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**CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION 1965 IN  
PAKISTAN**

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**ABSTRACT:**

Iskandar Mirza imposed martial law by inviting Ayub Khan on 07 October 1958, he kicked out Iskandar Mirza on 27 October 1958 and took over the rein of the country. He ruled for about eleven years. Ayub Khan promulgated a new presidential constitution in 1962. Presidential elections in Pakistan were held on January 2, 1965. It was a memorable occasion as these were the first indirect election in the electoral history of Pakistan. The basic democrats, numbering 80,000, were only eligible to vote in this election. Elections were significant as a woman was contesting the presidential election highest political office in Pakistan. The conservative and orthodox religious political parties modified their stance and supported Miss Fatima Jinnah. The election showed that the people had no prejudice against women holding high offices. Women could be key players in the politics of the country. Ayub Khan, however, wins the elections and further rules the country in the coming years. This election was the most controversial topic in electoral politics in Pakistan. Ayub Khan was alleged for rigging in this election. This article attempt to find out fact related to 1965 election.

## INTRODUCTION:

This research work attempts to investigate the controversy in the presidential election of 1965 among the then-president and first Marshal Law administrator Ayub Khan and Miss Fatima Jinnah the sister of the founder of Pakistan Quaid-e-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah. The combined opposition parties composed (COP) of East and West Pakistan Political Parties sided with Miss Fatima Jinnah. Besides strong support of COP and public masses, Miss Fatima Jinnah lost the elections by getting 36% votes. Moreover, besides this massive support, the results favored Ayub in securing 64% of votes. Ayub Khan was blamed by COP for rigging and utilizing government machinery in this election. This research work would be an attempt to find the causes of the failure of Miss Jinnah's defeat and Ayub Khan Triumph in the presidential election of 1965.

The then-President of Pakistan Iskander Mirza enforced Martial Law on 7<sup>th</sup> October 1958 on behalf of Commander in Chief of Pakistan Army General Muhammad Ayub Khan. Ayub Khan ousted Iskander Mirza on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1958 and declared himself as the President of Pakistan. He introduced Basic Democratic System under the brief law Basic Democracy Order 1959, it had two roles, first was the social activities in their constituency, the second role was to form the electoral college for the election to the office of President of Pakistan and to elect members to national and provincial assemblies, after the 1<sup>st</sup> election of Basic Democrats; Ayub Khan was indirectly elected as the President of Pakistan by 80000 BD members on 15 February 1960 and sworn in as the President of Pakistan on 17 February 1960. Ayub Khan on the same day appointed the constitution commission under Justice Shahabuddin, he has to findout;

1. The causes of political turmoil arose after the demise of Liaquat Ali Khan,
2. causes of abrogation of 1956 constitution and parliamentary form of government
3. He has also to provide a constitutional proposal based on principles of Islam as justice, equality, and tolerance.

Following are the main causes of abrogation of the 1956 constitution and failure of the parliamentary system;

1. There was no proper election procedure and the abrogated constitution also contains defects.
2. The central government was interfering in the affairs of provincial governments; the president also interfered in the political parties and ministries of the state.
3. The politician has no character; the political parties were not organized and well disciplined.

A unique methodology was adopted by the constitutional commission; they prepared 28000 questionnaires which were consisting of 40 questions, which were in English, Urdu, and Bengali. The NGO's bar associations and relevant authorities responded to these questions which were 26%. Another committee was constituted consist of 5 members under the leadership of Manzur Qadir, later discussed in Governor Conference and was approved by Ayub Khan on 1<sup>st</sup> March 1962. (Fakhr-ul-Islam)

In April 1962 general elections were contested to National Assembly and the Electoral College elected the 156 members to the national assembly, 150 were general seats while 6 seats were

reserved for women elected by the Provincial Assemblies. These elections were non-party basis because the constitution wasn't framed yet and political parties were not yet revived.

The constitution was enforced on 8<sup>th</sup> June 1962 and proposed the Presidential Form of Government. The government prepared a draft bill provided the formation and regulation of political parties revival and it was referred to a selected committee composed of those representing the opinions of different people on 4<sup>th</sup> July 1962. The bill was returned to assembly for a vote on 14<sup>th</sup> July 1962 which was passed by National Assembly on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1962 and President AyubKhan gave assent to the bill on 16<sup>th</sup> July 1962 and this bill of a revival of political parties became a law. (Ahmed, Government, and Politics in Pakistan, 2017).

The Conventional Muslim League came into being under the chairmanship of Chaudary Khaliq-Uz-Zaman on 5<sup>th</sup> September 1962, all the members of previously distorted Muslim League parties were included in it and it was backing the dictatorial government of Ayub Khan. The President of Convention Muslim League was In October 1962 Council Muslim League was formed by Khwaja Nazimuddin and they sat on opposition benches of the parliament. The other political parties were Awami Muslim League, National Awami Party, Nizam-i-Islam Party, and Jamaat-i-Islami. (Ahmed, Government, and Politics in Pakistan, 2017)

According to Article 165 of the 1962 Constitution, the Presidential Elections must be held before 7<sup>th</sup> March 1965 after the elections of Basic Democrats. For this Purpose polling date for the Presidential Elections was decided to be 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1965. Conventional Muslim League was formed while five political parties Council Muslim League led by Khwaja Nazim Ud din and Mian Mumtaz Daulatana, Awami League led by Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman, National Awami Party (NAP Wali) led by Khan Abdul Wali Khan, National Awami Party (NAP Bhashani) led by Maulana Bhashani, Nizam-e-Islam Party led by Chaudary Muhammad Ali, Jamaat-e-Islami led by Maulana Abu-al-Ala Maudoodi formed an alliance called Combined Opposition Parties on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1964.

The National Awami Party was led by both Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani and Abdul Wali Khan but they had parted their ways because the Maulana Bhashani became pro-China and Abdul Wali Khan became in support of Moscow.

The Presidential Candidates in the 1965 Elections were Ayub Khan nominated by the Conventional Muslim League, Miss Fatima Jinnah nominated by Combined Opposition Parties. There were two other candidates, K.M Kamal and Mian Bashir Ahmed, but the main contest was with AyubKhan and Miss Fatima Jinnah. The elections were contested on 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1965. Although the opposition strongly supported Miss Fatima Jinnah the result favored Ayub khan in this election. Ayub khan was alleged by the COP for using the government machinery.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW:**

A bulk of the literature has been produced on the topic of Presidential Election 1965 and Ayub Khan Era some of the literature has been discussed below.

Khan is in the view that the Presidential Elections were rigged. According to Khan, the government machinery was used by Ayub Khan for influencing his image in the Electoral College. He argued that he used official machinery for coercing the Basic Democrats for voting Ayub instead of Miss Fatima Jinnah. Furthermore, he further elaborates that the electronic media and print both have strongly supported Ayub Khan in the 1965 Election. Moreover, he illustrates that those people who were against the ruling party, their names were removed from the voter's list and imaginary names were used for enabling false voting for the benefit of the ruling party. (Khan, 2017)

Askari is in the view that the main cause of Ayub's triumph was the lack of harmony amongst the political parties of Combined Opposition. Moreover, he also described that Presidential Elections were based on personalities rather than political parties; Ayub Khan Personality was more suitable to the post of President of Pakistan as he was more acknowledged of government administration and government machinery. Furthermore, he also elaborates the mistake done by Combined Opposition Parties in the campaign was that the alliance announced that they will revive the parliamentary form of government, introduce direct elections based on Universal Adult Franchise which will efface the Basic Democratic System, and this made the electoral college disheartened to vote Miss Fatima Jinnah. (Rizvi, 2003)

A. Muhammad Rafique described the view that the Combined Opposition Parties formed by alliance they were facing a lack of harmony, there was no unity among them, and the political parties within the alliance were carving for seats and dominant position in alliance. Furthermore, he said that during the elections days, the leader of NAP (Wali) Khan Abdul Wali Khan went to Kabul while the leader of Awami League Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman criticized Pakistan Army and these actions subvert the situation for the Combined Opposition Parties alliance. Rafique Afzal also gave evidence of lack of harmony amongst Combined Opposition Parties alliance, firstly, NAP accused of alliance with the ruling party, secondly, NAP (Bhashani) removed himself from the scene with an excuse of illness, and thirdly, leader of Awami League Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman wanted his autocracy in East Pakistan. Furthermore, he is in view that the statement of Miss Fatima Jinnah of abolishing the Basic Democracy System, the revival of the parliamentary system, and the introduction of direct election based on Universal Adult Franchise caused the defeat of Miss Fatima Jinnah during Presidential Election. (Afzal, 2018)

Mahmood is in the view that in the victory of Ayub Khan in the Presidential Elections Government machinery played a vital role with him. The Electoral College was threatened by district officers through which enabled Ayub Khan to win the Presidential Elections. Moreover, he also pointed out that Ayub Khan has restricted the press, political activities, and freedom of expression. (Mahmood, 2018).

Ayub Khan in his book *Friends, not Masters* autobiography has discussed the 1965 presidential elections. He is in the view that initially in West Pakistan Miss Fatima Jinnah succeeded in gathering the people during her campaign as a Head of the State I I also provided full support and cooperation during her campaign. According to Ayub Khan, there were few mistakes on behalf of COP and Miss Fatima Jinnah which led to the results of elections against COP. In his view COP misguided Miss Fatima Jinnah that the winning candidates of BD's are from COP. Furthermore, in COP there was a tug of war for power between COP. Moreover, Miss Fatima

Jinnah did not go for the condolence of Khwaja Nazimuddin. Although she was in East Pakistan, she returned to West Pakistan without attending the condolence of Khwaja Nazimuddin. He further elaborates; that Shiekh Mujeeb-ur-Rehman one of the leaders of COP did not want to hold the elections. They were prevailing the hatred in minds of Bengalis people against West Pakistan. Moreover, he argues in favor of fair elections that we decided for the election to be contested in April 1965 but due to allegation of COP that Ayub Khan will gain the favor of electoral college in three-month duration so, therefore, on-demand of COP the election were scheduled in January 1965. (Khan, 2019)

The existed literature does not clarify the controversy in the election of 1965. Therefore this research work will be an attempt to fill the gap in the knowledge about the concerned topic.

### **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM:**

The problem of statement is that presidential elections 1965 a huge mass supported Miss Fatima Jinnah and at the same time an alliance of 5 political parties formed her support, besides this huge support she was defeated by Ayub Khan by gaining 64% votes, on the other hand, Miss Fatima Jinnah 36% votes. The COP alleged Ayub Khan for rigging in the election while Ayub Khan supporters claimed this election fairly.

### **SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY:**

This research work will be an attempt to remove the misconception among the masses about the presidential election of 1965. This research work will be the supporting argument for the future election in Pakistan. Further, it will be a comprehensive account of the presidential election of 1965.

### **RESEARCH QUESTION:**

- What were the causes of the formation of Combined Opposition Parties?
- Why Combined Opposition Parties proposed the candidature of Miss Fatima Jinnah in Presidential Elections 1965?
- Is the allegation of rigging was correct or not?

### **RESEARCH OBJECTIVE:**

- To find out the causes of the formation of Combined Opposition Parties.
- To find out the COP decision for Fatima Jinnah as a Presidential candidate.
- To remove the controversy that who wins the Presidential Elections 1965.

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:**

This research is descriptive and analytical that includes historical information on the subject matter and is based on the analysis derived from secondary qualitative data. For this purpose data was collected from secondary sources. The secondary data was collected from books, journals, reports, and other relevant published documents.

### **Critical analysis presidential Elections 1965**

**CAMPAIGN:**

Miss Fatima Jinnah started her election campaign on 18<sup>th</sup> September from Rawalpindi she was surrounded by a huge crowd. From the beginning, COP criticized Ayub Khan that he has held the office of Field Marshall and he is receiving pay 1800£ per annum at this point he is ineligible to contest the election for the post of President of Pakistan. To prevent this criticized point of COP, the Ministry of Defense instantly issued the retirement orders of Ayub Khan but COP claimed that Field Marshall has no retirement. (Afzal, Political Parties in Pakistan, 2018).

Ayub Khan was surprised when he heard about Miss Fatima Jinnah as a Presidential candidate, when she started her election campaign Ayub Khan was infuriated that without criticism and opponent how she could start her election campaign. Ayub Khan called and ordered his associates to open her political record to divert the attention of people from her and show her lack of experience in leadership and relations with international powers. When she moved to East Pakistan to start her campaign she was received by Sheikh Mujeeb Ur Rehman. East Pakistan has the only hope of Miss Fatima Jinnah because they were considering themselves as the colony of Islamabad. Ayub Khan's son Gohar Ayub established Gandhara Motor Industries and Miss Fatima Jinnah exploited this in the whole campaign and for this reason she accused Ayub Khan of corruption and expected that she could tarnish his image in the public masses. (Khan H., Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, 2017).

There were certain reasons that Miss Fatima Jinnah was requested by COP for the Presidential Elections of 1965. According to the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (1959), the politicians were disqualified for entering into the political arena till 31<sup>st</sup> December 1966. Besides this there, a lot of political parties but none can defeat Ayub Khan. For this purpose, the COP formed on 21<sup>st</sup> July 1964 to step down Ayub Khan and oust him from the political arena. For the contesting Presidential Election, Khwaja Nazimuddin's name was proposed by Council Muslim League (CML) but was rejected, because he was old and had of lack leadership skills, name Chaudary Muhammad Ali was proposed but did not accept on the grounds of confined popularity limited to West Pakistan. Retired Lieutenant General Azam Khan was more suitable for the post as he was popular in both wings but opposed to association with the Martial Law regime from 1958-1962. This was because COP requested Miss Fatima Jinnah to be the candidate for Presidential Election 1965 and she accepted the proposal on 17<sup>th</sup> September 1964.

To remove Miss Fatima Jinnah from his way to the seat of Head of the State, he planned to obtain fatwa against Miss Fatima Jinnah. He does this and obtained a fatwa from 650 ulemas in the conference held in Lahore and Chairman for the Council of Islamic Ideology Maulana Badayuni was also present and he adopted a resolution stated that:

“To assign the office of the Head of the State to a female was unIslamic and haram (prohibited) besides being destructive of the country and the nation”. (Ahmed, Government, and Politics in Pakistan, 2017).

In response to the above fatwa Amir Jamaat-i-Islami has given fatwa that according to various Muslim jurists' women could be the Head of the State and due to this some of the pro-Ayubulemas criticized Maulana Maudoodi for issuing this fatwa.

As Miss Fatima Jinnah did not know anything about government machinery and administration she had no contacts with world leaders. She was gathered by the large crowd and was the only hope of COP on whose dependence they can bring down Ayub's authoritarian rule and could achieve their goals of reviving direct elections and restoration of parliamentary democracy.

Ayub Khan said that COP will be abolished because it consists of different heterogeneous groups who did not possess any harmony but they will only have one goal of bringing him down and his government, after achieving goals they decimated into different classes. In response, Ayub Khan and his administration were accused by Chaudary Muhammad Ali of promoting corruption in society and pressed the country for foreign debt as well. Ayub had a dominant personality; COP considered his constitution as dictatorial and pointed out Basic Democrats as corrupt. (Shahid, 2004).

After completion of her tour in East Pakistan, Ayub Khan started his election campaign from Peshawar on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1964, during his campaign he was gathered by a large crowd where people were pulling and pushing each other. He talked about reforms taken place in 8 years. Ayub Khan did not use any notes for a speech, despite having little communication with people he has given speech through his mind. Then Ayub Khan turned to Rawalpindi where vulgar activities were started by the opposition against the government. He went to Lahore by Road and addressed a public meeting at Mochi gate where poets were organized for him. He did not want to be an orator he was very weak in speaking Urdu when moved to the rostrum for giving a speech a large undisciplined crowd suddenly turned to disciplined, where he talked about his reforms as well his constitution. (Khan M. A., Friends not Masters A Political Autobiography, 2019).

Miss Fatima Jinnah also blamed Ayub Khan that he had bartered the three rivers with India by giving Ravi, Bias, and Sutlej to India and got Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab by signing Indus Basin Treaty with India in 1960. The COP announced that the BD's will be removed, direct elections, and the parliamentary system will revive. (Ziring, Pakistan in the Twentieth Century, 2018).

Ayub Khan was a pro-American and his foreign policy was also attracted towards America. The COP was dissatisfied with this and considered the transformation from developing stages to modern South Asian state as his aim and goal. They further described considered the formation of Islamabad as his interest, not on national interest. They also marked that Ayub is giving little attention to education and health. He is mostly giving opportunities for foreign, American, and private investments. (Ziring, Pakistan at the Crosscurrent of History, 2003).

She went to Lahore on 4<sup>th</sup> October 1964 where she was warmly welcomed by the people of Lahore at Gulistan-e-Fatima. Lahore Bar Association awarded 3000 rupees for her campaign. Then on 16<sup>th</sup> November 1964, she addresses a large gathering of lawyers, felt thankful to them and said that the people wanted democracy, and criticized Ayub Khan for hosting the nation. He formed his constitution to serve him not the nation. She also pointed out Ayub at the point that if the whole nation is in the support of democracy so there is no place for the dictator to place barriers in the way of democracy. She was criticizing Ayub Khan in this during an address to lawyers, she said:

“There is today a wide cleavage between the people who want free democratic institutions and between clingue of the rulers who want absolute power in their own hands and who to mislead the people at home and abroad and are trying to set a façade of democratic institutions which have no substantial power and which do not enjoy any respect. They have arrogated to themselves all patriotism and all understanding to claim that they alone and none else understand what is good for the country and what is in the interest of the people. Today they have discovered that democracy does not suit the genius of our people. On the contrary, it is recorded fact of history that without people understands Pakistan could not have been achieved”.(Mirza, 2004).

The elections to the electoral colleges were announced based on a non-party base, the date for polling was 19<sup>th</sup> November 1964 in which both the associates of candidates were told to them that 80% of members were upon their side. One month was fixed for projection meeting only be held by the members of the Electoral College and on 30<sup>th</sup> November 1964 election date was announced. Miss Fatima told that administrative machinery is supporting Ayub Khan; they were even influencing their power to win Ayub Khan which was most suitable to their interest. The final phase of the campaign started as the Presidential candidates must have to appear before the Electoral College and will answer their questions which will be asked by the presiding officer who will be the judge of High Courts; the questions were to be deposited inbox. The presiding officer would have to draw out a question and asked the candidate. The ruling party put a lot of questions in the box, they were under government pressure. The questions answer session began and Radio Pakistan broadcasted the session. She understood fewer amounts of questions and answered them while some questions were controversial to which she did not want to answer while the other questions she did not understand. At the end of the campaign, rumors were spread that Ayub Khan was about to leave his country and it spread wildly in East Pakistan. On 25<sup>th</sup> December 1964, he responded to this rumor and told to pressman that “a section of the press has said that I am packing up and leaving, let me tell them through you that I will fight these enemies of the country till the last”.Ayub began that was opposition believed that they will become victorious in these elections.

### **POLLING DATE AND RESULTS:**

On 2<sup>nd</sup> January 1965, the polling began in which the government maintained a calm and peaceful atmosphere at the polling stations. After 1:00pm Radio Pakistan announced that results will be heard by the masses when issued by the presiding officer. The result firstly came from Dacca then from Karachi and both were against Ayub Khan, then results came from Lahore from where the Ayub victory began, there are some statistics about results from below given areas, agency and districts in the table:

<b>No's</b>	<b>DISTRICT/ AREA/ AGENCY</b>	<b>AYUB KHAN</b>	<b>MISS FATIMA JINNAH</b>
<b>1.</b>	MALAKAND AGENCY	1431	2
<b>2.</b>	KHYBER AGENCY	251	14
<b>3.</b>	MOHMAND AGENCY	254	11
<b>4.</b>	KURRAM AGENCY	140	41
<b>5.</b>	NORTH WAZIRISTAN	204	0
<b>6.</b>	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN	204	09
<b>7.</b>	SIBBI	114	0

8.	LAHORE	104	0
9.	CHAGHI	38	0
10.	QUINT	271	14
11.	FYRAN MANGORA	36	0
12.	SWAT	290	0
13.	FORT ABBASS	231	6
14.	CHISHTIAN	156	25
15.	BAHAWALNAGAR	152	59
16.	MINCHANABAD	103	20
17.	HASIL PUR	143	12
18.	SADIQABAD	175	35
19.	LYALLPUR	1675	787

(Shahzad, 2004)

Ayub Khan had to appear to Radio for giving a victory speech and he gave a speech to the public masses at 7:00 pm. Ayub got 49,951 votes and Miss Fatima Jinnah got 28,691 votes. Ayub got 21,012 votes from East Pakistan as compared to Miss Fatima Jinnah's 18, 434 votes. Ayub Khan got a victory and majority votes from all the districts and divisions of West Pakistan but lost four districts of East Pakistan Dacca, Naokhali, Comilla, and Sylhet. (Gauhar, 2011)

#### **RESPONSIBLE FACTORS FOR AYUB VICTORY:**

During the campaign COP continuously talked about transforming the Presidential form of Government to Parliamentary form of Government, they also told that direct elections will be imposed based on the universal adult franchise which will deprive the BD's of their supreme right of electing the members to the National and Provincial Assemblies and electing President as well and this disheartened the BD's to vote in her favor. In tribal areas, the BD's were the nominees of government who will automatically favor Ayub. At this point out of 3282 members of Electoral College and secured 95% votes. Another factor was leaving East Pakistan without attending Khwaja Nazimuddin's funeral but Ayub Khan issued a condolence resolution for Khwaja Nazimuddin in National Assembly. The heterogeneity in ideologies and lack of harmony among COP was also responsible for the victory of Ayub Khan. (Khan H., Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, 2017)

#### **AFTERMATH OF ELECTIONS:**

When Ayub Khan got the victory, COP allegedly accused Ayub Khan of threatening the members of the Electoral College, district officers to vote in favor of Ayub Khan. Miss Fatima Jinnah said that "these elections have been rigged. I am sure that the so-called victory of Ayub Khan is his greatest defeat". This point of Miss Fatima Jinnah became true and from 1967 his process of falling began.

The son of Ayub Khan, Gohar Ayub in a procession was standing in a jeep and continuously started firing a pistol into the year in the streets of Karachi. The truck business was run by Pukhtoons and they were under Gohar Ayub's control. It was because Karachi opposed and voted completely against Ayub Khan and he wanted to give punishment to them in this way. During

this incident, 6 people lost their lives according to some newspapers. Later on, the inquiry was ordered to consist of 3 members but nothing came out from this inquiry while those people at Liaquatabad were called to be martyrs, and their anniversary was observed on 5<sup>th</sup> January every year. (Khan H., Constitutional and Political History of Pakistan, 2017)

### **CONCLUSION:**

The election was announced for the electing President of Pakistan, Miss Fatima Jinnah was announced by COP as Presidential Candidate, and she started a campaign on 18 September 1964. Ayub Khan provided her all resources and a peaceful environment for the election campaign but COP was creating hurdles in the way of Ayub Khan's campaign. The public masses greeted and brought her in the procession because of her great role during the freedom movement, old age, being the sister of Quaid-e-Azam. She was just used by COP for influencing their image. At the last phase of the campaign and raising questions that "why is Ghaffar Khan in Kabul? COP campaign is being financed by CIA and COP was described as "a group of disgruntled politicians" "Jagtufrone" "mad cats" "museum" "opportunists" and enemies of Pakistan". Later on According to Mushtaq Ahmed in his book Government and Politics in Pakistan he clearly described evidence that Maulana Abdul Hameed Bhashani had joined hands with the ruling party and Ayub Khan. The Ayub Khan got the victory and Miss Fatima lost the election and died on 9<sup>th</sup> July 1967.

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