

## Topic 26

# FIELD MARSHAL MOHAMMAD AYUB KHAN 1958 TO 1969

- Born in 14 May 1907
- Son of a Risaal Dar Major Mir daad Khan
- Read in Aligarh College.
- Joined Indian Army in 1926
- Ayub Khan announced that he hoped that a period of military rule would settle Pakistan.

### POLITICAL/CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS:

#### 1959 Basic Democracies:

- The first step in Ayub Khan's constitutional reforms came with the introduction of the Basic Democracies order on **26 Oct. 1959**.
- That was 4 tier systems in which ordinary people elected **union council** members, who in turn elected **district** and **divisional** members.
- Later it was stated in the 1962 constitution that the 80,000 elected Basic Democrats would also form the Electoral College for the election of the **president** and members of the central and provincial legislatures.
- At the end of 1959, Ayub asked the basic democrats for a vote of confidence in him and on **17 Feb. 1960** he was confirmed as president.
- He then announced the creation of a constitution commission to make recommendations for a new constitution.

#### The 1962 Constitution:

- The new constitution was announced on **1 March 1962**.
- Ayub described it as combining "*democracy with discipline*".
- In reality it set up a presidential form of government.

#### It stated that:

- (i) The president could be removed unless impeached.
  - (ii) The president nominated the cabinet from the members of the national assembly.
  - (iii) The president nominated the heads of the judiciary and the provincial governors.
  - (iv) The national legislatures could not pass a law without the approval of the president.
  - (v) Both Urdu and Bengali were recognized as two of the national languages.
  - (vi) The national assembly session was to be held in both Dhaka and Islamabad.
  - (vii) If the president were from West Pakistan then the speaker of the national assembly was to be from East Pakistan.
- The new constitution was introduced without debate and Ayub brought Martial law to an end soon afterwards.
  - The new National assembly met for the first time on **8 June 1962**.
  - The first act was to remove the ban on political parties.
  - Ayub's reforms had increased the powers of the ruling elite.

- Major landlords dominated the elections.
- The constitution also further upset the people of East Pakistan.
- They felt that the Pakistan's government was in the hands of military and civil officials from West Pakistan.

### **Election of 1965:**

- In **Jan 1965** elections were held for the presidency.
- Ayub Khan was nominated by a new party, the *Convention Muslim League*
- He believed that the opposition parties were too divided to put up a credible opponent in the elections.
- He was however wrong, the opposition parties all agreed to support the sister and advisor of the Quaid, *Mohtarma Fatima Jinnah*.
- In the election Ayub Khan won **64 %** of the votes, compared to Miss Jinnah's **36 %**.
- Results were challenged by the opposition who claimed that the voting had been rigged.
- Riots began in Karachi and East Pakistan in which 20 people were killed.
- Ayub Khan had been reelected.

### **A New capital:**

- Since partition the capital had been Karachi.
- In 1959 the site of Islamabad was chosen to replace Karachi as the Capital of Pakistan.
- In **1967** Islamabad was officially made the capital.
- Work on the city's principal buildings, streets, and facilities continued and were completed by the mid-1970s.
- It is a modern and carefully planned city.
- The city is divided into 8 largely self-contained zones.

### **Agricultural reforms / the Green Revolution:**

- An experiment of small subsistence holdings had never been efficient.
- A law was passed saying that no farm could be smaller than **12.5 acres** or larger than **500 acres** (irrigated) or **1000 acres** (unirrigated).
- This meant that many smaller farmers found their land was redistributed.
- However the resulting larger farms did produce a steady rise in food output.
- Big landlords were forced to find tenants for parts of their land and this too raised productivity as the tenants and smaller farms were often more efficient than the larger, poorly run farms.
- Four dams were built to help irrigation.
- Loans were also given to farmers to build wells.
- Productivity was further increased due to mechanization.

### **Industrial reforms:**

- Industrial development was also considered.
- This was carried out with the help of loans from more industrialized western countries.(USA, Germany, UK)
- In 1962 an *oil refinery* was established in Karachi and a Mineral development Corporation set up for the exploration of mineral deposits.

- In **1964** an Economic union was formed with Iran and Turkey, the Regional cooperation development (**RCD**) (to develop ties in Trade, Commerce and industry).
- An *Export Bonus Scheme* was set up offering incentives to industrialists who increased exports.
- The average annual rate by which the economy grew in the 1960 was **7 %**, three times that of India.
- But the new wealth created, did little to benefit the large numbers of Pakistanis living near the poverty line.
- It was revealed that just **22** families controlled 66 % of Pakistan's industrial assets.
- The same families also controlled 80 % of Pakistan's banking and insurance companies.
- A small elite group of wealthy Pakistanis had almost complete control of Pakistan's wealth.
- All these families belong to West Pakistan.
- Industry was improving rapidly but Pakistan was increasingly dependent on foreign aid.

### Social and Educational reforms:

- New curriculum for schools and new textbooks were published.
- Government began an extensive literacy programme, building new schools and colleges.
- Ayub Khan appointed **General Azam Khan** the *Rehabilitation Minister* to settle 75,000 refugees in newly built dwellings near Karachi.
- Laws were passed that factory owners had to provide accommodations for their workers at a reasonable rent.
- Family Planning Programmes were also launched (funded by America).
- Medical facilities were also improved.
- Medical and Nursing schools were also set up to increase the number of doctors and nurses.

### Political unrest and downfall of Ayub:

- In **1965** Pakistan went to war with India over Kashmir.
- Neither side was able to win a decisive victory.
- Ayub told the people that Pakistan had won the war but the peace treaty at *Tashkent* contained no reference to how the Kashmir issue should be settled.
- It was to regain that disputed Kashmir territory that Pakistan had started the war.
- Ayub sacked the foreign Minister, **Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto**, who he blamed for the failings in the war.
- Bhutto now became a focal point for opposition to Ayub.
- By 1968 many people were discontented with the government.
- It seemed to be undemocratic as there were numerous accusations of intimidation and vote rigging in the elections for the Electoral College and the presidential elections.
- The economy was improving yet only a few people were benefiting from this.
- Agricultural production was rising but so were food prices.
- Ayub decided to celebrate the achievements of his ten years as head of state by declaring it "**A Decade of Development**", but this didn't end the growing opposition.
- In **October 1968**, there were student protests all over West Pakistan.
- On a visit to Peshawar Ayub was the target of a failed assassinations attempt.
- When Ayub carried out widespread arrests, including Bhutto, there were more protests, which spread to East Pakistan.
- Ayub Khan's repressive policies succeeded in uniting the various parties that opposed him.
- In **Jan. 1969** eight of them formed the Democratic Action Committee.
- They wanted proper election, the lifting of emergency powers and autonomy for East Pakistan.
- On **17 Feb. 1969** Ayub Khan withdrew the emergency powers and released many political prisoners arrested in the previous Oct of 1968.

- He began negotiating with the opposition, but he had done too little too late.
- The opposition rapidly gained support whilst he and his party rapidly lost it.
- By March 1969 he realized that he didn't have enough support to stay in power.
- On **25 March 1969** he resigned.
- But he didn't call for new elections to choose another president.
- Instead he handed over power to the army and for the second time in its short history Pakistan experienced martial law.

### Expected Questions:

**Question No.1:** Explain why the period of Ayub Khan's government 1958-69 is called the Decade of Progress? (10) June 99 Q.4 b

**Question No.2:** which of the following contributed the most to Pakistan's domestic policies:

Liaqat Ali Khan

Ayub Khan

Zia ul Haq

Explain your answer with reference to all three of the above. (14)

June 2001 Q.4c

**Question No.3:** Why was Martial Law declared in 1958? (7)

Nov.2002 Q.4 b

**Question No.4:** Which of the following was the most important contribution of Ayub Khan's government during the Decade of Development between 1958 and 1969.

Agricultural and economic reforms

Constitutional reforms

Foreign policy?

Explain your answer with reference to all three above. (14)

Nov.2003 Q.4 c

**Question No.5:** Why was Martial Law declared in 1958? (7)

Nov.2004 Q.4 b

**Question No.6:** Constitutional Reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan's domestic policies during the decade of development between 1958 and 1969. Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

June 2005 Q.5 c

**Question No.7:** Why did Ayub declare Martial Law in 1958? (7)

Nov.2006 Q.5 b

**Question No.8:** Ayub Khan's agricultural reforms were more successful than any other of his domestic policies between 1958-1969. Do you agree or disagree? Give reasons for your answer. (14)

Nov 2007 Q.4 c

**Question No.9:** Why were the years 1958-1969 called the decade of Progress? (7)

June 2010 Q. 5 b

**Question No. 10:** What was the Basic Democratic System of Ayub Khan? (4)

Nov 2011 Q.4 a

**Question No.11:** Constitutional reforms were the most important of Ayub Khan's domestic policies during the 'Decade of Progress' between 1958 and 1969.' Do you agree? Give reasons for your answer.(14)

June 2012 Q. 5 c

**Question No. 12:** why was Martial Law declared by Ayub Khan in 1958? (4)

Nov.2012 Q.4 b

**Question No. 13:** Were the social reforms of Ayub Khan the most important of his domestic policies during the 'Decade of Progress' between 1958 and 1969? Explain your answer. (14)

June 2014 Q.4 c

**Question No. 14:** In 1962, Ayub Khan introduced a new constitution that was largely made up of his own proposals. The new constitution was aimed at making Ayub Khan's position more secure and guaranteed far-reaching powers for the President. It was disliked by many people, especially those in East Pakistan who felt that they would have little part in governing Pakistan. As a result within a decade there was a need to introduce a new constitution.

(a) Describe the terms of the 1973 Constitution. [4]

Nov.2014 Q.4 a

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