

## ***The Formation of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal and the General Elections of 1970***

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On 2 December 1969, in a surprise move, Air Marshal (Retd) Muhammad Asghar Khan announced his decision to retire from active politics and to quit the Pakistan Democratic Party (PDP).<sup>1</sup> His announcement came as a 'rude shock' to his compatriots at large and as a 'surprise' to political circles. The PDP found itself seriously handicapped as its leadership was restricted to regional and provincial leaders, many of whom were without any appreciable support even in their hometowns. They wanted the presence of Asghar Khan in the party because they badly needed a personality of national stature commanding respect in both wings of the country.

Thus the PDP's top bosses started a hectic campaign to persuade Asghar Khan to return to the fold of the party. The party convener, Nurul Amin, sent a telegram to him to reconsider his decision.<sup>2</sup> Mukhlessuzaman Khan, vice-president of the East Pakistan PDP, said that a vast majority of Bengalis wanted Asghar Khan to remain in politics.<sup>3</sup> Khwaja Muhammad Rafiq, secretary general of the PDP (Punjab Zone) appealed to Asghar Khan to reverse his decision on the plea that the Pakistan ideology had yet to be defended against socialist and anti-religious elements.<sup>4</sup> Ali Rahman Fani, joint secretary of the PDP (NWFP Zone) threatened to stage a hunger-strike-unto-death in front of Asghar Khan's house, if he did not change his decision. Seeing no response to all these appeals, Abdus Salam, chief of the East Pakistan PDP, especially flew to West Pakistan to personally request Asghar Khan

to change his mind.<sup>6</sup> But all these efforts proved futile as Asghar Khan publicly declared that he had made his decision after a good deal of consideration and that it was irreversible.<sup>7</sup> However, it soon became clear that although he had left the PDP, his interest in politics had not declined. Simply two days after his so-called retirement from politics, he issued a lengthy statement on the eve of the 6th death anniversary of Husain Shaheed Suhrawardy, a former Prime Minister of Pakistan, declaring him to be a symbol of unity of Pakistan.<sup>8</sup> On 13 December 1969, in a press statement issued in Rawalpindi, he announced that he was conscious of the problems facing Pakistan and would not hesitate to play his 'full part' in the service of the country 'whenever the need arises'.<sup>9</sup> Referring to the issue of his retirement from politics, he said that during the last ten days he had received numerous letters and telegrams from all parts of the country asking him to reconsider his decision, and observed that if people really believed that things would not go well without him, he could not be easy in his mind.<sup>10</sup>

Thus on 8 January 1970, 'in deference to the wishes of the people', just after thirty-eight days of his decision to retire from active politics, he announced his re-entry into the political arena.<sup>11</sup> However, he made it clear that there was absolutely no chance of his ever joining the PDP again or reviving the short-lived Justice Party.<sup>12</sup> He also declared that he did not wish to form a new party or to join any of the existing ones.<sup>13</sup> He further explained that his immediate task would be to strengthen unity between East and West Pakistan, and to work for creating among the people the spirit to think and strive for the glory of Pakistan.<sup>14</sup> For this purpose, he said, he would undertake an extensive tour of the country and hold public meetings. He appealed to all those who had placed confidence in him to assist him in this important national task.<sup>15</sup>

The message was clear to his former colleagues in the PDP and a wave of resignations swept through the party. Heading the list were the two central vice-presidents of the party from West Pakistan, Rahim Bux Soomro and Saadullah Khan,<sup>16</sup> followed by the resignation of Abu Saeed Enver, member of the Central Executive of the PDP,<sup>17</sup> and many other divisional, district and local leaders of the party.<sup>18</sup> The vice-president of East Pakistan PDP, Mukhlessuzzaman, also along with his entire group, resigned from the PDP and placed his 'humble service' at the disposal of Asghar Khan.<sup>19</sup>

Although the Air Marshal had indicated that he would remain outside the 'party politics', he soon realized that a 'solo flight' was only possible in the Air Force and political work could not be done smoothly without a political organization.<sup>20</sup> Admitting this fact, he acknowledged that there was no denying the fact that he was an independent politician, but the usefulness of an independent person was limited.<sup>21</sup> As for his joining any of the existing political parties, or to form a new one, he disclosed that he would take the decision in consultation with his friends and former political colleagues.<sup>22</sup> Meanwhile, an *ad hoc* body, known as 'Asghar Group' was formed at Lahore at a meeting of pro-Asghar Khan political workers.<sup>23</sup> Announcing its formation, its convener Dr. Jahangir declared that the Air Marshal had no objection to their naming the group after him.<sup>24</sup>

After deliberations with his East Pakistani colleagues, Asghar Khan announced at Dacca that he would convene a two-day meeting of his supporters in Rawalpindi on 28 February 1970, to take the 'final and firm' decision on how they could work together.<sup>25</sup> This two-day meeting of like-minded leaders, convened by Asghar Khan, began at Rawalpindi on 28 February 1970,<sup>26</sup> and was attended by some forty-three politicians, including some retired senior military officers<sup>27</sup> from both wings of the country. Asghar Khan told newsmen that although a final decision would be taken tomorrow, the majority of the participants held the view that they should not join any of the existing parties.<sup>28</sup> At the conclusion of the meeting the next day, Asghar Khan and his political associates decided neither to join any existing party nor to float a new one, but to start a non-partisan movement for the restoration of democracy, for strengthening feelings of unity between both wings of the country, and to strive for elimination of social, economic and political tensions.<sup>29</sup> The movement was named as 'Tehrik-i-Istiqal' in West Pakistan and 'Gono Oikko Andolen' in East Pakistan.<sup>30</sup>

Explaining the background of the decision, Asghar Khan observed that political activity in the country had brought to the forefront extremism, narrow parochialism, regionalism and rigid socio-economic concepts. He argued that this state of affairs, if allowed to continue, would pose a serious threat to the solidarity, integrity and indeed the very ideology of Pakistan. According to him, the need of the hour was, therefore, to inculcate a lasting attachment in the heart of every Pakistani to the ideology of Pakistan which transcended all regional, provincial and linguistic loyalties.<sup>31</sup> To achieve this purpose, he said that they intended

to start a mass contact campaign to enlighten the people of both wings, about the real problems of the country.<sup>32</sup> The participants of the meeting were confident that their organization would be in a better position to work for unity because it was free from the pulls and pressures of electioneering.<sup>33</sup> They also believed that Tehrik-i-Istiqlal could better highlight the genuineness of each issue without looking for seats and would thus succeed in consolidating the forces of unity and solidarity of the country on the basis of the ideology of Pakistan.<sup>34</sup> Asghar Khan, however, made it clear that although Tehrik-i-Istiqlal would not seek election alliances or put up candidates, there would be no bar on its members to contest the elections individually.<sup>35</sup>

To mark the conclusion of the meeting, several resolutions were adopted. The first resolution, while wholeheartedly supporting and endorsing the various steps taken by Asghar Khan since the formation of the Justice Party last year, concluded that all those steps were motivated by 'overall national interest'.<sup>36</sup> Through another resolution, the meeting expressed its full confidence, in the 'selfless' and 'dynamic' leadership of Asghar Khan and pledged to work wholeheartedly for the success of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal.<sup>37</sup> In yet another resolution the meeting demanded the release of all political prisoners in East and West Pakistan, including the students arrested in connection with recent elections in educational institutions.<sup>38</sup>

Besides the first press conference held on 1 March 1970, announcing the creation of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, its members held various meetings to explain the purpose of the newly formed organization in more simple words. From these meetings, it emerged that Tehrik-i-Istiqlal would also work for the solution of socio-economic problems as according to its convener, the unity could not be achieved without an effective economic parity between the two wings of the country.<sup>39</sup>

In one such meeting, Asghar Khan declared that the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal aimed at educating the people about various political and constitutional issues, dispelling the misunderstanding against each other, ensuring free and fair elections, canvassing public support for the political parties having faith in Pakistan's ideology, and mobilizing public opinion in favour of framing an agreed constitution within 120 days after the elections.<sup>40</sup> Asghar Khan also made it clear that the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal was not a political party in the ordinary sense; it was instead a political organization with deep involvement in politics.<sup>41</sup> The difference

between the two, he said, was that it did not have a Parliamentary Board to issue tickets to its candidates.<sup>42</sup>

Side by side with the introduction of the Tehrik's programme into the masses, efforts to organize it like any political party were afoot from the very beginning. It was explained that the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal intended to establish its offices throughout the country down to the Tehsil, Thana and Mohallah levels.<sup>43</sup> Simultaneously with the launching of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, an eleven-men Central Organizational Committee headed by Asghar Khan, with Mukhlessuzzaman Khan, a former MNA from East Pakistan, as its secretary, and Musheer Ahmed Pesh Imam as the joint secretary was formed to chalk out in detail the Tehrik's aims and objects and the overall organizational setup.<sup>44</sup>

The task of organizing the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal in East Pakistan was entrusted to B.D. Habibullah, a former MPA from Barisal,<sup>45</sup> while in West Pakistan Asghar Khan himself assumed this responsibility for all practical purposes. He appointed secretaries of the provincial Tehrik-i-Istiqlal organizations in West Pakistan with the direction that until the regular appointment of the provincial chairmen they would direct and co-ordinate the activities of the Tehrik.<sup>46</sup> Within three months, the Tehrik was able to have its provincial chairmen for Punjab, NWFP and Sind, and an *ad hoc* committee, headed by Khuda-i-Noor was established, for organizing the Tehrik in Balochistan.<sup>47</sup> With the appointment of these key office-bearers, the offices of Tehrik-i-Istiqlal began to be established throughout the country, followed by its first overseas branch at Birmingham (UK) with Ziaul Hasan as its convener.<sup>48</sup>

The organizational work in East Pakistan, however did not proceed as smoothly and rapidly as in West Pakistan. Initially it was announced that the National Working Committee of the Tehrik would comprise thirty-one members, with at least fifteen members from each wing,<sup>49</sup> but due to comparatively less popularity of the Tehrik in East Pakistan, Asghar Khan had to content himself with a fifteen-member National Working Committee, out of which only four were Bengalis.<sup>50</sup>

A student wing of the Tehrik was also constituted soon under the nomenclature of Tehrik-i-Istiqlal-i-Tulba<sup>51</sup> and its delegations extensively toured West Pakistan for elaborating the Tehrik's programme.<sup>52</sup> The Air Marshal, however, always advised them to stay away from active politics as the first and foremost duty of the students was to prosecute their studies and become useful citizens.<sup>53</sup>

The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal went a step still further by inducting women in its organizational hierarchy and Begum Sadi Zamir was appointed as the Tehrik's organizer for Karachi, the biggest city of Pakistan.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, from its very beginning, the Tehrik succeeded in enlisting the support of such eminent ladies as Begum Shaista Ikramullah, who had been one of the two women members of the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan.<sup>55</sup>

Within two months of its creation, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal formulated its 'aims and objects'. While announcing them on 9 May 1970, its convener, Air Marshal (Retd) Asghar Khan explained that they were a further elaboration of the purposes set out at the foundation meeting of the Tehrik at Rawalpindi, held on 28 February-1 March, 1970.<sup>56</sup> He explained that the Tehrik would work for the creation of understanding between the people of different regions of the country, extend all possible help in the framing and preservation of a constitution based upon the injunctions of the Qur'an and *Sunnah*,<sup>57</sup> would endeavour for the attainment of maximum autonomy for the provinces consistent with the integrity of Pakistan, and remove disparity among different regions of the country in the shortest possible time to enable them to play their respective roles in the affairs of the country.<sup>58</sup> He also pledged that Tehrik-i-Istiqlal would do its best to ensure the dignity of labour and effective harnessing of all available resources including manpower, for the speedy development of the country.<sup>59</sup> His organization, he added, would aim at undoing all manner of exploitation, securing due opportunities for a basic minimum standard of education for all citizens of the state and opportunities on the basis of merit alone for higher education.<sup>60</sup> Acknowledging that all wealth belonged to Allah Almighty, Asghar Khan promised that the Tehrik would try to ensure that the citizens of Pakistan used it as a trust in all equity and fairness.<sup>61</sup> He also declared that the Tehrik would follow an independent foreign policy dictated by national interests and world peace and it would try to establish close and friendly relations with Muslim countries for the unity of the *Ummah* and strive for the liberation of Jammu and Kashmir, Junagadh, Manavadar and Mangrol. The Tehrik also planned to set up committees dealing with subjects like education, foreign affairs, labour, economics and social welfare, in which, besides the members of the Tehrik, eminent experts of the relevant fields were also to be included.<sup>62</sup>

A close study of the above would reveal that the Tehrik's leaders remained non-committal on all controversial issues and confined their announcements only to those points which were acceptable to every shade of political opinion. But one thing, which gave a plus point to the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, was that it also appeared practising the principles it had declared to stand for.

The most significant achievement of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, during the critical days of 1970, was its move to bring East and West Pakistan closer. Its main attempt was to acquaint each region with the problems of the other regions and to illustrate that the people as such were identical in their sufferings and real culprits were the former rulers regardless of the region they hailed from.

The Tehrik's leaders believed that the majority of East Pakistanis were not aware of the real conditions of the people of West Pakistan and a cloud of misunderstanding hung over them. Similarly, a very small minority of West Pakistanis fully realized the real problems faced by the people of East Pakistan.<sup>63</sup>

In fact, before the partition, nothing delighted the Hindu heart more than to see the Bengali Muslims as illiterate, disease-stricken and debt-ridden, a situation they had no mean contribution to create and perpetuate.<sup>64</sup> Although since 1947, spectacular economic development had taken place in East Pakistan and in the brief span of twenty-four years, its face had changed beyond recognition, the feeling of deprivation in state management and a lesser share in civil and military services emerged as a serious grievance of the Bengalis. When, in late sixties, they started pressing for their due rights, a section of the West Pakistani leadership started branding all Bengalis as 'traitors'.<sup>65</sup>

The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal faced this situation very skillfully, and through several press statements and public meetings its leaders urged the West Pakistani politicians to visit East Pakistan more frequently in order to gain confidence of the people there and to acquaint themselves with their actual sentiments and feelings.<sup>66</sup> Asghar Khan emphasized that through those visits these leaders might not be able to enlist many voters for the forthcoming elections but they would certainly contribute towards national solidarity.<sup>67</sup> He criticized the attitude of those West Pakistani leaders who reminded East Pakistanis that much had been done there in all walks of life and so many roads, hospitals and schools, etc., had been built in their province. He told them that Bengalis took it as a 'colonial attitude' and advised them to refrain from doing so.<sup>68</sup>

During April-June 1970, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal's West Pakistani leaders like Asghar Khan, Musheer Ahmed Pesh Imam, Abu Saeed Enver and others, extensively toured the whole of East Pakistan and held public meetings. They told their audiences that like East Pakistan, poverty was a glaring feature of West Pakistan as well, and yet, he stressed that the common man in West Pakistan nursed no feeling of ill-will against his East Pakistani brethren.<sup>69</sup> On the contrary, the people of West Pakistan had nothing but love, affection and brotherly feelings for their compatriots in that province<sup>70</sup> and it was their utmost desire that justice should be done to their brethren in that part of the country, too.<sup>71</sup>

These noble feelings were also echoed in the pronouncements of the East Pakistani leaders of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal. Abdul Qasim Khan, a prominent Tehrik leader said that the people of West Pakistan would fight shoulder to shoulder for achieving the legitimate rights of their East Pakistani brethren.<sup>72</sup> Mukhlessuzzaman, the general secretary of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, suggested to all political leaders to work hard to put an end to the 'mist of misunderstanding' created between the people of East and West Pakistan.<sup>73</sup> In short, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal was the only West Pakistan based organization which was able to hold successful big public meetings at Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, Khulna and Barisal in the troubled days of 1970.

To put an end to the tussle over the parity question, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal floated the idea of reorganizing both wings of Pakistan into five provinces each, in the belief that creation of these provinces would ensure parity at least in respect of the number of provinces in each wing.<sup>74</sup> As at that time West Pakistan comprised four provinces, the National Working Committee of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal demanded that in West Pakistan a new province should be created by designating the former Bahawalpur State as a full fledged province.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, it was also demanded that in addition to the four major regions of East Pakistan, Sylhet district might also be converted into a full fledged province to equal the number of provinces in both wings of the country.<sup>76</sup>

The Tehrik also demanded at least fifty percent share for East Pakistan in the Armed Forces<sup>77</sup> and called for effectively stopping the flight of capital from East Pakistan to West Pakistan.<sup>78</sup> It also urged that the headquarters of the financial institutions like the Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan, Pakistan Industrial Credit Investment Corporation

and the State Bank of Pakistan should be shifted to East Pakistan.<sup>79</sup> However, it vehemently opposed the shifting of the national capital to East Pakistan arguing that being an under developed country, Pakistan could not afford such a luxury.<sup>80</sup>

The burning question of the regional autonomy was also very skillfully handled by the Tehrik. The demand for a larger share in representation in political, as well as economic spheres, and the maximum degree of autonomy for East Pakistan had been voiced by almost all the political elements in East Pakistan. But it found its most emphatic exponent in the Awami League which had extensively publicized its six-points to solve this problem.<sup>81</sup> The chief of the Awami League strongly believed that the implementation of these points would lead to the emergence of a stronger Pakistani nation. His opponents, mostly West Pakistani politicians, however, maintained that the incorporation of the six-points in a future constitutional setup, would so weaken the bonds between the Centre and the provinces, that it might virtually mean the disintegration of the country and the state. The leaders of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal also equally subscribed to this view,<sup>82</sup> and never hesitated to express their apprehensions about the six-points in public meetings held during their tours of East Pakistan,<sup>83</sup> and urged the Awami League to reconsider its programme not only in the larger interest of the people of East Pakistan, but also for the sake of Pakistan as a whole.<sup>84</sup>

In sharp contrast to a section of East Pakistani leaders who dubbed Sheikh Mujibur Rehman, the Chief of Awami League, as an Indian agent, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, realizing that he had a substantial following in the eastern wing, held the view that it was entirely wrong to ignore him and not to enter into negotiation with him.<sup>85</sup> But at the same time, the Tehrik dispelled the notion that Sheikh Mujib was the sole representative of East Pakistan or that his six-points enjoyed any wide-spread support in that province.<sup>86</sup>

It was with this background in view that the Tehrik's convener, Asghar Khan, held several meetings with Sheikh Mujib and while apprising him of the feelings of the West Pakistanis stressed upon him the need of having a flexible approach to the national problems.<sup>87</sup> Asghar Khan was quite confident that Sheikh Mujib would readjust his position after the elections and it would be possible to evolve an effective Centre through discussions.<sup>88</sup>

Constitution-making in Pakistan has always remained a source of tussle between Pakistani theologians and the Westernized Pakistani politicians.<sup>89</sup> The framing of the 1956 Constitution and the subsequent imposition of the 1962 Constitution could not solve the problem and the situation became still more complex with Yahya Khan's abrogation of 1962 Constitution and his announcement that the representatives elected during the 1970 Elections would be required to draft a Constitution for the country within 120 days of their first sitting.<sup>90</sup> This declaration opened the flood-gates of tense political debates and extensively charged the general atmosphere of the country. The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, however, pleaded for a fair and flexible approach towards the issue of the new Constitution within the framework of unity, stability and integrity of the country<sup>91</sup> and called upon all political leaders to start a constructive dialogue among themselves to evolve a mutually agreed formula for the future Constitution.<sup>92</sup> The Working Committee of the East Pakistan Tehrik-i-Istiqlal even went to the extent of calling for the holding of a Round Table Conference for this purpose.<sup>93</sup> It believed that a conference of this nature would not only cool down the mad race for power, but also help expedite the formulation of the Constitution in the stipulated period of 120 days.<sup>94</sup> The Working Committee, however, warned that Pakistan would be confronted with endless problems, if the future Assembly failed to give to the nation a new Constitution.<sup>95</sup> Asghar Khan, while backing this suggestion, proposed that if such a conference could not be held before the elections, the political leaders should hold it soon after the elections so that the transfer of power to the elected representatives could be effected in a democratic way.<sup>96</sup>

The convener of the Tehrik also presented another novel suggestion that after the formation of the new Constitution the National Assembly should be dissolved and fresh elections should be held for the purpose of forming the government at the Centre.<sup>97</sup> Presenting the proposal, Asghar Khan asserted that the nation should be prepared for frequent change of governments if it wanted democracy to flourish in the country.<sup>98</sup> He, however, left no doubt that the Tehrik aspired for the future Constitution of the country to be reflective of all shades of public opinion instead of conforming to the wishes of one or two political parties only.<sup>99</sup> He also declared in unambiguous terms that in order to end the exploitation of man by man the Tehrik stood for the new Constitution to be in consonance with the injunctions of the Qur'an and *Sunnah*.<sup>100</sup> He also emphasized that while framing the new Constitution

guidance must be sought from the 1954 draft Constitution and the abrogated Constitution of 1956.<sup>101</sup> Asghar Khan even suggested that the 1956 Constitution be adopted as the supreme law of the country with modifications necessitated by the new political realities.<sup>102</sup>

Approving the suggestion of incorporating the remedial economic measures in the new Constitution, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal favoured the idea of the Centre's control over defence, taxation, communications, foreign affairs and trade, and leaving the local affairs within the purview of the provinces.<sup>103</sup>

The Tehrik believed that the frequent use of the terms 'strong' and 'weak' Centre should be avoided as they aroused feelings of mistrust among the East Pakistani population. It instead tried to popularize the new expression of 'effective Centre'.<sup>104</sup> By an 'effective Centre', it meant a central government capable of running the affairs of the country in a befitting manner and defending the frontiers of Pakistan against any possible external threat and aggression.<sup>105</sup> This concept was best explained by B.D. Habibullah, the convener of the East Pakistan Tehrik-i-Istiqlal, when he said that the Centre should discharge its own responsibilities and avoid unnecessary interference in the affairs of the province.<sup>106</sup> His argument was that the regional autonomy should be given to the provinces to the extent that it did not infringe upon national unity and the ideology for which the Muslims of the Subcontinent had carved out a separate homeland.<sup>107</sup>

This balanced approach was evident in other stands also which the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal took on various issues. For example, keeping in view the similarity in the programmes of various political parties in the country, the Tehrik advocated that it was wrong to categorize them as 'leftists' and 'rightist'.<sup>108</sup> Asghar Khan reiterated that from the manifestoes, it appeared that some of the 'rightist' parties were more progressive than the 'so-called leftist parties' which ran against the common connotation of these terms.<sup>109</sup> On another occasion, he observed that as far as Pakistan was concerned, it was wrong to consider the 'rightists' as 'reactionaries' and the 'leftists' as 'progressives'. He said that a person talking of closest relations with socialist countries might claim to be a progressive, even though practically he might be the worst type of reactionary. Similarly, a sincere believer in the progressive outlook of Islam ran the risk of being wrongly dubbed as a 'reactionary'. All these terms were being employed as election slogans, he concluded<sup>110</sup>

The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal welcomed the break up of 'One Unit' which came into effect on 14 October 1955.<sup>111</sup> Declaring it a timely step, the Tehrik observed that it was only an administrative matter and it must not be made an instrument for fanning regional prejudices in West Pakistan.<sup>112</sup>

Although the generality of Pakistani Muslims has always favoured the idea of an 'Islamic State' and an 'Islamic way of life', yet there has always been a small section of intelligentsia which disapproved of the mixing of religion with politics. This struggle assumed unprecedented proportions during the 1970 elections and placed Pakistan at the crossroads. The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal pedalled moderately on this issue, too. It believed that being the most revolutionary of all the social systems, Islam provided solution to all problems.<sup>113</sup> The Tehrik also looked at Islam as the main cohesive force binding together the people of different regions and races living in Pakistan without which the edifice of Pakistan could not be sustained.<sup>114</sup> In fact, its leaders argued that the creation of Pakistan was designed to serve as a model to the entire Muslim world that how Islam could create an enduring and creative affinity between the people of various regions.<sup>115</sup> The Tehrik, however, emphasized that mere slogan-mongering in favour of Islam was not enough. The entire nation must resolve and strive for the enforcement of the Islamic system which was prevalent during the *Khilafat-i-Rashida*, and warned that it was not an easy task.<sup>116</sup> At a meeting of the National Working Committee held at Dacca, Asghar Khan regretted that some political parties were using the name of Islam as a political ploy and asked the leaders of the parties ostensibly struggling for the imposition of Islamic system, if their own lives really conformed to the tenets of Islam.<sup>117</sup>

The only issue of the 1970 election campaign against which the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal took an aggressive stand was the introduction of socialism in the framework of Pakistan's future setup. The protagonists of socialism asserted that to remove social and economic inequalities and injustices it was necessary to introduce some elements of a socialistic society in Pakistan. It may be recalled that a measure of nationalization of financial institutions and key industries, and putting a limit on the ownership of cultivable lands formed part of the programmes of most of the left wing parties.<sup>118</sup>

The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal made critical attacks on the protagonists of socialism, because it believed that the parties advocating a socialist system were not capable of implementing it as they lacked the required

'spirit of sacrifice' and sincerity,<sup>119</sup> and warned that if socialism was allowed to be established, it would shake the very foundations of the country.<sup>120</sup> Asghar Khan said that the leaders who posed themselves as socialists were mere hypocrites; they mainly belonged to the feudal class and were backed by the capitalists.<sup>121</sup> Condemning outrightly the term 'Islamic socialism', he said that it was 'misleading' and its protagonists were simply being dishonest to the people.<sup>122</sup> Asghar Khan's strong criticism of the term 'Islamic socialism' was assumed to be a direct hit at the Pakistan People's Party (PPP),<sup>123</sup> whose workers consequently tried to disturb several of the Tehrik's meetings, including those held at Faisalabad, D.I. Khan and Kohat.<sup>124</sup> The tension between the PPP and the Tehrik's workers was intensified with every passing day and continued till the holding of the general elections in the country.

Although the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal was born in the middle of the election campaign of 1970, the suggestions it made from time to time for the improvement of the election procedure was named the less quite significant. It strongly believed that elections alone were not the panacea for all our ills. They could only provide a basis for an effective solution of our problems in a democratic way.<sup>125</sup> Thus on the one hand, it appealed to the people to exercise their right of voting carefully and judiciously and, on the other, demanded of the government to create the atmosphere conducive for the holding of impartial elections.<sup>126</sup> It also criticized the 'too long' period provided for election campaign, forcing the political parties to go on making fake promises.<sup>127</sup> It also demanded that polling should be completed in one day and political parties be restricted not to spend more than a certain amount on the election campaign of their candidates.<sup>128</sup> The Tehrik considered the number of seats allocated to four provincial legislatures of West Pakistan to be inadequate and demanded a sufficient increase in the number of seats in each provincial legislature of the western wing to ensure stable provincial governments after the elections.<sup>129</sup> Criticizing the proposed procedure of putting a mark of approval on the ballot paper against the name of the candidate of one's choice, the Tehrik argued that it caused difficulties to voters and suggested that the method of separate boxes for each candidate/party be adopted.<sup>130</sup>

Abu Saeed Enver, chairman of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal (Punjab), called for holding elections on a compulsory voting basis so that the incoming National Assembly which was to be entrusted with the important task of constitution-making, should be representative of the entire voting

population of the country.<sup>131</sup> He further proposed that in case a voter in a particular area did not like any of the contestants, he should be allowed to cast a negative vote<sup>132</sup> and if in final counting, the number of cancelled or negative votes was greater than the votes received by the top candidate, fresh elections must be held in that constituency, till the electorate got a man of their choice.<sup>133</sup> He also suggested that the candidates seeking election to the assemblies must be made to declare in writing that the establishment of Pakistan was 'just' and that they did not consider any of the present leaders of Pakistan greater than the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah.<sup>134</sup>

The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal favoured the holding of elections on the basis of separate electorates believing that it would give due representation to the minority communities in the legislatures.<sup>135</sup>

The Tehrik-i-Istiqlal was among the few West Pakistan based political organizations which demanded the postponement of the general elections in view of the uncertain climatic conditions in East Pakistan.<sup>136</sup> Its leaders maintained that due to heavy rains in East Pakistan not more than 30 percent people would be able to cast their votes on 5 October, 1970,<sup>137</sup> and pleaded that the elections should be held in the month of November or in the first week of December at the latest.<sup>138</sup> The government did not pay any heed to this advice, but in September 1970, owing to massive floods in East Pakistan, the elections had to be postponed until 7 December 1970.<sup>139</sup>

About the participation in the general elections of 1970, the policy of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal was somewhat confusing. Initially, it was announced that the Tehrik would not take part in the elections, nor would it support any of the political parties.<sup>140</sup> But at the same time, it was also pointed out that it would indirectly support all those candidates whose programmes were in accordance with the Tehrik's aims and objectives.<sup>141</sup> The said policy was, however, soon changed and in order to promote the objectives of their organization inside and outside the House, members of the Tehrik were allowed to contest the elections as independent candidates.<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, the Tehrik was not to issue any tickets to candidates and announced that their election or rejection by the people would not have any effect on its prestige.<sup>143</sup> However, all independent candidates professing allegiance to the Tehrik, were asked to make two commitments. Firstly, they would adhere to the aims and objects of the Tehrik and consult each other on stands to be taken on various issues; and secondly, they would not accept any office without

the written consent of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal.<sup>144</sup> Hoping that a large number of the Tehrik members would be returned to the National Assembly, Asghar Khan announced that in the Assembly its followers would strive hard to frame a Constitution, work for the betterment of the people and voice the truth.<sup>145</sup>

Although the names of the members of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal contesting the next general election were never officially announced by the Tehrik, the joint secretary of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal, Musheer Ahmed Pesh Imam, disclosed that about thirty of its members would stand for the National Assembly seats, out of which ten would be from East Pakistan.<sup>146</sup> Similarly, without naming anybody, it was claimed that a number of Tehrik members in both wings of the country intended to contest elections for the provincial assemblies as independent candidates.<sup>147</sup>

The most prominent member of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal contesting 1970 election was Asghar Khan himself. He stood for the National Assembly seat NW-26 from Rawalpindi as an 'independent candidate.'<sup>148</sup> About his election programme, he said that it would be the same as the aims and objectives of the Tehrik-i-Istiqal.<sup>149</sup> Commenting on his decision to select Rawalpindi as his constituency, he observed that Rawalpindi being the political hub of Pakistan, the verdict of its population would have a far-reaching effect on the general politics of the country.<sup>150</sup> He said that the sole purpose of his contesting the election, was to secure a platform to air his views. He promised that if he was elected, he would concentrate all his energies on the framing of a constitution based on Islamic injunctions and creation of a society free from socio-economic injustices.<sup>151</sup>

Due to his moderate approach in politics, almost all major rightist and some leftist parties in West Pakistan, which were averse to the PPP's victory in Rawalpindi, lent their support to him. Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum group), National Awami Party (NAP) (Bhashani group) and National Awami Party (NAP) (Wali Khan group) decided not to put up their candidates for the Rawalpindi constituency,<sup>152</sup> while Jamiat-i-Islam (JUI),<sup>153</sup> Jamaat-i-Ahl-i-Hadith,<sup>154</sup> the Shia Mutalibat Committee and the Jamiat-i-Ulama-i-Pakistan,<sup>155</sup> actively supported his candidature. Likewise, his previous political parties, the JP and the PDP also lent a hand to him.<sup>156</sup> However, his major support came from the Council Muslim League which not only withdrew its candidate for the concerned seat of the National Assembly, but also, for rest of the

election campaign, directed its provincial candidates to hold joint meetings and processions with Asghar Khan's supporters.<sup>157</sup>

Surprisingly, however, the Jamaat-i-Islami Pakistan (JIP), whose workers were in the forefront in projecting Asghar Khan during the anti-Ayub movement and even after that maintained good relations with him, put up its Amir of Rawalpindi Division, Maulana Fateh Muhammad as a candidate for the same National Assembly seat for which Asghar Khan was contesting.<sup>158</sup> All attempts to persuade the Jamaat leadership to withdraw its candidate, met with failure.<sup>159</sup> However, the biggest shock came to Asghar Khan when the Awami League (six-points) also nominated an East Pakistani residing at Rawalpindi, as its candidate for the same seat.<sup>160</sup> This move was really amazing because Asghar Khan had always supported the genuine demands of the people of East Pakistan<sup>161</sup> and there was absolutely no chance of any success for the Awami League's candidate from Rawalpindi. Besides the above two candidates, a strong PPP candidate and a sitting member from Rawalpindi, of the National Assembly, belonging to the Convention Muslim League, were also present in the political arena to oppose Asghar Khan.<sup>162</sup>

Greatly perturbed over the political situation around him, Asghar Khan became highly critical of his opponents in his speeches. About the Convention Muslim League's candidate, he observed that he was nominated by the former President, Ayub Khan, who by getting him elected, wanted to prove that the 1968-69 movement against his regime was ill-conceived.<sup>163</sup> He also stated during his election campaign that Bhutto was out to foist a dictatorship of his own brand and the programme of his party was neither socialist<sup>164</sup> nor it could ensure the integrity of the country. Referring to the PPP candidate, he said that he was not sincere in serving the people and wanted to capture power by 'fraud'.<sup>165</sup> Asghar Khan also lambasted the JIP declaring that its entire structure was based on 'falsehood, hatred and fascism'.<sup>166</sup> Emphasizing that the JIP was not doing any service to Islam or the Muslims of the country, he predicted that come what may it would never come to power in Pakistan.<sup>167</sup> He, however, sounded quite optimistic about his victory in the elections and hoped to represent the people of Rawalpindi in the coming National Assembly.<sup>168</sup> Nevertheless, the results of the 1970 elections shattered the hopes of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal leadership, as none of its candidates, including Asghar Khan, could win a seat. This

effectively put an end to the parliamentary aspirations of the Tehrik as far as the next National Assembly was concerned.

Even otherwise the election results upset all the predictions of political pundits. In East Pakistan, the Awami League bagged 167 out of the total 169 National Assembly seats allocated to East Pakistan and swept the provincial elections as well, winning 268 out of 279 seats.<sup>169</sup> In West Pakistan, PPP won 81 out of the 143 National Assembly seats went to the PPP.<sup>170</sup> Both parties, however, failed to secure any seat in the other wing. Thus the general elections of 1970 produced a new political configuration with two distinct centres of power.

After remaining inactive for about two weeks following the general elections, the convener of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal appeared on the political scene with a new fervour and urged the West Pakistani leaders to enter into immediate negotiations with the Awami League on the six-points so that an atmosphere of understanding could be achieved for embarking upon the process of constitution-making.<sup>171</sup> He strongly believed that the political process had reached a stage where the six-points could not be rejected outrightly and refusing to hold talks on them would be 'ridiculous'.<sup>172</sup> He called upon the leaders of the two major parties in the National Assembly to adopt a line of understanding and shun 'rigid attitudes'.

Asghar Khan thought that the task of constitution-making had been made much easier with clear majorities going to two political parties.<sup>173</sup> However, the leaders of the majority parties did not quite subscribe to this opinion. Besides a strong clash of personalities, they held different views on the future Constitution of Pakistan. To make the situation even more complex, the election results had upset all the calculations of the President and his advisers, and the scheme of things they had in their minds was rendered altogether irrelevant.

Keeping in view the political climate of the country, Yahya Khan pretended to strive for a Mujib-Bhutto coalition but actually what he was doing was playing one against the other.<sup>174</sup> In doing so, he was supported by a group of hawkish generals who were not ready to transfer power to Mujib lest he should utterly demolish the very foundations of the defence forces and weaken the central government to the point where it would cease to exist.<sup>175</sup> Sensing the feelings of the ruling junta, Bhutto started demanding the postponement of the inaugural session of the National Assembly at Dacca.<sup>176</sup> Accepting his demand, Yahya Khan announced his decision to postpone the National Assembly session

scheduled for 3 March 1971,<sup>177</sup> which was followed by his negotiations with Mujib at Dacca on the procedure of transfer of power. But as the subsequent developments proved, these talks were nothing more than a smokescreen for the preparation of a military operation in East Pakistan to curb the Awami League activities there.<sup>178</sup> These ugly tactics resulted in the Awami League's Civil Disobedience Movement which subsequently turned into a war of national liberation.<sup>179</sup>

Throughout this period of crisis, the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal which had converted itself into a full-fledged political party since 25 January 1971,<sup>180</sup> raised its voice in favour of ending this imbroglio through peaceful means and advocated an 'immediate' transfer of power to the majority party in the country in order to avert the prevalent 'close-to-disaster' situation.<sup>181</sup> It all along pleaded that to preserve national integrity, President Yahya should invite Mujib and in line with the dictates of the democratic process should hand over power to him.<sup>182</sup> Criticizing Bhutto's suggestion for transfer of power to the 'majority parties' in East and West Pakistan as 'most unfortunate' and against the very concept of Pakistan, Asghar Khan warned his countrymen that time was running out and something must be done quickly to save the country from disintegration.<sup>183</sup>

The military intervention by India in East Pakistan further aggravated the political crisis in the country. The National Working Committee of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal urged the people to beware of India's designs and get united to meet the external threat.<sup>184</sup> In a press statement, Asghar Khan also appealed to all Pakistanis 'to stand united and firm in our resolve to meet the Indian challenge'.<sup>185</sup> He particularly asked the East Pakistanis to stand solidly together with the people of West Pakistan and assured them that as soon as the Indian threat was over, we would build a better Pakistan in which people of all regions could live together in an atmosphere of freedom, justice and equity'.<sup>186</sup> However, all hopes of a better and united Pakistan were shattered when Pakistani forces had to surrender to the Indian Army on 16 December 1971, and over 93,000 military and civilian personnel were taken prisoners of war by the enemy. Bhutto was recalled from New York, where he had been pleading Pakistan's case before the United Nations,<sup>187</sup> and power was transferred to him.

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2. *Dawn*, 4 December, 1969.
3. *Ibid.*, 5 December, 1969.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Daily Nawa-i-Waqt* (Rawalpindi), 4 December, 1969.
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10. *Dawn*, 14 December, 1969.
11. *Daily Zamana* (Quetta), 9 January, 1970.
12. *Dawn*, 9 January, 1970.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 10 January, 1970.
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Dawn*, 10 January, 1970.
17. *Ibid.*, 14 January, 1970.
18. For details, see *Dawn*, 10 and 13 January, 1970, and *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 14 and 15 January, 1970.
19. *Daily Pakistan Observer* (Dacca), 11 January, 1970.
20. *Dawn*, 28 January, 1970.
21. *Pakistan Observer*, 30 January, 1970.
22. *Ibid.*, 1 February, 1970.
23. *Daily Morning News* (Karachi), 30 January, 1970.
24. *Ibid.* The meeting also set up a 21-member organizing committee to undertake tours of West Pakistan to highlight the objectives Asghar Khan had declared at the time of his re-entry into politics.
25. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 2 February, 1970. In a letter issued to the invitees of the proposed meeting, which included some key members of the dissolved JP, ex-ministers and leading advocates, he said that the purpose of the meeting was to take stock of the political situation in the country and to decide how we should be associated with each other in future. For details, see *Dawn*, 8 February, 1970.
26. *Daily Kohistan*, (Lahore), 1 March, 1970.

27. *Dawn*, 1 March, 1970. The prominent personalities which attended the meeting included Prince Saeedur Rashid Abbasi (Bahawalpur), Abu Saeed Enver (Lahore), S. Siddique (Rawalpindi), Lt. Gen. (Retd) S. M. A. Farooqi (Rawalpindi), Brig. (Retd) Gulzar Ahmad (Rawalpindi), Karimullah Khan Durrani (Peshawar), Brig. (Retd) M. Raza (Rawalpindi), Dr Jahangir Ahmed (Lahore), Sardar Safdar Khan (Kohat), Saadullah Khan (Mardan), Jalaluddin Khan Advocate (Peshawar), Ali Rahman Yousaf Zai (Peshawar), Azcemullah Khan (Peshawar), Mumtaz Ahmad Tarar (Gujrat), Mahmudul Hasan Butt (Swat), Begum Sadi Zamir (Karachi), Muhammad Gulzar Rana (Gujrat), Ch. Masood Qadir (Gujrat), Sher Dil Khan Khattak (Bannu), M. Humayun Shah (Kohat), Allah Nawaz Khan (D.I. Khan), Mufti Samiuddin (Karachi), Aziz Ahmad (Faisalabad), Mushir Ahmed Pesh Imam (Karachi), Rahim Bux Soomro (Sukkur), Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari (D.G. Khan), M.A. Piracha (Rawalpindi), Mukhlessuzzaman Khan (Dacca), Diwan Shafi Alam (Narain Ganj), Shafiul Azam (Barisal) and Khan Habib Khan (Dacca).
28. *Daily Jang* (Rawalpindi), 2 March, 1970.
29. *Pakistan Times* Rawalpindi, 2 March, 1970.
30. *Dawn*, 2 March, 1970.
31. *Daily Imroze*, (Lahore) 2 March, 1970.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Kohistan*, 2 March, 1970.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Daily Tameer*, (Rawalpindi) 2 March, 1970. Although the resolution did not elaborate these steps, yet it obviously referred to the merger of the JP into the PDP, Asghar Khan's retirement from politics and the subsequent reversal of his decision to do so.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Daily New Times* (Rawalpindi), 4 March, 1970.
40. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 11 March, 1970.
41. *New Times*, 13 March, 1970.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Morning News*, 14 March, 1970.
44. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 2 March, 1970. Besides Asghar Khan, the organizational committee included Mukhlessuzzaman, Diwan Shafiul Alam, Lutfe Habib Khan, Karimullah Khan Durrani, Abu Saeed Enver, Allah Nawaz Khan, M A. Pesh Imam and Rahim Bux Soomro. It was announced that remaining two members of the organizational committee would be announced later on.
45. *Ibid.*, 11 April, 1970.
46. *Ibid.*, 3 June, 1970. Abu Saeed Enver, Khalid Bin Jaffar and Allah Nawaz Khan were appointed secretaries for the provinces of Punjab, Sindh and NWFP, respectively. It was said that the name of the secretary for the Balochistan province would be announced later on.

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47. *Ibid.*, 9 September, 1970 and 10 October, 1970. Abu Saeed Enver, Karimullah Khan Durrani and Rahim Bux Soomro were nominated as chairmen for Punjab, NWFP and Sind, respectively.
48. *Ibid.*, 8 April, 1970.
49. *New Times*, 10 May, 1970.
50. *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 14 September, 1970. The members of the National Working Committee were: A.K. Khan (Chittagong), Mukhlessuzzaman Khan (Dacca), Abu Saeed Enver (Lahore), B.D. Habibullah (Barisal), Rahim Bux Soomro (Sukkur), Karimullah Khan Durrani (Peshawar), M.A. Pesh Imam (Karachi), Saadullah Khan (Peshawar), Prince Saeedur Rashid Abbasi (Bahawalpur), Manzar Murshid Khan (Chittagong), Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari (D.G. Khan), Khalid Bin Jaffar (Hyderabad), Dr Moula Bux Minhas (Rawalpindi), Raja Ghulam Haidar (Sarai Alamgir) and Sardar Allah Nawaz Khan Sadozai (D.I. Khan).
51. *Nawa-i-Waqt* (Rawalpindi), 18 March, 1970.
52. *Morning News*, 14 May, 1970.
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58. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 10 May, 1970.
59. *Ibid.*
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61. *New Times*, 10 May, 1970.
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63. *Morning News*, 11 May, 1970.
64. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 11 March, 1970.
65. For details, see Mohsin Ali, *The Bengali Muslim*, Karachi, 1971, pp.7-48.
66. Kazi Ahmed Kamal, *Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and Politics in Pakistan*, Dacca, 1970, pp.76-79.
67. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 11 April, 1970.
68. *Ibid.*, 8 June, 1970.
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70. *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 6 April, 1970.
71. *Ibid.*
72. *Pakistan Observer*, 22 June, 1970.
73. *Dawn*, 14 September, 1970.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Pakistan Observer*, 23 June, 1970.
76. *Daily Holiday* (Dacca) 23 June, 1970
77. *Ibid.* To have a complete picture of population distribution in East Pakistan and its patterns and trends, see Nafis Ahmed, *An Economic Geograpy of East Pakistan*, London, 1958, pp.272-311.
78. *Pakistan Times*, (Rawalpindi), 14 June, 1970.

79. *Pakistan Observer*, 15 June, 1970.
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 28 October, 1970.
82. For details of the six-points, see **Ahmed Hasan Qureshi**, *Chhay Nikāt ki Sachchi Tasveer* (Urdu), Lahore, 1969, pp.27-149.
83. *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 10 March, 1970.
84. *Pakistan Observer*, 15 June, 1970.
85. *Holiday* 19 June, 1970.
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93. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 15 July, 1970.
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99. *Ibid.*
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112. **K.K. Aziz**, *Party Politics in Pakistan: 1947-1958*, Islamabad, 1976, p.32
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115. *Ibid.*
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117. *Dawn*, 29 September, 1970.
118. *Morning News*, 1 October, 1970.
119. **Feroze Ahmed**, *Political Parties and their Policies and Programmes*, Karachi, 1971, pp.11,43,44,97 and 109.

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121. *Dawn*, 29 August, 1970.
122. *Inroze*, 3 October, 1970.
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124. At that time the PPP's stand was that Islam and socialism were not repugnant to each other. For details, see Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *Political Situation in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1968.
125. *Morning News*, 2, 3 and 11 November, 1970.
126. *Ibid.*, 26 October, 1970.
127. *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 6 November, 1970.
128. *Ibid.*, 26 August, 1970. The campaign for the general elections of 1970 started, on 28 November 1969, with President Yahya Khan's announcement for holding general elections in the country, and continued till December 1970. For details, see *Report on General Elections in Pakistan 1970-71*, Vol.1, Islamabad, 1972, pp.1-2.
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130. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 10 May, 1970.
131. *Ibid.*, 25 June, 1970.
132. *Ibid.*, 9 November, 1970.
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148. *Ibid.*, Though numerous parties contested the 1970 elections, individual candidates wielded considerable influence and at times their popularity or otherwise played a significant role in determining the final results. For further details about the role of the independent candidates in the 1970 elections, see S.G. Bashir, *Election Handbook 1970*, Karachi, 1970, pp.185-194.

149. *Kohistan*, 2 July, 1970.
150. *Ibid.*
151. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 22 September, 1970. Even before the creation of Pakistan, the residents of Rawalpindi were politically very active and played an important role against the British Raj. For details, see Aziz Malik, *Rawal Desh* (Urdu), Rawalpindi, 1969, pp.167-174.
152. *New Times*, 28 October, 1970.
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154. *Ibid.*, 3 December, 1970.
155. *Ibid.*, 21 October, 1970.
156. *Ibid.*, 21 October, 1970.
157. See *Dawn*, 11 November, 1970 and *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 15 November, 1970.
158. *New Times*, 31 October, 1970.
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160. For details, see Jamaat leaders' press conference quoted in *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 27 October, 1970. For the traditionally rigid attitude and political extremism of the JIP, see Sheikh Muhammad Iqbal, *Jamaat-i-Islami par ek Nazar* (Urdu), Lahore, 1952, pp.44-72.
161. *Ibid.*, 16 October, 1970.
162. Even after the nomination of the AL's candidate against Asghar Khan, he did not flinch in his support for the genuine demands of East Pakistan and pleaded for a sympathetic attitude towards Sheikh Mujib and his political programmes.
163. They were Khurshid Hasan Mir (PPP) and Syed Ali Asghar Shah (Con ML), respectively.
164. *New Times*, 2 November, 1970.
165. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 1 December, 1970. The election manifesto of the PPP for the general elections 1970 stood for a socialist form of state management. For details, see *Election Manifesto of the Pakistan Peoples Party 1970*, Karachi, 1970, pp.26-29.
166. *New Times*, 1 December, 1970.
167. *Ibid.*, 27 November, 1970.
168. *Ibid.*, Asghar Khan's prediction became true as far as the elections of 1970 were concerned as only 4 of the 147 Jamaat's candidates were elected for the National Assembly. For further details, see Kalim Bahadur, *The Jamaat-i-Islami of Pakistan*, Lahore, 1978, p.125.
169. *New Times*, 2 December, 1970.
170. *Pakistan Observer*, 29 December, 1970. By that victory, the AL obtained an absolute majority in the National Assembly.
171. *Ibid.*, The PPP emerged as the single largest party in West Pakistan with majorities in Sind and Punjab and the NAP (Wali Khan group), together with their political ally, the JUI (Mufti Mahmood group), got clear majorities in Balochistan and NWFP.
172. *Dawn*, 28 December 1970.
173. *Ibid.*
174. *Ibid.*

174. *Ibid.*
175. For details, see Fazal Muqem Khan, *Pakistan's Crisis in Leadership*. Islamabad, 1973, pp.45-55.
176. Manzooruddin Ahmed, ed., *Contemporary Pakistan: Politics, Economy, and Society*, Karachi, 1982, p.12.
177. *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), 1 March, 1971.
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179. For details of these negotiations, see *White Paper on East Pakistan Crisis*, Rawalpindi, 1971, pp.16-21.
180. For details, see Kalim Siddiqui, *Conflicts, Crisis and War in Pakistan*, New York, 1972, pp.56-59.
181. The National Working Committee of the Tehrik-i-Istiqlal which concluded its two day session in Rawalpindi on 24 January, 1971, decided that henceforth the Tehrik would function as a full-fledged political party. For details, see *Dawn*, 25 January, 1971 and *Pakistan Times*, (Rawalpindi), 25 and 26 January, 1971.
182. *Dawn*, 5 March, 1971.
183. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 12 March, 1971.
184. *Dawn*, 16 March, 1971.
185. *Pakistan Times* (Rawalpindi), 31 August, 1971.
186. *Daily Sun* (Karachi), 24 November, 1971.
187. *Ibid.*
188. For the text of his speech, delivered on 15 December, 1971, at the Security Council, defending Pakistan's military action in East Pakistan, see Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, *Marching Towards Democracy*, Rawalpindi, n.d., pp.268-276.