections of 1965, which took place was the Indo-Pak War of September, 1965. All political parties unitedly supported the government in the larger interest of the country. However, soon after the war, the

1. Press report see: Dawn, December 17, 1966.

2. News item see: Morning News, June 26, 1966.

3. Ibid.

crisis resurfaced in the country which shook the government in particular and the party in general. The Awami League and other parties restarted their protests against the inter-wing disparity, a continuation of the one unit and the presidential system and an unjust socio-economic order. The PML(Convention)'s council took notice of such developments and discussed the issues in detail in its meeting held at Dacca on March 20, 1966. In this meeting its council paid rich tributes to the foreign governments such as Indonesia, Iran, Turkey, China etc. who had supported Pakistan in the war of 1965. The council also denounced the movement started by certain political elements to dismember the sovereign state of Pakistan. It called upon the people to expose and resist the sinister conspiracy against the unity and integrity of the Muslim nation. Instead of digging into facts regarding the lawlessness, the council noted and appreciated the government's achievements. This showed that the conventionists were out just to please the regime at the cost of its organisational interests.

While this crisis was on, another crisis

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1. Council Meeting was Presided over by Ayub Khan see Press Report: Dawn, March 21, 1966.

brewed within the organization of the PML(Convention). Z.A. Bhutto, general secretary of the party, started condemning the regime and its compromise on Tashkent issue. On March 19, 1966 he was replaced by Sardar Mohammad Aslam Khan, a member of the National Assembly as the general secretary of the Party. Z.A. Bhutto was said to have resigned from the post of the secretary general because of his preoccupation with his ministerial duties.¹ Later on, after his resignation from Foreign Ministership in July, 1966 he tried to create a 'forward bloc' within the organization. The first official rejoinder to the former Foreign Minister came on November 26, 1966 from a Central Minister. Z.A. Bhutto was informed that there was no scope for a 'forward bloc' in the PML(Convention).² Another towering personality of the party, A.K.Fazlul Qadir Choudhary, was also expelled from the parliamentary party in March, 1966 on account of his 'misconduct' and for violating the discipline and prestige of the party.³ The decision of his expulsion was taken by the Muslim League parliamentary party. Out of

1. Press conference by new general secretary see: Ibid, March 20, 1966.

2. Press conference by central minister Abdul Waheed Khan see: Pakistan Times November, 27, 1966.

3. New item see: Pakistan Times, March 21, 1966.

106 MNAs present at the meeting, 101 voted in favour of the decision, one member opposed and four other abstained. Fazlul Quader Choudhry criticized his expulsion and said that the Pakistan Muslim League Convention had been reduced to a 'Command-show'.¹ He further argued that the tendency of this party to have a command performance inside the legislature, within the party organisation and elsewhere in the country was bound to lead to absolutism. He contended that the last nail in the coffin' was given by the recent amendment of the party constitution converting an 'elected organization into a nominated hierarchy'.²

In the light of given development, it may be concluded that though the party had stood for democracy in the country, yet its own first constitution was adopted undemocratically as no deliberation on its draft were allowed. Besides some proposals made by few delegates were also not incorporated by the conveners of the first Convention.

1. Press Conference by Fazlul Quader Choudhry see: Pakistan Observer March 25, 1966.

2. Ibid.

The constitution so framed had excluded the ministers from holding offices in the organisation and had pledged that the body would not become a 'ministers show'. But such ban on the entry of the ministers was shortly afterwards lifted. Another fallacy in the constitution was that it had curtailed the growth of new leadership in the party as all powers were accumulated in the office of the President. The second constitution introduced in 1966 had provided a new feature that the party would be structured at the pattern of Basic Democracies. This idea of restructuring the organisation was not appreciated by the people and dedicated party workers as it was again likely to check the rise of new leadership in the party.

CHAPTER III

REORGANIZATION

The Karachi convention (September 4-5, 1962) had passed that there would be a central reorganizing committee headed by a chief organiser: Khaliqzaman. The chief organiser would be assisted by a committee of three members; Abul Hashim, Mohammad Yamin Khan and Sheikh Zafar Hussain.¹ This committee was to outline the procedure for a reorganization of the PML(Convention) throughout the country. The President of the party was given powers to appoint other members of the central reorganizing committee. The central body was delegated all necessary powers for reorganizational matters. It had also the powers to appoint provincial organizing committees. The provincial organizers were empowered to nominate ad hoc reorganizational committees with the concurrence of the central committee.

Before proceeding with the process of reorganization, the Conventionists had decided to have a 'rapprochement' with their rivals, the Muslims Leaguers (council group). When on October 1, 1962 the central reorganizing committee met, it deliberated

1. A resolution adopted by the convention see Press report: Dawn September 5, 1962.

on the question of adjustment and finally urged on the party leadership to initiate moves for 'rapprochement' with the Leaguers who were not present in the Karachi convention.¹ This rival group was composed of towering personalities such as the President's younger brother, Sardar Bhadur Khan, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Khwajah Nizamuddin, Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan and others. They all had earlier opposed the convening of the convention and were challenging legality of new Muslim League (Convention). They were of the view that the division within the party could have been averted had there been a consensus among the Leaguers before the creation of a new body. After the formation of the Muslim League (Convention), this group decided to convene a meeting of the Councilors of the old Muslim League as it existed at the time of banning the political parties in 1958. This new development had provided an interesting controversy and spectacle for two factions (each claiming to be the real Muslim League). Thus the Convention

1. News item see: Pakistan Times, October 2, 1962.

Muslim Leaguers were embarrassed to be witnessing such a pattern of political development,¹ especially when their rivals had called the meeting of Muslim League's Council on October 27, 1962 at Dacca.

In such a state of confusion and contradiction an idea to pacify the differences within the Leaguers was formally floated by Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, a well known Muslim Leaguer. He was sure that a common ground could be found for making them to agree on the reorganization of the party.² The move for adjustment was appreciated by the Muslim Leaguers. The Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) had also done her best to explore the possibilities of adjustment in order to provide Ayub Khan full backing of all the revived factions of the League. As discussed in chapter I, the Muslim Leaguers' Convention had desired to inherit its name and goodwill to the exclusion of all others claiming parentage. A section within the Council group under Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana was also in favour of composing the differences. Daultana had also called for unity within the Muslim

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1. News Analysis see: The Current, Bombay, October 13, 1962.
 2. Press conference of Raja Ghazanfar see: Pakistan Times, October 16, 1962.

League.¹ He had also demanded restoration of full democratic system of government in the country.

The PML(Convention) leadership including chief organizer, provincial organizers and ministers toured the various parts of the country and campaigned for unity among the Leaguers. They had even offered the presidentship and other high offices of the party to the Council group.² The Council group was also not against the idea of composing the differences, however, they had made certain preconditions. The conditions were: First, the organizing committees recently formed by the convention should henceforth be dissolved and reformed by the members of the Pakistan Muslim League's Council of 1958. Secondly, democratise the constitution with provisions, such as, making fundamental rights justiciable, introduction of adult franchise, complete provincial autonomy and repeal of EBDO(1959); and thirdly, no ministers or parliamentary secretaries would hold any office in the Muslim League. Further to these demands, the Council group held the view that a national front of all the parties be formed for mobilising

1. Press report see: Ibid, October 18, 1962.

2. Press statement by Choudhary Khaliquzzaman Jang, October 23, 1962.

public opinion for the achievement of full democracy in the country.¹ Such demands were not acceptable to the Muslim League (Convention) as that would annoy the government whose goodwill they very much prized. However, the Convention Muslim Leaguers did their best to postpone the Council's meeting earlier scheduled from October 27-28, 1962. The Conventionists as stated, for the sake of adjustment had wanted to prevent the emergence of another formal party within the Muslim League. When they failed to get the postponement of the meeting called by the Councilors, the Conventionists for the first time met the Council group on October 26, 1962 at Dacca. The meeting was held to workout a compromise formula. The outcome of the meeting was a mere issuance of an 'agreed statement' saying that the leaders met to discuss the question of the Muslim League organization.² Thus the move to effect a compromise bid failed to produce any result. The cause of its failure was not known, rather strict secrecy was maintained by both groups.

1. News analysis: Morning News, October 23, 1962.

2. Press statement: Pakistan Times, October 27, 1962.

Meanwhile, the Councilors of the old Muslim League held their meeting on October 27-28, 1962 at Dacca. They were able to elect Khwajah Nizamuddin as President and Sardar Bahadur Khan as General Secretary for Muslim League (Council).¹ This was against the wishes of the Conventionists. They therefore condemned the formation of a parallel Muslim League. They challenged its proceedings and constitutional position. Habibullah Khan, the Home Affairs Minister, and a conventionist in a Press Conference at Karachi charged that the parallel Muslim League set up at Dacca Council meeting, could not be recognised as to Muslim League party. Muslim League was revived at the Karachi Convention and as such that organization alone was the 'legal successor'² to the Quaid-i-Azam Muslim League, hence there could not be two Muslim League. The formation of Muslim League (Council) anyhow, had finally closed doors of all compromises. The charges and countercharges had gone to such an extent that both groups threatened to

1. News item see: Dacca Observer, October 29, 1962.

2. News item see: Morning News, October 31, 1962.

expel the top leadership of each other from the Muslim League organization.¹ On November 6, 1962, it was known that the move for rapprochement had failed and differences between the Conventionists and the Councilists had further widened. Again, in December 1963, when Muhammad Ayub Khan took the office of the President of PML(Convention), he was urged by Muslim Leaguers to try for adjustment with the Council group. His efforts for reconciliation both inside and outside the National Assembly had also failed.

II

After the failure of 'rapprochement' drive and the formation of Muslim League (Council), the Conventionists gave their full attention to the task of reorganizing their Muslim League and enrolment of new members. On October 1, 1962 the Central Reorganizing committee of the PML (Convention) had deliberated on various aspects of reorganization. The committee had appointed

1. News item see: Anjam, October 31, 1962.

two provincial chief organizers to reorganize the party in East and West Pakistan respectively. It was also decided that no government ministers or parliamentary secretaries would hold office in the party. The ministers were to work in the party as ordinary political workers.

In West Pakistan, it was on October 10, 1962 that the chief provincial organizer, Sardar Rashid Ahmed announced the appointment of seventy-six members. The list included one provincial minister and two central ministers. It also contained nineteen members of the National Assembly and eleven members of the Provincial Assembly.¹ Later on the Provincial chief announced the addition of thirty-two more names to West Pakistan organizing committee.² A six member sub-committee was appointed to finalize the reorganizational work in the province. The sub-committee consisted of Raja Hasan Akhtar (MNA) Khan Fida Muhammad Khan, Mohsin Siddiqi (MPA), Abdul Qadir Sanjrani and Nawabzada Abdul Ghafoor Khan, (MNA). It was empowered to co-opt more members.

1. Press report see: Pakistan Times, October 11, 1962.

2. Press report see: Dawn, October 19, 1962.

It was decided by the organizers that there would be five tiers of the PML(Convention). The lowest tier of the party would be the primary Muslim League which would cover the territorial jurisdiction of the Union Council/Thana Council, Union Committee or a Town Committee. The primary Muslim League would consist of at least five hundred enrolled members and in case the number was not available in a certain area, two union councils should get together to form a primary Muslim League. The primary Muslim League would elect a fixed number of members for the council. From there, the members would be elected for the next tier i.e. the Tehsil Muslim League Council. From Tehsils, the members were to be elected for the District bodies and then for the Divisional Muslim League. The tier were the Provincial Muslim League and then the Central body. In order to ensure smooth running in the party elections, a polling officer was to be nominated for each of the primary Muslim League, while one election officer would be appointed for the whole district. The election officers were to be important persons whose integrity was to be beyond challenge.¹

1. News item: Civil and Military Gazette, August 5, 1963.

In July 1963, the West Pakistan Muslim League Election Committee announced the programme for holding elections to the Muslim League unit at various tiers. The decision to hold elections was taken at a meeting of the committee which was presided over by Nawabzada Wilayat Ali Khan elected unanimously as the chairman of the committee. According to the programme chalked out by the committee, election to the provincial Muslim League was to be held on November 24, 1963.

The election schedule provided that the election to the primary League were to be held from August to September 10 and objections were to be entertained till September 15, 1963. The elections to Tehsil (sub-division and Taluka in Sind) were to take place from September 20-27 and objections to be accepted upto October 2, 1963. Elections to the City and District Muslim League were to be arranged from October 10-20, 1963. The elections to Division Leagues were to be completed on November 8, 1963. The province of West Pakistan was divided into five zones for the purpose of elections. The incharge of various zones had been empowered to appoint

district election officer in their respective areas.¹ It was also planned that the West Pakistan Muslim League Council would consist of 484 members including 416 members elected by districts and city Muslim Leagues, 24 members being the secretaries and presidents of the divisional muslim leagues, 24 lady members elected by the 12 divisional leagues at the rate of two members per division and 20 nominees of the provincial president. The clause regarding nominees was opposed by a section of the members but was finally agreed. Besides 484 members, all the members of the West Pakistan and central Muslim League Parliamentary Parties and the seven office-bearers of the provincial Muslim League would be the ex-officio members of the West Pakistan Muslim League Council.² On December 6, 1963, the Provincial Muslim League (Convention) was formally brought into being with the election of its office-bearers by its council.

The provincial council meeting was inaugurated by President Ayub Khan and was presided over by

1. News item: Pakistan Times, July 29, 1963.

2. Press Report: Ibid, August 12, 1963.

Choudhary Khaliquzzaman, chief organiser of the Pakistan Muslim League (Convention). The council had elected all the office-bearers unanimously and they all were proposed by Khan Habibullah Khan. Raja Hasan Akhtar, MNA was elected President of the West Pakistan Muslim League (Convention). Other office-bearers elected at the council meeting were: general secretary Sheikh Zafar Hussain, Advocate (Lahore), vice-presidents: Mohammad Ibrahim Jaghra (Peshawar), Pir Ghulam Rasul Shah (former Sind) and Commodore Khalid Jamil (Karachi), The joint secretaries were: Sardar Khair Mohammad Tareen (Baluchistan) Shafqat Hussain Moosvi, MPA (from Sind) and Maulana Basheer Ahmad Akhagar (from Bahawalpur).¹

In this very meeting a resolution to amend the party constitution was also passed. The amendment was to raise the number of vice-presidents from one to three and that of joint secretaries from two to four. This amendment was made to accommodate the representation from all areas.²

The meeting also decided that out of 150 councilors 125 would be elected as follows: Former Punjab and Bahawalpur 62, former Sind 22, former Baluchistan 6, and Karachi 10. The meeting further

1. Press report: Dawn, December 8, 1963.

2. Rafiq Afzal op. cit., p.59.

decided that the other 25 Councilors would be nominated by the chief organizer of the all PML(Convention) to give representation to the ladies, commercial industrial and educational interest. The chief organizer of the West Pakistan Mian Amiruddin because of his advanced age showed his inability to shoulder any future responsibilities in respect of provincial League. With this meeting the organizational work of the PML(Convention) West Pakistan came to an end.

During reorganization process in West Pakistan certain disputes between the reorganizers were observed at district level, the main disputants being the chief organizer Choudhary Khaliquzzaman and Nawab Yamin Khan, the organizer of Karachi Muslim League. The dispute related to organizational matter. However, it was resolved through mediation by government ministers on the behest of President Ayub.

Like West Pakistan, in East Pakistan the Conventionists were also busy in the organizational matters under the leadership of their provincial chief organizer Abul Hashim. However, the reorganizers over there also could

not reconcile. It was reported on July 27, 1963 that the rift was between the ministerial group, led by Monem Khan having the support of Abdus Sabur Khan, Waheeduzzaman and Kazi Kader. The other group was led by Abul Hashim and supported by Fazlul Quader Chowdhury. The basic cause was their earlier 'bitter wrangle for leadership of the parliamentary party of the Conventionists in the central legislature'.¹ In parliamentary party's elections, Fazlul Quader group was defeated. Differences were so much widened that the top-notchers of the two groups were not even on speaking terms. According to the press reports Abul Hashim was trying to convince the President that as long as people like Sabur, Monem, Waheeduzzaman were in the cabinet or at any other responsible post, there was no future for the Conventionists in the province. His adversaries, the Monem group, on the other hand was trying to advance similar arguments against them. The real reason now was as to which group would control the provincial leadership. This rift had created problems for the organizers of East Pakistan. So the very first task before the council meeting in

1. News analysis: Pakistan Observer, July 27, 1963.

November, 1963, was to draw up a unanimous panel of the office-bearers. This issue had figured for three days for any solution. However, the leaders were finally able to place a single panel for the various offices of the party. A Jabbar Khan, a retired High Court Judge was made President and Hashimuddin became general secretary of the East Pakistan Muslim League (Convention). Maulana Abdul Hai and Asadullah Siraji were elected as the two vice-presidents. The two joint secretaries were Amjad Hussain and Sajed Ali. Mohsin Ali of Dacca Chamber of Commerce and Industry was made treasurer of the party. To make it appear that the elections had been unanimous, Abul Hashim had proposed the panel and his rival group's A. Sabur had seconded it. The panel was unanimously carried through and had given a complete victory for the Monem Khan group. Not only the name of Abul Hashim, chief organizer of the league was missing from the office-bearers but his close associate Shamusl Huda, the erstwhile general secretary of the Muslim League, was given the nominal post of publicity secretary.¹

1. Press report: Pakistan Observer, November 10, 1963.

III

However, the PML(Convention)'s parliamentary parties in National Assembly/Provincial Assemblies were well organized in their ranks and in their performance. They were able to carry through all official business in keeping with the wishes of the regime. This was due to the presence of the government ministers among the members. Secondly, the government patronage was directed more towards assembly members than to the party outsiders. Mohammad Ali Bogra, then Foreign Minister was first elected leader of parliamentary party of national assembly. While Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, A. Ghafoor Hoti and Syed Murid Hussain Shah were deputy leaders, Zahir-al-Din (Lal Mian) chief whip, and Chaudhary Zahur Elahi as general secretary. The election was held in November, 1962. Initially seventy-eight members had joined the party and later on their number rose to 106 in a house of 165.¹ Consequent upon the death of Mohammad Ali Bogra, Abdus Sabur Khan the then Central Minister of Communications, was elected in March, 1963 as leader of the

1. Rafiq Afzal op.cit., p. 58.

parliamentary party. Sabur Khan had got 43 votes against 35 polled for Fazlul Quader Chowdhury, Central Minister for Information and Education. A interesting aspect regarding the election of parliamentary party was that General Burki (a serving general) was also present during the voting in the national assembly. When asked in what capacity the General was attending the meeting, Abdus Sabur Khan told newsman that he was there as -the representative of the President.¹ This shows the extent of official interference in the working of PML(Convention) and belied their claim that they enjoyed no official blessing.

The provincial parliamentary parties were also formed in a similar pattern. By January, 1963 parliamentary party in East Pakistan replaced Peoples Democratic Group. A.T.M. Mustafa was elected as its leader. In West Pakistan the PML(Convention) was better organised than in East Pakistan. Just after two months of the emergence of the party, provincial parliamentary

1. News item see: Dawn, March 16, 1963.

party was organized in West Pakistan. Sheikh Masud Sadiq, then Provincial Finance Minister was elected as the leader of the house.¹

IV

Since its formation the organisers of the party had a cherished desire that Muhammad Ayub Khan should take its leadership. He was frequently requested by various functionaries and forums of the party to lead them. However, Ayub Khan was not in any hast to join the new body in 'its embryonic stage'.² He had informed the organizers in a meeting with them that he would consider this offer after the party had been reorganized on the basis of elections.³ Meanwhile, during its formative phase, he kept himself abreast with all developments in the party off and on had been advising the conventionists on organisational matters and even resolved rifts in the party.⁴ Abdus Sabur Khan,

1. Press report: Pakistan Times, December 5, 1962.

2. Ayub;s informal tasks with the Press see: Dacca Observers, December 27, 1962.

3. Press report see: Dawn, December 19, 1962.

4. Editorial of Nawa-e-Waqat, May 23, 1963.

a Central Minister, was the only man who was against the entry of Ayub Khan in the party. Otherwise, majority of the conventionists were in favour of his joining the party. Sabur was of the view that as Head of State (and government) Ayub Khan should remain neutral and above party politics which was necessary to maintain the prestige of the presidential office.¹

On May 22, 1963 President Ayub formally associated himself with the PML(Convention) by becoming a two annas members of the party at Rawalpindi. In a three-pages statement, the President assured all the political parties that 'in my capacity as President every one will continue to get fairplay and justice irrespective of his party affiliation'.² He hoped that all parties would support him in the rightful causes. The President further stated that since the passage of the Political Parties Act, the PML(Convention) had supported his programme within and outside the legislature and had been quite naturally expecting him to join their party so as to fill a 'political vacuum to ensure stability in the

1. News item see: Ibid.

2. Press statement of Ayub Khan see: Dawn, May 23, 1963.

country.¹..... On his entry into this political organisation, the President also gave a 10-point guidelines to the members of the PML(Con) to pursue. The guidelines stated:

- a) Take such steps in religious, educational, social, economic and other fields as would bring about unity of thought and action amongst the people. Make them take pride in their homeland and its achievementss and bring about self-respect, self-reliance and sense of responsibility and discipline.
- b) Build a society with spiritual, moral and civic sense capable of moveing with the modern age.
- c) Encourage such activities as will enable us to enter the age of science and technology within the shortest possible time.
- d) Encourage industrialisation to the maximum extent possible and modernize agriculture so as to get the maximum benefit from our lands and remove economic disparities wherever possible.
- e) Take such measures as will enable the benefits of development to be shared by as many people as possible.
- f) To do that, take steps to see that while private enterprise is encouraged, undue accumulation of wealth is not allowed in a few hands.
- g) Establish Islamic political ideology. Social justice and economic order and move in the direction of a welfare state in accordance with the resources of the country.

1. Ibid.

- h) Stand by our solemn promise to assist the people of Jammu and Kashmir to attain their freedom.
- i) Meanwhile, encourage people to regulate charities on a local, collective and rational basis so as to take care of the needy and deserving.
- j) Conduct foreign relations in a manner that will again us friends and ensure the maximum security and development of the country.¹

Mohammad Ayub Khan's entry into PML(Convention) was hailed not only by his party members but also by his opponents. However, the opposition also feared that 'now any opposition to the President would be doubted as opposition to State'.² The Muslim League (Convention) had now acquired its main asset in the person of the President.³

During its reorganizational process, twenty by-elections to National Assembly/Provincial Assemblies were held. In these, the PML(Convention) had decided not to nominate any official candidate and remain indifferent to them. The decision had been taken to allow the candidates 'to pull their

1. News item see: Pakistan Times May 23, 1963.

2. New Analysis see: Dacca Observer, May, 24, 1963.

3. Hugh Tinker, India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis, London: Pak Mall Press Ltd. Lahore (2nd Ed.) 1967, p.94.

own weight'¹ and contest elections on the basis of their own popularity. When the by-elections were over, the PML(Convention) interestingly contended that it had won nineteen out of total twenty seats.

Since the birth of the party, there was a controversy whether ministers should be allowed to hold office in the party. The first constitution (as discussed in chapter two) had debarred the ministers from holding any office in the party organisation. This was done to save the party from becoming a tool in the hands of the ministers. However, at that Convention, the future of the organization was uncertain like the pre-martial law (1958) politics. The Party/^{now} with Ayub Khan in its fold had taken roots in the country and was in fact the only organized party enjoying a sizeable support in the masses. The ministers were becoming anxious to get the ban on their holding office removed. The position remained uncertain as a number of party leader especially those outside the government were opposed for the removal of ban

1. News item see: Dawn, July 19, 1963.

on ministers. Mian Amiruddin, chief organizer of West Pakistan had already publicly opposed the move on the ground that it would again lead to the evils which were rampant among political parties as was the case before the imposition of the martial law.¹ On the contrary the joining of the President was not opposed. It was claimed that as the President of the country holds office through election by the people, he had every right to lead and head a political party. Later on the central council amended the constitution in December, 1963 and thus allowed the ministers to hold offices in the party.

The reorganizational process was completed in December 1963 when 300 Councilors (150 from each wing) met at Dacca. The main task before the Councilors was to elect central executive including high offices of the President and General Secretary. However, the first business on their agenda was to take up the issue to amend the PML(Convention) constitution in order to, accommodate the various interest. The Council

1. News item see: Morning News, November 23, 1963.

approved about a dozen amendments in the party's constitution. All amendments, except one for the removal of the ban from the Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries to hold any office in the party were moved by the Home Affairs Minister, Khan Habibullah.¹ The other amendments included the provision for increasing the number of members of the Executive Committee by one more member and to make the Presidents of the two Provincial units ex-officio Vice-Presidents. The other related to holding of the Council meeting at least once a year alternately in East and West Pakistan. Another amendment increased the number of signatories to call a requisition meeting of the council from 60 to 100 out of which one-third members should be from the interested province. The requirement that at least one-third members could call the meeting of the council was similar to the one given in the general constitution of Pakistan for calling a session of the national assembly.

Besides above, the Council decided to increase the number of member of the Central Parliamentary

1. Press report see: Morning News, December 25, 1963.

Board from 12 to 14 with the President of the organization and the leader of the parliamentary party in the National Assembly as ex-officio member of the Board. In December, 1963 Mohammad Ayub was elected as the President of the PML(Convention) while the seat of general secretary was to go to an East Pakistani. The latter provision was incorporated in keeping with the desire of the President to give East Pakistan due representation to the party hierarchy. But later on the President himself did not keep this idea and the position of the general secretary was given to a West Pakistani Abdul Waheed Khan, a Central Minister. Siddiq Dawood, a Karachi Industrialist was made the party treasurer, Zahir al-Din Lal Mian (East Pakistan) and Manzare 'Alam (West Pakistan) were elected as joint secretaries.¹ The Council's meeting had completed the reorganizational process of the party. In its concluding session the Council also endorsed the principle of 'friendship for all and malice towards none' in foreign policy. It condemned the Indian move to

1. A resolution adopted: Rafiq Afzal, op. cit., p. 62.

annex Kashmir and reiterated Pakistan's determination to secure for the Kashmiris their right of choice. It demanded equal development for the economically backward areas and called for unity under the leadership of President Ayub.¹ In the concluding session of the party's council, the President asked his party members to work actively and to associate the people with developmental activities in the country on return to their respective areas. He urged them to organize party offices and work sedulously to secure an identification of the people with the government. He also appealed them to take interest in the governance of the country, understand and analyse the various national problems.²

In sum, the 'rapprochement' drive launched by the Conventionists was not seriously pursued by them. Had there been a sincerity of purpose, the differences between the rival factions within the League could have been pacified. However, after the failure of reconciliation, the organizers of the PML(Convention) were able to complete their

1. The commit see: Pakistan Times, December 27, 1963.

2. Press report see: Dawn, December 27, 1963.

reorganizational process by the end of 1963 when Ayub Khan in a Council meeting was elected its first President. The position of the general secretary was kept vacant as the President had desired that it would be occupied by an East Pakistani so that the Eastern Wing could have due representation. Later on, a West Pakistani Abdul Waheed Khan was appointed general secretary of the party. This caused resentment for the East Pakistani members of the party. Anyhow, by the fall of 1963, the party was only a well organized countrywide political organization in the country. Similarly, the PML(Convention) parliamentary parties in the assemblies were well-disciplined and were able to muster an effective support for the government policies for the whole period from 1962-69.

CHAPTER IV

PARTY MANIFESTO

First convention of the party had adopted a resolution, laying down in broad outline a three phased programme for future achievements. Its first phase had called for formulating a 'national objective' for the new body.¹ It had stressed that in the absence of a comprehensive plan the party would suffer from disunity. The second phase of the programme was to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease from the country by speeding up economic development and creating a self-sustained economy. The third phase of Muslim League (Convention) struggle was to unite the entire Muslim world under the banner of Islam. This objective aimed at proving that Islam was the real answer to the miseries from which humanity had suffered.

The other resolutions approved by the convention related to Kashmir. It called upon government to initiate moves to speed up the liberation of the Kashmiri Muslims. It further appealed to the government to take steps to

1. A resolution adopted by the First Convention see: Jang, September 6, 1962.

persuade the world opinion against the forcible eviction of Indian Muslims. Another resolution had urged the government to take remedial measures to eradicate the socio-economic disparities prevalent between the two wings and also between different regions of West Pakistan.¹

The aforesaid objectives were pursued by the new body pending preparation of its manifesto. For this purpose the Muslim League (Convention) parliamentary party in the National Assembly set up a twelve-man committee on December 9, 1962.² A separate committee was also set up to form the party's rules and regulations.³

However, it appeared that the party organisers were more interested in the offices than in framing the manifesto. So from its very birth, they concentrated on supporting the policy of the government in order to win

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1. Press statement see: Dawn, September 6, 1962.
 2. Press statement see Dawn, December 10, 1962. (Khan Habibullah Khan, a central minister was convener of the manifesto committee. The other members were: Z.A. Bhutto, Fazlul Quader Chowdhury, Waheeduzzaman, A.K. Khan, Abdus Sabur Khan, Raja Hasan Akhtar, Begum G.A. Khan, Col Abdul Ghafoor Hoti, Ghulam Qadir Panwar, Mian Salahuddin, Malik Noor Hayat Khan Noon and Abdullah Mahmood.
 3. News item see Civil and Military Gazettee, September 6, 1962.

the official favours. It was lauded by the PML(Convention) through a resolution that:

the President in a short span of about three years and achieved the successes which a democratic government of the British type could not have performed even in fifty years.¹

To please him further, the chief organizer of the party had also proclaimed in the very first convention that the parliamentary system was not suitable for the country. Furthermore, the presidential system was not only suitable but was nearest to the Islamic idea of government.²

Before framing its manifesto the party leadership entered into various controversies with the opposition inside and outside the legislatures. Among them were the systems of government, of basic democracies, fundamental rights, and the undoing of the one unit.³ The opposition had

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1. A Resolution adopted by the First Convention see: Pakistan Times, September 5, 1962.
 2. Press report see: Morning News, April 24, 1963.
 3. The basic Democracies had become a bone of contention between the government and the opposition. Secondly, the opposition had protested against Ayub Khan's occasional desires that the Muslim League (Convention) would associate with the development programme of basic democracies at all levels. News Analysis see: Pakistan Times, May 31, 1963.

also alleged that the PML(Convention) was an unconstitutional body. On the other hand the ruling party pleaded that political leaders such as Maulana Abu Ala Maudoodi and Sardar Bahdur Khan had been doing their best to bring the regime into dispute. PML(Convention)'s leadership had further contended that the opposition was creating chaos in the country by irresponsible speeches.¹ In the words of Ayub Khan they had 'brains but no faith'.² The Kashmir issue was much attended to and projected by the Conventionists during the year 1963. This very year a series of Indo-Pakistan parleys on the question of Kashmir were held. Since its birth, the Conventionists in various meetings had been calling upon the government to mobilize all its resources to face any situation that might arise from the failure of the Kashmir's talks.³ The working Committee had also asserted that the impartial and free plebiscite was the only solution to the Kashmir

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1. Press statement by Central Reorganizing Committee see Civil and Military Gazettee, May 13, 1963.
 2. Press report see: Pakistan Times, May 24, 1963.
 3. Press report see: Dawn, May 23, 1963. (Actually relations with India had undergone rapid deterioration following the India government more to formally integrate Kashmir into the Indian Union: See Hamid Yusuf, Pakistan Insearch of Democracy, Afrasia Publication, Lahore, 1980, p.78).

issue.

II

After almost six months of the formation of the PML(Convention) a seven pages draft manifesto was circulated among the party workers and leaders for eliciting their opinion.¹ The manifesto had laid down the following principles for the party to pursue:

- i) advocating Islamic Ideology;
- ii) presidential system of government;
- iii) well-being of the masses;
- iv) Islamic social order;
- v) agricultural development;
- vi) Industrial progress;
- vii) removal of disparity between East and West Pakistan and between developed and under-developed areas;
- viii) equal rights for women;
- ix) justice for disabled persons;
- x) flood fire and famine relief for all!
- xi) full rights fro minorities;
- xii) external affairs.

The main features of the draft manifesto

1. Press report see: Civil and Military Gazettee, February 12, 1963.

emphasized the view that Pakistan was achieved on the basis of Islamic Ideology. For this reason the conventionists thought that it was their considered duty to safeguard the independence, stability and integrity of the state. The party would also work for the establishment of Islamic social order as speedily as practicable. The manifesto had promised to ensure true faith and allegiance to the constitution of the State and also to the presidential system of government. It had demanded justiciability of fundamental rights. repealing of repressive laws, such as the Frontier Crimes Regulations and Security Acts. The manifesto further stated that the party would work to eradicate poverty, ignorance and disease through its enlightened socialistic programme. It also promised to promote a progressive Islamic social order to encourage genuine merit and quality of character and scientific spirit. To ensure agricultural and industrial development, the party stood to take various measures towards that direction. A generous policy, in allocating financial and other resources, would be favoured for the various regions. The party remarkably demanded removal of disparity in

all spheres of the central government. The persons from East Pakistan would be encouraged to serve in the defence services of Pakistan. The programme further pledged to safeguard all legitimate rights and interests of the minorities as equal citizen of Pakistan. In external affairs, the party stood to foster goodwill and friendly relations with all countries of the world particularly Muslim countries and the neighbouring states.

No details were available about the responses, criticism or reactions to the draft manifesto as those were not made public. The draft was not debated or deliberated in any forum of the party. This shows the lack of interest of PML(Convention) in the preparation of the manifesto. On minute analysis of the draft manifesto, it transpires that it was a mere projection and restatement of the policies of the regime. Secondly, in many respects, it had resemblance with the Constitution of Pakistan, 1962. The provisions regarding the Islamic society, presidential system of government and the fundamental rights as given in the

Constitution of 1962 were incorporated in the draft but with only minor changes. The draft looked like a constitution of the country and not a party.

It took again another year after the introduction of the draft manifesto that the party presented yet another 14-point socio-economic programme in March, 1964.¹ So much so that the general secretary while presenting the programme to the public at a press conference did not mention the fate of earlier draft manifesto. The new programme like the one before again restated the government policies and programmes. It dealt with the socio-economic issues as follows:

- a) the constitution of the country;
- b) basic democracies;
- c) national intergration;
- d) the minorities;
- e) the welfare state;
- f) national planning;
- g) mosques and pesh-imams, Islamic studies;

1. Press report see: Pakistan Times, March 18, 1964.

- h) community development;
- i) economic development;
- j) foreign relations;
- k) Kashmir.

This draft was finalised by the Working Committee of the party presided over by Ayub Khan. Its preamble had affirmed:

Pakistan is an ideological democracy based on Islamic principles of social justice. The Muslim League that conceived the idea of Pakistan is not merely a political organization but is a movement symbolising Muslim aspirations in the sub-continent in the twentieth century. The singleness of the purpose which had marked the Muslim League as the rallying force of a united people fighting for freedom, needs to be revived and restored if the more onerous though less spectacular task of steadily building Pakistan into an ideal Islamic State is to be achieved.¹

The manifesto stated that the PML(Convention) whole-heartedly supports the constitution of Pakistan and the system of Basic Democracies. Under the title 'National Integration' the party pledged to work for the political, cultural, social and economic unification of the people. The organisation would endeavour to develop a national consciousness, oppose divisive tendencies

1. Ibid.

by discouraging all that 'divides and encourage all that unites'.¹

Under the social development programme, the objective of the organisation provided that the party would move towards welfare state in consonance with the principles of Islam. In pursuance of this objective, the PML(Convention) stood for the 'greatest good of the greatest number'.² The manifesto had taken notice of the population growth in Pakistan and asked for birth control. It stated that economic development would necessitates restraint at the increase in population. The key-note of the party's policy towards education was to widen the base of free and compulsory primary education, and also of technical and vocational training. It further explained that the PML(Convention) would encourage the use of mosques as centres of activity by the local community for religions, social and educational purposes. Finally, the manifesto affirmed that the furture of Kashmir should be determined in accordance with the will of the people.

The programme on the whole was a reproduction

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid.

of the socio-economic and political philosophy of the regime. The major portion of the manifesto dealt with the economic planning and welfare of the people. It was to a large extent identical with the various five year plans of the country. In brief it was reiteration of the policies of the regime both in the past and those projected for the future. Thus the manifesto had provided for no special interest or incentive to the public in general. The programme had dispelled the earlier impression that the party was a ministerial show and was subordinate to government dictates. The PML(Convention) had rather endorsed the regime's policies in entirety. It was interesting that since its reorganization the party had never criticised the governing elite and the method of their working. It continued to appreciate the regime. It worked as per the dictates and tunes of the government. The people, therefore, could not find any interest in the much publicized programmes of the PML(Convention) and regarded them only as a lip service.

GENERAL ELECTIONS (1964-65)

With the passage of the Election Bill, 1964, election campaign in the country began. The bill had inter alia provided for holding the presidential elections before the provincial and national assembly's elections.¹ When the bill was presented in the house the PML(Convention) met tough resistance from the opposition benches. It was a trial of strength, both for the ruling party and for the opposition, ever since the amending bill was introduced on the floor. In this tussle the ruling party succeeded and the bill passed. The reason for this easy victory was that the opposition parliamentary party was suffering from lack of purpose and effective leadership. It was a hotch-potch of diverse elements, with nothing in common but opposition to the ruling party. But the main cause of its success was possibility of reward in case of support which helped the government to muster the required vote of three fourth of the Assembly membership. The PML(Convention) had apparantly scored a victory on the parliamentary front but its

1. Press report see: Pakistan Times, July 25, 1964.

2. New service see: Current, July 25, 1964.

image was scarred'.¹

The next step towards holding the election was the introduction of the Presidential Election Act, 1964. The Bill was introduced in the National Assembly on August 3, 1964. The act was to provide for the conduct of the election to the office of the President through Basic Democrates and for matter connected there with and incidental thereto.² Having failed to stop the passage of the bill, the only option left with the opposition was to condemn the bill and they proclaimed on the floor of national assembly that the:

Law is going to seal the future of the nation. This law is going to help the continuation of a regime which people do not want, which is absolutely anti-people. Therefore, Sir we cannot be a party to the passage of this bill.³

The working committee of Pakistan Muslim League (Convention) on August 20, 1964 had

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1. New service see: Current, July 25, 1964.
 2. The Extra Ordinary Gazettee of Pakistan, Karachi, September 1, 1964.
 3. National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, Vol. III No.15, Karachi August 18, 1964, p.984.

nominated Ayub Khan as its presidential candidate.¹ Even though the opposition parties were weak and heterogenous, they succeeded in making an election alliance name as COP (Combined Opposition Parties). The COP included in its fold the Awami League, Muslim League(Council), National Awami Party, Nizam-e-Islam and Jamat-e-Islami. Miss Fatima Jinnah, sister of Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah was COP's nominee for the office of the President. She was considered the best contender for the office. Immediately after their nomination was proclaimed, both candidates had started levelling charges and counter-charges against each other. Ayub Khan proclaimed:

Miss Jinnah lacked 'basic essentials' normally required for the high office of President. He listed the following essentials lacking in the Opposition Presidential candidate: (i) Miss Jinnah is not familiar with any national language; (ii) she has no intimate knowledge of the geography of Pakistan; (iii) she is unfamiliar with popular trends and aspirations of Pakistan; (iv) she has no experience of administration. He said it would be a folly of the first order on the part of the electorates to elect Miss Jinnah as President and if the people committed the blunder of 'favouring' her at the coming polls, they could be 'digg-ing- their own graves. The President alleged that the Opposition wanted to make Pakistan the 'miras' (personal property) of Miss Jinnah by virtue of her being the sister of the founder of Pakistan.²

1. News item see: Pakistan Times, August 20, 1964.

2. News service see: Hindustan Times, October 24, 1964.

He further stated that Miss Fatima Jinnah was the easiest candidate to defeat,¹ however, it did not appear that the job of defeating the COP candidate would be so easy. While Ayub Khan was putting full reliance on his Basic Democrats, who formed the electoral college for the presidential election, the COP leadership was critical about the role of the very institution of Basic Democracy. As expected such a view of the COP was much publicised and propogated by the Ayub supporters and the Muslim League (Convention). For these above reasons the election prospect of the COP was jeopardized and naturally this had badly affected their electioning. The political parties and newspapers were allowed full freedom to project the case of the opposition. Similarly, the people were given freedom to express themselves even against the the President.²

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1. News analysis see: Hindustan Standard, October 20, 1964.
 2. **It was reported by a paper that in a election public gathering 'shoes, bananas' skin and other missiles were flown on the President at a big rally at Dacca. When the President angrily attacked the opposition's presidential candidate in a meeting the crowd should 'no, No' and waved their hands in disapproval: Indian Express, October 29, 1964.**

For chalking out their election programme, a four days parlèys of the opposition leaders were held from July 21-24, 1964. The conference had formally announced a unanimous decision on July 24, 1964 to embark on a joint course of action to build up a national movement aimed at securing the restoration of democracy in the country. They also announced a common nine-point programme which had touched as many as 37 different issues on which the COP was to fight the forthcoming elections at all levels.¹ The nine-point scheme had promised achievement of a democratic constitution ensuring that the members of National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies would be elected directly on the basis of adult franchise. This goal of COP for direct elections was not appreciated by the 'Basic Democrats' who were the real electorates. The PML(Convention) highly publicised this issue against the COP by issuing press statements under the caption of 'threats to B.D.'² The assemblies in the election manifesto of COP were to have complete legislative and budgetary powers

1. Press statement see: Pakistan Observer, July 25, 1964.

2. News analysis under the head "Threats to B.D" see: Pakistan Times, October 20, 1964.

and independence of judiciary was promised. It also pledged to curtail the powers of the President. Another point of the programme had dealt with the release of all political detainees. The opposition parties were against the curbs on press and therefore pleaded for the repeal of all repressive laws.¹ particularly the Security of Pakistan Act, East Pakistan Public Safety Ordinance, 1958, University Ordinance, Press and Publication Ordinance 1966, West Pakistan Maintenance of Public Order Ordinance 1960. The next point of their manifesto related to economic and administrative reforms. It included:

- a) Development of the natural and human resources of Pakistan as rapidly as possible so as to raise living standard and to make the country capable of self-sustained economic growth at a higher rate.
- b) Removal of economic disparity between the two wings of Pakistan and planning of principle of investing the resources of the State, including foreign aid, in such proportion as would within a period of 10 years, remove disparity in respect of commerce, industries, research institutes and civil and defence services, and equalise the per capita income between the two wings.
- c) Elimination of economic disparity of different areas within the two wings.

1. Press statement see; Pakistan Observer, July 25, 1964.

- d) Guarantee of adequate return to cultivators of land in particular those who cultivate jute, sugar and cotton.
- e) Remission of land revenue for holding of less than 12½ acres irrigated and 25 acres of un-irrigated land in West Pakistan and holding of less than 25 bighas in East Pakistan.
- f) Reorientation of the economic pattern of society so that basic needs of food, housing medical help and educating all the citizens can be effectively discharged by the State.
- g) Reversal of the policies by which wealth and economic power of the State is being concentrated in the hands of a few families, the object being to provide equality of opportunity and the widest possible distribution of wealth.
- h) Guarantee of the implementation of the I.L.C. conventions, including the right of labour to organise itself freely in trade unions of its own choice and its right to strike as a means of collective bargaining.
- i) Elimination of corruption and provision of an efficient and honest administration.
- j) Elimination of black-marketing and reduction of the price of necessities of life.
- k) Effective and speedy settlement of refugees.
- l) Taking effective steps for preventing India from forcibly evicting Indian Muslims, particularly from Tripura and Assam.¹

Taxation System of Pakistan was also to be reformed by giving reduction in local taxation. The

1. Ibid.

minorities were to enjoy full freedom and equal opportunities irrespective of their religion or caste. It also stood for reappraisal of foreign policy/ⁱⁿ the light of its need, its history and geography and the changes in the currents of world affairs.

The COP's programme was idealistic and vague and thus had no attraction for the masses. Leaving its points relating to basic democracies, taxation system, and repeals of different rules, the other features of the nine-points programme were identical with the existing governmental policies. Muhammad Ayub Khan was, therefore, on firm footing to counter their programme by his own explanation. In a series of press statements, the PML(Convention) highlighted the opposition weakness including the COP's election manifesto. The regime stood that development should be pragmatic and not dogmatic. The people were the master to determine the form of government suited to the state and its ideology. The President said that the discrimination in all forms should be eliminated. In his election programme, he defended his various socio-economic reforms which aimed at 'freeing the society from the shackles of past

domination'.¹ He criticised the theoretical approach of the COP for economic uplift and pleaded for practical realism. Unlike conception of provincial autonomy and curtailment of the presidential powers, Muhammad Ayub Khan stood for 'strong centre' capable of providing full provincial autonomy but present centrifugal forces from asserting themselves. In his manifesto, he pledged to maximise the utilisation of national resourced and equitable distribution of wealth. He also, in reply to COP's approach for reform in taxation, promised to reform the taxation system to ensure that the burden of taxation was distributed in a fair and equitable manner and to eliminate the cartels and monopolies. The manifesto futher contained that the small landholders shall be given fair deal and all measures would be taken to check the salinity, waterlogging and to prevent the recurrence of floods in East Pakistan. had published reports headlined 'What is what', 'threats to B.D.' and 'threats to Bureaucracy' in relation to opposition election tactics. Thus the COP was put in an awkward position in the eyes of Basic Democrats.

1. Ibid.

Ayub Khan had given his election manifesto on October 25, 1964. Its analysis showed that it was in many respects a rejoined to COP's nine-points programme. It stated in its preamble:

I believe:

1. That Allah, in His infinite mercy, created Pakistan to give the Muslims of these regions a homeland in which to mould their lives in accordance with the fundamental principles and the spirit of Islam.
2. That Pakistan is destined to play a glorious role in the history of mankind and in particular in the advancement and progress of Muslims all over the world.
3. That the will of the people is supreme in all matters of the State
4. That democracy provides the surest means of securing the fullest participation of the people in the affairs of their country.¹

The manifesto like COP's nine-points was also divided under nine headings mainly dealing with the subject: form of democracy, nature of reforms, level of prices stability, role of basic democracies, type of education, inter-wing party, Kashmir and development strategy. He called for the development

1. Press statement see: Pakistan Times, October 26, 1964,

2. Ibid.

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1. Press statement see: Pakistan Times, October 26, 1964,

2. Ibid.

of a national character and 'national outlook'.
He said whatever may be the form.

Its next point declared that the stability of daily uses would be secured and the uplifting of living standard would be ensured. Under the title of Basic Democracies, his manifesto stated:

To associate local people in the administration of their affairs and to transfer gradually such functions as may be possible to the Basic Democrats. To expand further the scope of Rural Works Programme, in financial as well as functional terms. To build up a strong rural community capable of looking after its own needs.¹

Thus it was clear that Ayub Khan had promised a bright future for Basic Democrats, whereas failure of the COP to include this item in their election campaign had undermined the Basic Democrats support for the COP's candidate. Ayub had also proclaimed to provide greater educational facilities to the people. He declared that press would be given freedom by working out a code of ethics for press. He stood for realisation of inter-wing parity as was laid down in the constitution of Pakistan. Ayub further pledged to continue his strive for liberation of Kashmir. The minorities like COP's manifesto, were also promised by Ayub Khan to get full protection and equal opportunities, rights and privileges. He however, criticised the approach of COP regarding

1. Ibid.

economic development in the country. He urged that the objective should be to produce a better arrangement rather than to destroy an existing arrangement.¹

From the perusal of the above two programmes, it appeared that in spirit both programme had many similarities. However, the distinctive feature of the President's programme was that with all its merits the manifesto had a personal character. Instead of giving any credit to his party he had labelled the manifesto as 'Ayun's Manifesto'; Furthermore, it did not even mention the very name of PML(Convention).

II

Since very time of the election of the Basic Democrats in October, 1964, the Opposition and the PML(Convention) had looked to the future and begun their campaigning for presidential candidates. Leaving aside a few scattered incidents no large scale rigging was reported. By and large, the elections passed off quietly.² On the eve of the Basic Democrats, across the border, in Indian

1. Ibid.

2. L.F. Rushorook, The State of Pakistan, London: Faber and Faber, London, 1966, p.247.

paper had observed that 'intense passion is coming into play....by and large, an immense number of basic democrats are being elected peacefully and in a dignified manner'.¹ Within the country itself the COP could freely criticise the President Ayub Khan. Commenting on elections in Pakistan another Indian paper had observed that:

the fact that exists in that country which encourages the opposition to express an opinion against those in power is a development which is flattering to Pakistan.²

The presidential election held on January 1, 1965. Ayub Khan was re-elected for next term of five years by defeating Miss Jinnah. He had a margin of 21,170 votes. The president had polled 73 per cent of the votes in West Pakistan and 53 percent in East Pakistan.³

Thus Ayub's earlier forecast that 'she was the easiest candidate to defeat'⁴ proved hardly true. There were various causes of the COP's

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1. News service see: Indian Express, November 21, 1964.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Press report see: Nawa-i-Waqat, January 4, 1965.
 4. News Analysis Hindustan Standard, October 26, 1964.

failure. The main of which that the opposition had put their reliance on East Pakistan only. Commenting on such a stand of the COP a paper has concluded as early as the mid-Novemembr that:

If this estimate is correct, Miss Jinnah stands no chance of wining, for all forecasts here only hope depends on gaining a heavy majority in East Pakistan of off-set President's strength in the West'.¹

The COP had a common desire to defeat Ayub Khan in the presidential elections which was scarecely an adequate programme for a political coalition, whether in or out of office.² Another reasons of COP's failure may be that it had no cogent grounds to condemn Ayub's foreign and economic policy as his record in these two fields was 'strongest'.³ Furthermore, Miss Jinnah had not criticised the personal conduct of the President rather she was equally questioning the validity of the presidential system and wanted that too be substituted by the parliamentary system.⁴ In the presence of such criticism, she had annoyed the Basic Democrats.

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1. News analysis: New York Times, November 15, 1964.
 2. Herbert Feldman, From Crisis to Crisis Pakistan, 1962-69: Karachi, 1972, p.69.
 3. New Analysis see: The Times of London, November 9, 1964.
 4. Z.A. Suleri, Politicians and Ayub, Lahore: Lion Art Press 1964, p.202.

Thus they preferred to vote against her otherwise their very existence was at stake.

The next phase of the elections related to the National Assembly and Provincial Assemblies. The COP despite their defeat in the presidential election were unwilling to withdraw from the assemblies elections. The opposition decided to contest the elections at both national as well as provincial level. They had nominated their candidates for both houses. Similarly, the PML (Convention) had invited application for its tickets of National Assembly/Provincial Assemblies candidates. For this purpose the President had/^{also}constituted a central parliamentary board of six members each from East and West Pakistan. It was decided that the party President would be the ex-officio member and Chairman of the Board. Another ex-officio member of the board was to be the leader of the PML parliamentary party in the National Assembly. The general secretary of the party was to work as the board's secretary.¹ Following were the functions of the board:

- (a) to select in consultation with provincial parliamentary boards candidates for the

1. Press Conference by the General Secretary of PML(Convention) see: Pakistan Times, January 11, 1965.

- central legislature and to exercise general control over the Muslim League party in the central legislature;
- (b) to see that provincial parliamentary boards were properly constituted in every province;
 - (c) to supervise and control the activities of the provincial parliamentary boards;
 - (d) to hear and decide finally all appeals against the decision of the provincial parliamentary boards;
 - (e) to decide all disputes, arising between provincial parliamentary board and Muslim League Party in provincial legislature;
 - (f) to see that Muslim League Legislative parties are established in various legislatures of the country and to keep a watch over their activities;
 - (g) to approve rules and bye-laws framed by the provincial parliamentary boards;
 - (h) to frame bye-laws for the central parliamentary board;
 - (j) five members were to form the quorum of a meeting of the central parliamentary board.¹

It was maintained by the secretary general of the PML(Convention) that only those persons who had subscribed to the aims and ideas and programme of the PML(Convention) and were otherwise qualified to become candidates should apply. He further stated that the application would accompany with a pledge

1. Ibid.

signed by the candidate in the following words:

I solemnly affirm that I am a member of the Pakistan Muslim League and do hereby pledge that I will abide by its constitution, rules and regulations and the decisions and directions of the central parliamentary board issued from time to time. I further pledge to join the Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the National Assembly of Pakistan if I am elected on Muslim League ticket, and declared that in case I am not awarded the Muslim League ticket, I shall wholeheartedly support such candidate for the National Assembly who may be awarded such ticket by the central parliamentary board of the Pakistan Muslim League.¹

When the tickets were awarded, despite warnings, the conventionists who were denied the tickets did not withdraw from the contest. They contended that they were sure about their success even without the party's nominations.² On this violation, the President was compelled to expell such 38 persons from the party for three years who had filled their papers for the national assembly elections against the party's nominee. The general secretary of the party while explaining their expulsion had stated that these persons had shown lack of discipline and had flouted the decision of the parliamentary board. They had acted, he

1. Press Report see: Morning News, March 1, 1965.

2. News item see: Dawn, March 21, 1965.

said, in utter disregard to their pledge signed by them alongwith their applications for Muslim League ticket. This showed the extent of indiscipline in League.

The elections for the National Assembly were held in March, 1965 in which the PML(Convention) candidates returned with a large majority. The results were as under:¹

	<u>West Pakistan</u>	<u>East Pakistan</u>	<u>Un-opposed</u>		<u>Total</u>
			<u>East Pak.</u>	<u>West Pak.</u>	
PML(Con.)	51	49	13	2	115
COP	1	8	0	0	9
National Dem. Front	0	4	0	0	4
Independent	6	9	3	0	18
Tie	1	3			4
			<hr/>		
			Total		150
			<hr/>		

On the completion of the election process the PML(Convention) was able to claim 134 members in the national assembly out of total 156 (150-general and 6-special seats). The elections to the provincial assemblies were held in May, 1965, where the PML(Convention) was able to won

1. Press report see: Dawn, March 22, 1965.

130 out of 155 seats in the West Pakistan Assembly and 110 out of 155 in the East Pakistan Assembly. In June 1965, the PML parliamentary party in the National Assembly had elected again Abdus Sabur Khan as its leader: Abdul Ghafur Khan, first deputy leader; S.M. Zafar:, second deputy leader; Malik Muhammad Qasim, general secretary; A.K. Sumar, treasurer; Zahir al-Din (Lal Mian), chief whip; and Jam Ghulam Qadir Khan and Maulana 'Abdal Haye, assistant to the chief whip.¹

From the foregoing discussion it appears that the regime inspite of its various measures such as Election Bill (1964) and the Presidential Election Act (1964) had failed to secure an easy election success. Secondly the opposition parties even though disorganized were able to make an effective election alliance which had shattered the government of Ayub Khan. Thirdly, during the election process, lack of discipline among conventionists and their loyalty were evident. Even the President himself had started his election campaign on his personal achievements and had thus discredited PML(Convention).

1. Rafiq Afzal op. cit., p.63.

CHAPTER VI

THE END OF PML (CONVENTION)

By 1965, shortly after Ayub had won a second presidential term in a close election that had pitted him against Miss Fatima Jinnah, he began running into troubles. The political parties which had formed COP and had supported Miss Jinnah in the presidential election, in May, 1967 organised themselves into a new alliance PDM (Pakistan Democratic Movement). The PDM resolved to fight against absolutism of President and his system and to get the emergency laws lifted and individual liberties restored. It was better organised than the COP but it was not a complete merger of the parties as each party had kept its separate identity. It comprised of eight parties namely, National Democratic Front, Muslim League (Council), the Jammāt-e-Islami, the Jamiat-a-Ulema-i-Islam, the National Awami Party (Wali group), the Nizam-i-Islam, the Awami League (six points) and the Awami League (Nasrullah Group).¹

Discontentment against Ayub Khan and the movement for democracy gained momentum in the beginning of 1966. The ban on the politicians disallowing

1. Ahmad Husain, Politics and People's Representation In Pakistan: Rawalpindi Ferozsons Ltd, 1972, p.99-100.

them from taking part in the political life under the Election Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO) of 1959 had also expired at the end of 1965. So, now they were back in the politics of the country. Ayub's Foreign Minister, and general secretary of the party had developed certain differences with the regime especially on the question of Soviet-sponsored Tashkent Agreement (1966). This agreement had restored the old-India Pakistan borders and each side renounced the use of force in settling their issues. The difference between Bhutto and regime so much so developed that Bhutto left Cabinet in July, 1966. The opposition in general had hardened about their demand for abandoning the basic democratic system Pakistan's small educated elite, shut out from power also began to turn against Ayub. They condemned his attitude of arrogance and his 'reluctance to delegate authority'.¹ There were widespread allegations of corruption levelled against his eldest son, Gohar Ayub, who had risen from an Army Captain to being a millionaire in six years. Ayub' reaction to this

1. Dr. P. Sharan, Government and Politics of Pakistan, New Delhi, 1983, p.60.

situation was to impose tighter curbs on the press and his opponents.¹

The pattern of the unrest in Pakistan was that the people belonging to all walks of life resented the governmental policies which for them had brought economic disparity and socio-political injustices. The political atmosphere was highly charged and was simmering with resentment. Only a light was needed for explosive rioting.² Meanwhile an event, though insignificant, took place in November 1968, due to which the situation further deteriorated and precipitated political agitation against the President. A group of students from Rawalpindi had gone to Landi Kotal, which was on the border of Afghanistan but inside the territorial jurisdiction of Pakistan. Landi Kotal was then a market of smuggled goods. The students had bought from there goods worth about Rs. 5,000. On their way back, at a custom check post the goods were confiscated and charges of smuggling were framed against the students. They resented against the attitude of the customs authorities, on the plea that they had bought the goods for personal use

1. Ahmad Husain, op. cit., p. 97.

2. Ibid., p. 97.

and not for sale. Secondly, they cited the example of big industrialists and the bureaucrats who openly indulged in smuggling with the connivance of the authorities.¹ Later on this protest took the shape of criticism and denunciation of the system which had seemingly perpetuated corruption and economic exploitation of the poor. The course of students protest resulted in the death of a student which led to violent protest, the echo of which was heard throughout the country. All the political parties though unorganised become supportive of the students. They demanded repeal of University Ordinance and removal of otehr grievances which the people were facing at that time such as unemployment and increasing prices of daily uses goods. They bitterly criticised the institution of Basic Democracy and constitutional autocracy of the regime.

For the first time on 31st January, 1969, the official group in the National Assembly agreed to discuss the political situation in the country. It was Abdus Sabur Khan, the leader of the house who started discussion in the house. He admitted that curfew had been clamped down in a number of

1. Ibid., p.97.

cities in East and West Pakistan. This unfortunate thing he said started from Rawalpindi and it gradually spread over a lot of other places.¹ He further stated that:

It is not my intention to spportion blames to justify the imposition of curfew and other relative measures, but one fact is worth remembering that that the country is fast drifting and it is drifting to such a position and at such a tremendous pace that very soon we are reaching a point of no return. That is the saddest part and most tragic end of the whole thing.²

While, the Leader of opposition pleaded that:

I rise to participate in this very important discussion, with a deepst sense of regret. Regret, firstly because we having this discussion over a matter which has cost a number of valuable lives including the lives of a few promising students. Secondly, because the Government did not consider it worthwhile to give sufficient time for the discussion of this important matter before the National Assembly which is claimed by them as the highest forum in the country. It were the embers of the opposition who tried to bring this question before the house in various ways and methods, by tabling adjournment motions and other available means but that was also not made available to the Members of this House and in this connections undesirable incidents took place on the floor of this house.... May I refer the honourable Leader of the House to my last speech during the budget session warning the government of the coming events. I told them that I find dark clouds in the eastern horizon. Did I not tell them that a valcano is going to erupt in West Pakistan? But no heed was paid and they thought that the old man was just crying over nothing.

1. National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, Karachi, January, 31, 1969, p.295.

2. Ibid.

Had they taken my words for what they were worth I think the unfortunate incidents would not have occurred and this situation could have been averted. I told that the way in which the Government is running the administration of the country has alienated the sympathy of all classes of people but they were apportioning the blame on me and on the disgruntled politicians. It is not the disgruntled politicians but the teeming millions of the country who were suffering under the wheels of the administration. It is the students whose legitimate grievances have not yet been redressed. It is the labour class and the middle class and the low-paid Government servants who are suffering the most in this country. That has erupted now and the Government is still blaming that is the Opposition who are trying to create this trouble in this country. They say that the people should behave in a civilised manner in a civilised country. Also the government behaving in a civilised manner or have they used the power in a civilised way? They have got power through force. This is not civilised method. Whenever any reasonable demand is made from the opposition to meet the grievances of the people they threatened that they would use the language of arms.(1)

The political situation had so worsened that NAP (Bashani Group) directed its members in the Assemblies to resign from their seats. In accordance with the dictates of his party. Mashiur-Rehman was the first to resign. from national assembly. He delivered a lengthy speech

1. Ibid., pp.313-314.

before the house in which he stated:

Sir, Now I want to tell you a very simple thing, Politics in 1947 and the politics of 1969 are two different things. Politics has developed, this is no more confined to making adverse agitations and slogans and resolutions and to writing P.O. letters it is now in the streets. People think that politics should be on the modern lines and according to modern developments, it should not be on the lines of British Government politics before Partition, we cannot be treated in the manner British Government treated us. Today from the very borders of West Pakistan down to the extreme borders of East Pakistan people are marching, people are making agitations for their demands but they are called communists by the party in power. I am not a Communist, I do not believe in Communism which is a fobia in the modern civilisation. Even in countries like France, in countries like Italy I have seen processions with photos of Mao-tse-tung and Lenin. So, Communism is a code of life based on political civilisation. So, there is nothing to be afraid of. Nobody should think that this is a struggle against somebody.....Sir, I leave the house, I tender my resignation in accordance with the resolution of the National Awami Party Council meeting and wise and well considered direction of our party chief, Moulana Bhashani, I hereby tender my resignation as a member of National Assembly. I may recite a small poetry: (You had adorned a child with royal robes. But the robes are too heavy to him.(1)

In the last session of National Assembly, the party in power was pushed into a tight corner by East Pakistani members. The basis of resentment of East Pakistanis was that even though they

1. National Assembly: Debates, Karachi, February 12, 1969, pp. 886-887.

constituted 55% of the country's population, they were neglected by the central government in every sphere of political and economic life. Here, since March, 1966, Awami League's six points were also projected effectively by Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman.

Another important event which took place in February, 1968 was sudden deterioration of Ayub Khan's health. This further aggravated the situation. In case of such eventuality, the Constitution of 1962 had provided that the Speaker of National Assembly would become acting President. But the ruling elite of West Pakistan did not adhere to this constitutional requirement and passed-over this situation as a mere leadership gap¹ and constitutional lacuna. For the first time, however, the attention turned towards the next tier of Pakistan's leadership. The people were beginning to suspect that the Field Marshal had forgotten to appoint a second-in-command.² Such state of affairs had exposed the alarming gap in leadership. Lawrence Ziring while analysing the situation said:

As Ayub lay near death, the government entered a stage of semi-paralysis. It was never more

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1. Article 165 the Constitution, 1962 stipulates that when the President 'ceases' to hold office, the Speaker of National Assembly will assume power and call a presidential election within three month. See Constitution of Pakistan, 1962, Karachi, 1962, p.82.
 2. News analysis see: The Times, London May 14, 1968.

clear how weak the constitutional system was, or how depended the government was on a single individual.(1)

The period from September 1968 to February, 1969 had witnessed riotings and agitation throughout Pakistan with alarming intensity. Even his political opponents within the National Assembly had started demanding his resignation. Maulvi Farid Ahmed an opposition leader in the National Assembly had suggested on the floor of the house that the only solution to this deteriorating situation lay in the departure of Ayub Khan from Pakistan's political scene.² In January, 1968 Agartala Conspiracy case came to light. The main character in this episode, Sheikh Mujib, was arrested on charges of anti-state activities. Towards the end of the year on November 13, 1968, Z.A. Bhutto and Abdul Wali Khan were also arrested on some similar grounds. These arrests further intensified the worsening situation.

Finally, it was on February 21, 1969, the President through a special broadcast to the nation announced his willingness to accede the public

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1. Lawrence Ziring, Pakistan: The Engima of Political Development, Colorado: West View Press, 1980, p.186.
 2. National Assembly Debates of Pakistan, Vol. V. January 31, 1969, Karachi, p. 122.

demand of stepping down from the presidency. For the first time, he admitted that 'we are passing through a critical time. Agitation has assumed the form of frenzy'.¹ In discussing the national crisis, he listed the major issues as such:

I am fully conscious of the dissatisfaction that exists in the country with the present system of elections. People want direct elections on the basis of adult franchise.

I realise also that the intelligentsia feels left out and wants a greater say in the affairs of the state. People in East Pakistan feel that in the present system they are not equal partners and also that they do not have full control over the affairs of their province.

There is also the feeling that the National and Provincial Assemblies do not possess the powers which they are entitled to have under a democratic system.

And the younger generation is dissatisfied with the educational environment and wants its grievances to be removed without delay.²

In his message, he also explained:

As President it is my responsibility to remove these difficulties and grievances. It was for this purpose that I invited all the opposition parties and independent political leaders to join me in a conference to discuss the prevailing situation in the country and all the political problems which are agitating the minds of the people.

1. Press report see: Dawn, 22 1969.

2. Ibid.

Let us not forget that at this critical moment it is national duty of each one of us to find a solution to the present situation if we want to preserve the future of our country.

He further stated:

I shall not be a candidate in the next elections. This decision is final and irrevocable.(1)

In the light of Ayub's above decision to consult the prevailing political situation with politicians, all political detainees including Sheikh Mujib, Z.A. Bhutto, Khan Abdul Wali Khan were set free to allow them to participate in the Conference. The first round table conference was scheduled for February 26, 1969. The DAC (Democratic Action Committee) comprising of eight parties attended the inaugural session² while Bhutto and Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani preferred to stay away from the parleys. Both condemned the government efforts and labelled the round table conference as an attempt to divide and intimidate the opposition. On the request of DAC Chief, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan,

1. Ibid.

2. The DAC was formed for round table conference. The leaders who attended the conference included Mohammad Asghar Khan, Maulana Abul Maudoodi, Choudhary Mohammad Ali, Hamidul Haq Choudhary, Mian Mumtaz Muhammad Khan Daultana, Khan Abdul Wali Khan and Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan. See News item: Tameer, Rawalpindi February 27, 1969.

the conference was adjourned till March 10, 1969 so that some consensus among the politicians on political issues may be achieved.

The next round of the conference held from March 10 to March 13, 1969. On March 14, 1969 Ayub Khan described the conference as 'historic at which according to him broad agreement has been reached regarding introduction of parliamentary form of government in the country based on direct elections and adult suffrage¹. The DAC members Nasrullah Khan, Chaudhary Mohammad Ali and Maulana Maudoodi endorsed the speech of the President. Other opposition leaders attending the conference also welcomed Ayub's announcement. However, the six-points Awami League's Chief Shaikh Mujib told the participants that mere acceptance of the two demands would not satisfy the people of East Pakistan and the smaller regions in West Pakistan. He proclaimed that he would work peacefully and constitutionally for the realisation for the remaining demands which included complete regional autonomy, dismemberment of the one unit and representation on population basis.²

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1. Press conference by Ayub Khan see: Pakistan Times March 14, 1969.
 2. Press statement by Sheikh Mujib see: Dawn, March 14, 1969.

II

The political crisis of 1967-69 had provided a real opportunity to the PML(Convention) leadership to demonstrate their ability to survive. From its dismal performance during the on-going political disturbance, it appeared that the party was unable to cope with the current widespread agitation. In the given situation, it should have focused the government attention to attend to the deepening crisis with which the latter had been confronted. It did not do that and instead its leadership from top to bottom exhausted their energies in demanding Ayub Khan to contest the election of the president of Pakistan for third term^{*}. This was in spite of the fact that the constitution of 1962 had provided that a person could hold presidential office for only two terms.

* So much so that this move which had started as early as in 1967 lasted until March 1969 when the President was finally forced to step down from presidentship. When in February, 1969 Ayub announced his decision not to seek coming elections of 1970, big pro-Ayub processions of Conventionists came out in the streets and urged him to rescind his decision. Some of its members even threatened to burn themselves alive to death in case the President did not withdraw his decision of not contesting the elections. Press report see Pakistan Times, March 3, 1969.

It was interesting and also noteworthy that the main opposition to the regime had come from East Pakistan whereas the East Pakistan PML(Convention) was more active in requesting the President to seek re-election.¹ Similarly the pro-conventionists Basic Democrats of East Wing in a their convention had also urged upon the President to contest in election in the national interest.² Ayub Khan, however, remained adamant to his earlier decision of not contesting the elections. On March 11, 1969 again, he reiterated that the processions and meetings of the Conventionists could not affect his earlier decision.³

It may be stated here that while announcing his decision to withdraw, he did not take the party leadership into confidence. On February 23, 1969 two days after his decision about election, he met them to discuss the political situation in the country. In this meeting when a member of the party suggested him to hold a referendum on the country's problems, his answer was that he considered the current happenings on the streets of the whole

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1. Press report by APP see: Ibid, September 23, 1968.
 2. News items see: Dawn, September 21, 1968.
 3. Press report see: Jang, March 12, 1969.

country as 'already a referendum'.¹ Similarly, before the Working Committee of the party, when a member pointed out that the President's decision regarding elections was tantamount to the violation of the party discipline,² no explanation to this query was offered. Such state of affairs was indicative of the fact that the party had no disciplined organisation to follow a set pattern. It was working as an interest group. It was its organisational weakness that instead of adopting some concrete steps to check the deteriorating situation, its members and various organs has adopted their own line of action on an insignificant issue like requesting the President to seek a re-election.etc.

Had the PML(Convention) been a well-organized party, it could have dealt with the charges of the opposition in a convincing manner. It would not had been a difficult task for a national party like PML(Convention) to face the disunited and weak opposition effectively.³ There was clash of leadership within the opposition such as DAC leadership led by Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan :

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1. News Analysis see: The Magazine "Time", New York, February 28, 1969.
 2. News item see: Jang, March 1, 1969.
 3. The Magazine 'Link', New Delhi October 29, 1969.

was averse to the rise of 'hardliners' like Bhutto, Mujib and Maulana Bhashani. They also hated their socialistic philosophies. This bickering was evident in the round table conferences. Obviously such a situation had provided a good opportunity to PML(Convention) to exploit.¹

Ayub Khan, however, did a deal to strengthen the hands of the moderate leadership. He conceded their major demands such as introduction of parliamentary system on the basis of adult suffrage. He also released various political detainees jailed at the beginning of unrest in the country. Ayub also made a series of concessions to the students community and sought to provide relief to the urban middle class by pledging to incorporate a programme of social justice in the next five year plan (1970). The President also agreed that the eastern wing of the country would be given a fair deal in all walks of life. On the other hand this policy of appeasement of the opposition disturbed his supporters the Basic Democrats and the party members. Thus in the last days of his regime, his acceptance of opposition's demands/^{had}disenchanted his supporters on one hand and encouraged his

1. News Analysis see: Toronto Star, Toronto Oct. 24, 1969.

opponents on the other. His concessions as was expected did not bring peace and order, rather opposition leadership led by Sheikh Mujib and Z.A. Bhutto continued to flare up opposition against the regime. Finally, in March 1969 when the situation ^{be} came worse Ayub on March 24, 1969 handed over his powers of the President of Pakistan to Agha Muhammad Yahya Khan, Commander-in-Chief of the Army. In his letter sent to the Army Chief, Ayub explained:

I have exhausted all possible civil and constitutional means to resolve the present crisis. I offered to meet all those regarded as leaders of the people. Many of them came to a conference recently but only after I had fulfilled all their pre-conditions. Some declined to come for reasons best known to them. I asked these people to evolve an agreed formula. They failed to do so in spite of days of deliberations. They finally agreed on two points and I accepted both of them. I then offered that the unagreed issues should all be referred to the representatives of the people after they had been elected on the basis of direct elections. They are no longer free agents and there is no likelihood of the agreed two points being faithfully adopted. Indeed Members are being threatened and compelled either to boycott the session or to move such amendments as would liquidate the Central Government, make the maintenance of the Armed forces impossible, divide the economy of the country and break up Pakistan into little bits and pieces. Calling the Assembly in chaotic conditions can only aggravate the situation. How can anyone deliberate coolly and dispassionately on fundamental problems under threat of instant violence?

It is beyond the capacity of the civil Government to deal with the present complex situation, and the Defence Forces must step in. (1).

After handing over his powers to the Army Chief, Ayub Khan went into retirement and kept himself away from the party's affairs. In May, 1969 three members of East Pakistan PML (Convention) challenged in the court that the re-election of Ayub Khan as President of the party in February, 1969 had violated the party's constitution. The petitioners had also contended that the nomination of the members of the Working Committee and naming of the other party office-bearers by the re-elected President had violated the party constitution.² No further development of this case was known to the public. In July, 1969 Ayub Khan was approached by some of his party colleagues to become active in the politics and work for next general election. This suggestion was formally made by the party Vice-President Khan Abdus Sabur who called on his party chief at Saidu Sharif on July 2, 1969.³ Ayub Khan did not agree with the deputation.

1. Press report of the President's Broadcast to the Nation see: Pakistan Times, March 26, 1969.
2. News item see: Morning News, May 20, 1969.
3. Khan Abdus Sabur Khan was accompanied by Malik Qsim, Secretary General, Sardar Khizar Hayat, Secretary General (West Pakistan) and Choudhry Fazal Elahi, former Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly: News item see Pakistan Times, July 3, 1969.

By early, 1970 Ayub Khan left the party.*
 Fazal Qadir Choudhary succeeded him whereas Malik Wasim continued as Secretary General. Under their leadership the party went into the general elections of 1970. On November 3, 1970, PML(Convention) announced an election manifesto. It pledged to 'convert Pakistan into an Islamic democratic and welfare state by introducing radical social, economic and political reforms in the country.'¹
 This programme was introduced in a press conference by Malik Muhammad Qasim. The manifesto also provided that the central government would look after only defence, foreign affairs, currency, central taxation, inter-regional communication and foreign trade. The party President had also explained party manifesto over T.V. and Radio in the officially-sponsored service. He proclaimed that his party would work for a constitution based on Islamic concept of life as 'this was the only concept which could guarantee the well being of the people and keep the two wings of the country together'.² The manifesto had no attraction for the people and it also appeared that in many respects it

*. For Biographical sketch of Ayub Khan see appendix

1. Press Conference by the General Secretary of the party see: Dawn, October 4, 1970.

2. Press Report see: Niwa-i-Waqat, November 12, 1970.

was not much different from election programmes of the other parties. Secondly, the people had still considerable dislike for the things which had any link with the previous regime. Following were the number of the candidates of PML(Convention) for the seats of national assembly:¹

East Pakistan	:	93
Sind	:	6
NEWP	:	1
Punjab	:	24
Baluchistan	:	<u> -</u>
	Total	<u> 124 </u>

The party was able to get only two seat in the National Assembly out of a total of three hundred, both of them from the Punjab province only.² This led to eventual and of the party.

1. Press report see: Jang, December 7, 1970.

2. Election Results see: Dawn, December 21, 1970.

In a nutshell, during the crisis of 1967-69 the PML(Convention) leadership was unable to provide an effective support to the regime to check the deteriorating law and order situation in the country. On the other hand, Ayub's policy of appeasement of the Opposition was not appreciated by his Basic Democrates. Furthermore, the party leadership demonstrated that they were just an interest group. Had PML(Convention) been a political party in a real sense, it would not had started disintegrating immediately after its Chief's decision not to seek the election of the President of Pakistan for third term.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

From the foregoing discussions, following broad conclusions about the politics of the PML (Convention) emerge:

First, it was proclaimed by the organisers of the party at its very birth that a new body was not going to be the King's party and a one man show. However, this pledge did not seem to be fulfilled. The party leadership throughout its life functioned in accordance with the wishes of the regime. Actually the PML(Convention) had some inherent organisational weaknesses, i.e., its creation was rushed through in such a haste that a large number of old Muslim Leaguers especially Council group got annoyed with the new organisation. This division within the Leaguers could have been averted had some sort of consensus been achieved among the Leaguers before the emergence of the Convention Muslim League. The factional politics within the Leaguers had made the organisation controversial and thus had relegated its public image. Another point relating to the reorganisation was that the move for 'rapprochement' between rival groups was not pursued

sincerely. If the Conventionists had genuinely wished to pacify the differences, they should have accepted the demands regarding the form of democracy and restoration of fundamental rights, etc., of the councilists.

Secondly, the constitution of a political party is a very important document for administering and regulating the activities of the office-bearers. As discussed earlier, the first constitution of the PML(Convention) was passed at the Karachi Convention in a novel way. A draft report on the constitution was read out before the delegations but no discussion or criticism of the draft was allowed. Besides, the constitution was adopted in a hasty manner, that very few delegates could understand what was being proposed and what sort of amendments were being inserted. A number of delegates from both the Wings had to complain that their proposals were not incorporated by the Conveners of the Convention. The constitution so adopted had certain fallacies such as, it had provided the ministers parliamentary secretaries would be prevented from

holding offices in the organisation, but later on this restriction was ignored. The party constitution had further laid down that all the office-bearers of the party would be elected. This provision was also amended. The amended constitution empowered the party President to nominate the office-bearers for the various important position. Thus no provision for the growth of leadership in the party was provided in its constitution. The various tiers of the PML(Convention), as stated in chapter III, were linked with the system of Basic Democracies. Such a situation, quite understandably again, was not conducive to the rise of leadership within the party. Thirdly, concentration of powers with president had made the President a symbol of unity for the party. Therefore as long as he hold firm control of the government machinery, the party ranks would stay together. Furthermore, the East Pakistani members had demanded before the founding convention that parity should be maintained in the affairs of the the party, i.e., the President and the General Secretary should not be from the same Wing. They had also demanded that the location of the party secretariat should also rotate between the two wings. Their demands were not attended to by the

conveners. Altogether, the constitution had various resemblances with the general constitution of the country.

The second constitution of the party was adopted in April, 1966. The distinctive features of the new constitution was that it constituted party organs on the pattern of the Basic Democracies scheme. The opposition had protested against it as it was to curtail their role at the grass roots i.e. Basic Democracy Unit. This also discouraged the such dedicated and loyal workers of the party as were not Basic Democrats.

Like its constitution, the party manifesto, was also a handwork by the ruling regime. It was neither debated nor deliberated in any forum of the organisation. The programme on the whole was a reproduction of the socio-economic and political philosophy of the regime. The major portion of the manifesto dealt with the economic planning and welfare of the people. It was to a large extent also identical with the various five year plans. In a nutshell, it was a reiteration of the policies of the regime both in the past and those projected

for the future. Thus the manifesto had provided for no special interest or incentive to the public in general. The programme had dispelled the earlier impression that the party was a ministerial show and a subordinate body of the government. The PML(Convention) had rather endorsed the regime's policies in entirety. It was interesting that, since its reorganisation, the party had never criticised the governing elite and the method of their working. It continued to appreciate the regime and played to its tune. The people, therefore, could not find any interest in the much publicized programme of the PML(Convention) and regarded it only as a lip service.

Fourthly, self-criticism is vital for the working of an organisation especially a political party. However, in the case of PML(Convention), no channel for free expression and criticism was provided. In the absence of such a provision in its structural set up, the working of the party suffered. Interestingly enough its constitution had guaranteed the fundamental rights of the people including freedom of expression, but no such criticism was ever tolerated by the

party bosses and the critics invariably suffered expulsion. Examples are Z.A. Bhutto and Fazlul Qadir Chowdhry. The factual position was that the members were to seek support from the President and not vice-versa. Similarly, their rise, fall and prestige was related directly to the will of the President'.¹

Such an accumulation of power in the the office of the President was also known to the street agitators. Thus the focus of their criticism was Ayub Khan and not his party colleagues. He was held responsible for all errors, great and small, in the conception of policies and their execution. The presidential system with all its accessories including PML (Convention) had hinged on one person and was thus liable to crumble with his fall. Though he had allowed the lifting of ban on political parties to encourage political activities in the country, he had kept his PML(Convention) in a tight control. A paper, had thus analysing the politics of the regime editorially:

1. News Analysis see: Pakistan Observer, June 8, 1969.

The Fundamental failure of politics in this country does not lie in one system or the other, but in the complete absence of organised, country-wide political parties. It is their absence which made the parliamentary system in Pakistan a bye-word for anarchy. The Presidential System controlled the explosiveness of this peculiar situation under its authoritative impact. But ironically it is again the lacuna in this respect which has claimed the Ayub Constitution. The most grievous mistake he made was that he did not put the burden of his formidable reforms on the pedestal of a well-knit and well spread political party. And considering his immense influence and power, it was so easy for him to do. President Nasser (Eygpt) had survived the worst disaster that could be fall a leader-defeat on a battle field-only because he had organised a party behind him. Instead, President Ayub placed reliance on the permanent administration and chose it as the instrument for the implementation of his ideas. Apart from the fact that it reinforced manifold the autocratic authority of the bureaucracy the terrible impact of which the people bore-its limitations have been only too clearly brought out by the political situation which he faced recently. He had no one to fight his battles politically. While his adversaries were massing from all sides, he was left starkly alone. Political confrontation cannot be overcome administratively. It is a sad thing that the President's great contribution to the national consolidation should have suffered not on merit but by default, simply because he did not build up any real worthwhile political support for it. (1)

Lastly, no doubt, Ayub Khan approach towards his policies and programmes was quite pragmatic.

1. Editorial see: Pakistan Times, Febuary 22, 1969.

His party was also apparently pursuing nationalistic policies, however, neither Ayub nor PML(Convention) made efforts to cultivate roots in the masses and inculcate an ideology which could allow them to survive even out of power. The PML(Convention) never set goals for the regime; it merely echoed whatever program the regime pursued.¹ It appeared that the party members were loyal to the office of the President of Pakistan and not to the party itself. It had been a common practice during the Ayub government that the party members were given loans, permits and import licences as political bribery. This was his strategy to prolong his autocratic rule. On the other hand, even the slightest sign of disloyalty to his system called for severe retaliation from the regime. The very tools which corrupted the members were now to serve as 'instruments of political blackmail'.²

In sum, the PML(Convention) was created in a hurried manner by an interests group of politicians, businessmen, and ex-servicemen only to share power with the regime. The only uniting

1. Rounaq Jahan, Op. cit., p. 132.

2. Mushtaq Ahmed, Government and Politics in Pakistan: Space Publishers; Lahore, 1970, p. 253.

symbol for its members was Ayub Khan and his Presidential patronage. With his decision to resign from the Presidentship in March, 1969, his whole system including PML(Convention) collapsed.

APPENDIX-I

EXCERPTS OF THE II CONSTITUTION
OF PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE

Pakistan Times April 9, 1966

Name and Headquarters

1. Name: The name of the organisation shall be "Pakistan Muslim League.

2. Headquarters: The headquarters of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be the Muslim League House at Islamabad but till such time as the Muslim League House is ready, the President of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be competent to declare any place to be Headquarters of the Pakistan Muslim League.

Composition

(1) The Pakistan Muslim League shall be a popular and democratic organisation of the Muslims of Pakistan.

(2) The organisation of the Pakistan Muslim League shall consist of:

i). Union Muslim Leagues as constituted under Part V of the Constitution.

ii). The Thana Muslim Leagues (for East Pakistan only) and Tehsil Muslim Leagues (for West Pakistan only) as constituted under Part VI of the Constitution.

iii). The Sub-Divisional Muslim Leagues (for East Pakistan only) as constituted under Part VII of the Constitution.

iv) The District Muslim Leagues as constituted under Part VIII of the Constitution.

v) The City Muslim Leagues as constituted under Part IX of the Constitution.

vi) The Divisional Muslim Leagues (for West Pakistan only) as constituted under Part X of the Constitution.

vii) The Islamabad Federal Capital Muslim League as constituted under Part XI of the Constitution.

viii) The Provincial Muslim Leagues as constituted under Part XII of the Constitution.

ix) The Pakistan Muslim League as constituted under Part XIII of the Constitution.

x) Other branches of Pakistan Muslim League, if any outside Pakistan which are recognised in accordance with Article 76 of the Constitution.

xi) The Provincial and Central Parliamentary Boards as constituted under Part XIV of the Constitution.

Aims and Objects

The aims and objects of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be:

a) To safeguard and preserve the sovereignty and integrity of Pakistan;

b) To build Pakistan into a Muslim Welfare State;

c) To ensure that the principles of democracy, freedom equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam are fully observed and enforced in Pakistan;

d) To ensure that the Muslims of Pakistan are enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teaching and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy

Quran and the Sunnah;

e) To build up a strong community capable of looking after its own needs and to expand further the scope of urban and rural development programme in financial as well as functional terms;

f) To provide growing facilities for cultural integration and for the promotion of original and creative thinking;

g) To support all liberal causes and to provide whatever assistance may be possible to such people or communities as may be in bondage or under the yoke of colonialism, imperialism or any other forms of domination;

h) To provide full protection and safeguard to minorities in Pakistan and to ensure for them equal opportunities, rights and privileges;

i) To ensure that the State exercises its powers and authority through representatives chosen by the people;

j) To ensure that the fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief faith worship and association, subject to morality are guaranteed to all citizens of Pakistan;

k) To ensure that independence and impartiality of the judiciary are fully secured and maintained;

l) To ensure that as far as possible and subject to the availability of resources, all organs, authorities and functionaries of the State act in accordance with the Principles of Policy as laid down in the Constitution of the Islamic republic of Pakistan;

m) To establish and maintain friendly relations with other peace-loving nations of the world and specially to strengthen fraternal relations with other Muslim States and their peoples;

n) To promote the cause of peace, freedom, justice and democracy throughout the world and

o) To take practical steps from time to time for the achievement and furtherance of these aims.

FUNCTIONS OF THE PAKISTAN MUSLIM
LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE

The President of the Pakistan Muslim League and the members and office-bearers nominated by him under the preceding Article shall constitute the Pakistan Muslim League Working Committee which shall conduct the day-to-day affairs and perform such functions and exercise such powers as are assigned to it under this Constitution in particular to control, direct and regulate all activities of the various League branches and to frame any rules or principles for the guidance and observance of the lower tiers.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE
OFFICE-BEARERS

1) The President of the Pakistan Muslim League shall be the Head of the entire organisation and shall exercise all the powers inherent in his office and shall see that all the authorities work in accordance with the Constitution and the rules and bye-laws, if any. The same principle shall apply to the lower tiers of the Pakistan Muslim League Organisation.

2) During the absence or illness of a President or Chairman or otherwise under the authority of such a President or Chairman, the Vice-President shall perform the functions of the President or Chairman.

3) The Secretary General in the case of the Pakistan Muslim League and the Secretary in the case of the subordinate Muslim League branches.

i) shall exercise all the powers delegated to him by the President Working Committee or him by or under this Constitution, the rules or bye-laws;

ii) shall supervise the work of the servants employed by the League;

iii) shall have the authority to grant leave of absence with or without pay to such servants and punish or suspend them, but appropriate cases of dismissal shall be reported to the Working Committee concerned;

iv) may, in case of emergency, with the approval of the President or Chairman, as the case may be, of the Muslim League concerned, take such action on behalf of the Council as he deems expedient;

Provided that any action so taken shall be reported to the Council at the next meeting for confirmation;

4) The Treasurer shall make payment in accordance with the directions of the Working Committee.

5) The Joint Secretaries shall assist the Secretary General or the Secretary, as the case may be, and perform such other duties, under his guidance, as may be entrusted to them.

AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the Pakistan Muslim League shall not be added to, amended or altered except at a meeting of the Pakistan Muslim League Council and by at least a two-third of the total number of members of the Council present and voting.

APPENDIX-2

LIFE SKETCH OF AYUB KHAN TAKEN FROM PAKISTAN TIMES
RAWALPINDI.

March 26, 1969 and abridged by the
writer.

Field Marshal Mohammad Ayub Khan was born in Abbottabad on May 14, 1907. He was educated at the Muslim University, Aligarh. At the age of 19, received his military training at Royal Military College, Sandhurst, England and was commissioned in 1928. After having served with the Royal Fusiliers, as was then customary for officers of the Indian Army, he was posted to the First Battalion of 14-Punjab Regiment and was Colonel Commandant of the same Regiment.

During World War II, he served on the Burma front as a Battalion-Commander, was promoted Colonel and was appointed the President of Services Selection Board in 1947.

He was promoted to the rank of Brigadier and commanded the Garadai Brigade in Waziristan till troops were withdrawn from that area as a matter of general policy. He was appointed to command troops in East Pakistan and was promoted Major-General in December, 1948, when he became the first Commander of the East Pakistan Division.

First Pak C-in-C:

In the middle of 1950 he was appointed Adjutant-General of the Pakistan Army, became first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army on June 17, 1951. Two Years Later, he attended the Imperial General Staff Conference of the Commonwealth.

In 1954, in addition to being Commander-in-Chief, he was appointed to the Cabinet as Minister of Defence from which he resigned in 1956. He received Hilal-i-Juraat on March 23, 1957. He was appointed Supreme Commander and Chief Martial Law Administrator on October 7, 1958.

On October 27, 1958, he was conferred the rank of Field Marshal and retired from military service and transferred to the pension establishment as Field Marshal with effect from February 16, 1960. On February 14, 1960, an over whelming majority of the elected members of the Basic Democracies expressed their confidence in him and gave him mandate to frame the Constitution.

On February 17, 1960, he was sworn in as the first elected President of the country. On March 1, 1962, he announced the Constitution of the Republic of Pakistan. On March 23, 1962, he accepted the award of Nishan-i-Pakistan. On June 8, 1962 he took oath of the office under the new Constitution.

On December 24, 1963, he was chosen by Pakistan Muslim League as its President. On August 9, 1964 he was adopted by the Pakistan Muslim League as its nominee for Presidential election. He was declared elected on January 2 and took oath of office on March 23, 1965, for the second term as President of Pakistan. He resigned as President in March, 1969. Ayub Khan died of heart attack in April, 1974. He was 67.

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