

Ayub Khan Era 1958-1969

Muhammad Ayub Khan (Urdu: محمد ایوب خان ; 14 May 1907 – 19 April 1974), was a five-star Pakistan Army general and the second President of Pakistan who forcibly assumed the presidency from the first president Iskander Mirza through coup in 1958, the first successful coup d'état of the country.

Trained at the British Royal Military College, Ayub Khan fought in World War II as a colonel in the British Indian Army before deciding to transfer to join the Pakistan Army as an aftermath of partition of British India in 1947.

Introduction

- On October 7, 1958, President Iskander Mirza abrogated the Constitution and declared Martial Law in the country. This was the first of many military regimes to mar Pakistan's history. With this step, the Constitution of 1956 was abrogated, ministers were dismissed, Central and Provincial Assemblies were dissolved and all political activities were banned.
- General Muhammad Ayub Khan, the then Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, became the Chief Martial Law Administrator. The parliamentary system in Pakistan came to end. Within three weeks of assuming charge on October 27, 1958, Iskander Mirza was ousted by General Ayub Khan, who then declared himself President.
- Corruption had become so widespread within the national and civic systems of administration that Ayub Khan was welcomed as a national hero by the people.

Major Reforms

- Green Revolution
- Land Reforms
- EBDO
- PRODA
- Educational Reforms
- Family Laws
- Privatization

Green Revolution

- Pakistan is a developing country and agriculture plays an important role in the economy of Pakistan as beside contribution towards its GDP, agriculture sector provides raw material for industrial sector and further helps in poverty reduction in country.
- The green revolution in Pakistan was introduced in 1960s and the introduction of high yield varieties in Pakistan's agriculture along with the better chemical fertilizers and tube well irrigation has impacted the agricultural production in Pakistan to the great extent.

1. It allows agricultural operations on a large scale.

The Green Revolution has brought farming to a massive scale.

2. It has the potential to be able to grow any crop anywhere.

This innovative farming process has made it possible for agriculture to be done almost everywhere.

3. It eliminates the need to fallow lands.

This agricultural method has allowed farmers to re-plant similar crops without fallowing their lands.

- **Land Reforms 1959**
- **To Legalize the Documentation and to ensure the ownership of tenants.**
- A person could not own more than 500 acres of irrigated and 1000 acres of unirrigated land, and 150 acres of orchard land.
- **PRODA (public representative office disqualification Act)**
- Soon after coming to power, the new military government promised that they would carry out reforms in the entire government structure and would cleanse the administration of the rampant corruption. A thorough screening process of all government servants was conducted and service records were closely scrutinized. Public servants were tried for misconduct by tribunals consisting of retired judges of the Supreme Court or High Court. If charges were proven, disciplinary action such as dismissal or compulsory retirement of the public servant could take place. A public servant could also be disqualified from holding any public office for 15 years.
- About 3,000 officials were dismissed and many others were reduced in rank as a result of these measures. The rest of the government servants were provided with an incentive to working hard.
- **EBDO (elective bodies disqualification order)**
- Similarly, a law called the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order, popularly known as E. B. D. O., was promulgated for the disqualification of politicians. Under this law, a person could be disqualified from being a member of any elective body till December 31, 1966. Under this harsh law, several politicians like Suhrawardy and Qayyum Khan were disqualified.
- The politicians who were alleged to be corrupt they were given two options either to face trial under the EBDO or voluntarily leave politics.

- **Educational Reforms**

- Extensive education reforms were supposedly carried out and 'scientific development efforts' also supposedly made during his years. These policies could not be sustained after 1965, when the economy collapsed and led to economic declines which he was unable to control. Ayub introduced new curricula and textbooks for universities and schools. Many public-sector universities and schools were built during his era.

- **Family Laws**

- Besides, a legal commission was set up to suggest reforms of the family and marriage laws. Ayub Khan examined its report and issued the Family Laws Ordinance in 1961. It restricted polygamy and “regulated” marriage and divorce, giving women more equal treatment under the law. It was a humane measure supported by women’s organizations in Pakistan. The ordinance could not have been promulgated owing to opposition from the ulema and the fundamentalist Muslim groups. This law like family planning was relatively mild and did not seriously transform the patriarchal pattern of society.

Privatization

Furthermore, Ayub Khan adopted an energetic approach toward economic development. It soon bore fruit in a rising rate of economic growth. Ayub Khan period is credited with Green Revolution and economic and industrial growth. Land reform, consolidation of holdings, and strict measures against hoarding were combined with rural credit programs and work programs, higher procurement prices, augmented allocations for agriculture, and, especially, improved seeds put the country on the road to self-sufficiency in food grains. This is popularly known as the Green Revolution. The Export Bonus Vouchers Scheme (1959) and tax incentives stimulated new industrial entrepreneurs and exporters. Bonus vouchers facilitated access to foreign exchange for imports of industrial machinery and raw materials. Tax concessions were offered for investment in less-developed areas. These measures had important consequences in bringing industry to Punjab and gave rise to a new class of small industrialists.

Indus water Treaty 1960

- Pakistan is an agricultural country. Eighty percent of its agricultural output comes from the Indus Basin. Pakistan has one of the world's largest canal systems built much before Independence by the British. After Independence, problems between the two countries arose over the distribution of water. Rivers flow into Pakistan territory from across India. In 1947, when Punjab was divided between the two countries, many of the canal head-works remained with India. The division of Punjab thus created major problems for irrigation in Pakistan.
- On April 1, 1948, India stopped the supply of water to Pakistan from every canal flowing from India to Pakistan. Pakistan protested and India finally agreed on an interim agreement on May 4, 1948. This agreement was not a permanent solution; therefore, Pakistan approached the World Bank in 1952 to help settle the problem permanently. Negotiations were carried out between the two countries through the offices of the World Bank. It was finally in Ayub Khan's regime that an agreement was signed between India and Pakistan in September 1960. This agreement is known as the Indus Water Treaty.
- This treaty divided the use of rivers and canals between the two countries. Pakistan obtained exclusive rights for the three western rivers, namely Indus, Jehlum and Chenab. And India retained rights to the three eastern rivers, namely Ravi, Beas and Sutluj. The treaty also guaranteed ten years of uninterrupted water supply. During this period Pakistan was to build huge dams, financed partly by long-term World Bank loans and compensation money from India. Three multipurpose dams, Warsak, Mangla and Tarbela were built. A system of eight link canals was also built, and the remodeling of existing canals was carried out. Five barrages and a gated siphon were also constructed under this treaty.

Basic Democracy System

- Martial law lasted 44 months. During that time, a number of army officers took over vital civil service posts. Many politicians were excluded from public life under an Electoral Bodies (Disqualification) Order; a similar purge took place among civil servants. Yet, Ayub Khan argued that Pakistan was not yet ready for a full-blown experiment in parliamentary democracy and that the country required a period of tutelage and honest government before a new constitutional system could be established. He therefore initiated a plan for “basic democracies,” consisting of rural and urban councils directly elected by the people that would be concerned with local governance and would assist in programs of grassroots development. Elections took place in January 1960, and the Basic Democrats, as they became known, were at once asked to endorse and thus legitimate Ayub Khan’s presidency. Of the 80,000 Basic Democrats, 75,283 affirmed their support. Basic democracies was a tiered system inextricably linked to the bureaucracy, and the Basic Democrats occupied the lowest rung of a ladder that was connected to the country’s administrative subdistricts (tehsils, or tahsils), districts, and divisions.

Presidential election of 1965

- In 1964, President Ayub Khan was confident in his apparent popularity and saw the deep divisions within the political opposition which ultimately led him to announce presidential elections in 1965. He earned the nomination of the Pakistan Muslim League (PML) and was shocked when Fatima Jinnah was nominated by the Combined Opposition Parties. Fatima Jinnah had gained a lot of support from Karachi, Lahore, and various parts of West and East Pakistan opposed to President Ayub Khan. Jinnah targeted the Indus Waters Treaty, Pakistan's over-reliance on the United States, and its troubled relations with the Soviet Union. During the elections, President Ayub earned notoriety when his son, Gohar Ayub Khan, was named in the news media for authorizing political murders in Karachi, particularly of Jinnah supporters.
- Angry protesters demonstrated in the streets of Sindh, chanting slogans against President Ayub. Fatima Jinnah won the popular vote in a landslide but Ayub Khan won the election through the Electoral College vote. During this time, Ayub Khan used the Pakistani intelligence community for his own advantage. Military Intelligence actively monitored politicians and political gatherings and the Intelligence Bureau taped politicians' telephone conversations. This was the first departure of the intelligence community from national defence and security to direct interference with national politics, an interference which continued in succeeding years.

- It was reported that the elections were widely rigged by the state authorities and machinery under the control of Ayub Khan and it is believed that had the elections been held via direct ballot, Fatima Jinnah would have won. The Electoral College consisted of only 80,000 Basic Democrats. They were easily manipulated by President Ayub Khan, who won the bitterly-contested elections with 64% of the Electoral College vote. According to journalists of the time, the election did not conform to international standards; many viewed the election results with great suspicion.

- **Indo-PAK War 1965**

- The 1965 war was started due to Rann and Kutch conflict between Pakistan and India in which Pakistan gained control of some regions in Rann and Kutch.
- India and China fought on the border region in 1962.
- Ayub Khan launched Operation Gibraltar with the hope that India's position is vulnerable.
- Pakistan infiltrated mujahideen in the Indian Occupied region of Kashmir from working boundary (Sialkot-Jammu).
- India recognized those mujahideen who entered the region, and started advancing its troops across the cease fire line.
- Pakistani troops also advanced in the cease fire line and the clashes started.

- India launched attack on Pakistan through crossing the international boundary in Punjab.
- The war was fought for almost 17 days from 6-23 September 1965.
- **Tashkent agreement 1966**
- USSR intervened to bring cessation of the hostilities in between India and Pakistan
- USSR Prime minister Alexi Kosygin invited Ayub and Indian Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri to Tashkent to sign a peace agreement.
- The significant clauses of this agreement were:
 - The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree to make all efforts to establish good relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter. They affirm to renounce the use of force in the settlement of their disputes.
 - The President of Pakistan and the Indian Prime Minister agree to withdraw, no later than February 25, 1966, all armed personnel to the position held before August 5, 1964.
 - Both India and Pakistan agree to follow the principle of non-interference in their affairs and will discourage the use of any propaganda against each other.
 - Both the countries also agree to reopen normal diplomatic functioning and to return of the High Commissioners of both the countries to their posts.
 - Measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between the two countries were to be taken. Measures were to be taken to implement the existing agreements between Pakistan and India.
 - Prisoners of war would be repatriated.

- News of the Tashkent Declaration shocked the people who were expecting something quite different. Things further worsened as Ayub Khan refused to comment and went into seclusion instead of taking the people into confidence over the reasons for signing the agreement. Demonstrations and rioting erupted at various places throughout the country. In order to dispel the anger and misgiving of the people, Ayub Khan decided to lay the matter before the people by addressing the nation on January 14.
- It was the difference over Tashkent Declaration, which eventually led to the removal of Z. A. Bhutto from Ayub's government, who later on launched his own party, called the Pakistan People's Party.
- Despite the fact that Ayub Khan was able to satisfy the misgiving of the people, there is no doubt that the Tashkent Declaration greatly damaged the image of Ayub Khan, and became one of the many factors that led to his downfall.

- Six Points of Shaikh Mujeeb 1966

- The Constitution should provide for a Federation of Pakistan in its true sense based on the Lahore Resolution, and the parliamentary form of government with supremacy of a Legislature directly elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.
- The federal government should deal with only two subjects: Defence and Foreign Affairs, and all other residual subjects should be vested in the federating states.
- Two separate, but freely convertible currencies for the two wings should be introduced; or if this is not feasible, there should be one currency for the whole country, but effective constitutional provisions should be introduced to stop the flight of capital from East to West Pakistan. Furthermore, a separate Banking Reserve should be established and separate fiscal and monetary policy be adopted for East Pakistan.
- The power of taxation and revenue collection should be vested in the federating units and the federal centre would have no such power. The federation would be entitled to a share in the state taxes to meet its expenditures.
- There should be two separate accounts for the foreign exchange earnings of the two wings; the foreign exchange requirements of the federal government should be met by the two wings equally or in a ratio to be fixed; indigenous products should move free of duty between the two wings, and the constitution should empower the units to establish trade links with foreign countries.
- East Pakistan should have a separate military or paramilitary force, and Navy headquarters should be in East Pakistan.

Causes of Ayub's Decline

• **GENERAL REASONS**

- The concentration of political power in his own hands.
- Dictatorial powers of President: people wanted a parliamentary form of democracy
- Right of adult franchise curtailed by the system of basic democracy
- Hold of the military hierarchy, civil bureaucracy, and rural elite in policymaking.
- Disqualification of politicians and political parties under Elective Bodies Disqualification Order (EBDO).
- Control of Press and Media under Press and Publication (Amendment) Ordinance: Pakistan Times, Imroz, Mashriq were placed under National Press Trust.
- Restrictions on Individuals fundamental rights. State of emergency.
- Land and Muslim family laws Reforms were revolutionary in words than in deeds.
- The opposition of One Unit by the small provinces.
- Exaggerated claims about development in the ceremonies of Celebrations of a decay.
- News of his illness in early 1968.
- Rumor that he was going to appoint Gohar as his successor.
- Withdrawal of military support: Reduction on Armed Forces' in the budget of 1967-68.

- By and large, the ten-year rule of General Ayub Khan is seen as an era of progress and industrial development. Ayub promulgated mega projects like the construction of Mangla Dam, the Karachi Steel Mills, oil refineries and above all construction of a new capital at Islamabad. He introduced various reforms to improve the state of affairs, like the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance of 1961, imposing restrictions on polygamy and reinforcing inheritance rights of women. The Land Reforms initiated by him were a step to reduce the increasing power of the landed aristocracy. He signed a boundary agreement with China in March 1963, which proved to be the beginning of a long term friendship between the two countries.
- The prominent feature of a Martial Law regime is the rapid growth of development, but in the long run, the various measures taken by a martial dictator come into the limelight and create disruption among the society. Despite all the positive steps and development marking General Ayub's Era, the graph of his popularity began declining. The immediate cause was the elections of 1965 and the Tashkent Declaration.

- If we minutely study the ten years of Ayub's era we calculate a few things. Like every martial law administrator, Ayub liked to keep the power in his own hands. As soon as he came to power, one of the first steps he took was the passing of EBDO (Disqualification of politicians and political parties under the Elective Bodies Disqualification Order), claiming to minimize corruption.
- People wanted a parliamentary form of government, but General Ayub presented the nation with the second constitution in 1962 which was presidential in nature.
- By introducing the system of Basic Democracy (BD), the right of the adult franchise was curtailed.
- The control of the media and press was observed.
- The Land and Family Laws were very attractive but they were not fully implemented.
- The concept of urbanization was encouraged, but facilities were not provided.
- The whole of West Pakistan was made in one unit, with which the small provinces were not happy.
- Rumors about his illness in early 1968, about making Gohar Ayub his successor, withdrawal of military support added more to his unpopularity.

- One more aspect which Ayub neglected from the beginning that caused a major upheaval in his popularity graph was the case of East Pakistan. It is an atrocious truth that since independence all the governments including that of Ayub Khan had neglected East Pakistan. Like his predecessors, he did nothing to decrease the economic disparity between East and West Pakistan. He was aware of the acute grievances of the Bengalis, but he did not try to tackle it seriously. As Bengal was a densely populated and politicized province, it's feeling of deprivation increased by the absence of democratic institutions in Ayub's highly centralized regime. The East Pakistanis also considered Martial law as the rule of Punjabi dominated Army. The issue of provincial autonomy was also an issue that intensified with time and we see that in 1966 Sheikh Mujeeb ur Rahman presented his six points formula for provincial autonomy of the East wing. Even then, no heed was paid to the growing discontentment.
- Zulfikar Ali Bhutto exploited the Tashkent declaration to turn public opinion against Ayub. The increasing popularity of the Awami League under Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rahman in East Pakistan and Pakistan Peoples Party under Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in West Pakistan was alarming for the stability of General Ayub's Regime. Then there was also Asghar Khan's movement and few other political alliances which were creating hurdles for a stable Ayub's government.
- Finally, the movement against his government intensified towards the end of 1968 and at the beginning of 1969. The movement was launched by the Urban middle class i.e. Students, lawyers, teachers, doctors, labourers, politicians etc.
- It became quite difficult for General Ayub to face so much opposition from politicians as well as common people from all walks of life. He ultimately decided to resign in March 1969. In his last radio address to the nation on 25 March 1969, he said, "I cannot preside over the destruction of my country".
- This ended a rather stable and progressive era in the history of Pakistan.