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IMPACTS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS OF 1965 ON THE HISTORY OF PAKISTAN

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ABSTRACT

The presidential elections of 1965 have a great importance in the history of Pakistan and far-reaching effects on the political and social system of the country. When Ayub Khan's first term as the President of Pakistan, the title which he adopted as Martial Law administrator was ending, therefore, he announced presidential elections of 1965 to have the legitimate right to rule. To win the election from a proper political platform and backing, he established his own party, the Convention Muslim League (CML). While on the other hand, the five secular, religious and provincial opposition parties formed an alliance which was named as the Combined Opposition Parties (COP). Surprisingly, the alliance nominated the sister of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah as its presidential candidate instead of a male candidate from the parties to the alliance itself. The nomination of Ms. Fatima Jinnah was not only a political move of the opposition but a female candidate for the first time in the history of the country contested a male candidate in the presidential elections who had all the government and state machinery at his disposal. The COP though lost the elections but gave tough time to Ayub Khan under the leadership of Ms. Fatima Jinnah who was seen and treated as the symbol of federation. This current study explores that how General Ayub Khan succeeded in defeating

the COP candidate, Ms. Fatima Jinnah in the presidential elections of 1965 and what impacts it has left on the later history of the country?

INTRODUCTION

The presidential and parliamentary systems are the two main systems of governments through which the machinery of the state is run. After the emergence of Pakistan as an independent Muslim state, parliamentary form of government was adopted through the Interim Constitution and later on the same system was continued under the first Constitution of 1956. In this constitution, the head of state was called president instead rather than the governor-general. Iskandar Mirza took the oath as the first president of Pakistan after the enforcement of the Constitution but he wanted to hold all powers in his own hands which resulted in the instability of the country. Iskandar Mirza abrogated the 1956 constitution, imposed the first martial law in the country and himself became a civilian dictator on October 7, 1958.

Subsequently, the chief of the army, General Ayub Khan became the president by toppling the government of Iskandar Mirza on October 27, 1958. Thus, the era of direct military rule under the guise of revolution begin in Pakistan under the leadership of Ayub Khan (Niaz, 2020).

General Ayub Khan introduced the Basic Democracies Scheme in 1959 for operating controlled democracy in the country. The main objective behind the enforcement of the constitution 1962 was to strengthen the one-man rule in the country. The presidential system of government was implemented by Ayub Khan with a unique version to cover his dictatorship of one-man rule with all powers.

The CML was constituted by the supporters of President Ayub Khan to nominate and support him in the presidential elections. On the other hand, a strong political alliance was constituted by the five prominent opposition parties on July 21, 1964 against the dictatorship of Ayub Khan and also to restore the real democracy in Pakistan. The five opposition parties which formed the COP were *Jamat-i-Islami* (JI) Party, *Nazim-i-Islam* Party, National *Awami* Party, *Awami* League Party and Council Muslim League Party. Ms. Fatima Jinnah was unanimously nominated as the presidential candidate by the COP.

The presidential elections were held through the Electoral College constituted by the members of Basic Democracies. The unofficial results were also announced by the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) on the same day and Ayub Khan was declared as the winner. Those elections assumed great importance in the history of Pakistan because of its far-reaching effects on political and social system of Pakistan. The significance of presidential elections is that it was a contest between a president in office and a common citizen of the state; a female (Ms. Fatima Jinnah) for the first time in the history of Pakistan contested election for the office of president against a male; meager chances of transparency in the elections and its results and; a strong perception among the public about the end of Ayub's era and the establishment of a real democracy in the country.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Friends Not Masters is an autobiography of Ayub Khan that discusses his personal life, military service and his presidential tenures. The book also deals in detail with the effects of his political ideas and reform packages on the history of Pakistan. Moreover, the future plans of Ayub Khan and the justification for the circumstances under which martial law was imposed are also highlighted in this book. Beside it, the presidential election is discussed in detail with his own personal perspective. (Khan, 1967) Nevertheless, this account does not hint at any confession of irregularities in the presidential election and any short or long term significant after effects of unfair playing during the elections.

Altaf Gauhar's biography, *Ayub Khan: Pakistan's First Military Ruler* is a firsthand account of the son of General Ayub Khan about his father's life, career and presidential period. The book is coherently organized which covers the presidential election of 1965 also (Gauhar, 1993) but it fails to substantiate the role of opposition and misses the overall political maneuvering during the elections and its impact on the later history of the country.

Dr. Riaz Ahmad wrote the book, *Madar-i-Millat Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah* based on Ms. Fatima Jinnah's unpublished speeches, messages, statements and interviews. Presidential elections of 1965 is covered in this book (Ahmed, 2003) but surprisingly it has neither leveled any criticism against Ayub Khan's manipulation and usurpation of the election nor has discussed any effect on the history of the country. Even the reasons behind Ms. Fatima Jinnah's decision to participate in the elections are also not highlighted.

Women Emancipation in South Asia: A Case Study of Fatima Jinnah is a good effort by Dr. Rizwan Malik and Samina Awan which attempts to present the real personality of Ms. Fatima Jinnah instead of her public image by highlighting her pioneer role in various fields, especially women empowerment. The presidential elections are though discussed from the perspective of woman leadership (Awan, 2003) but other aspects of the elections and their effects are completely ignored. The politics during the presidential elections and its ultimate results for the history of Pakistan are also not discussed in this work.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research is descriptive and analytical in nature. The descriptive method is used to discuss the presidential election of 1965 including multiple aspects and analytical method is used to analyze its impact on the history of Pakistan. The study is based on both primary and secondary sources. Primary data is based on archival material while the secondary data is collected from libraries in the form of books, autobiographies, biographies, research papers, newspaper articles, theses and dissertations.

Presidential Elections of 1965

General Ayub Khan as military dictator wanted to keep all the powers in his own hands permanently and for that reason he introduced the presidential form of government through indirect election by the Electoral College of Basic Democracies. He himself was the first person who took benefit of that because

the Basic Democrats elected him as the President of Pakistan through the vote of confidence in the referendum held in February 1960.

When the first term of General Ayub Khan as President was coming to an end, he again announced the presidential elections on February 14, 1965. He also lifted the ban on political parties under the Political Parties Act of 1962 and established his own CML party. This party served as King's Party and embraced all the supporters of Ayub Khan who nominated him as their presidential candidate. Though initially, the presidential elections were not a serious affair for Ayub Khan as he was fully confident of his clean victory but later on it turned into a serious business for him because Ms. Fatima Jinnah was unanimously nominated by COP as its presidential candidate (Gauhar, 1993).

The question that arises here is that why COP nominated Ms. Fatima Jinnah as its presidential candidate and how it succeeded in convincing her to contest the election from its platform? The nomination of a unanimous candidate was a complicated job and not an easy one for the coalition of COP because of the various internal differences and personality clashes. In reality, this coalition of the opposition emerged without pre-deciding the important issue of a common presidential candidate in the absence of a suitable personality. In the beginning, the name of Khawaja Nazimuddin was proposed by COP but then it was dropped after an objection over his old age. The second proposal was of General Mohammad Azam Khan who was enjoying a reasonable support in both East and West Pakistan. However, his name was simultaneously dropped too because JI and Maulana Bhashani considered him ineligible on the ground that he was associated with the martial law regime of Ayub Khan. Looking at this situation and disagreement among COP leaders, Ayub Khan was hopeful that the opposition will fail to nominate a unanimous candidate against him (Hussain, 2018).

Nevertheless, to the utter surprise of Ayub Khan, the COP in its important meeting of September 16, 1964 unanimously decided the nomination of Ms. Fatima Jinnah as its presidential candidate after a thorough discussion and consideration. It was decided to send a delegation for meeting Ms. Fatima Jinnah and for convincing her to contest the elections against Ayub Khan from the platform of COP. Simultaneously, a delegation under the leadership of Chaudhry Muhammad Ali and Mian Mumtaz Daultana met Ms. Fatima Jinnah but she refused to contest the elections. Then Khawaja Nazimuddin also tried his best to persuade her (Afzal, 1987) and at last, Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani as COP leader from East Pakistan succeeded in convincing her to accept the offer for the sake of democracy and her nation which consider her as the only hope against the military rule (Awan, 2003).

The COP then announced the name of Ms. Fatima Jinnah as its presidential candidate in its meeting at Karachi on September 18, 1964. The prominent leaders of COP visited Ms. Fatima Jinnah and as a delegation expressed their gratitude to her for accepting the request. They also paid tribute for her courageous decision to challenge the dictator of the time and expressed their happiness by garlanding her and by wishing her a victory in the election.

Reaction of Ayub Khan to Ms. Fatima Jinnah's Candidature

After Ms. Fatima Jinnah's decision to contest the elections from the platform of COP, How General Ayub Khan reacted? The decision of Ms. Fatima Jinnah to accept COP's request to participate in the presidential elections was a great surprise for the government and a big shock for Ayub Khan who at the first instance gave the impression that it was not a matter of surprise for him because the entire campaign of the opposition was based on emotions and in this situation, her selection was quite logical for inspiring and attracting the emotions of the public (Khan, 1967). Although on one hand, Ayub Khan considered Ms. Fatima Jinnah as the strongest candidate and expressed happiness about the increased importance and validity of the elections but on the other hand, he was scared and had no choice except to use the religious card against her candidature. Government-sponsored religious clerics issued the fatwa against the headship of a female leader in a Muslim state (Gauhar, 1993). While for her supporters all over the country, the decision of Ms. Fatima Jinnah to contest the elections was a life throwing news who warmly welcomed it because they highly respected her as being the sister of *Baba-e-Qoum* (Father of the Nation), Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah; the founder of Pakistan. Her decision was taken as a mile stone in the political history of Pakistan that would definitely change the political landscape and destiny of the country.

Fatima Jinnah and Issue of Female Leadership

After much criticism from religious clerics regarding the leadership of a female in a Muslim country, how the candidature of Ms. Fatima Jinnah was justified which settled the issue once and for all? This sensitive issue was raised by the government-supported religious scholars and it was also a matter of great concern for the like-minded clerics of South Asia. The issue became a hot topic of debate on all levels which required a quick response and an acceptable solution. Maulana Maudoodi, the respectable religious cleric and founder of JI came forward to deal with this issue and diffuse the situation in a positive and logical way (Awan, 2003).

The *Majlis-e-Shura* (Consultative Council) of JI after considering all the religious aspects passed a comprehensive resolution that female leadership as head of state is acceptable under extra-ordinary circumstances. Maulana Maudoodi also came forward defended that resolution through his *fatwa* against the government sponsored *fatwa* and research articles by referring to the Holy Quran, Sayings of Prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) and Islamic jurisprudence. Moreover, the leadership of Ms. Fatima Jinnah was justified for the presidential election on the basis of exceptional circumstances of the country and she been carrying the title of *Madre-e-Millat* (Mother of the Nation) as the sister of Quaid-e-Azam. The major point before *Majlis-e-Shura* to ponder upon was Ms. Fatima Jinnah's entry into the electoral contest for the sake of national interest and for the survival of the state. The *Shura* then approved the candidature for the presidential elections of 1965 which settled the sensitive issue permanently about female leadership as being the head of a Muslim state (D'Souza, 2004). Maulan Maudoodi correlated the consumption of *haram* (forbidden) food in exceptional circumstances for the survival of human life in

his *fatwa* with the female head of a Muslim state under extra-ordinary circumstances (Afzal, 1987).

Issue of Nomination Papers' Submission

As the elections for the seat of president was announced by Ayub Khan and it was a normal affair for the candidates to submit their nomination papers then what issue emerged during the submission of nomination papers and how it was settled? The second elections of Basic Democracies were held in 1964, after which the Electoral College for the presidential elections was formed by the government because the nominations of the candidates were already announced before the commencement of the elections Basic Democracies (Khan H. , 2005). The last date for the submission of nomination papers for candidates was fixed as November 26, 1964 (Afzal, 1987).

CML had announced the nomination of Ayub Khan as its presidential candidate on August 19, 1964 while three of the federal ministers were also asked to submit their nomination papers as presidential candidates with a plan to use the weapon of screening provision against the strongest contestant of the opposition. Those three federal ministers of the government were Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, Muhammad Shoaib and Abdul Sobur Khan. As the popularity and respect of Ms. Fatima Jinnah in the hearts of the public of Pakistan was an undeniable fact, therefore, it became quite difficult for the government to use the screening provision as a tool for out posting her. On the other hand, COP planned to challenge the eligibility of Ayub Khan himself on the basis of his job as Field Marshal of the army because the Constitution of 1962 prevented a government servant from contesting election and was thus, making him ineligible. Ayub Khan was promoted to the rank of Field Marshal on October 27, 1959 and according to the list issued by the army on July 30, 1960 he was entitled to draw a half-pay with effect from February 16, 1960 equal to that of a British Field Marshal. Nevertheless, this plan hatched by COP came into the notice of Ayub Khan well before its implementation. Immediately, the Defense Ministry issued the retirement notification of Ayub Khan on October 20, 1964 and accordingly made some important changes in the army record. But this step of careful measures also proved futile in refraining COP from not challenging the candidature of Ayub Khan. The COP challenged Ayub Khan's nomination on November 27, 1964 but the Assistant Returning Officer rejected the objection of COP over the drawing of half pay by Ayub Khan as a retired government servant and accepted his nomination papers (Afzal, 1987).

The three federal ministers who submitted their nomination papers as presidential candidates withdrew their candidature in favor of Ayub Khan after the settling of the issue, after which four contestants remained in the competition. The four candidates in the presidential elections of 1965 were Ayub Khan as CML candidate, Ms. Fatima Jinnah as the candidate of COP while the two independent candidates were Mian Bashir Ahmad and K. M. Kamal (Khan H. , 2005).

Politics During Presidential Elections Of 1965

What were the advantages and disadvantages of Ayub Khan and Ms. Fatima Jinnah and why the need was felt to use religious *fatwas* (verdicts) for winning the election? The position of Ayub Khan as a sitting was very strong in the presidential elections that were to be held under the 1962 Constitution. He could use the entire machinery of the government and all other facilities of the state for his personal benefit. The greatest advantage of Ayub Khan was, however, his legislative authority in electoral matters which he used to his own benefit. The provincial governors and ministers were authorized to freely use official funds for leading the campaign for him. On realizing the rising fame of Ms. Fatima Jinnah through projection meetings, Ayub Khan restricted public meetings through amendment in the Presidential Election Act (Afzal, 1987).

Ayub Khan also got major support from bureaucracy as well as from business community during his election campaign. Bureaucracy used media and the law as a weapon against opposition. It also played the role of a bridge between Ayub Khan and the business community for bearing the financial expenses of his election campaign (Khan H. , 2005). The resources of the CML party were also used for the election campaign of Ayub Khan because all the resources of the party were at his own disposal as its president (Afzal, 1987).

Ayub Khan initially was a staunch supporter and advocate of women rights and because of his liberal approach towards religion, he introduced family laws. He also had no issue with the intense opposition and was not in favor of using a religious card against it. But later on, he had to reverse that policy regarding women rights in the face of a strongest female rival during the presidential election. He promised amendments in family laws within the frame work of the Islamic laws to the religious scholars and leaders in return for their support during the campaign against. Ayub Khan decided to use the religious card against women candidature for the office of president as he was afraid of popularity of Ms. Fatima Jinnah. He fully supported his closest *Ulema* (Islamic scholars) and *Pirs* (Leaders of Sufi Orders) to propagate that women could not be the head of a Muslim State. He encouraged them to issue *fatwa* (religious verdict) against Fatima Jinnah as to weaken her through the use of a religious card (Afzal, 1987).

Another advantage of Ayub Khan and his party was the use of electronic and print media as a weapon for defaming COP as well as Ms. Fatima Jinnah (Khan H. , 2005). The advertisements in prominent newspapers on full-size pages were printed against COP and its presidential candidate. The headings of advertisements were “The Victory of COP Meant the Enslavement of the Nation,” “Ayub Khan’s Defeat as the Greatest Desire of Pakistan’s Enemies,” “Ayub Khan’s Victory Threatens Indian Threat,” “CIA¹ Behind the Financial Support of COP” and “What was the Purpose of Ghaffar Khan Behind his Visit to Kabul? (Afzal, 1987).” Humiliating language was used by Ayub Khan for opposition leaders and he was continuously warning the nation regarding

¹ CIA stands for the Central Investigation Agency of United States of America (USA).

serious consequences as a result of the victory of opposition in the presidential election (Khan H. , 2005).

Nevertheless, there were many other reasons which affected the election campaign of COP. The prominent COP leaders, Ghaffar Khan and Mujib-ur-Rehman were labeled as unpatriotic by the government and this anti-Pakistan image of COP leaders affected its election campaign very badly. The internal conflicts and selfish interests within the COP also affected the campaign. Maulana Bhashani separated himself from the campaign and secretly supported Ayub Khan because of his differences with other leaders of COP. Mujib-ur-Rehman was also a highly controversial personality among COP leadership and his anti-Pakistan image caused damage to the public image of the opposition as a whole (Afzal, 1987).

COP adopted a wrong strategic practice against the Basic Democracies (BD) system in the start of the election campaign. The leaders of COP condemned the system by declaring it as an undemocratic system (Khan H. , 2005) and guaranteed the public to eliminate it after assuming power. Later on when CML used their guarantee of eliminating BD System as a weapon of exploitation against COP, its leaders realized their mistake and changed their stance. Ayub Khan and his party convinced and guaranteed Basic Democrats the survival of BD system after the winning of presidential elections. The Basic Democrats trusted Ayub Khan because he was the founder of BD system and would definitely protect them and as they were forming the Electoral College for the presidential elections of 1965, therefore, COP struck the axe on its own feet (Afzal, 1987).

But despite all the above disadvantages of COP, it had faced injustice and unfairness of the government during the election campaign. On one hand, the radio and newspapers of the government misreported the facts about COP and also tried to destroy its public image. On the other hand, the insufficient financial resources of COP proved a great hindrance in the way of its proper projection campaign through prominent newspapers and access to all electorates (Afzal, 1987). As preventive measures, the government restricted the activities of COP through different laws due to the fear of COP's successful public meetings.

Election Campaigns

How the election campaign were launched and undertaken by both Ms. Fatima Jinnah and Ayub Khan? The election campaigns of Ms. Fatima Jinnah and General Ayub Khan started with full enthusiasm and maximum participation of public was seen in those campaigns. Ms. Fatima Jinnah started her thrilling election campaign very actively despite her old age of seventy-one. She courageously accepted to take up the tough and tempestuous election campaign all over the country. She constantly toured different cities of the country and addressed large public meetings (D'Souza, 2004).

On the other hand, the supporters of Ayub Khan managed large gatherings for him by using governmental machinery and huge funding from business

community with the promise to protect their interests (Khan H. , 2005). The ECP allotted election symbols to the contestants of the presidential elections through its third notification on November 30, 1964 (Bajwa, 2003). Lantern was allotted to Ms. Fatima Jinnah as election symbol while Rose flower was allotted to Ayub Khan (Jaffery, 2003).

Election Campaign of Ms. Fatima Jinnah

Ms. Fatima Jinnah addressed the first public meeting at Karachi on September 20, 1964 as a presidential candidate of COP (Gauhar, 1993) but her proper campaign was launched from the city of Peshawar on October 1, 1964. According to news, published in '*Dawn Newspaper*' on September 21, 1964, Fatima Jinnah addressed a large public meeting at Karachi on September 20, 1964. She declared the motive behind her decision to contest the presidential elections by saying that she wants to restore democracy according to the vision of Quaid-e-Azam (Ahmed, 2003).

The election campaign of Ms. Fatima Jinnah can be divided into three phases, the first of which being started from October 1, 1964 and ended on November 16, 1964, during which she visited big cities of West and East Pakistan and addressed large public meetings at the city of Peshawar in North-West Frontier Province, NWFP (renamed as Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, KP in 2010), Rawalpindi and Lahore in the Punjab, and Rohri and Hyderabad in Sindh. She also addressed public gatherings on special public requests in all the cities and towns on the way of her travel. She received warm welcome from public during her visit of the Punjab and Sindh, and addressed large gatherings at Pattoki, Raiwind, Okara, Sahiwal, Khanewal, Multan, Bahawalpur, Khanpur, Rahimyar Khan and Sadiq Abad (Jaffery, 2003).

Ms. Fatima Jinnah was also magnificently welcomed in East Pakistan during her first phase election campaign. She visited big cities and addressed huge public meetings there at Dhaka, Chittagong, Khulna, Jaysore, Ashwardi, Rajshahi and Memonsingh. During her tour from Dhaka to Memonsingh, she received warm welcome from everywhere on her way of travel and got full assurance of support from the public. Khawaja Nazimuddin who was one of the political leader of COP and the most sincere companion of Ms. Fatima Jinnah remained with her during her tour of East Pakistan but he unfortunately died of a heart attack on October 22, 1964. His sudden demise proved a great loss for COP and for the election campaign of Ms. Fatima Jinnah which she called a tragedy for herself and the death of a brother for the second time (Bajwa, 2003). Ms. Fatima Jinnah started the second phase of her election campaign on November 17, 1964 that ended on December 3, 1964. According to the news published in '*Dawn Newspaper*' of November 22, 1964, Ms. Fatima Jinnah addressed a huge public meeting at Lyallpur (presently known as Faisalabad)² on November 21, 1964, in which she declared that due to the re-awakening of the nation, she is ready to give sacrifice for the restoration of democracy in Pakistan (Ahmed, 2003).

² The city was named as Lyallpur in the honour of the great services of Sir James Broadwood Lyall (Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab) in 1890 and Government of Pakistan changed its name as Faisalabad in 1979.

Although the campaign was launched from the city of Lahore but she toured the important cities and towns of the Punjab and KP as a whole. For instance, she addressed large public gatherings at Lahore, Rawalpindi, Gujranwala, Sheikhpura, Sialkot, Daska, Gujrat, Jehlum, Wazirabad, Chakwal, Mianwali, Jhang, Lyallpur, Sargodha and Dera Ghazi Khan. After completing her tour of the Punjab, she visited Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and addressed large gatherings at Peshawar, Mardan, Bannu, Bahadur Khel, Kohat, Banda Dawood Shah, Lachi and Banda Ahmadi (Jaffery, 2003).

Ms. Fatima Jinnah started the third phase of her campaign on December 4, 1964 from the city of Bahawalpur in West Pakistan and addressed huge public meetings at Bahawalpur, Multan, Sukkur and Jacobabad. *Daily Dawn* published news on December 7, 1964 about the election campaign of Ms. Fatima Jinnah after her address to a huge public meeting at Sukkur in Sindh on December 6, 1964. The newspaper covered her explained decision of contesting the presidential elections for the sake of an ideology not for power. She criticized Ayub's one-man constitution revolving around one-man's objectives as well as strengthening one-man's rule. She also pointed out the drawbacks of the government and its indifference towards the needs of the people (Ahmed, 2003). Ms. Fatima Jinnah also toured East Pakistan for her campaign during the third phase and addressed huge gatherings in public meetings as compared to those of West Pakistan (Gauhar, 1993). For instance, she addressed a large public meeting at Rajshahi on December 22, 1964 and called the presidential elections as a contest between Parliamentary and Presidential Systems. She declared Ayub's presidential system as a special brand which was introduced in Pakistan for one-man rule (Ahmed, 2003) and as a code word for his dictatorship which is basically different from American presidential system (Niaz, 2020).

The major objective of the election campaign of Ms. Fatima Jinnah and COP was to expose the real face of Ayub Khan and the hidden objectives behind his policies. COP highlighted and criticized corruption, favoritism, nepotism and dictatorship of his regime (Khan H. , 2005). It raised serious questions about Ayub Khan's style of government and highlighted the Gandhara Motors as an authentic evidence of corruption and nepotism against his family. Ayub Khan's son, Gohar Ayub got retirement after a few years of service as a Captain in the army but he succeeded in getting the assembly plant of Gandhara Motors through a political influence and the authority of his father. COP used Gandhara as a slogan of corruption throughout their election campaign. President Ayub Khan could not clear his position and the issue of Gandhara proved a snare around his neck as it destroyed his public image badly (Gauhar, 1993).

The successful tour of Ms. Fatima Jinnah to West and East Pakistan proved a great threat to Ayub Khan and his supporters. Therefore, the election campaign was restricted to confrontation meetings with Basic Democrats through amendment in the Presidential Election Act (Afzal, 1987). Five confrontation meetings were held in West Pakistan under the supervision of ECP while four confrontation meetings were held in East Pakistan. Those confrontation meetings were held from December 08, 1964 and ended on December 24, 1964 (Jaffery, 2003).

Election Campaign of General Ayub Khan

Ayub Khan also started his election campaign from the city of Peshawar on October 13, 1964. Government machinery was used to arrange a large gathering for him but he could not perform his part well as he had no experience of such kinds of public meetings. Moreover, he had no charismatic personality like Ms. Fatima Jinnah. His grip on Urdu language was not so good which was the only familiar language to the public in West Pakistan. He continued to overcome his deficiencies and improved himself very soon. Therefore, he performed very well in his third projection meeting and addressed the public with great confidence (Gauhar, 1993).

During his election campaign, Ayub Khan defended himself as well as his policies because the main target of opposition parties was his personality and his policies (Khan H. , 2005). He called upon a meeting of his political supporters and companions for planning future strategy after the first successful public meeting of Ms. Fatima Jinnah. When his supporters felt worried for countering Ms. Fatima Jinnah as being female of old age and an honorable personality as the sister of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Ayub Khan instructed them to treat her just as one of the opponent and as a contestant of presidential elections. He also made them realize that the size of the crowd in public meetings of COP was not a matter of concern as public is excited to be part of the first general elections and it surely would participate in public meetings of both the main contestants of elections (Khan M. A., 1967).

Ayub Khan started his election campaign from Peshawar and pointed out the positive effects of his reforms after the martial law of 1958. In his first projection meeting, Ayub Khan attacked the leaders of COP by comparing them with the 'run away quails' to reveal their insincerity and unfaithfulness. He and his supporters used that term throughout the election campaign for COP leaders (Khan M. A., 1967).

Ayub Khan addressed his second public meeting to a large gathering at Rawalpindi. He continuously tried to enhance his command on Urdu language and realized in the public meeting at Lahore that he can fluently speak for many hours continuously without consulting written notes. He very comfortably communicated with the audience and explained in detail the logic behind his reforms and constitution (Khan M. A., 1967).

In East Pakistan, Ayub Khan launched his election campaign from Dhaka where he addressed a public meeting. He toured throughout East Pakistan and addressed large public meetings at various places. He was satisfied with his own performance in the election campaign because he was successful in conveying his message to the people (Khan M. A., 1967).

Polling for the Presidential Elections

Both the presidential candidates of COP and of CML explained in detail their political programs and future course of action in their public meetings. The

election campaign ended with the final phase of nine confrontation meetings between the contestants and their voters (Afzal, 1987).

How Ayub Khan and his party influenced the election results? Polling day began at 08:00 o'clock in the morning on January 2, 1965 in the whole country. The polling was opened in a peaceful environment and both parties were equally confident of their victories. The turnout of votes was huge in the morning and therefore, ECP received early results in the afternoon. The eighty thousand Basic Democrats from West and East Pakistan used their right to vote. The ruling party used all tactics to pressurize the voters and thus, to influence the election results. Even it pressurized, threatened and arrested the polling agents of COP from several polling stations. The government also restricted the movements of some COP political agents and prevented them from entering in some specific polling stations. On the whole, Ayub Khan and his supporters established a worst example of vote-rigging in the history of elections in Pakistan (Jaffery, 2003).

Results of the Presidential Elections

What were the results of the Presidential Elections of 1965? The ECP made necessary arrangements for announcing the results polling station-wise through Radio Pakistan as soon as it received them. People from all over the country were fully focused on their radio sets. The first result was received from Dhaka of East Pakistan by ECP, according to which Ms. Fatima of COP got a victory with majority votes. ECP received the second result from Karachi of West Pakistan which again went in favor of the opposition parties because its candidate won from there too with a leading margin. However, the voting results from Lahore were beyond expectations because the ruling party of Ayub Khan emerged victorious from there (Gauhar, 1993).

Polling on the whole was completed in the evening at 04:00 pm of January 2, 1965, after which the ECP has announced the unofficial results which declared Ayub Khan as the victorious presidential candidate with a clear majority of votes. According to ECP results, Ayub Khan secured 49951 or 63.31% out of the total votes polled. On the other hand, Ms. Fatima Jinnah got 28691 votes or 36.36% out of the total votes polled. Though the main contest was between Ms. Fatima Jinnah and General Ayub Khan but the independent candidates also got some votes, for instance, K. M. Kamal received 183 votes or 0.23% votes and; Mian Bashir Ahmad got 65 votes or 0.08% votes (Afzal, 1987). Ayub Khan won from East Pakistan with a narrow margin by securing 21012 votes and Ms. Fatima Jinnah secured 18434 votes because she only won from the four districts of Dhaka, Noakhali, Sylhet and Comilla of East Pakistan. Ayub Khan faced a defeat in Dhaka and Chittagong divisions but won from Rajshahi and Khulna divisions. Nevertheless, he grabbed a victory in West Pakistan with a great lead as he got 28939 votes while Ms. Fatima Jinnah got 10257 votes. Except Karachi, Ayub won from all the other districts of West Pakistan (Gauhar, 1993).

Table Showing Voting Details in Some Big Cities of West And East Pakistan

Cities	Total Votes	Ayub Khan	Fatima Jinnah	Other Candidates	Invalid Votes	Total Cast Votes
Lahore	1210	819	371	1	17	1208
Lyallpur	397	274	123	0	0	397
Rawalpindi	319	202	106	2	8	318
Peshawar	521	299	215	0	6	520
Karachi	1907	837	1049	4	13	1903
Hyderabad	406	201	201	0	0	405
Dacca	558	199	353	1	2	555
Chittagong	334	181	151	0	2	334
Khulna	283	167	113	2	0	282
Comilla	287	156	128	0	2	286
Total	6221	3335	2809	10	54	6208

Source: Tahir Kamran, "Electoral Politics in Pakistan (1955-1969)," *Pakistan Vision*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (2010), 88.

Ayub Khan despite his victory was in a shock and remained in that state for many hours. Even, he read out his already drafted victory speech in the same shocking state without any feelings and it went on air through Radio Pakistan at 10:00 pm on January 2, 1965. The reason behind the shock was that Ayub Khan came to know the bitter fact of his win with a narrow margin and also the non-acceptance of his reforms and constitution by the people of Pakistan (Gauhar, 1993).

Factors Responsible for the Victory of Ayub Khan

What were the factors behind the victory of General Ayub Khan? Massive election-rigging was claimed by COP with valid proofs and it considered rigging and malpractices responsible for the victory of Ayub Khan (Khan H. , 2005). The COP drafted a white paper about the overall unlawfulness during the election and also pointed out at the free use of a threat, pressure and manipulation for rigging the election (Afzal, 1987).

Other factors associated with the victory of Ayub Khan were manifold. It was a general perception during the election campaign that electoral system was designed in a way to cause the victory of Ayub Khan. Although, the election campaign of COP was based on the revival of parliamentary system of government with the direct election system and universal franchise but the actual electoral system of Ayub Khan was totally opposite to the election agenda of COP as it provided indirect election system through the Electoral College of

Basic Democrats. The criticism and propaganda of COP against BD system fire backed because the Basic Democrats were seriously affected by it and simultaneously, they decided to support Ayub Khan just for the sake of their survival (Hussain, 2018). Majority of them remained focused on their personal interests of survival and political authority rather than on national interests (Khan H. , 2005).

The Electoral College was an edge for Ayub Khan because majority of the Basic Democrats who were its members supported him. These numbers of supporters among the Basic Democrats were increased too by the government through nomination policy for the by the administration in the tribal areas, thus, putting them under the complete control of Ayub Khan and his government. About 3282 or 4.5% of the total number were added in the Basic Democrats list from the tribal area. They played a vital role in the victory of Ayub Khan However, the opposition during the entire election campaign severely criticized it (Munir, 2004). The sitting Basic Democrats enjoyed their first term with full authority and prestige due to the policy of Ayub Khan and they were re-elected for their second term under the same policy to enjoy the power and authority again. The only condition for the continuation of the system was linked with the victory of Ayub Khan and the privileged group of those sitting Democrats was fully in his favour. The sitting Basic Democrats who were re-elected for their second term were 32000 in numbers or 40% of the total members. They showed eagerness for the victory of Ayub Khan because of their personal political interests and thus became the main factors behind the victory of Ayub Khan in the presidential elections.

The defective voters' lists led the way to bogus voting which contributed a great part in the victory of Ayub Khan. The fake entries were made in voters' lists by excluding those who were considered doubtful. The registration offices of East Pakistan refused to enter names of the expected voters of opposition during the last week of registration. Bogus voting on large scale was made possible due to the unfair exercises of the government. The ballot papers were issued to voters without getting their signature and thumb impressions. Proper method was not adopted for the verification of identity of voters. It was totally useless to challenge the identity of voter as challenged votes were also considered for counting (Khan H. , 2005).

Ayub Khan took full advantage of his authority and all official resources were used for his election campaign. Bureaucracy used its official authority and tactics for compelling the Basic Democrats to support Ayub Khan during the elections (Gauhar, 1993). The administrative machinery sided with Ayub Khan and fully supported him during his campaign. The use of bribery, unfair influence, misleading statements for defacing the character of the rivals and untruthful accusations against opponents were mentioned as corrupt practices in the Electoral College Act, section 61 (Malik, 1968). The ruling party used all the corrupt practices during election for winning it. The ministers of Ayub Khan were in close contact with business community and succeeded to collect huge funds for his election campaign, by granting them special favors and promises of protection of their business interests. The collected fund was used to purchase votes and to launch a media campaign in favor of Ayub Khan and against COP to present one-sided picture before the public (Khan H. , 2005).

On the contrary, COP was a mixture of different political ideologies, leaders and policies. The lack of discipline, unity and unanimous plan of action as result of internal rifts and bickering were the main shortcomings of COP which provided an opportunity to the government for exploiting its weaknesses. Wali Khan, son of Abdul Ghaffar Khan was a prominent COP leader but the attitude and activities of his father were used as strong weapons by the ruling party against the opposition. Maulana Bhashani was another prominent COP leader from East Pakistan but he played a very strange role during the presidential elections. He appeared as a strong supporter of Ms. Fatima Jinnah and raised voice in her favor but during the election campaign in East Pakistan he remained inactive, due to which Ms. Fatima Jinnah raised questions over his sincerity. It was a general perception among the public and a strong belief within the COP that Bhashani has sold his loyalties to Ayub Khan through a secret agreement (Khan H. , 2005).

However this episode had passed away and amidst of doubt and despair, Ayub Khan won the elections and became the president of the country once again. But a more shocking episode for the nation just after two years of the election was the demise of Ms. Fatima Jinnah on July 9, 1967 whose death had left many doubts in the minds of people. It was believed that she was murdered instead of a natural death. According to official statement, the reason of her death was heart attack but it was unexpected for her relatives and even for her close ones because she was not a heart patient throughout her life. Her relatives and general public were shocked at her uncertain death and therefore, investigation of her death was demanded. Begum Hidayat Ullah, Mir Laiq Ali, Hassan A. Sheikh, Begum Nur-us-Sabah claimed that her death was totally unnatural (Fatima, 2014). Some eye-witnesses claimed that there were wounds and signs of torture on her body. Her death became a controversial issue initially which however, was dumped after lack of interest shown by the government in solving the controversy, due to which it was believed generally that there were hidden hands of the government behind her death as she was determined to start a strong movement for the revival of democracy in Pakistan. In due course of time after her death, Ayub Khan resigned from the office of president in the face of a powerful movement against him (Taw031).

Impacts of the Presidential Elections of 1965 on the History of Pakistan

What were the impacts of the presidential elections of 1965 on the history of Pakistan? A thorough study of history reveals that past events leaves far-reaching effects on the history of an area, region or a country. The same is true about the presidential elections of 1965 which has left great imprints over the history of Pakistan in many ways. Here, the political, social and historical impacts of presidential elections are worth-mentioning.

Political Impacts

The presidential elections of 1965 was contested by Ms. Fatima Jinnah against the ruling President of the state and she set an example of extra-ordinary courage to challenge the powerful ruler of the time. Her decision to contest the

presidential elections and its results affected the politics of Pakistan in various ways.

The decision of Ms. Fatima Jinnah to contest the presidential elections of 1965 encouraged Pakistani women to participate in political activities more actively and to get their important place in the politics of the country (Awan, 2003). Women's prominent place in the politics of Pakistan is considered as precious heritage of Ms. Fatima Jinnah for the women of her nation (Pirbhai, 2017). Her leadership during the presidential elections paved the way for women political empowerment. In fact, she contributed a lot to make it possible for the women to participate in public life of the state of Pakistan as well as to play their active role in politics (D'Souza, 2004).

The candidature of Ms. Fatima Jinnah in the presidential elections also caused the solution of a very sensitive issue regarding female headship of an Islamic state. It is her legacy which made it possible for the women of Pakistan to hold the high political offices and even to be the head of state. The *fatwa* of Maulana Maududi in the favor of her candidature forever resolved the issue that a woman could be the head of an Islamic state. It was this legacy of Ms. Fatima Jinnah that enabled Benazir Bhutto to hold the highest political office as chairperson of a prominent political party of Pakistan (Pirbhai, 2017) and also to become the prime minister of the country first in 1988 (Naqvi, 2018) and then for the second time in 1993 (Pirbhai, 2017). Even two women in Bangladesh also served as the prime ministers of the country after its emergence as an independent state in 1971.

Thus, Ms. Fatima Jinnah's struggle for democracy and her challenge to General Muhammad Ayub Khan provided a base for Benazir Bhutto to launch a movement for reviving democracy in the country by challenging the ruler of her time, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq. She followed the footprints of Ms. Fatima Jinnah and succeeded in her objective. On the whole, Ms. Fatima Jinnah has always remained a great source of inspiration for the Muslim women of South Asia (Awan, 2003).

Social Impacts

The presidential elections of 1965 and its after effects also caused a great change in the social philosophy of Pakistani society and affected the social system in a positive way. There can be seen a great change in public thinking and social attitudes after the elections. The courageous step of Ms. Fatima Jinnah gave enough confidence to the suppressed people to raise their voices for their rights as well as for the revival of democracy. It was a great change that people openly protested against a dictator which could not be imagined before that to take a stand against General Ayub Khan (Jaffery, 2003). Ultimately, he had to surrender before the nation-wide protest.

Pakistani society underwent a change regarding the social status of women. It became acceptable to the society that women can enjoy equal status with men in holding high political offices. The ratio of women participation in political activities increased. The decision of an aged and delicate lady to fight the battle

for democracy against the ruler of the time proved that women were as strong as men to accept difficult challenges (Awan, 2003). The social aspect of the decision of Ms. Fatima Jinnah to contest the elections was focused on balanced social life with the required female role to strengthen the social system of Pakistan. The contribution of women in political matters was based on the concept to develop a strong and balanced society (Sultana, 2003). The election and its after-effects changed the social philosophy and structure of the social system. The future governments took steps for the empowerment of women, considering the changing norms of society. The golden period regarding the empowerment of women was during Musharraf era. He established a permanent National Commission regarding the status of women in Pakistan (Naqvi, 2018). The presidential elections of 1965 were a duel between democratic and autocratic forces. Apparently, autocratic forces won because of having a hold on all resources and powers but ultimately, they had to face the defeat in 1969. The democratic forces became stronger with the passage of time and forced the military rulers to restore real democracy in the country. The first general elections in the country were held in 1970 which resulted in the democratic trends of the society. The subsequent drafted of the Constitution of 1973 was the real reflection of the democratic philosophy of society and social trends of the time in Pakistan. The analysis of the presidential election was carried out on the directions of Ayub Khan by his Information Secretary which revealed that democracy was the major source of the popularity of Ms. Fatima Jinnah and the main factor behind her support by the intellectuals (Gauhar, 1993).

Historical Impacts

The presidential elections of 1965 have its historical impacts which affected the history of Pakistan seriously and resulted in other follow-up events. Ayub Khan after the announcement of the results of the elections promised in his victory speech that he will not launch any act of hostility and revenge against his rivals. Unfortunately, things went on the opposite direction because Ayub Khan's son, Gohar Ayub violated section 144 on January 4, 1965 by firing in the air to express his joy for victory in the presidential elections and also led a huge procession of heavy vehicles, driven by Pakhtuns or Pashtuns³ on the roadways of Karachi. He demonstrated his power and authority to threaten COP leaders and the Peshawarite⁴ Commissioner of Karachi totally ignored his illegal activities (Khan H. , 2005).

On the same day at night, Pakhtun supporters of Ayub Khan went to those areas of Karachi which strongly opposed him and got engaged in revengeful activities there. Houses were set on fire and people were fired upon at Liaquatabad. The residents of Liaquatabad came forward to defend themselves and that two-way battle continued all the night. The wounded were shifted to hospitals but army had to take the control of the area. The apparent devastation and loss in that area reflected the hatred and enmity between the two groups. According to the first

³ Speakers of the language of Pakhto or Pashto (same language with dialectic variation) and a major race inhabiting Afghanistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Baluchistan and spread around in the other areas of the Indian Sub-continent

⁴ Belonging to the city of Peshawar

official statement, six people were killed in the riots but later on twenty casualties were admitted. It was believed by the public that the number of casualties and estimated loss of property was over and above than the official figures (Khan H. , 2005). The after-effects of the incident badly affected the history of Pakistan. It was the beginning of unending and deep-rooted clashes between *Muhajirs*⁵ and Pakhtuns which destroyed the peace of Karachi for a long time and remained headache for every government.

CONCLUSION

The presidential system of government was adopted for the country under the second constitution of Pakistan which was enforced in the country in 1962. The main factor behind the presidential form of government was the aspiration of Ayub Khan who wanted to hold all the powers and authority in his own hands even after the abolition of martial law. Therefore, the presidential elections were announced and contested in 1965. Those elections occupy an important and unique place in the elections history of Pakistan. It has the importance of being the first presidential elections in the history of the country.

After thorough study of presidential elections, it is concluded that politics was involved from the very beginning as revealed by the introduction of an indirect elections through the Electoral College of Basic Democrats, Constitution of 1962, Presidential Election Act, electoral rolls and polling process, in order to make it possible for Ayub Khan to win the elections. The state machinery was manipulated for influencing voters and election results. All sorts of rigging and malpractices were employed to outcast Ms. Fatima Jinnah. Promises of incentives to bureaucrats and businessmen were made for providing support during the elections and funds for the election campaign of Ayub Khan. Even religious card was used for weakening the position of Ms. Fatima Jinnah who was popular among the public as the sister of Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. Nevertheless, the results of the elections presented a different and opposite picture because Ayub Khan emerged as the winning candidate.

The impacts of the presidential elections were deep-rooted and also affected the history of Pakistan in many ways. Ms. Fatima Jinnah, the sister of Quaid-e-Azam in the presidential elections emerged as a symbol of federation and democracy in the country and permanently solved the sensitive issue of female leadership of a Muslim state. It also proved a milestone for the empowerment of women in Pakistan. Following her footprints, Benazir Bhutto also confronted a dictator and succeeded against him. While in Bangladesh, two women emerged as the leaders of a Muslim country. The presidential elections were though lost by Ms. Fatima Jinnah but it caused a powerful movement against Ayub Khan for the revival of parliamentary democracy in Pakistan which at last succeeded to achieve its objective.

The Presidential Elections of 1965 also promoted a bad political culture in the country because the succeeding rulers also have tried to manipulate and influence the elections and have hindered the way of a strong and healthy

⁵ Indian Muslims who migrated to Pakistan after the partition of India back in 1947. These people use the term *Muhajir* as a distinct political identity for their group.

democratic process in the country that might have helped otherwise, in strengthening the parliamentary form of government in the country.

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